THE PATH OF SONG

SEMANTIC STRATEGIES IN *ILIAD* VIII

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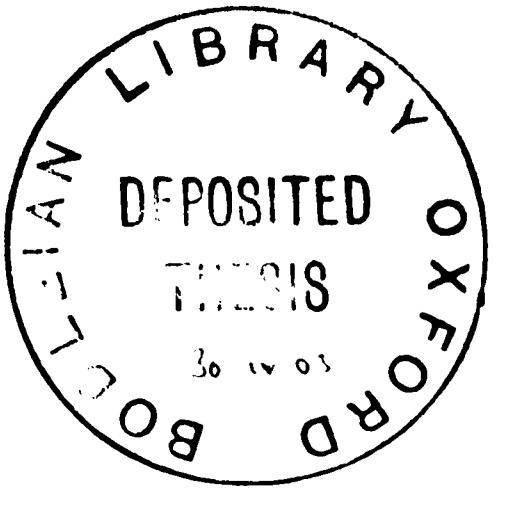

PARENTIBUS MEIS

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THE PATH OF SONG: SEMANTIC STRATEGIES IN *ILIAD* VIII

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The Path of Song: Semantic Strategies in Iliad VIII is a continuous commentary to Book VIII of the *Iliad*, applying to this section of the poem a new aesthetic methodology developed primarily by the comparative scholar J. M. Foley. Termed 'traditional referentiality', this methodology holds that oral traditional poetics is founded upon the duality of 'denotative' and 'connotative' levels of meaning, in which the semantic potential of any given element in the narrative, of any sort, is a result of the audience's experience with that element in previous performances. Thus, the associative qualities of traditional narrative allow the poet during the realisation of the song to manipulate audience expectations as they listen to stories whose general outlines (i.e. who kills who, who must not die at a certain moment in the story, etc.) they know from a lifetime of experience. To recapture this complex of meaning is to recreate the ancient experience of Homeric poetry, giving a modern audience access to the excitement and uncertainty of a narrative designed for a progressive unfolding at the moment of performance.

After a brief introduction, in which a key term within Homeric poetics (οἴμη 'song path') is briefly discussed before we outline the history of the methodology and its place within modern scholarship, the commentary successively summarises and describes the key elements in small sections of the narrative, and then presents for each of these sections the comparative evidence establishing the conclusions reached. A conclusion is followed by two appendices on some of the more contentious speech introduction formulae.

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I. THE PATH OF SONG

We propose in this thesis to apply to Book 8 of the *Iliad* the aesthetic methodology of 'traditional referentiality', the parameters and operation of which are to be explored in the next section of the Introduction. It will be contended there that the *Dichtersprache* is a communicative medium between the artist and his audience, and the text's potential to generate meaning within that relationship depends both on the artist's compositional ability and the audience's receptional sensitivity. This is a product of familiarity with the connotative meaning, or contextual association, of the traditional elements of heroic song, upon which the poet will rely as he performs. Such associative manipulation, it is suggested, is an integral part of the traditional compositional method, one particularly suited to the unravelling of the song in performance.

Meaning is therefore generated from a relative or locational awareness, and so the metaphor of the οἶμη or 'song path' is an ideal motif for the current work. The poet takes his audience with him down that path, informing them in advance of its direction and contents, signalling imminent, if unfulfilled, departures from its course, and generally guiding their knowledge of it in order to create tension and excitement. Given these assumptions, it is rather fortunate that οἶμη is applied to the art of epic song on three occasions in the *Odyssey* (8.74, 8.481, 22.347). Accepted translations presuppose a link

with οἶμος ('path' or 'strip'),[1] and the metaphor of the song-path continues to be healthily represented in post-Homeric literature.[2] οἴμη itself, however, is not again attested until the Hellenistic period,[3] leaving one with the impression that there was something specialised or particular in the application of this word to heroic narrative which rendered it unsuitable for other authors and traditions.[4] This first section of the Introduction will attempt to determine that quality.

As so often, etymology is an uncertain source of illumination. The modern consensus would link οἶμος and οἴμη, and derive them from a range of roots denoting motion or connection.[5] Whichever particular derivation we favour, it must first be granted that the poet's use of the word, linked with the other common epic metaphors of movement for poetic activity,[6] does suggest some such notion as 'path' or 'way'.[7] When we turn to the

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1 cf. Liddell, Scott and Jones 1940, s. v., p. 1206: "way of song, path, lay"; Führer 1999 (*LfGrE*), s. v., col. 579: "Gang, Pfad des ep. Erzählens"; Frisk 1963-72, s. v., p. 363: "Lied, Gesang, Sage, Erzählung"; Chantraine 1968, s. v., pp. 783-4: "chant, poeme, récit poétique".

2 The authoritative work on this metaphor is Becker 1937, though cf. now also Nünlist 1998, pp. 228-83, esp. 228-54, 252. For examples, cf., e.g., *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 451; Pindar *Olympian* 8.68-9, where the path in question is the ignominious return home for the defeated; *Olympian* 9.47, *Pythian* 4.248; Aiskhylos *Libation Bearers* 945 and Garvie [1986] ad loc. In fact, it is such a commonplace by Euripides' time that Mastronarde [1994] ad Euripides *Phoenician Women* 911, p. 410, deems it 'trite'.

3 cf., e.g., Lykophron *Alexandra* 11 & 713; Kallimakhos *Hymn to Delos* 9; Apollonios Rhodios *Argonautika* 4.140.

4 The absence of the word from the meagre fragments of the Epic Cycle cannot be determinative.

5 For the summarised consensus, which connects the word to εἶμι or ἴεμαι, cf. Frisk 1963-72, s. v., p. 363, Chantraine 1968, s. v., pp. 783-4, and Führer 1999, s. v., col. 579 (all with further literature). This is followed, *inter alios*, by Bieler 1936, pp. 241-4; Becker 1937, pp. 36-7, 68-9; Diehl 1940, pp. 93-4; Thornton 1984, pp. 148-9; Ford 1992, p. 41f. Pagliaro, on the other hand, derives both terms from a hypothetical **sei-* meaning 'to connect' (cf. ἵμας: Pagliaro 1961, p. 35f.; Durante 1976, p. 176; Hainsworth [1988] ad *Od.* 8. 74, p. 351). Nagy 1979, p. 18 n. 1, translates οἴμη as 'story-thread'.

6 cf., e.g., *Odyssey* 8.492: ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ μετάβηθι as an instruction to sing a new song (to be discussed in more general terms below); Hesiod *Works and Days* 659: ἔνθά με τὸ πρῶτον λιγυρῆς ἐπέβησαν ἀοιδῆς (sc. Μοῦσαι); *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 464-5: αὐτὰρ ἐγώ σοι | τέχνης ἡμετέρης ἐπιβήμεναι οὔ τι μεγαίρω; cf. further Ford 1992, pp. 43-8.

7 cf. e.g., Thalmann 1984, p. 124ff.; Ford 1992, pp. 40-8; Nünlist 1998, p. 251f.

Odyssey, however, the term has obviously acquired a specialised meaning. For instance, Demodokos' first song in the *Odyssey* is described in the following terms (8.73-83):

> Μοῦσ' ἄρ ἀοιδὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀειδέμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν
> οἵμης, τῆς τότ' ἄρα κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἵκανε·
> νεῖκος Ὀδυσσῆος καὶ Πηλείδεω Ἀχιλῆος,
> ὡς ποτε δηρίσαντο θεῶν ἐν δαιτὶ θαλείῃ
> ἐκπάγλοις ἐπέεσσιν· ἄναξ δ' ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων
> χαῖρε νόῳι, ὅτ' ἄριστοι Ἀχαιῶν δηριόωντο.
> ὡς γάρ οἱ χρείων μυθήσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
> Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθέῃι, ὅθ' ὑπέρβη λάινον οὐδὸν
> χρησόμενος. τότε γάρ ῥα κυλίνδετο πήματος ἀρχὴ
> Τρωσί τε καὶ Δαναοῖσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλάς.
> ταῦτ' ἄρ ἀοιδὸς ἄειδε περικλυτός·

The other two occurrences of οἵμη are a little less forthcoming. In the first, Odysseus awards Demodokos the honourable portion of meat for the excellence of his singing with the words (8.479-81):

> πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀοιδοὶ
> τιμῆς ἔμμοροί εἰσι καὶ αἰδοῦς, οὕνεκ' ἄρα σφέας
> οἵμας Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε, φίλησε δὲ φῦλον ἀοιδῶν.

Finally, Phemios refers to the οἵμαι as he pleads with Odysseus for his life (22.344-9):

> γουνοῦμαί σ', Ὀδυσεῦ, σὺ δέ μ' αἴδεο καί μ' ἐλέησον.
> αὐτῷι τοι μετόπισθ' ἄχος ἔσσεται, εἴ κεν ἀοιδὸν
> πέφνῃις, ὅς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀείδω.
> αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἵμας
> παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν· ἔοικα δέ τοι παραείδειν
> ὡς τε θεῶι· τῶ μή με λιλαίεο δειροτομῆσαι.

In all of these cases, the οἴμη or οἴμαι are a prerequisite of performance, and its or their knowledge is explicitly a divine gift at 8.481 and 22.347-8. Critics have focused particularly upon the first citation to equate the οἴμη with the 'theme', a word which has suffered from serious criticism in the past for its lack of definition, but which in this case seems to refer to the topic of the realised song - the quarrel.[8] However, as Pagliaro noted, it is a little difficult to understand why such a small and localised episode could have 'fame reaching to heaven'.[9] Moreover, the equation rests upon a construction of the genitive case of οἴμης in 8.74 as dependent upon κλέα ἀνδρῶν in the previous verse[10] or attracted to the case of τῆς in the current one,[11] both of which, while possible, are far from necessary. It seems at least as likely that the genitive is partitive, denoting a larger body of material from which the ἀοιδός picks up the specific episode to be performed.[12] If this is correct, then there should be other occasions on which the poet seems to have a sense that the song as performed is to be located along a continuum of epic narrative.

As a test, let's examine the two examples of heroic song in *Odyssey* Book 8. At the banquet of the Phaiakians, Demodokos sings firstly of the quarrel between Odysseus and Akhilleus (74-83), and then of the Trojan horse (499-521). On each occasion, there is a progression of specificity, as it were, in the description of the pèrformance. First, the bard

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8 cf. Lenz 1980, pp. 73f., 77 n. 1; Thornton 1984, pp. 148-9; Thalmann 1984, pp. 123-5; Ford 1992, pp. 41-3.

9 cf. Pagliaro 1961, p. 39. This is no place to enter into the debate as to the provenance of this particular episode; cf. Nagy 1979, pp. 42-58; Hainsworth [1988] ad loc, pp. 349-50. I suspect that such discussions, when they assume either that the episode is traditional *or* it is individual, are beholden to the 'tradition v. invention' dichotomy, which we will characterise in the next section as unhelpful.

10 so, with some hesitation, Chantraine 1958, § 347, p. 238 n. i.

11 so Mazon 1959, p. 142 , n. 2.

12 so Ameis-Hentze-Cauer [1940] ad loc., p. 34; Stanford [1967] ad loc., p. 333; Hainsworth [1988] ad loc., p. 351; Garvie [1994] ad loc., p. 253.

commences his song in general terms (ἀειδέμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν [73]; φαῖνε δ' ἀοιδήν [499]), then the theme or topic is stated (νεῖκος Ὀδυσσῆος καὶ Πηλείδεω Ἀχιλῆος [75]; ἵππου κόσμον ἄεισον | δουρατέου [492-3][13]), and finally the narrative begins from a certain point within that theme (ὥς ποτε δηρίσαντο κτλ. [76]; τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν . . ὅν ποτ' ἐς ἀκρόπολιν κτλ. [494-5] -> ἔνθεν ἑλών, ὡς οἵ μέν κτλ. [500]). From these instances, it seems as though there are three levels on which every song exists, and the relationship between them is in fact a progression in the level of information given by the poet. First of all, it is an example of heroic song in general; secondly, it is an instantiation of a theme or topic; thirdly, it is begun and ended at a certain point within that topic.[14]

However, when characters refer to songs (particularly after the fact), the descriptions are framed in terms which are not accommodated within this tripartition. For instance, Odysseus compliments Demodokos' first narrative (the νεῖκος) in the following way (8.489-91):

> λίην γὰρ κατὰ κόσμον Ἀχαιῶν οἶτον ἀείδεις,
> ὅσσ' ἔρξαν τ' ἔπαθόν τε καὶ ὅσσ' ἐμόγησαν Ἀχαιοί,
> ὥς τέ που ἢ αὐτὸς παρεὼν ἢ ἄλλου ἀκούσας.

The tale of the Trojan horse (or perhaps both songs, for Odysseus' strong reactions are roughly the same each time) is similarly summarised, when Alkinoos enquires of Odysseus (8.577-8):

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[13] In this latter case, the order is reversed because the definition of the song becomes clear during the request - fulfilment sequence. The precise realised order is not important for my argument; all I wish to establish is that there is an hierarchy within Homer's description of song.

[14] This same tripartition is also noticeable in the Song of Ares and Aphrodite; cf. below, n. 23 for discussion.

εἰπὲ δ' ὅ τι κλαίεις καὶ ὀδύρεαι ἔνδοθι θυμῷι
Ἀργείων Δαναῶν ἠδ' Ἰλίου οἶτον ἀκούων.

These synopses seem to add a fourth level to epic song, more specific than κλέα ἀνδρῶν or ἀοιδή, but less precise than the titles νεῖκος Ὀδυσσῆος καὶ Πηλείδεω Ἀχιλῆος or ἵππου κόσμον δουρατέου. It would appear that a song also had an identity within a certain cycle of individual topics, which were connected by a common attribute more precise than the catch-all κλέα ἀνδρῶν. For these two performances, that connection is the Trojan War, as it is for the song of Phemios in Book 1, of which we are only given a summary (325-7):

τοῖσι δ' ἀοιδὸς ἄειδε περικλυτός, οἳ δὲ σιωπῇι
εἵατ' ἀκούοντες· ὃ δ' Ἀχαιῶν νόστον ἄειδε
λυγρόν, ὃν ἐκ Τροίης ἐπετείλατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

Whether the poet sang of the general story, or of an individual, or indeed even a single episode, it is the general notion of the 'Return' from Troy which relates the performance to a larger corpus of heroic material.[15]

If our interpretation of these episodes is on the right track, then οἴμη could plausibly be this fourth level, and mean something like 'a story cycle'. This is supported by the fact that the feminine form of those nouns which also have a masculine in -ος often have a collective meaning,[16] and so οἴμη would mean '[a collection of topics which make up] a story cycle.' If we apply this definition to the first and and most fully described

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[15] The relationship between the 'Returns' and the 'Trojan War' is an interesting one with consequences for our interpretation of the οἴμη; we shall return to it shortly.

[16] cf. Wackernagel 1928, p. 14; Schwyzer 1950, p. 35, n. 5; Pagliaro 1961, p. 38.

occurrence of οἴμη (8.73-6), we can observe the four levels of Homeric song set out in a progression from lesser to greater levels of specificity:

Μοῦσ' ἄρ' ἀοιδὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀειδέμεναι κλέα ἀνδρῶν	1. Heroic Song
οἴμης τῆς τότ' ἄρα κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἵκανε·	2. Trojan Cycle
νεῖκος Ὀδυσσῆος καὶ Πηλείδεω Ἀχιλῆος,	3. Topic / Episode
ὥς ποτε δηρίσαντο θεῶν ἐν δαιτὶ θαλείῃ	4. Starting Point

The genitive of οἴμης here is not to be explained by attraction to τῆς, nor dependence on κλέα ἀνδρῶν. Rather, it tells us that the νεῖκος (episode) is taken *from* the οἴμη of the Trojan war, at a certain point along its 'Liedergang'. Hence, Phemios' plea in Book 22 is based (insofar as it depends on his possession of οἶμαι) on the fact that he knew the story cycles of many different sagas, i.e. that he was in possession of a full or very extensive range of epic stories.

Moreover, it is much more plausible that an οἴμη in our sense can have κλέος reaching up to the sky, and the fact that the poet specifies κλέος with the temporal τότε is then explained by the general observation which Telemakhos makes about heroic song: τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι, | ἥ τις ἀκουόντεσσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται (1.351-2). The newest songs - at least for the internal audience - are obviously drawn from the Returns and Trojan War, 'whose fame at that time reached up to the broad sky'. This raises some difficult questions, for if the οἴμη is a technical term with the precise meaning we have identified, then how would poets relate these two groups of stories? Are they from the same or different οἶμαι? Moreover, since the legends of Mykenai or the Theban tales would have to intersect at some point with the οἴμη of the Trojan war, how could they be fixed on their own path?

However, the significance of the οἶμη is not to be ascribed to some hypothetical position within a rigid vocabulary of Homeric self-reference. It is to be doubted, in the first place, whether the ἀοιδοί had such a concrete and precise conception of their art.[17] Instead, the notion of the οἶμη is one of interrelationship, that is, a traditional sense evinced by our texts of their place within the body of Greek heroic legend.[18] Whether two poets would have used the same or even a discrete term for this relationship is unimportant,[19] for the tradition expressed itself with a metaphor which represented and facilitated communication between the levels of heroic song. That certain bodies of legend could be linked with others is rather fortuitously provided for by the metaphor of the 'path', for in this way the sum of heroic legend consists of a series of interlocking pathways for the poet to travel along.

This 'locational' conception of poetic activity may also be applied to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* themselves, both far more sophisticated and elaborate structures than the songs they depict. Each poem begins with a 'proem' which gives the topical statement (*Il.* 1.1; *Od.* 1.1; item 3) accompanied by a small description of that theme (*Il.* 1.2-5; *Od.* 1.1-9):[20]

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17 cf., e.g., Finkelberg 1998, which is based upon a rigidly artificial dichotomy of 'responsibility' and 'non-responsibility' in Homeric poetics.

18 Hence, the verb μετάβηθι in *Od.* 8.492 does not demand that we think of the οἶμη as either one path / theme or many interrelated ones, simply that movement between song paths is a traditional way of conceiving of the poet's business; the most successful poets will be those capable of the most movement over the most paths. This sense can also be seen in the way in which the *Iliad* poet, particularly, appropriates many other topics and episodes within the Trojan οἶμη in order to increase its own claims to comprehensiveness; cf., most recently, Finkelberg 1998.

19 For Hesiod, who does not use the term, but evinces the same sensibility, cf. below, n. 23.

20 The authoritative typological study of the *prooimion* in early Greek poetry is Lenz 1980, though his argument, esp. pp. 61-2f., that the *Odyssey's* proem presupposes literacy, is based upon an outdated, artificial and overly restrictive definition of oral mutability.

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληιάδεω Ἀχιλῆος, οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί' Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκεν, πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄιδι προΐαψεν ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι, Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.	3. Topic / Episode
Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε· πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω, πολλὰ δ' ὅ γ' ἐν πόντωι πάθεν ἄλγεα ὃν κατὰ θυμόν, ἀρνύμενος ἥν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἑταίρων. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς ἑτάρους ἐρρύσατο, ἱέμενός περ· αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρηισιν ἀτασθαλίηισιν ὄλοντο, νήπιοι, οἳ κατὰ βοῦς Ὑπερίονος Ἠελίοιο ἤσθιον· αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσιν ἀφείλετο νόστιμον ἦμαρ.	3. Topic / Episode

Then the poet enters the story with a partitive marker (*Il.* 1.6; *Od.* 1.10) of the type exemplified at *Od.* 8.76 and 8.500, signalling the commencement of the narrative at the place where the poet chooses (item 4):

ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε Ἀτρείδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς κτλ.	4. Starting Point
τῶν ἀμόθεν γε, θεὰ θύγατερ Διός, εἶπε καὶ ἡμῖν ἔνθ' κτλ.	4. Starting Point

There is a clear awareness that the current song, however ambitious and inclusive, is only a part of a greater epic continuum; the audience is introduced to the topic and then told at which precise point in the larger story the present narrative begins. In the light of this sensibility, however, one might ask why it is that the proems are lacking an explicit statement of the first two levels of song enumerated above.

Firstly, of course, the depictions of epic performance in the *Odyssey* are expressed indirectly and contained within a text which constructs many different types of singing and musical performance,[21] and the poet therefore signals with phrases such as κλέα ἀνδρῶν exactly which type of song the singer in each case is performing. The proems to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are direct performances which require no such typological differentiation. Secondly, only the first of Demodokos' performances is explicitly located along an οἶμη at its commencement, and so, where no such statement is made (presumably in the majority of cases in direct performance), the information which locates the song on that level is contained within the introduction to the song.

This is precisely what we see in the topic descriptions of both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad*, for instance, the audience is informed that the topic is to be the wrath of Akhilleus, which killed many Akhaian heroes, and was the result of a quarrel between Agamemnon and his greatest warrior. This information can only serve to inform the audience that this story is drawn from the Trojan war. Similarly, the poet of the *Odyssey* is at pains to point out that he is concerned with Odysseus' story ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε (2) and so with his νόστον (5),[22] while the rest of the description until verse 9 further directs the audience as to the general content of the performance. In each case, the description of the topic directs the audience to the οἶμη from which the story is taken.[23]

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21 cf., for a brief sketch, Thalmann 1984, pp. 117-8.

22 on the νόστος or 'return song', cf. Lord 1960, ch. 8; Frame 1978; Slatkin 1996; Foley 1999a, ch. 5.

23 cf., e.g., Kirk [1985] ad *Il.* 1.1f., pp. 51-3; S West [1988] ad *Od.* 1.1ff., pp. 67-73; Latacz [2000] ad *Il.* 1.1f., pp. 11-27. Of course, one could from here continue into an extensive discussion and comparison of the narrative strategies we find in other pieces of early Greek hexameter poetry, to support the contention that the ἀοιδός viewed his song as a constituent of a broader group of such

Therefore, the idea of the οἴμη is central to the traditional conception of the epic text, but not because it is a somewhat remote, extra-performative level of the song, the general background against which the current instantiation is constructed. This is no doubt true, and the process has been well summed up by Thalmann:[24]

> [N]o matter how small the scale of the performance, the members of the audience would understand what they heard in relation to the larger whole, which was always present to their minds, though not necessarily consciously. From a lifelong habit of listening to such

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songs. To a certain degree, this is an obvious conclusion, but our focus is here on Homer, the word οἴμη does not occur outside the *Odyssey*, and the interpretation we have argued here is one particularly well-suited to heroic epic, the other surviving examples of which are far from extensive. Furthermore, the notion of the epic song-path has been so well documented by other authors that a discussion of greater scope than this preliminary sketch would be a purely quantitative addition.

Nonetheless, we may note the same progression of specificity in Hesiod *Theogony* 104-115, *after* the 'formal' προοίμιον in which Hesiod delivers a hymn to the Muses (1-104). The poet requests the Muses' aid in an invocation which denotes epic song on the broadest level (χαίρετε τέκνα Διός, δότε δ' ἱμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν [104]; item 1) before narrowing the performance to song about the gods (κλείετε δ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰὲν ἐόντων [105]; ~ item 2), who are then defined by means of a relative clause, a typical means of expansion and definition in epic *prooimia* (οἳ Γῆς ἐξεγένοντο καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος, | Νυκτός τε δνοφερῆς, οὓς θ' ἁλμυρὸς ἔτρεφε Πόντος [106-7]). Then the poet states his current topic (εἴπατε δ' ὡς τὰ πρῶτα θεοὶ καὶ γαῖα γένοντο | καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος οἴδματι θυίων | ἄστρά τε λαμπετόωντα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν· | ὥς τ' ἄφενος δάσσαντο καὶ ὡς τιμὰς διέλοντο | ἠδε καὶ ὡς τὰ πρῶτα πολύπτυχον ἔσχον Ὄλυμπον [108-113]; item 3), and finally his starting point (ταῦτά μοι ἔσπετε . . | ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ εἴπαθ' ὅτι πρῶτον γένετ' αὐτῶν [115]; item 4). Obviously, the οἴμη equivalent of theogonic poetry is not simply analogous to that of heroic poetry, in which the οἴμη concerns a grouping of similar stories around a focal point, such as the 'Trojan War' or the 'Returns' etc. However, each level performs the same function, i.e. further defining the division of ἀοιδή to be performed before the precise theme is introduced, in the former case by restricting the narrative to the gods, in the second to heroic narrative concerning a certain event and so, implicitly, to men. Each presupposes a larger body of song from which the current performance is to be drawn.

Interestingly, the other descripton of bardic performance in the *Odyssey*, Demodokos' song of Ares and Aphrodite, entirely lacks an οἴμη description altogether, moving straight from the broad description (ἀείδειν [8.266]; item 1) to the topic (ἀμφ' Ἄρεος φιλότητος ἐυστεφάνου τ' Ἀφροδίτης [8.267]; item 3) and then its starting point (ὡς τὰ πρῶτα ἐμίγησαν κτλ. [268f.]; item 4). In certain cases, there is simply no need for differentiation, though one might argue that perhaps, because this narrative is concerned solely with the gods, there is no need for an οἴμη level.

[24] Thalmann 1984, p. 124.

> performances, they would know, on each occasion, the place of the episode within the poem, and of the poem within the traditional body of poetry.

However, the metaphor of the path reveals a much more pervasive aesthetic phenomenon. Based as it is upon the repetition of a finite number of structural units (of every size), the traditional style of composition itself constantly locates every one of its elements within a scene, an action, a sequence of actions and so on - all the way up until each piece is placed firmly within the Trojan War or the Returns, and the entire semantic puzzle is assembled before the audience. In simple terms, if any individual topic has its own place along the path, then the events comprising that topic, and the units which combine to make that topic, must also be located on the οἶμη.

In other words, οἶμη may be a key to our understanding of Homeric narrative technique, for its directional function places individual pieces within a larger whole, and it is only within this complex that any single element will be endowed with its full meaning. Thus we can see that the 'song-path' embodies the locational techniques which the Homeric text constantly provides to its audiences, standing at the very centre of its semantic strategies.

It remains to summarise this rather rambling excursus on οἶμη, and to locate it within the program of this thesis. We have seen that the metaphor of the path originates on a level between the continuum of the κλέα ἀνδρῶν and the programmatic topic statements with which an individual epic performance opens. This level, it has been argued, is known (to the poet of the *Odyssey* at least) as the οἶμη, a metaphor for heroic song whose sensibility

is diffused through Homeric narrative in many ways. Though we find the term explicitly applied to the song only on a super-performative level, the existence of the οἶμη can best be explained by a 'locational' aesthetic which operates on every level of the narrative. On this interpretation, the poet and audience together experience the performance, progressing along the path as it is realised. A more practical definition and demonstration of this aesthetic is the subject of the next section.

II. Traditional Referentiality and Homeric Poetry

In this section of the Introduction, it will be argued that a locational awareness or 'traditional referentiality' lies at the centre of the way in which the Homeric poems generate meaning.[1] In a sense, this represents a particularly oral aesthetic,[2] the necessity or even desirability of which sits ill with what appears to be the current *communis opinio* on this point:

> Impressive as this large body of work has been on its own technical ground, I am perhaps not alone in feeling disappointment at the amount of light it has shed on the poems themselves. (Griffin 1980, p. xiii)

> [B]ut the real answer to the call for a distinct, non-literary, oral poetics is that no such thing is necessary. . So much has the tide turned, in fact, that the onus is now on oralists to demonstrate that there is any significant way in which the status of the *Iliad* as an oral-derived text precludes or limits the application of familiar interpretative strategies. (Cairns 2002, p. 53)

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1 The term 'traditional referentiality' is that of J. M. Foley; cf. below, p. xxf. Though it is in some ways easily reconcilable with certain strands of modern literary theory (particularly reader reception theory), it seeks to reconstruct the reception of the text by the audience as originally envisaged within the tradition of recomposition in performance, and so is fundamentally incompatible with those methodologies; cf. further below, pp. xxix-xxx, & xxxi n. 40.

2 The call for such a new approach to Homeric poetics was advanced particularly by J. A. Notopoulos; cf. e.g., Notopoulos 1949.

The body of work to which both these quotes refer is that which has continued the investigations of Milman Parry and Albert Lord into the oral and traditional nature of Homeric poetry.[3] Debate in these terms over the merits of the oral theory[4] is partially a matter of historical necessity, because a great deal of initial research was required into the compositional process of Homeric versification from this new perspective, elucidating in a technical manner the units of which the poetry is comprised. Perhaps naturally, these descriptive works were taken to deny altogether the more usual 'literary' criticism which many felt the need to defend or reassert, and Classical scholarship was understandably chary of a theory which seemed to remove the guiding hand of the first master of narrative from the beginnings of European literature, principally by denying the semantic significance of traditional structure.[5]

In this way, criticism focused principally on the reductionism implied by the oral theory, though attempts to address serious critical problems with the oralist perspective are frequently vitiated by grave misapprehensions about its aims and results. For example,

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[3] This group is so large, and its production so fruitful, that any listing here would be more notable for its exceptions and limitations than anything else. The most recent series of bibliographical articles are those of Edwards 1986a, 1988 & 1992, though several of the more notable authors will be mentioned by name in what is to follow.

[4] The term as a convenient shorthand; there is, of course, no single theory, but a series of observations; cf. Janko 1998b.

[5] cf., e.g., Calhoun 1935 for an early objection, and the response in Parry 1971 [1937], pp. 414-8; cf. also Austin 1975, *passim* but esp. p. 3: "[t]he old way of being an Analyst was to argue that Homeric times were too primitive to produce anything but an assemblage of folk lays, superficial in concept, crude in execution and value. The new mode was to ascribe the assemblage to a single composer, but one limited to simple paratactic thoughts and endless repetitions of those simple thoughts, all strung together in simple paratactic metrical units devised through the centuries for the very purpose of being strung together in crude assemblages."

oralists are most often held to account today for the inferential portrait of a simple or primitive bard who 'improvises' freely:[6]

> Kein 'literarischer' Dichter ist nach ihm (Lord) Homer gewesen, sondern vielmehr ein improvisierender Dichter. (Schadewaldt 1974, p. 531)

> It is hard to see how such finely crafted speeches could be produced by fresh improvisation each time . . . If any elements at all were worked on outside the performance itself, then more than improvisation is involved. (Thomas 1992, p. 36f.)

Though Lord has repeatedly attempted to correct the impression that his work demanded or even called for an improviser,[7] this misapprehension is emblematic of current Homeric scholarship. Of course, the fault for the conceptual gulf between the oralists and 'scripsists'[8] does not lie wholly or even mostly on the latter side. It was encouraged by impassioned calls for an oral poetics which denied absolutely the validity of more

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6 The impossibility of improvisation is usually then denied by invoking the dubious argument from quality, followed by the inevitable observations about Homeric superiority over all other known examples of oral poetry; cf., e.g., Lesky 1979 [1954], esp. p. 306; in reply, cf. Foley 1999a, p. 41.

7 cf. Lord 1991, p. 76f., for his final, and apparently unsuccessful, attempt to correct the widespread impression that his work implies or demands improvisation; cf. also Janko 1998b. Though he stressed the performance as the instant at which the text is realised, Lord never denied the actuality or necessity for practice and revision of the song outside this context. Singers he interviewed constantly made the point that they would practice and perform the same songs for many, many years, refining them and their skill as time passed; cf. Lord 1960, p. 21f. Practice was particularly necessary before the singer had learned the craft fully, but extra-performative revision was frequently the case when singers were learning songs from other singers, and would habitually require a day or so in order to be able to reproduce the song. This was not inevitable, as shown by the story of Mumin Vlahovljak and his recitation, in the presence of Avdo Mededovic, of a song which the latter had never heard, *Beciragic Meho*. Mumin's version ran to 2,294 verses, whilst Avdo's version, which followed immediately without the opportunity for reflection, ran to 6,313; cf. Lord 1991, p. 68f.

8 The term was coined by Taplin 1992, p. 36.

traditional methods,[9] and became epitomised in the now somewhat stale controversy over metrical necessity *versus* contextual significance, in itself only the most focalised form of the tradition *versus* invention wrangle (cf. below). Indeed, negative implications seemed for so long to be the only real contribution of oral theory work that a reaction of some sort was inevitable, and welcome. Thankfully, early extremity became tempered in the course of subsequent debate and dispute, and the acceptance of an oral background to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, of some sort, is no longer the armed and hungry barbarian it was once assumed to be.[10]

Precisely how - or indeed if, to judge from Cairns' statement - that background is to be related to our texts is the essence of the problem, one not ameliorated by the obscurity surrounding their genesis. A common approach is to think in terms of the 'tradition' versus 'invention' dichotomy: everything repeated is inherited or traditional, everything unique an individual addition to the text, a touch of the original genius.[11] This is artificial, for the poet's deployment of traditional material must necessarily be as much an indication of individual bardic ability as, for example, the construction and placement of

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9 cf., e.g., Combellack 1959, p. 208: "[t]he hard fact is that in this post-Parry era critics are no longer in a position to distinguish the passages in which Homer is merely using a convenient formula from those in which he has consciously and cunningly chosen *le mot juste*. For all that any critic of Homer can now show, the occasional highly appropriate word may, like the occasional highly inappropriate one, be purely coincidental - part of the law of averages, if you like, in the use of the formulary style."

10 Reviews and histories of oralist research may be found, *inter al.*, in Hainsworth 1968, pp. 1-22; A Parry 1971, pp. ix-lxii; Foley 1988; Russo 1997. Balanced criticisms and reformulations of early weaknesses are to be found esp. in Hainsworth 1968; Foley 1999a, pp. 39-45; Sale 1996, Sale 2001.

11 cf., e.g., Bowra 1930, p. 1: "[i]t is now possible to take the *Iliad* as we have it and to consider it as poetry, and particularly we may try to distinguish in it those elements which belong to the traditional epic art and those which seem to betray the hand of the creative poet"; cf. also, e.g., Schadewaldt 1974, who well represents the 'Homer transcends oral poetry' school.

the similes, which have often been studied and admired for their 'personal' touches or unique characteristics.[12]

Nonetheless, the idea was encouraged by occasions on which the poet's choice of expression seemed actively to militate against its context, where he seemed to be forced into error by the dead weight of tradition.[13] Many critics appealed with a shrug of the shoulders to the principle that *quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*, invoking the inevitably inferior semantic qualities and capabilities of an oral culture.[14] Thus, Homeric poetry is in some sort of eternal dispute, the individual fighting with the traditional to make the sense which a more reflective author, with literate methods of revision at his disposal, could easily have achieved.

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[12] cf., e.g., Thalmann 1984, p. 38: "[t]o oppose artistry to useful compositional habit is misleading . . Certainly the good poet will be a master of his material, however traditional it is, and will use it creatively. But whatever his intentions are, he arranges that material in ways consonant with his own and his listener's modes of thought." One of the positive features of traditional referentiality is that it collapses this divide between tradition and invention, or structure and meaning, because every instantiation of a traditional work of art must necessarily be both at the same time.

[13] An example of this type of explanation is to be found among the many opinions concerning the duals in the embassy in Book 9 of the *Iliad*; cf. Hainsworth [1993], pp. 86-7, for a review. As the sixth alternative, Hainsworth starts from the reasonable position that other mentions of embassies (1.327ff., 3.205ff., 11.756ff.) all use two members on the mission. Thus, the poet would have easy recourse to a series of ready-made phrases for the actions involved on an embassy: "[f]ailure to adapt theme to context is observed in genuine oral poetry, when the generic (and traditional) form overrides the requirement of a specific context, but it is not a conspicuous characteristic of the Homeric poems. Where themes are confused, narrative illogicality is more likely to be the result. . . Such confusion is either unnoticed by the audience or - and this would be the case with the Homeric epics - is quietly tolerated, for the acceptability of a text depends on its *auctoritas* as much as its intelligibility."

[14] One of the first applications of this principle was made by Parry when dealing with so-called metrical irregularities in certain Homeric lines, which he saw were caused by the use of a traditional expression in a new context; cf. Parry 1971 [1928], pp. 191-239. Such 'errors' have also been traced on the level of the type scene; cf. Gunn 1970 & 1971.

This is a rather limited and limiting way of dealing with the texts, giving little credit either to the poet or his audiences.[15] However, contextual relevance need not be a stick with which to beat the ἀοιδός, but an important guide to the meaning of any given element, for it is only by its relationship to other elements in the narrative line that it can be understood. On the most basic level, it makes no sense for a hero to shoot an arrow when he has no bow, of course, but this is not precisely what I mean. Instead, we should proceed from the realisation that Homeric poetry is characterised on every level by an aesthetic of repetition, because it is constructed of a large but finite number of repeated units.[16] Context becomes significant, because the repetition of these units breeds an association which adds a connotative level of meaning to the denotative level represented by the story pattern, typical scene, action or expression itself. As Kirk has said:[17]

> [E]ach of these accustomed phrases, as it is dropped from the listener's consciousness, is clustered with the heroic past, ennobled rather than staled by its archaic associations, and thick with echoes of other contexts, other heroes, other actions in other islands, under the impulse of other but still familiar gods.

A straightforward example of this connotative level of meaning may be found at *Iliad* 20.280ff., where Aineias stoops to pick up a stone in the middle of his combat with

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15 It would be foolish to deny that errors ever occur, and Janko 1998b has made them the cornerstone of his defence of Lord's theory of dictation; cf. below p. xxviii-xxix. Equally, one would be unwise to assume error as the best or swiftest explanation for every textual or interpretative difficulty.

16 This does not of course preclude the creation of new units, whether *e nihilo* on the analogy of traditional units or from the recombination of those elements.

17 Kirk 1976, p. 6. He was not attempting an early formulation of traditional referentiality, but speaking of "a quite individual poetical gain in this ability to re-create traditional language, something beyond the negative virtue of reproducing a perfected phraseology without loss." The easy alignment of this attitude with our current one is evidence of the way in which Foley's theory represents not a break with previous Homeric scholarship, but in many respects its continuation.

Akhilleus. Up until this moment, the poet has gone out of his way to ensure that there be no doubt in the audience's mind about the outcome of any combat which Akhilleus is likely to have, now that he has rejoined the fray, and indeed the opening of the encounter has not gone well for Aineias. However, the stone is usually a decisive weapon for the person grabbing it, and it is such a common motif that the audience would associate the act of *airesis* with a coming Trojan victory.[18] This is a surprise, an associative conflict, created deliberately by the poet in order to cause excitement and uncertainty in an audience at the moment of performance. We do not hear it, for we are not trained to, but it is the purpose of this thesis to argue that we should be so trained.

The referential nature of traditional poetry has been elucidated primarily by the comparativist J. M. Foley, who has worked extensively on the Old English, South Slavic and Ancient Greek song traditions, but it builds upon the inferences and directions set by many others. Starting from the impasse between contextual relevance and metrical utility in Homeric scholarship, Foley stresses the traditional nature of these poetries as an aid, above all, to meaning:[19]

> If traditional phraseology and narrative are conventional in structure, then they must also be conventional in their modes of generating meaning. . . structural elements are not simply compositionally useful, nor are they doomed to a "limited" area of designation; rather, they command fields of reference much larger than the single line, passage or even text in which they occur. Traditional elements reach out of the immediate instance in

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[18] cf. below on 8.320-9, pp. 158-61, for a discussion of this motif.

> which they appear to the fecund totality of the entire tradition, defined synchronically and diachronically, and they bear meanings as wide and deep as the tradition they encode.
>
> Traditional referentiality, then, entails the invoking of a context that is enormously larger and more echoic than the text or work itself, that brings the lifeblood of generations of poems and performance to the individual performance or text. Each element in the phraseology or narrative thematics stands not simply for that singular instance but for the plurality and multiformity that are beyond the reach of textualisation.

This approach does not rely upon the conscious intention of the individual author, for "a traditional work depends primarily on elements and strategies that were in place long before the execution of the present version or text, long before the present nominal author learned the inherited craft."[20] At the same time we cannot deny such a figure or such a role, for it is only through the mediative skill of that singer, responding to the individual factors governing the generation of the song, that the audience is exposed to its referential potential. These performance factors will necessarily have an impact on the song's traditional referentiality, just as they do on its size or subject matter, and so, given our ignorance about the circumstances in which the song came into being, it makes little sense *a priori* to deny an authorial reaction to them. Consequently, in this thesis we shall not insist on exclusive attribution to either poet or tradition, because the text must simultaneously represent the symbiotic interdependence of both.

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[19] Foley 1991, pp. 6-7. Parry's insistence on the latter quality of these expressions has proven to be one of the most contentious and frequently attacked points of the Parry-Lord approach; cf., e.g., Shive 1987.

[20] Foley 1991, p. 8.

The challenge, therefore, is to detect the traditional quality of the 'element'[21] through the semantic significance of its context, not as something which the author or singer must combat in order to make sense, but as an informative source of associative meaning which he will use to involve the attention of an audience as they listened to songs whose outlines they knew from a lifetime of experience. Thus, Homeric poetics operates within a creative dynamic between *denotative* and *connotative* levels of signification. The connotative or associative level provides the audience with intimations about the element which are not clear from its denotative or lexical meaning alone. With this duality, we come as close as we ever will to the experience of an Archaic audience hearing the poetry unravelled before them. Without it, our understanding or reception of the text is necessarily defective, because we fail to hear all there is to hear.

A good example of our intellectual mortality, and so an ideal opportunity to provide the reader with a detailed exemplification of our method before we begin, is to be found within Phoinix's presentation of the Meleagros paradigm in Book 9 of the *Iliad*, and specifically the way in which he closes the tale and relates it to the current circumstance (597-605):

> ὣς ὃ μὲν Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἀπήμυνεν κακὸν ἦμαρ
> εἴξας ᾧι θυμῶι· τῶι δ' οὐκέτι δῶρ' ἐτέλεσσαν
> πολλά τε καὶ χαρίεντα· κακὸν δ' ἤμυνε καὶ αὖτως.
> ἀλλὰ σὺ μή μοι ταῦτα νόει φρεσί, μηδέ σε δαίμων
> ἐνταῦθα τρέψειε, φίλος· κάκιον δέ κεν εἴη
> νηυσὶν καιομένηισιν ἀμυνέμεν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δώροις
> ἔρχεο· ἶσον γάρ σε θεῶι τίσουσιν Ἀχαιοί.

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[21] On the definition of this term, and its ramifications for the scope of the enquiry, cf. below, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

εἰ δέ κ' ἄτερ δώρων πόλεμον φθεισήνορα δύηις,
οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς τιμῆς ἔσεαι πόλεμόν περ ἀλαλκών.

The point of the tale seems clear enough: rejoin the battle now, and you will receive the gifts just as Meleagros did not. Thus τιμή will be assured. The expression εἴξας ὧι θυμῶι (598) seems not to fit very well in this context, as Hainsworth has noted: "[i]t is . . not very felicitous that the climax of the parable should be 'yielding to his θυμός' when the point of Phoinix's discourse is 'overcome your θυμός' (496)."[22] However, when we compare this denotation with the significance of the expression's contextual association, which we can only detect through an examination of its other occurrences in Homeric epic, the problem disappears:[23]

[1] *Il.* 9.109-10 (109-11)

σὺ δὲ σῶι μεγαλήτορι θυμῶι
εἴξας ἄνδρα φέριστον, ὃν ἀθάνατοί περ ἔτισαν,
ἠτίμησας·

[2] *Il.* 9.598 (597-9)

ὡς ὁ μὲν Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἀπήμυνεν κακὸν ἦμαρ
εἴξας ὧι θυμῶι· τῶι δ' οὐκέτι δῶρ' ἐτέλεσσαν
πολλά τε καὶ χαρίεντα·

[3] *Il.* 24.42-3

ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ ἂρ μεγάληι τε βίηι καὶ ἀγήνορι θυμῶι
εἴξας εἶσ' ἐπὶ μῆλα βροτῶν, ἵνα δαῖτα λάβησιν.

[4] *Od.* 5.126 (125-7)

ὡς δ' ὁπότ' Ἰασίωνι ἐυπλόκαμος Δημήτηρ
ὧι θυμῶι εἴξασα μίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῆι
νειῶι ἐνὶ τριπόλωι·

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[22] Hainsworth [1993] ad loc., p. 139.

[23] There is of course an issue here, as to the extension of the audience's knowledge or familiarity with the epic *Kunstsprache* in these referential terms. We shall address this below, p. xxixf.

The actions so qualified have two constant features, beyond the fact that they fall in character-speech:[24] (a) it is either explicit or implicit that the action is actually or potentially harmful to the agent, and (b) the agent is fully aware of that fact at the time of undertaking the action. In case [**1**], Nestor tells Agamemnon that, though he had already been warned of its consequences, he proceeded in his unwise behaviour towards Akhilleus. Agamemnon's reply recognises his error and the damage it has caused, before expressing his eagerness to make amends.

In case [**3**], Apollo compares the savagery of Akhilleus with that of a lion who is brought necessarily into hostile contact with men by his desire to feed on their flocks. This is a frequent means of encounter between men and beasts in simile narratives and, though it need not end in the death of the aggressive animal, it is very risky; cf., e.g., 15.586-8 (of the fleeing Antilokhos), 17.108-12 (of the retreating Menelaos) etc.[25] The comparison well expresses the intractability of the hero who acts even to his own detriment, as Apollo goes on to threaten.

Finally, in case [**4**], during Kalypso's short list of goddesses who have chosen mortal lovers to the detriment of the latter, the expression refers to Demeter's decision to associate with Iasion. Kalypso is complaining of the male gods' sexual jealousy in these

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[24] cf. esp. Griffin 1986 and, most recently, de Jong 1997, for the differentiation between narrator and character speech.

[25] cf. further Janko [1992] ad 15.586-8, p. 291, for more parallels and discussion, where he says that "subjective narrative from the animals' viewpoint enter other similes"; Moulton 1978, p. 114, with regard to our current simile: "[i]t is almost as if the lion may be conceived as having better instincts, which would sometimes restrain him." That beasts should be assumed to have at least some conception of the danger is not unlikely, given the anthropomorphism we find elsewhere in the *Iliad*, e.g., the team exhortations by the charioteer introduced by the expression ἵπποισιν ἐκέκλετο; cf. below on 8.184-90, pp. 97-9.

matters and, though Demeter is not personally harmed by Zeus' subsequent action against Iasion, one may presume that the goddess knew the likelihood of her act's consequences for her mortal lover or, at the very least, that Kalypso is depicting the situation in this way in order to complain of Zeus' well-known preclusive attitude in this regard.[26]

Thus, when Phoinix uses the expression εἴξας ὦι θυμῶι in *Iliad* 9, he refers not to the fact of Meleagros' return, but to the actual harm he has knowingly incurred, through the lack of gifts and honour.[27] The participle refers πάλαι, ὅτε ὠργίζετο, οὐ νῦν, ὅτε ἤμυνεν (Σ bT), and is applied to precisely the type of damage which Phoinix is trying to persuade Akhilleus to avoid (cf. esp. 9.601-5), as the rest of verse 589 itself makes clear (τῶι δ' οὐκέτι δῶρ' ἐτέλεσσαν). There is, as we can see, no contradiction or difficulty with the use of this expression in this parainetic context.[28] Moreover, and importantly, the speaker hereby raises, however obliquely, the spectre of Akhilleus' responsibility for the harm which his recalcitrance here will inevitably incur - the death of Patroklos.

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[26] The other example of such a union in Kalypso's speech, that between Eos and Orion (121-4), is similarly negative. The danger of human intercourse with a goddess, though not a universal element in such tales, is also represented in, e.g., the story of the cruel trick on Eos and Tithonos at *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 281-8; cf. Allen & Sikes [1904] ad *Hom. Hy. to Aphr.* 188, p. 213; Allen, Halliday & Sikes [1936] ad loc., pp. 363-4; Boedeker 1974, p. 64f.; Càssola [1975], p. 232; Smith 1981, p. 125, n. 77; Sowa 1984, pp. 39-43; cf. also below on 8.199, p. 104 n. 235, for intimations about the importance to Zeus of sexual control over the other gods. Of course, Odysseus himself seems to be in no such explicit danger, but the consequences for our interpretation are minor, for speakers often 'mould' their paradeigmata in order to press home their case; cf., in general, Willcock 1964 & 1977; also Boedeker 1974, pp. 70, 71f.

[27] On the ability of the aorist participle to refer to prior action in Homer, cf. Chantraine 1953, § 278, p. 188: "[a]illeurs, le participe aoriste peut exprimer une action antérieure: I 216" etc. This interpretation necessarily divorces the phrase from the preceding μέν clause, but participial εἴξας functions as a quasi-finite verb at 24.42-3 (case [3] above): ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ ἆρ μεγάλῃι τε βίῃι καὶ ἀγήνορι θυμῶι | εἴξας εἶσ' ἐπὶ μῆλα βροτῶν, ἵνα δαῖτα λάβῃσιν; cf. Macleod [1982] ad loc., p. 91; Richardson [1993] ad loc., p. 281.

[28] This is precisely the conclusion reached by Griffin [1995] ad loc., p. 140, but his reasoning is revealing: "[t]he parallel at 109 suggests that this means 'after yielding to his anger', sc. and refusing to fight, rather than that he now gave way to his own impulse and not to the prayers of his wife, a distinction which has no point." In other words, Griffin feels himself compelled to interpret

In this way, an apparently incongruous individual element resonates beyond its individual occurrence to attract a source of associative meaning which not only removes the aesthetic difficulty, but adds considerably to the force of the paradigm. In some sense, then, Notopoulos' call for an 'oral' aesthetic has been answered, but it must be stressed that the themes revealed here are not incompatible with or undetectable by more traditional means of interpretation.[29] Far from it. As we shall see on several occasions throughout the commentary, all of the themes detected in Book 8 have been well elucidated by the distinguished line of scholars, of all methodological inclinations, who have turned their attention to this section of the narrative. The only substantial difference is that our interpretation sees these themes as they are realised in the course of a dynamic narrative, which in fact allows us to see them all the more clearly. We shall also find several occasions where Book 8 raises themes whose presence elsewhere in the poem has been seen to have great significance, but which have not often (or at all) been noted by other commentators with regard to this section. Thus, not only do we see themes more clearly, but we find them in places where their presence has not usually been suspected.

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the expression in this way in order merely to make sense of it. The avoidance of absurdity does not deserve such prominence in Homeric interpretation.

[29] This is evident both from the quotation of the bT scholiast ad loc., and Griffin's evaluation of the same phrase; cf. above, n. 28. The essential contiguity between the two approaches, which is only natural given that literate culture represents a progression from oral culture, is well brought out by Foley 1991, p. 4, n. 9, answering the same criticism from Griffin we quoted above, p. xiv: "[i]n what follows I hope to show (1) that the kind of approach Griffin champions and the perspective from oral tradition are not wholly incompatible and in fact overlap and reinforce one another at many points, and (2) that traditional referentiality adds significantly to (rather than detracts from or mars) what we customarily think of as the literary quality of the Homeric epics and other oral-derived works."

It is with the tracing and elucidation of these associations that we will be concerned in this commentary, but in this we find a number of pitfalls and objections which must be addressed before we begin. The first concerns the referential homogenity of the *Dichtersprache*. Given that there were many different poets using the epic dialect, is it safe to assume that every poet's deployment of the referential potential of a common element would be the same or essentially similar? This can only be answered by taking a number of shared features and subjecting them to the same treatment we gave to the εἴξας ὦι θυμῶι unit above, a task which would itself require a separate major work. Thus any answer offered here is provisional but, where such comparison has been required in the current work, the referential potential is the same.[30]

The referential pool of this thesis has been confined in the first instance to the *Iliad*, adducing the *Odyssey* and other early epic poetry only when the *Iliad* did not supply three examples of the requisite unit, a number chosen according to the minimum criterion of typicality in Bernard Fenik's work on the battle scenes.[31] The limitation was proposed largely for convenience, but it does not vitiate the validity of the demonstration, for the

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[30] As was intimated in our comparison of the 'goddess-mortal' theme adduced above, pp. xxiv-xxv; cf. Sowa 1984 for a comparison of the ways in which our surviving texts of early Greek hexameter poetry deploy a common tradition of story patterns, and M Lord 1967 particularly with regard to the wrath theme in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. For specific examples of referential similarities, cf. below on 8.28-32 (32), pp. 14-17 [**13/5**]; 8.38-40 (38), pp. 17-18 [**14/4**] & [**14/5**]; 8.147-50 (147), pp. 80-1 [**59/4**]; 8.170-1 (171), pp. 90-2 [**69/4**]; 8.198-9 (199), pp. 102-5 [**78/4**] - [**78/6**]; 8.217-20 (218), pp. 116-19 [**85/4**] - [**85/11**]; 8.292-9 (294), pp. 151-5 [**110/4**] & [**110/5**]; 8.361-2 (362), pp. 176-8 [**125/6**]; 8.397-9 (397), pp. 185-7 [**128/7**]; 8.423-5 (423), pp. 192-3 [**133/3**]; 8.432-7 (437), pp. 195-7 [**136/3**] - [**136/8**]; 8.457-68 (460), pp. 204-5 [**142/3**]; 8.469-72 (470), pp. 205-6 [**143/5**] & [**143/6**]; 8.473-7 (477), pp. 206-9 [**145/3**] - [**145/8**]; 8.553-9 (559), pp. 233-7 [**164/4**] - [**164/6**]. Of course, the ideal situation is one in which we have several texts of the same genre etc., to compare. This is the situation currently prevailing in the study of Southslavic song, on which Foley promises a truly comparative edition replete with *apparatus fabulosus*; cf. Foley 1999a, pp. 256-62, for an example applied to Homer, and Foley 2002 for one applied to the Southslavic Return Song.

[31] cf. Fenik 1968, p. 5.

Iliad represents a source pool of sufficient size for reasonable comparison. Admittedly, the narrowing of the focus may obscure or possibly completely hide the referential potential of some elements, but scholarship widely believes in the possibility that later hexameter texts copy Homeric usage rather than giving evidence of independent instantiations. Thus, we shall avoid the risk of including untraditional material which appears traditional.[32]

In addition, though neither the presentation nor methodology of this thesis depend upon this belief, it is possible that the *Iliad* represents a relatively untypical example of Archaic hexameter poetry, the usual scale of which can be gleaned from the poems of Hesiod, the *Homeric Hymns*, the *Shield of Herakles*, not to mention the depictions of performance in the *Odyssey*.[33] The precise manner in which the *Iliad* was composed and recorded is beyond us, but the hypothesis of oral dictation seems likely,[34] which removes the poet from the specifically 'small-scaling' requirements of oral performance.[35] Thus, just as Avdo Mededovic was asked by Milman Parry to sing for the purposes of dictation the

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[32] However, the specifically and consciously Homeric dependence of later hexameter texts has been perhaps unduly emphasised; cf. esp. Janko 1982. The *a priori* assumption that Homeric poetry represents the norm of oral poetic composition in the Archaic period seems to have led us to treat other poetry from the same period as post-Homeric, both diachronically and qualitatively, and then to relate that impression to the growth or decline of oral poetry.

[33] cf. Kirk 1962, p. 274f.; Schadewaldt 1965, pp. 66-86; Thalmann 1984, pp. 113-56; Finkelberg 1998 on these depictions of performance.

[34] cf. Lord 1953; Janko 1998b.

[35] There is no assumption here that the large scale performance and composition is impossible within a purely oral tradition, which is of course related to the argument from quality (cf. above, n. 6) and has been severely criticised by Taplin 1992, pp. 22-44; Foley 1999a, p. 42. The fact that, on a specific request from Milman Parry, Avdo Mededovic produced a 12,311 verse version of the *Wedding of Smailagic Meho* testifies conclusively to the fact that a purely oral tradition is well able to produce monumental songs. Lest anyone think, as has been often asserted, that only writing makes monumentalism possible, Avdo sang another song, this time for phonograph recording, which amounted to 13,326 verses; cf. Lord 1991, p. 96f. The scale of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is not an argument against an oral provenance, and the belief given here about the oral dictation theory does not underpin the current methodology.

longest song he could, so the *Iliad* could be the result of an 'idealised' performance situation, in which the poet cannot react to the usual range of performative factors and so composes with a projected audience in mind, one able to hear the maximum possible range of referential indicators in the song - in effect, an audience made up of infinitely patient fellow poets, who have no temporal or physical constraints to impose upon the performance.[36]

Another important objection to traditional referentiality, methodological and practical, concerns the extent to which the audience was aware of the traditional idiom. It may, firstly, be doubted whether language actually works in the metonymic or associative manner we have proposed. One can do no more than to point to the numerous authors working on other oral traditions, and drawing methodological support from reception theorists like Wolfgang Iser and Hans Jauss for their portrayal of language in these terms.[37] However, one must be careful to distinguish these theoretical positions from the current one, because the type of meaning we are arguing for depends primarily on the undeniable fact of the audience's great familiarity with the poets and their poems, and is a specifically pre-literate semantic strategy. Admittedly, referentiality both *specific* (individual texts) and *conventional* (generic features of a series of such texts) is to be found everywhere in ancient or, for that matter, modern narrative art. Graham Greene's *Monsignor Quixote*, for example, makes much more sense to someone who has read Cervantes than to someone who hasn't. An archaic Greek audience, by contrast, was unable to rely upon a prior version in the same way that, for example, Roman audiences

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[36] cf. esp. the discussion of Lord 1991, p. 47f.

could draw upon the cultural significance as well as the narrative action of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in order to understand the polyphonic nature of the *Aeneid*.[38]

Traditional referentiality, conditioned within a culture which lacks these fixed points of reference, does not rely upon a single dominant configuration, and so is predominantly non-contextual or generic. This is not to say that more specific referentiality is an invention or exclusively characteristic feature of literate culture, for Homeric poetry does call upon story cycles which have achieved some level of narrative fixity, and even upon other actions or elements within its own parameters. There is, therefore, a basic continuity between oral and literate semantics, and we would be quite wrong to preclude the possibility of this more specific type of referentiality.[39]

With regard to the intimately related question of the audience's practical nature, it must be readily acknowledged, without asserting Verallian duality, that some of the associations we can recover would not have occurred to every audience, let alone every audience member. This is, however, not an objection one can direct against the author's intention to generate that meaning, whether we wish to imagine the idealised

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37 The reader is readily referred to the discussion of these works, on which I am no expert, in Foley 1991, pp. 38-60.

38 The fundamental work on Vergil in this regard is Lyne 1987.

39 Indeed, the tracing of such explicit intra-textual links has been a major concern of Homeric scholarship particularly in the German tradition, whether in trying to prove the authenticity or otherwise of passages marked by such features (as, e.g., Wilamowitz 1916, von der Mühll 1952, van Thiel 1982 on the Analyst front; cf. the reply in Schadewaldt 1966), the priority of these passages according to the narrative's essential requirements (as, e.g., Reinhardt 1961), the incompatibility or otherwise of oral composition with a sophisticated series of such 'Fernbeziehungen' (as Reichel 1994; cf. also Bannert 1988, di Benedetto 1994). Whilst this activity is fundamentally at odds with the basic assumptions and methods of oralist research, we shall find that the close reading of these authors is often very illuminating, and not necessarily irreconcilable with our investigation. However, we are concerned in this thesis with trying to outline the workings of generic or traditional

performance locus of which we have been speaking or not.[40] Furthermore, whilst we have no direct evidence that there ever was such an attuned or homogenous audience, the scarcity of externally verifiable evidence in this period makes it just as uncertain that there wasn't. The texts' silence on this point is *non liquet*, for it is exceedingly doubtful that such a sense of audience reception would be particularly articulated in a tradition lacking any differentiating system. For Archaic hexameter poetry, it is simply the natural symbiosis of composition and reception, the realisation of the οἴμη. Familiarity thus plays an enormously important role, for these audiences spent a great deal of time listening to such stories and singers (though we should not assume that hexameter poetry was the only form of such narrative), and the memory or cognitive potential of a pre-literate audience should not be underestimated, as Taplin has reminded us:[41]

> Memory has become gravely degraded in Western culture, even more so with the escalating advances of audio-visual aids and information technology. But just because our depleted minds find it impossible to imagine such a huge and complex feat of memory without the use of scriptural aids, that does not mean it was impossible.

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referentiality - which is, of course, the necessary precursor to 'intratextual' referentiality. We shall therefore avoid discussion of phenomena which could be classed as such.

[40] On a more theoretical level, one might wish to distance "the 'authorial audience', the audience to which the text actually addresses itself, and the 'narrative audience', the one for whom the text would be true, the one which knows exactly what the text itself takes for granted and does not already know what it explains": Scodel 1997, p. 201. Though superficially attractive, the differentiation is I think unhelpful in the case of a pre-literate textual mode, for it refers primarily to the conveying of new information, not to the reactivation of the old. A cinematic analogy is useful here: a film critic will appreciate a film on many more levels than an untutored member of the public who is unfamiliar with either the author's other work or the medium of cinema as a whole. We assert that this type of knowledge, i.e. the critic's greater fluency in cinematic 'grammar', for want of a better word, is required when we interpret the poetry of Homer. The author will not necessarily compose with the least fluent member of his audience in mind, but the text's ability to accommodate the broadest possible audience will make it the most successful.

[41] Taplin 1992, p. 36. Minchin 2000 focuses upon memory as a constituitive factor in the construction of the narrative structures of Homeric poetry, but makes little mention of it in terms of the audience's capabilities.

Though Taplin was here talking about the composition of a monumental text, the observation naturally has a broader application. Of course, all of these arguments for and against traditional referentiality are theoretical, extrapolations from other fields and disciplines about the way in which language works, the hypothetical possibilities of audience reception, and so on. The only real proof, as far as one can hope to prove such a thing, must be the demonstration itself, the "accumulative weight of the evidence, and for this the reader will have to wait until he has read a fair amount of analysis."[42]

With some of these more general objections to one side, it is perhaps time to offer a brief elucidation of the parameters of the enquiry.[43] Our focus is any 'unit' in Homeric poetry on any level of the narrative, all the way from story patterns (such as 'Withdrawal of the Hero'), to sequences of action ('Fluchtphasen'), episodes ('Assemblies'), motifs (e.g., 'the stone as weapon') to individual expressions (e.g., those for speech introduction). As one can see, the vocabulary for these units is of a particularly diverse nature, and I have not used the problematic terms 'formula' and 'theme'.[44]

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[42] Fenik 1968, p. 5.

[43] A guide to the method of presentation is to be found at the end of the Introduction, just before the commentary itself.

[44] I have also deliberately avoided discussing the proper noun-epithet systems. This may at first sight seem a rather startling omission, given the prominence - indeed pre-eminence - of these systems in oralist research. However, there is simply not the space in this thesis for the required examination, for these systems cover such a wide range of actions as to need a separate treatment of their own, conducted with an eye *both* to the individual *and* the action. Moreover, as the associations bred by context is in this thesis the object of research, the noun-epithets may well require another method of elucidation; cf. Lowenstam 1993, pp. 44-5, on 8.91-7: "[b]oth (the epithets for Diomedes and Odysseus, one of which [βοὴν ἀγαθός (91)] is applied to Diomedes and is generic, the other [πολύτλας (97)] applied to Odysseus and distinctive) are fixed and, as Parry I would say, only appear in this passage by chance (their metrical utility); but the reason that such epithets so often seem fitting or striking is that great artistry was placed into their creation. As a result, specific passages are enriched by their effective use and suggestiveness even though that was not the primary meaning for their placement here." Should the current demonstration of traditional

The objects of the enquiry need not be formulaic, in the narrow sense(s) determined by previous scholarship, but rather of sufficient similarity and integrity in order to strike the impression of an audience during a performance. This may appear at first sight too subjective, too great a relaxation of structural rigour, but it is conditioned by both theoretical and practical considerations. It is for example unreasonable to expect an audience to differentiate between expressions on purely metrical grounds, for their impression of similarity will necessarily be more flexible than a researcher poring laboriously with the aid of a concordance and a written text. Rigid categorisations merely describe the poetry from a compositional rather than a semantic perspective. Hence, there is no fundamental differentiation made in this thesis between the types of unit, and no adoption of a (further) specialised terminology for them.

A final point concerns the advantages and disadvantages of Book 8 for the current work. The κόλος μάχη was selected because it represents within a fairly short compass all the actions of a full day of battle which the poet is free to generate over many thousands of verses. Thus this section provided for the maximum number of elements within the minimum number of verses, meeting happily the compromise requirements of a DPhil thesis. However, the shortened nature of the book has often been invoked to explain the variation to which it is subject in the most ancient sources,[45] and so matters of textual

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referentiality be considered cogent, then the noun-epithet units will be one of the pressing tasks for research from this perspective.

[45] cf. Chantraine 1934, p. 282, although he was more concerned was to demonstrate that the 'secondary' nature (secondary, that is, in the opinion of other critics, ancient and modern) of a number of passages in the first 52 verses of this book cannot be held to render them inauthentic; cf. also S West 1967, p. 12f., 75.

criticism become an important part of the commentary,[46] though we restrict the discussion - once again because of space - to matters which would actually affect the referential conclusions about any given passage.

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[46] This thesis employs as its base text of the *Iliad* M West [1998-2000], and his MS sigla; for reviews and replies, cf. Slings 1999, Janko 2000, Nagy 2000, M West 2001a, M West 2001b. Generally, external evidence will not be considered more important than internal evidence, given our uncertainty about the early transmission, its representation in the sources available to the Alexandrians, and their methods in using those sources; cf., e.g., Bolling 1925; van der Valk 1963-4; di Luzio 1969; Nickau 1977; Apthorp 1980; Lührs 1992; Janko [1992], pp. 20-8; Haslam 1997; M West 2001a. For the *Odyssey*, we use van Thiel [1991]; for Hesiod, M West [1966] & [1978]; for the *Hymns*, Allen [1912].

The presentation of the evidence is conducted on the following basis. In the main text of the commentary (in 12 point type) we provide a summary of the referential curve of a certain portion of text, the extent of which will vary according to the number of significant elements we can locate. The smaller text beneath each such passage (in 11 point type) sets out the evidence of the *comparanda* with discussion and full citations. This presentation in itself requires some patience. Each referential element is identified with a list number (set out in red bold type, e.g. **[1]**), and then each example is itemised (set out in black bold type, e.g. **[1]**) with its citation, thus:

> Days: **[1]** 16 examples: **[1]** 1.1-52, **[1a]** 1.53, **[2]** 1.54-476, **[3]** 1.477-87 (477), **[3a]** 1.488-92, **[4]** 1.493-2.47 (1.493), **[5]** 2.48-7.380 (2.48-9), **[6]** 7.381-432 (381), **[7]** 7.432-82 (432), **[8]** *8.1-9.713/10.579 (8.1)*, **[9]** 11.1-18.355 (11.1-2), **[10]** 19.1-23.108 (19.1-2), **[11]** 23.109-225 (109-110), **[12]** 23.226-24.3 (226-8), **[12a]** 24.3-30 (12-13), **[13]** 24.31-691 (24.31), **[14]** 24.692-783 (695), **[14a]** 24.784, **[15]** 24.785-7 (785), **[16]** 24.788 *ad finem* (788).

Where we have been obliged to use examples from the *Odyssey* or other early hexameter poetry, we set out the number of non-Iliadic examples in round brackets before the citations begin, thus:

> τ[ὴν] δ' ἐπιμειδήσας: **[11]** 3 examples (2): **[1]** 4.356, **[2]** *8.38*, **[3]** 10.400, **[4]** *Od.* 22.371, **[5]** *Hom. Hy. to Apollo* 531.

Furthermore, where reference is made elsewhere in the thesis to that list or an item therein, we combine the two in such a way as to differentiate visually the element number from its example number (e.g. **[1/1]**). Footnotes are, therefore, reserved primarily for reference to previous scholarly work, and secondarily for textual discussions.[1]

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[1] Where citations are enclosed in {}, this means that there is serious textual suspicion directed against the passage. Space has restricted our discussion to only those cases where some difference would be made to the passage in Book 8 itself.

1-52 The preparation for battle on the divine plane, consisting of dawn (1), a divine assembly (2-40), and Zeus' journey to the battlefield (41-52).

1 The narrative opens with the breaking of dawn in a form (ἠὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν [1]) signalling a development from a preceding nocturnal episode to introduce or motivate the narrative of the coming day. The episode here is the thundering of Zeus during the previous night, and the fear instilled in both armies (7.478-9f.).[1] His aggressive attitude is then taken up in the assembly which follows (8.2f.), and so the poet's choice of expression represents a progression from this theme into the day's action. However, the prior episode is noticeably smaller than other such passages, and it is more usual for these expressions to be introduced by a two-verse description, emphasising the bringing of light to gods or mortals.[2]

Days: **[1]** 16 examples: **[1]** 1.1-52, **[1a]** 1.53, **[2]** 1.54-476, **[3]** 1.477-87 (477), **[3a]** 1.488-92, **[4]** 1.493-2.47 (1.493), **[5]** 2.48-7.380 (2.48-9), **[6]** 7.381-432 (381), **[7]** 7.432-82 (433), **[8]** *8.1-9.713/10.579 (8.1)*, **[9]** 11.1-18.355 (11.1-2), **[10]** 19.1-23.108 (19.1-2), **[11]** 23.109-225 (109-110), **[12]** 23.226-24.3 (226-8), **[12a]** 24.3-30 (12-13), **[13]** 24.31-691 (24.31), **[14]** 24.692-783 (695), **[14a]** 24.784, **[15]** 24.785-7 (785), **[16]** 24.788 *ad finem* (788).[3]

There are three categories of dawn in the *Iliad*; (a) after a period of indefinite time, in the form ἀλλ' ὅτε // γένετ' ἠὼς | καὶ τότε (as in **[4]**, **[13]** & **[15]**; also 6.175, in the story of Bellerophon); (b) after the commencement of a ritual action (usually a funeral) to signal the return to social normality, in the form ἦμος | τῆμος (as in **[3]**, **[7]**, **[12]** & **[16]**);[4] (c) our current category, after a motivating episode during the night, introduced either by μέν | δέ (*aut sim.*) or δέ | δέ (*aut sim.*) (as in **[5]**, **[8]**, **[9]**, **[10]**, **[11]** & **[14]**). Not every day is opened by an explicit description of dawn (as

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1 cf. esp. 7.479 (τοὺς δὲ χλωρὸν δέος ἥιρει) and below on 8.69-77 (77), pp. 38-40 [28/1].

2 cf. Macleod [1982], pp. 47-8.

3 Examples of indefinite time are denoted in this list with an (a), the citations in brackets being the expressions for dawn itself; cf. Taplin 1992, pp. 17-18; Latacz [2000]a, p. 151f.

4 cf. also on 8.66-9 (68-9) below, pp. 36-8.

in [1] & [2]), and periods of indefinite time are also mostly so unmarked (as in **[1a]**, **[3a]**, **[14a]**; *contra* **[12a]**). Moreover, there are at least two descriptions of dawn which do not fit precisely into our triple scheme; cf. **[6]** (ἠ͡ώθεν), and **[12a]**. This last is a singular example of dawn occurring *within* a period of indefinite time, underlining once again the unusual behaviour and nature of Akhilleus. No other indefinite period before a 'lapse of time' dawn is accorded any temporal frames - morning, noon, night etc. The poet also devotes much more space to this passage as he leads into the resolution dawn of **[13]** than any other description of indefinite time.

Dawns (μέν | δέ): **[2]** 6 examples: **[1]** 2.48-9 (1/5), **[2]** *8.1* (1/8), **[3]** 11.1-2 (1/9), **[4]** 19.1-2 (1/10), **[5]** 23.109-10 (1/11), **[6]** 24.695 (1/14).[5] From its deployment at the start of each of the four battle days, it would be tempting to say that this dawn is used for the most prominent or fully elaborated complete days of action; the day of the funeral games **[1/12]** is not introduced by a dawn of this type because this event takes place on the second day of a funeral rite and marks the transition of the group from grief to social re-integration through the performance of a communal activity.[6] Hence the poet uses a dawn of category (b). On the other hand, this category is employed for days whose events are not so prominent as, e.g., the first day of Patroklos' funeral **[5]**, which comprises a little over one hundred verses.

The defining feature of these expressions is the nocturnal episode preceding them: **[1]** the devising of the Dream by Zeus (2.1-47); **[3]** the Trojan and Greek assemblies, the embassy to Akhilleus, and the *Doloneia* (8.489-565 / 9.1-668 / 10.1-579); **[4]** the fashioning of the arms (18.355-617); **[5]** Patroklos' shade (23.1-108); **[6]** the ransoming of Hektor (24.352-694). Notice also that the poet is wont to use herein forms of the adjective παννύχ[ι]ος to denote a continuing context against which that action is expected, or that action itself.[7]

This single verse provides the audience with several important indications about the coming narrative. From the content of the prior episode they intuit that the day is to be defined by the hostility of Zeus towards the mortal agents, while from its size and the relatively brief description of dawn itself they infer that the battle is to be attenuated in

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5 cf. Kirk [1985] ad 2.48-9, p. 119.
6 cf. Edwards 1986b.
7 cf. below on 8.553-9 (554), pp. 233-7.

some way.[8] Finally, the form of the expression itself hints that the battle, whilst in many ways perhaps not as prominent as that of other such days, will still represent an important stage in the development and progression of the *Dios Boule*. The audience is thus prepared for the scale but not yet the precise nature or purpose of the fight to come.

2-40 The characters enter the narrative with Zeus summoning the gods to an assembly (2-40), a familiar event at the start of a new day, but only one of two major types of 'consultation' pattern (*agore* and *boule*), in which an issue is presented in front of an audience and a determination reached which will govern the course of that group in the ensuing narrative.

These sequences may be categorised by their inception, for a consultation may occur *ab initio*, i.e. the poet describes the entire course of the assembly from gathering to dissolution, or it may be introduced by a transitional device, usually the arrival of a character or the common observation of an action. The current scene is an example of the *Agore ab initio*, the category whose examples are generally the largest and most complex, used to mark the more important moments in the narrative, and (within the battle days) falling either at the beginning of a day and so prolepsis for the battle to follow, or at its end with an eye towards the events on the next day. Determinations in the *agorai* of this type are therefore often concerned with more than the simple fulfilment of an immediate order for the next episode.

Agorai ab initio: **[3]** 12 examples: **[1]** 1.53-305, **[2]** 2.50-399, **[3]** 3.76-120 || 245-327 || 449-61, **[4]** 7.55-205, **[5]** 7.345-80, **[6]** *8.2-40*, **[7]** 8.489-542, **[8]** 9.9-79, **[9]** 18.243-313, **[10]** 19.40-

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[8] Thus, even though we can observe a break in the narrative after the end of Book 7, the epic itself blurs these moments by its progressive strategies, as Taplin 1992, p. 286, well notes. The relationship between the poem's narrative segments and its book-divisions is one of the many controversies in Homeric scholarship, and the bibliography is predictably large; cf., e.g., S West 1967, pp. 18-25; Goold 1977; Nicolai 1973; van Sickle 1980; S West [1988] p. 33-48, esp. p. 40 n. 19; Taplin 1992, p. 285ff.; Richardson [1993], pp. 1-14; Stanley 1993, pp. 36-7, 249-61; de Jong 1996; Heiden 1996; Jensen 1999; Heiden 1998; Heiden 2001. The choice of Book 8 for this current work should not be taken to imply faith in the book-divisions, on which we plead agnosticism and spatial limitation.

276, [**11**] 20.4-32, [**12**] 24.32-77 || 108-120; [**3**] and [**12**] are interrupted in their course, with other episodes and arrivals being inserted into the sequence (similarly with [**5/6**] below); indeed, one might also include the despatch of Iris at 24.143-59 in [**12**]. It is perhaps another sign of this pattern's structural priority, that the poet is prepared to use this form as the backbone of an extended sequence of narrative. *Agorai* transitional: [**4**] 12 examples: [**1**] 1.12-34, [**2**] 1.533-606, [**3**] 2.786-808, [**4**] 4.1-72, [**5**] 5.367-430, [**6**] 5.867-908, [**7**] 7.381-412, [**8**] 7.413-7, [**9**] 7.443-64, [**10**] 8.438-83, [**11**] 15.79-150, [**12**] 22.167-86.[9]

Boulai ab initio: [**5**] 8 examples: [**1**] 2.53-86, [**2**] 7.313-44, [**3**] 9.89-173, [**4**] 10.194-253, [**5**] 10.299-332, [**6**] 14.27-134 || 363-78, [**7**] 22.369-94, [**8**] 23.35-54. *Boulai* transitional: [**6**] 3 examples: [**1**] 9.669-711, [**2**] 10.540-65, [**3**] 15.281-300.

Of all these patterns, we may note that *agorai* are generally of greater complexity and scale than *boulai*, the same relative difference holding between *ab initio* and transitional patterns. It should also be noted that the majority of consultation patterns fall within the four battle days, with only [**4/1**], [**3/1**], [**4/2**], [**4/7**], [**4/8**], [**4/9**] & [**4/12**] located outside. The *ab initio agorai* are usually used to introduce events of greater moment in the course of the poem: [**3/1**] is the locus for the great quarrel between Akhilleus and Agamemnon; [**3/2**] introduces the catalogue and the first of the four major days of battle; [**3/8**] eventually leads into the embassy and serves to introduce the battle on the following, long, day; [**3/9**] (on the preceding night), [**3/10**] & [**3/11**] together serve as the final consultation before the great *aristeia* of Akhilleus, whilst [**3/12**] sets in train the ransom of Hektor. Transitional *agorai*, on the other hand, are linked with less important episodes; the initial declaration of Zeus' refusal to let Here interfere in his plans [**4/2**]; the oath-breaking at the start of Book 4 [**4/4**]; the wounding of Aphrodite and Ares [**4/5**] & [**4/6**]; the acceptance of the truce on the Greek and Trojan sides [**4/7**] & [**4/8**]. This statement is true even of the pattern which dispatches Athene to the field to finish the final combat [**4/12**].

The proleptic function of these patterns, which is of course related to our last point, is obvious: [**3/2**], [**3/6**], [**3/10**] & [**3/11**] foreshadow the developments of the current day, [**3/5**], [**3/7**], [**3/8**] & [**3/9**] those of the next. Outside the battle days, [**3/12**] is concerned with both the current day and the next. By contrast, transitional *agorai* show greater flexibility in their placement within the day: [**4/1**], [**4/2**], [**4/4**], [**4/5**], [**4/8**], [**4/9**] & [**4/11**] occur at an indeterminate time, [**4/3**] & [**4/7**] in the morning, and [**4/10**] in the evening. It should also be noted that the

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[9] cf. Arend 1933, pp. 116-21; Lord 1960, pp. 146-7; Nagler 1974, pp. 121-30; Tsagarakis 1982, pp. 100-3; Bannert 1987; Latacz [2000]b ad 1.54, pp. 47-8.

freedom of movement from battlefield to Olympos and one camp to the other, which is a general quality of transitional *agorai*, becomes increasingly impossible as the narrative progresses, accounting for the fact that only two of its examples are found after the end of Book 8 **[4/11]** & **[4/12]**, as the battle from hereonin moves on increasingly predetermined lines. The gods are expressly forbidden to intervene (though their obedience is grudgingly gained), whilst the gathering bitterness in the battle removes the avenues of communication between Trojans and Greeks. Of course, this is not a limit on the prolepsis of these patterns; the determination of the *agore* in which Akhilleus and Agamemnon come to grips **[3/1]** is immediately directed towards the propitiation of Apollo, but obviously proleptic for the entire poem.

These observations should not obscure contextual influences. Formal gatherings for the participants are generally impossible during the course of the battle, and so any decisions taken must occur within consultations of the transitional variety, unless the fighting itself is halted (as in **[3/3]** & **[3/4]**). More usually, therefore, major decisions are taken by the groups before or after battle - hence the dominance of *ab initio* patterns there, where the poet has the leisure to treat them as separate events worth narration in their own right. Furthermore, the gods are generally assumed to be in a semi-permanent state of assembly on Olympos, thus accounting for the great number of transitional *agorai* allotted to them, although they too seem to take major consultations at morning or night (as in **[3/6]**, **[4/10]**, **[3/11]** & **[3/12]**).

Boulai are restricted mainly to the Greeks (except **[5/5]**), and so they inevitably play a lesser role in the poem's complex of consultation. They are smaller, their prolepsis generally is confined to an immediate episode, and they tend not to be associated with major consultative cruces in the course of the narrative. The exception to this latter quality is the *boule* which introduces the embassy **[5/3]**, another sign of the Greeks' great disturbance, for major decisions concerning the army's fortunes are generally taken in front of that group. In this case, the assembly which precedes the *boule* **[3/8]** serves merely to show the incapacity of Agamemnon to make the decisions required by the situation. A further, more limited pattern is therefore needed to make the connection between Agamemnon's inabilities and Akhilleus. Of course, the two initial *boulai* within Book 10 **[5/4]** & **[5/5]** serve as the opening frames for the *Doloneia*, and as such are analogous in function to the two *agorai* which open the first day of battle **[3/2]** & **[4/3]**, being employed in their place because the army has already been dismissed to bed at the end of Book 9. The *ab initio* variety are all used as episode initiators and usually fall at night (as in **[5/2]**, **[5/3]**, **[5/4]**, **[5/5]**, **[5/7]** & **[5/8]**); **[5/1]** occurs in the morning, **[5/6]** & **[5/7]** during the day. This is due

to their close connection with *agorai* of this sort: **[5/1]** occurs within *agore* **[3/2]**; **[5/2]** falls directly after the end of the duel, during which the Greeks and Trojans (who had gathered at **[3/4]** for the duel) remain assembled; **[5/3]** is directly consequent upon **[3/8]**; **[5/4]** and **[5/5]** are obviously a doublet, and connected spatially to the previous transitional *boule* **[6/1]**. The three examples of the transitional variety may open or close episodes and have no particular position within the day: **[6/1]** closes the Embassy (night), **[6/2]** the *Doloneia* (night), and **[6/3]** introduces the final phase of fighting at the ships (day).

2-3 Zeus summons the *agore* and the poet describes the place where the assembly is held (2-3), before Zeus delivers the first speech, the almost invariable practice in those *agorai* explicitly summoned by a particular character; this equivalence has an association of authority, in that the problem posed by the summoner, or the proposal made in his first speech, usually carries the day. Thus, when Zeus speaks, the audience knows not only that the substance of his speech is the pertinent problem towards which the pattern's determination is to be directed, but also that the tone set within it will dominate the scene.

All consultation patterns may be conveniently tripartitioned into (a) introduction, in which the gathering is set up, (b) *contio*, in which the problem is debated and a determination established, and (c) resolution. Locus is described in six of the twelve examples (in **[3/3]**, **[3/5]**, **[3/6]**, **[3/7]**, **[3/9]** & **[3/11]**), whilst summoning is deployed in nine examples (in **[3/1]**, **[3/2]** twice, **[3/3]**, **[3/4]**, **[3/6]**, **[3/7]**, **[3/8]**, **[3/10]** & **[3/11]**). There is no particular significance in the association between these two.

However, the equation of summoner = first speaker is a powerful indication of authority: Akhilleus' concern with the plague and its remedy dominates the first half of **[3/1]**, with the proposition of Kalkhas and Agamemnon's grudging assent amounting to the determination; Agamemnon dominates at least the first half of **[3/2]**; Hektor's proposal of duels at the start of **[3/3]** and **[3/4]** sets the narrative's precondition until the acceptance of the challenge, as do his commands for the night in **[3/7]**, and Akhilleus' renunciation of his wrath **[3/10]**. Exceptions to this general rule gain their significance precisely because of it: **[3/11]** Zeus is interrupted by

Poseidon before he can speak, who asks about his purpose and resumes the undercurrent of conflict between them which has dominated much of the narrative between Books 13 and 15.[10] This example does not, nonetheless, undermine the summoner's authority, as the poet does in **[3/8]**, where Agamemnon's first proposal of flight is contradicted outright by Diomedes. The importance of this scene is underlined by the almost unprecedented nature of Diomedes' action at this pivotal determinative moment (cf. also **[5/6]** for a similar situation in a *boule*).

Zeus' threatening attitude is important in a number of ways. Firstly, it is typical of his relationship with the other gods in these consultation patterns. They are an unruly mob, constantly threatening his hegemony and authority, and interchanges reflect a tension which is always present, though expressed in varying ways and to different degrees. In fact, the determinations of divine consultations are all concerned in some way with the statement of his authority. Secondly, threats are common in consultations, and generally a powerful directive force in the progress towards a determination, although this is the only time that a threat is not delivered as a response to another figure's initial speech, and so its unheralded qualities would strike an audience as unmotivated in the immediate context.[11] Thus, they infer that his absolutism is to be prominent, that the hostility and

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10 cf. esp. 15.173ff.; cf. also below on 8.41-52, pp. 21-5 [17/4]; also on 8.292-9 (292), pp. 151-5 [109/32]; also on 8.397-9, pp. 185-93 [130/17]; also on 8.409-25 (398-425), pp. 189-92 [132/16].

11 On the depiction of Zeus' power in general as the head of the 'household', I would only partially agree with the view of Willcock [1978], ad loc., p. 260: "Zeus has difficulty controlling his family . . This often makes him angry, and he blusters and threatens to use physical force. So now, having threatened he will hit them, he suggests a trial of strength, a celestial tug-of-war. The scene is simple-minded, primitive and comic." On the contrary, the threat of violence here is very real, and later on only just averted, but Willcock's interpretation is typical of the way in which scholarship deals with these events. The aggression which Zeus shows here does seem unmotivated but, as we shall see, the poet is drawing upon the referential potential of both Here and Athene within the framework of the Succession Myth in order to emphasise the almost cosmological importance of the current *Dios Boule*; cf. below on 8.199, p. 104 n. 235 and 8.357, pp. 173-6, 173-4 n. 127; also M West 1997b, pp. 370-1, for Near Eastern parallels. Schäfer 1990, p. 62, has understood this speech perfectly: "[d]er aggressive Charakter seiner Rede erklärt sich also auch aus der Besonderheit der Situation: Zeus ist sich bewußt, daß er alle Kräfte aufbieten muß, um seinen Plan erfolgreich in die Tat umzusetzen."

recalcitrance of the other gods is to continue to play its habitual role, but also that the reasons behind that attitude are to become clearer over the course of the narrative.

The following patterns are all marked by divine conflict in some way: **[3/6]**, **[3/11]**, **[3/12]**; **[4/2]**, **[4/4]**, **[4/5]**, **[4/6]**, **[4/9]**, **[4/10]**, **[4/11]**, **[4/12]**. In the final divine *agore* **[3/12]**, Zeus plays the role of mediator between Apollo and Here, and his tone is mollifying; in **[4/12]** his initial playfulness is immediately countered by Athene. The theme of divine conflict is, as we shall see, an informative constant in this section of the poem.[12]

Here is directly threatened by Zeus in **[4/2]**, **[4/4]** and **[4/10]** (with Athene), whilst she turns messenger of this theme in **[4/11]**; **[4/5]** Zeus confirms Aphrodite's exclusion from the battle; **[4/6]** Ares is abused and warned for his participation; **[4/9]** Poseidon is dissuaded from the need to interfere in the construction of the wall; the second-last divine assembly **[4/12]**, is still concerned with teasing the other gods (and specifically Athene) over the pattern he has seemingly and finally relented to. Only at the dawn of the great *aristeia* of Akhilleus, once the *Dios Boule* has been fulfilled and the hero arisen, does Zeus actually reverse this state of affairs by explicitly speeding them into the battle **[3/11]**. Even here, the simmering hostility which has been evident throughout the poem between Zeus and the other gods is represented obliquely by Poseidon's opening question, and consequent interruption of the 'summoner = first speaker' tendency.[13]

The power of the threat itself is represented by the audience's response: silence (as in, e.g., **[3/6]** 8.28-9, **[4/10]** 8.484), fear (as in, e.g., **[4/1]** 1.33, **[4/2]** 1.567-8) or unexpressed acquiescence (as in, e.g., **[4/6]** 5.898ff., **[3/9]** 18.312-3). The speaker is never immediately or automatically disregarded or disobeyed, except when Agamemnon and Akhilleus freely exchange threats and abuse in **[3/1]**.

5-6 Zeus' opening appeal for attention (κέκλυτέ μοι [5]) is typical for the first offering in *agorai* of this type, and noteworthy in three respects. Firstly, it is proper to speeches introduced by this formula that the speaker is a figure of particular authority, and that his commands be enacted or agreed upon immediately. Secondly, he is deluded in some, not

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[12] cf. below on 8.199, p. 104 n. 235; also on 8.357, pp.173-6, 173-4 n. 127.

necessarily but usually indirect, way about the ramifications of his proposal. Thirdly, the immediately ensuing verse (ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει [6]) is added in order to foreshadow the audience's strong reaction of conflict or consternation as a result of the proposal's substance; moreover, the reaction in each case is predictable as a likely result of his speech.[14] Zeus is well aware that his demands will engender great dissatisfaction amongst the other gods.

κέκλυτέ μοι: **[7]** 11 examples: **[1]** 3.86 (3/3), **[2]** 3.97 (νῦν καὶ ἐμεῖο) (3/3), **[3]** 3.304 (3/3), **[4]** 3.456 (3/3), **[5]** 7.67 (3/4), **[6]** 7.348 (3/5), **[7]** {7.368} (3/5), **[8]** *8.5* (3/6), **[9]** 8.497 (3/7), **[10]** 17.220 (*sine* μοί), **[11]** 19.101 (3/10). The last two are not directly relevant to the consultation patterns, although **[11]** is contained in Agamemnon's long story about Zeus and Ate, and is thus set within a gathering of the gods in that story.

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[13] cf. above on 8.2-3, pp. 6-7.

[14] There are serious textual doubts over 8.6, which is omitted in a range of early papyri (Π 593 [s. ii-iii a.C.], Π 675 [s. i. a.C.], Π 17 [s. ii], Π 197 [s. ii-iii]) and MSS (A [s. x], D [s. xii], W [s. xiii] & V [s. xiii]), but contained in others (Π h64 [s. iii]; MS D^2). There are only three occasions where the verse is universally attested (7.68 [7a/1], 7.349 [7a/2] & 19.102 [7a/4] *cum* ἀνώγει), but it is also at least partially attested in four others (3.86a [7/1], 3.304a [7/3], 7.369 [7/7] - and of course 8.6 [7/8] | [7a/4]), all of which are either omitted or bracketed in the majority of modern editions. If we deal first with the secure attestations, the verse ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει follows κέκλυτέ μοι introductions when the proposal itself is not accepted or refused, being of the sort that the speaker could reasonably expect such a reaction. This connotation is lacking in the κέκλυτέ μοι speeches which have no attestation of the following verse at all (as in [7/2], [7/4], [7/9] & [7/10]): [7/2] Menelaos simply accepts Paris' challenge; [7/4] Agamemnon urges the Trojans to act in accordance with their oaths. The poet intimates that a settlement could have been reached, but Zeus is induced to intervene at the start of Book 4; [7/9] Hektor issues his instructions knowing that they will be fulfilled (as again in [7/10]).

Referential analysis would thus support the absence of the verse from 3.304a [7/3], where Priam states his intention to return to Troy, and 7.369 [7/7], in which Priam's instructions to Idaios are carried out the next day, though the offer which he orders Idaios to convey will be only partially accepted. One could argue that the poet is here preparing the audience for the Greek refusal of the proposed partial restitution, but the proximity of 7.349 [7a/2] would be an obvious temptation to concordance interpolation. I would also doubt the attestation at 3.86a [7/1], because the offer is almost immediately accepted, though once again the crowd's initial reaction makes the case less clear. However, Menelaos would not be considered *prima facie* an inferior warrior to Paris, and the refusal or reluctance of the audience would not be expected. In our case, 8.6 [8], Zeus must expect dissatisfaction at his statements here, but hardly downright refusal, given his naked threats. Nonetheless, the parallel of [7a/1] is conclusive: just as Hektor expects the Greeks to quail in fear, so Zeus knows that the gods will not openly flout his authority. Thus I would argue for authenticity for 8.6 alone of the doubtful attestations.

Where the proposal is not carried out, the narrative suffers a deliberate disjunction for a particular effect: **[1]** Hektor proposes a duel (immediately accepted); **[2]** Menelaos accepts the proposal (which thus becomes the determination of that section of the *agore*); **[3]** Priam informs the audience of his intention to return to Troy (immediately fulfilled); **[4]** Agamemnon proposes the fulfilment of the obligation (*not* fulfilled, but reversed only by divine intervention). These four examples all occur within the same *agore*, and are a progressive commentary on the delusion on both sides, who believe that decisions they take can affect the immediate outcome of the war or avert the destruction of Troy. In the last case, the disjunction is rendered by a divine intervention: Agamemnon's κέκλυτέ μοι makes it clear that this is precisely what should have happened, although he too is mistaken in the belief that such a process could bring an end to the war. The other examples also reveal the same sort of delusion: **[5]** Hektor offers another duel in the belief that he will be able to kill a major Greek hero; **[6]** Antenor proposes restitution and peace, but is rejected by Paris and another κέκλυτέ μοι speech **[7]** is then generated, this time for Priam; **[9]** Hektor expresses his hopes for the course of the battle tomorrow;[15] **[10]** Hektor's appeal to the allies seeks the capture of Patroklos' corpse, and reminds the allies of more long term considerations, in both of which he is deluded; **[11]** Zeus, clearly intending Herakles, is deceived by Here into granting authority to Eurustheus.[16]

ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι [κελεύει]: **[7a]** 4 examples: **[1]** 7.68 (7/5), **[2]** 7.349 (7/6), **[3]** {8.6} (7/8), **[4]** 19.102 (ἀνώγει) (7/11). The speaker expects the audience's consternation: **[1]** Hektor's proposal is clearly predicated upon his belief that he will kill his opponent, or at the least won't die during the encounter. The Greeks also hold his opinion, and it takes a lengthy rebuke from Nestor to make them accept his challenge; **[2]** Antenor's speech will obviously denude Paris of much of his *time* and *kleos*, and the latter's angry reaction is therefore not at all unexpected; **[4]** Zeus' infidelities are a constant theme in the poem, and indeed the foundation of his continued rule amongst the Olympians.[17] That Here should be miffed at the announcement of Herakles' imminent birth and powerful honour is part and parcel of their relationship.

10-22 This intimation of error and conflict is continued by the threat itself, for expressions of its form (ὃν [δ' ἂν] ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε | νοήσω [10]) are always followed by an enumeration of

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15 cf. below on 8.497-541, p. 218ff.

16 cf. below on 8.362-9, pp. 178-81 [126/11].

shocking consequences of disobedience, again where the speaker is deluded about the action which he seeks to control. Thus, Zeus' own 'Mißverständnis' is clear, but so is the determination with which he will impose the *Dios Boule* upon the story, for he closes the initial, non-specific threat (10-17) with a comparison of his superiority (γνώσετ' ἔπειθ', ὅσον εἰμὶ θεῶν κάρτιστος ἁπάντων [17]) which reinforces usually successful attempts to impose one's will. This is augmented, after his suggestion that they try to overthrow him, when he denies the possibility of its success with a third person reference to his power (21-2), an emphatic rhetorical device projecting the speaker's *persona* into the perspective of his addressee or the wider audience, and used when that speaker feels his status or identity is under threat or at issue.

ὃν [δ' ἄν] ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε | νοήσ[ω]: **[8]** 4 examples: **[1]** 1.549, **[2]** 2.391, **[3]** *8.10*, **[4]** 15.348.[18] The nature of the consequence varies with the group, defilement of the corpse for mortals (as in **[2]** & **[4]**), expulsion from the group for gods (as in **[1]** & **[3]**). Delusion is ever-present: **[1]** Zeus seeks to remove Here from his deliberations about the war and the honouring of Thetis. Although he does in the end get his way, the threat is ineffective; **[2]** Agamemnon's exhortations to his troops are predicated upon his belief that Troy is to fall on that very day; **[4]** Hektor's exhortation is obviously motivated by his belief that he will fire the ships and remove the Greeks from the beach.

Personal comparisons (ὅσ[σ]ον | εἰμί): **[9]** 8 examples: **[1]** 1.186, **[2]** 1.516, **[3]** *8.17*, **[4]** 9.160-1, **[5]** 21.410-11, **[6]** 21.488, **[7]** 23.276, **[8]** 23.890-1. These expressions represent the speaker's statement of authority, and accompany actions in which the comparison is either threatened or exhibited forcefully: **[1]** Agamemnon thus closes his threat to remove Briseis, which angers Akhilleus and leads to his withdrawal. Of course, the threat is not actually carried out until later in the book; **[2]** Thetis makes a negative comparison of herself (a noticeable departure from the usual expressions of superiority) in an attempt to get Zeus to accede to her request, which he has

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17 cf. below on 8.199, pp. 102-5, 104 n. 235.

18 cf. Lowenstam 1981, pp. 73-5.

already refused to answer.[19] That she should feel so dishonoured would be a great rebuke to Zeus in the light of her earlier favour to him;[20] **[3]** Zeus threatens Here with removal from Olympos should she try to work openly against him, such is his power; **[4]** Agamemnon closes the offer of gifts (and clearly intends that this expression should be relayed in this form)[21] with a demand that Akhilleus yield on the basis of his greater age and kingliness; **[5]** after she has wounded Ares (again), Athene berates him for his foolishness in not having recognised her greater might; **[6]** before beating her about the head with her own weapons, Here rebukes Artemis for daring to face her; **[7]** Akhilleus, having offered the prizes for the chariot race, declines himself to take part on the grounds that Patroklos is dead. Otherwise, the quality of his horses would mean inevitable victory; **[8]** Akhilleus now offers the prize for spear-throwing *de iure* to Agamemnon with the claim that he is the best at this activity, as they all know. In all of these cases, it is vitally important that the truth of the comparison be acknowledged by the addressee, for these are intended as persuasive statements of authority, either to get someone to perform an action or refrain from it. The importance of the speaker's authority thus stands out strongly in **[8]**, where the comparison explicitly expresses the superiority of the addressee as δυνάμι τε καὶ ἦμασιν . . ἄριστος. This is particularly ironic given its direction at Agamemnon, and represents Akhilleus' final - and successful - attempt at asserting his oratorical skill and heroic pre-eminence, the connotation of the expression representing the agonistic realignment explored in the Funeral Games. To underline the authoritative nature of such comparisons, it is worth remarking that the only mortal speakers to use the figure are Akhilleus and Agamemnon.[22]

Third person-references: **[10]** 13 examples: **[1]** 1.240, **[2]** 2.259, **[3]** 4.354-5, **[4]** 7.75, **[5]** *8.22*, **[6]** 8.470-2, **[7]** 11.431, **[8]** 11.761, **[9]** 14.454-5, **[10]** 16.496, **[11]** 16.833-4, **[12]** 17.249, **[13]** 19.151.[23] Projection amounts to an authority or an attempt at gaining authority over the addressee; when Zeus tells the gods that 'you could never succeed etc.', he is abrogating their self-determination. It is almost as though the speaker removes the addressee's freedom of thought or

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19 cf. below on 8.483-4 (484), pp. 210-13 [148/1].

20 cf. Slatkin 1991.

21 cf. below on 8.397-9 (401-8 / 416-22), pp. 185-93 [130/10].

22 Moreover, it is no coincidence that [9/1], [9/2] & [9/6] are also examples of the ὄφρα ἴδ[ηαι] syntax; cf. below, on 8.101-11 (105 / 110), pp. 56-60 [42/1], [42/2] & [42/26].

23 We exclude those references contained within putative third person speeches (cf. below on 8.147-50 [148-50] pp. 80-1), and those where the speaker is revealing his identity after a request (cf., e.g., 10.88, 15.254-6, 24.461); Ameis-Hentze 1907 ad loc., p. 40, feel that the expression denotes Zeus' 'selbstgefühl'; cf. also Muellner 1996, p. 137f.; Latacz [2000]b ad 1.240, pp. 100-1; Pulleyn [2000] ad 1.240, p. 192.

experience: **[1]** Akhilleus expresses the loss from the perspective of the entire army;[24] **[2]** Odysseus makes his continued existence in the eyes of the army contingent upon immediate punishment of insubordination;[25] **[3]** by denying Agamemnon's insult in this way, Odysseus strengthens the chastening power of his rebuke, which is now put into the cognition of the man who had erred on this issue in the first place; **[4]** Hektor views himself from the Greek side; **[7]** Sokos expresses the potential vaunt from Odysseus' position; **[9]** Poulydamas' vaunt seems to quote the Greeks' (or indeed the poet's) reaction, and mocks their consternation at his success; **[10]** Sarpedon's *moriens* self-reference underlines his importance in the eyes of others as a means of persuading them to fight for his body;[26] **[12]** Menelaos' expression aligns itself with the perspective of those whom he's trying to summon, and it does so by projecting their commensal relationship; **[13]** Akhilleus positions himself as an example of right behaviour from the perspective of someone watching him, in this case the other soldiers.

The addressee need not actually be persuaded to act in the manner envisaged, though this is a common eventuality (as in **[3]**, where Agamemnon is forced to recognise and apologise for his blunder), for the structure is mostly concerned with an emphatic self-assertion at moments when that is required: **[1]** Akhilleus removes himself from the army because of the insult to his status; **[2]** Thersites represents a challenge to the authority not only of Agamemnon but the other chieftains as well; **[3]** Odysseus' heroic nature has been denied; **[5]** & **[6]** Zeus asserts his will during *agorai* in which he hopes to establish his primacy of action with regard to the battle; **[9]** Poulydamas has just proven himself as a warrior and his vaunt reinforces that; **[11]** Hektor's self-reference and detailing of Patroklos' delusion comes at the moment of his greatest triumph; **[12]** Menelaos' call for assistance is a response to the grave personal danger in which he and Aias find themselves, and summons the others' obligations to the fore at the very moment they should be recalled; **[13]** the re-emergence of Akhilleus has been the end-point of much of the poem, and none desires it more than he does as he marshals and tries to get the army moving as quickly as possible.

Thus, the first speech in this *agore* serves a number of directive functions, the audience inferring that the threat will have an enormous impact upon the pattern's determination,

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[24] cf. Muellner 1996, p. 137.
[25] cf. below on 8.200-8 (201), pp. 105-10 [80/3].

that Zeus' intentions for the day will not remain unchallenged and, finally, that he views this occasion as an essential extension of his authority. Divine conflict is, therefore, inevitable and potentially momentous.

28-32 The gods' stunned silence (οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ [28]) denotes their general consternation, and predicts a following response aimed at countering the prior speech's effect upon the group, whether by accepting a (dangerous) specific proposal or directly contradicting it. This 'redirection' is then adopted as the determination of the pattern. The response in this case comes from Athene, who acknowledges his power and pleads at least for some support for the Greeks.[27] The nature of redirection is initially confusing, because the offer of counsel (36) is vague, and remains unfulfilled in Book 8 by Zeus' direct intervention - yet his answering speech is no contradiction; instead, he seems to confirm her wish (38-40).[28] However, acknowledgments of this sort (εὖ νυ καὶ

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[26] cf. below on 8.28-32 (32), pp. 14-17 [13/4].

[27] 8.32-7 = 463-8; cf. above, Introduction § II, p. xxx, n. 39; also below on 8.350-6, p. 171 n. 422; 8.457-68, pp. 204-5 n. 505.

[28] cf. below. This is presumably why the authenticity of 8.28-40 has been doubted. Aristarkhos athetised 8.28-40 ὅτι ἐξ ἄλλων τόπων μετάκεινται (Σ A ad loc.) and particularly objected to 8.39-40 because ἐναντιοῦνται δὲ ἐνθάδε τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις (Σ A ad loc.). The passage 8.32-7 will be repeated by Here at 8.463-8 (cf. below ad loc., pp. 203-4), but this is not an unusual thing in Homer, as asserted by Kirk [1990] ad 8.32-7, pp. 300-1, in his condemnation of the passage; cf. de Jong 1987, pp. 187-8. Römer 1912, pp. 231-3, suggests that whoever thinks these verses genuine "so möge uns jemand erklären, wie Athene nach diesem Gnadenbeweis ihres gütigen Vaters sprechen kann, wie sie es faktisch tut Θ 360! Er möge weiter erklären, wie der wild und grimm auffahrende Zeus nach einer solchen begütigenden Zusagen handeln kann, wie er es faktisch tut Θ 396ff.!"; cf. also Ameis-Hentze [1887], pp. 87-8; Leaf [1904] ad loc., p. 335; Ameis-Hentze [1907] ad loc., p. 42; Wilamowitz 1916, p. 42, n. 1; Kirk [1990] ad loc., p. 300.

Many defences have been mounted, relating Zeus' words to his particular relationship with his daughter, the idea that 'Fernwirkung' is being requested here, and so on; cf. Kullmann 1956, p. 89 n. 2; Diller 1965, pp. 139-40; Reinhardt 1961, p. 152; Schadewaldt 1966, p. 99 (& n. 2); Reichel 1994, p. 304; Fenik 1968, pp. 202-3; Heitsch 1993, p. 28 and n. 29; Erbse 1986, p. 197; Schäfer 1990, p. 64. However, referential analysis of τὴν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη (8.38) suggests that a current of deception runs beneath speeches so introduced (cf. below, pp. 17-18 [14/2]) and so, in fact, Zeus does not "stultify himself" as Leaf believes. Instead, he reveals his awareness that the *Dios Boule* is not to proceed unchallenged, an awareness ruefully exhibited elsewhere in the poem (cf. esp. 1.517f., 892-3), and the poet signals to the audience the common insincerity in the

ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ὅ [32]) express the speaker's determination to act in spite of the limitation imposed by a previous speech, whilst admissions that something is οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν (32) grant the continuous operation of the noun so described, whilst at the same time adding a serious qualification to it.

In addition, the audience is to understand that the very fact of redirection, and so an unwillingness on the gods' part simply to accede to Zeus' threat, is to be adopted by the poet as an informative theme for the narration of this phase of the battle. There is no need for a more specific statement, because the connotative potential of the threat -> silence -> redirection sequence is enough to guide the audience along. In fact, as we shall see, the poet is unwilling as yet to give the audience explicit information on the coming narrative.

οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ: **[11]** 10 examples: **[1]** 3.95 (3/3), **[2]** 7.92 (3/4), **[3]** 7.398 (4/7), **[4]** *8.28* (3/6), **[5]** 9.29 (3/8), **[6]** 9.430, **[7]** 9.693 (6/1), **[8]** 10.218 (5/4), **[9]** 10.313 (5/5), **[10]** 23.676.[29]

It is to be noted that this is the only such situation in which the gods are fearful. Reactions are the hinges in the course of the *contio*, and where the poet lengthens a pattern by generating more than one 'speech(es) -> reaction' sequence, this expression signals the modification or another change in direction for the coming speeches: **[1]** Menelaos accepts the challenge; **[2]** he does so again; **[3]** Diomedes rejects Idaios' offer of peace and partial repayment; **[5]** Diomedes again rejects Agamemnon's proposal for flight, and in **[7]** he repudiates Akhilleus' position and affirms his own commitment to the venture; **[8]** Diomedes volunteers for the proposed mission; **[9]** Dolon accepts

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exchange; cf. Nelson 1996. Notice that, when the poet repeats 8.39-40 at 22.183-4, he uses instead of τὴν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας an introductory hemistich (τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος [22.182]) which signals the speaker's disagreement with a previous speech, or dissatisfaction at the interlocutor's attitude or understanding of the situation; cf. below on 8.292-9 (292), pp. 151-5 [105/35] and Appendix 1. Thus, 22.183-4 express Zeus' desire to point out her error in believing that his suggestion to save Hektor was serious, but without implying that he cares not for the fate of the hero. In this scene in Book 8, on the other hand, his previous expression (and so his deception of Athene in the pursuit of the *Dios Boule*) is his true intention.

[29] cf. Montiglio 1993; Person 1995; Foley 1995.

Hektor's proposal. Outside the consultations: **[6]** Phoinix attempts to counter Akhilleus' refusal; **[10]** Epeios' challenge is taken up.

The most common form of expression introducing the reply is ὀψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε[ν]: 7.399 **[3]**, *8.30* **[4]**, 9.31 **[5]**, 9.432 **[6]**, 9.696 **[7]**, also 7.94 **[2]**.[30] Another is τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε[ν]: 3.96 **[1]**, 10.219 **[8]**; in **[10]** we find οἷος (23.677), whilst in **[9]** there is a lengthy description of Dolon, in which there are several intimations about his character and rashness, including the baseness of his form opposed to his foot-speed (10.316), notwithstanding of course his demand for the horses of Akhilleus. Thus the poet goes to some lengths in these situations to make the point that the reply is singular and opposed to the opinion or action of the mass, and in every case this disquiet is caused by the initial speech.

Acceptance of the prior proposal is found in **[1]**, **[2]**, **[8]** - **[10]**, rejection in **[3]**, **[5]** - **[7]**. The adoption of the course of action contained or suggested in the redirective speech is found in every example but **[6]**, where Akhilleus directly refutes Phoinix's suggestion. I would suggest that the poet intends this disjunction to inform the audience that Akhilleus' refusal to be persuaded will have terrible consequences, not least for himself.

εὖ νυ | ἴδ[μεν]: **[12]** 4 examples: **[1]** *8.32*, **[2]** 8.463, **[3]** 18.197, **[4]** 19.421. In all these cases, the speaker acknowledges the truth or operation of the preceding speech, but introduces a qualification of that statement (ἀλλά) which sets out his own determination to act within that limitation: **[2]** Here makes the substantially the same qualification as Athene in **[1]**, this time to a threat about what would have happened, had they come to conflict. Zeus replies now with another prediction about the course of the war, and an expression of his disregard for her. These first two cases intimate that the gods will attempt to interfere on the Greeks' behalf despite Zeus' determination to exclude them; **[3]** Iris agrees with Akhilleus that his armour has been taken, but that he can save Patroklos by appearing on the trench; **[4]** Akhilleus replies to Xanthos' prediction about his death with an acknowledgment that he knows it already, ἀλλ' ἔμπης (422) he will not leave off battle until the Trojans are weary of the fight.

οὐ | ἐπιεικτόν: **[13]** 4 examples (1): **[1]** 5.892, **[2]** *8.32*, **[3]** 8.463, **[4]** 16.549, **[5]** *Od.* 19.493. The collocation describes a strength or (1x) emotion which is above all continuous, but it does so in contexts where that power is qualified: **[1]** Zeus admits that Ares has the μένος of his mother, which he can barely control, and which makes Ares ἔχθιστος to him; **[3]** Here, after her attempts to counteract Zeus' will during the course of the book, finds herself faced with a powerful

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30 cf. Hainsworth [1993] ad 9.31, p. 64.

guarantee of physical violence. Her admission of Zeus' power in these terms does little to convince him, or indeed the audience, that she will not continue in her opposition; [4] Sarpedon's defensive value strikes the Trojans now most particularly that he is dead, and the continuous grief they now hold in his place sets up the parallel between his death and that of Hektor, which will magnify that grief tenfold;[31] [5] Eurukleia describes her constancy in these terms, though Odysseus goes on to deny his need for her participation.

38-40 Zeus confirms the redirective in a short speech (38-40), introduced in a way (τὴν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας [38]) to denote agreement or reassurance and suggest a current of deception between the interlocutors. This placation is immediately strengthened both by his first word (θάρσει [39]), which elsewhere assuages a specific complaint or concern, and by his expressed desire ἤπιος εἶναι (40) towards Athene, a sentiment characteristic of a positive reciprocal relationship, but also an intention to provide positive evidence thereof.

τ[ὴν] δ' ἐπιμείδησας προσέφη: **[14]** 3 examples (2): **[1]** 4.356, **[2]** *8.38*, **[3]** 10.400, **[4]** *Od.* 22.371, **[5]** *Hom. Hy. to Apollo* 531.[32] The speech reassures its addresseee: **[1]** Agamemnon seeks to reassure Odysseus by taking back his harsh words; **[3]** Odysseus has misled Dolon with an earlier guarantee of his safety, and his current speech continues the interrogation and the process of deception;[33] **[4]** Odysseus does the same for Medon after the latter's entreaty; **[5]** upon the Kretan sailors' questions about their means of livelihood, Apollo checks their worries on that regard and assures them of everlasting honour. The deception is not simply located with either current or prior speaker, but is a fundamental aspect of the issue at hand and the relationship between them: **[1]** Agamemnon's words were ill-advised and deliberately unpleasant, overstating if not misrepresenting his case, and his smile shows his awareness of being caught out; **[3]** Odysseus of course knows and cares little for what is to happen to Dolon, that he is to be robbed of his mission, prize and life; **[4]** Medon's successful appeal is specious,[34] and Odysseus saves him

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31 cf. above on 8.10-22 (22), pp. 10-12 [10/10].
32 cf. Kirk [1985] ad 4.356, p. 366; Fernández-Galiano [1992] ad *Od.* 22.371, p. 284.
33 cf. below on 8.145-7 (145), pp. 76-80, 77 n. 161 [57/22] & [57/23] and Appendix 1.
34 cf. Fernández-Galiano [1992] ad *Od.* 22.373, p. 284.

expressly in order that he warn the others about the ramifications of wrongdoing, not for any merit of Medon himself;[35] [5] Apollo, as god of prophecy, must know of the usurpation of the 'Kretan' connection at Delphi which he predicts at 540-4.[36] In every case, the situation between the speaker and addressee is one undercut by a current of deliberate misrepresentation and incomplete disclosure.

θάρσει: **[15]** 7 examples: [1] 4.184, [2] *8.39*, [3] 10.383, [4] 15.254, [5] 18.463, [6] 22.183, [7] 24.171. [1] Menelaos reassures his brother that the wound is not serious, and the expedition still on track; [3] Odysseus deceives Dolon by assuring him of his safety; [4] Apollo calms Hektor's disquiet about his identity and thus informs him of Zeus' direct favour; [5] Hephaistos hurries to reassure Thetis, who has complained about her son's coming death (18.436-43), that he is more than willing to perform her request, and indeed would protect him from death were he able;[37] [7] Iris seeks to calm Priam's trembling (24.170) at her approach, and to alleviate though momentarily the weeping and lamentation throughout the house (160f.).

ἤπι[ος] **[16]** 7 examples: [1] 4.361, [2] *8.40*, [3] 16.73, [4] 22.184, [5] 23.281, [6] 24.770, [7] 24.775.[38] The common thread to all the usages of the forms of ἤπιος is that the relationship between the two nouns is evinced from a concrete action which proves the quality. Hence drugs are said to be ἤπια because they have a quantifiable effect on the recipient (4.218, 11.515, 11.830): [1] Agamemnon, in making up with Odysseus, explains that he knows the other's *thumos* ἤπια οἶδε because they think the same things; [3] Akhilleus expresses his willingness to fight for the Greeks, if only that relationship with Agamemnon be re-established; [4] Zeus gives evidence of the quality by allowing Athene to do what she had long wished;[39] [5] Patroklos is described as ἠπίου in the context of his relationship to the horses of Akhilleus because he used to perform certain actions for them; [6] & [7] (the latter example applied negatively to the other Trojans), the qualities of ἤπιος and φίλος are explicitly linked in Helen's lamentation for Hektor, because of his singular kindness towards her.

Therefore, the determination of this consultation pattern is an ambiguous one, adopted indirectly. Zeus' will is to be enforced on the course of the battle, but the practicalities of

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35 cf. Tydeus' action at *Il.* 4.397f.
36 cf. Allen & Sikes [1904] ad loc., p. 126-7; Allen, Halliday & Sikes [1936], pp. 266-7.
37 cf. below on 8.535-41, pp. 224-9 [156/8].
38 We are concerned here with the application of the word between animates; cf. also Floyd 1993.

that decision remain obscure. This lack of direct information, on which we have commented before, is again evinced in the resolution of the pattern for, as the only structural element within this final section of the *agore*, the departure of Zeus (41f.) is remarkable in that *ab initio* patterns usually close with the dissolution or break-up of the assembled group as a whole. Thus, the departure is not explicitly linked to or motivated by any positive determination, because the determination itself has been left unspecified, with three important ramifications. Firstly, Zeus' exit symbolises the separation through which he achieves the fulfilment of his promise to Thetis, being as removed as Akhilleus from his character group.[40] Secondly, it implies that the determination of the pattern is nonetheless furthered by Zeus' journey from Olympos to Ide. He is to be concerned more immediately with the progress of the battle than before, and his isolation is to represent that greater level of concern. Precisely what he is going to do is still unclear. Finally, of course, it effects the focal transition from Olympos to the battlefield, and prepares us for the opening of battle.

Moreover, the audience knows that the poet tends to cluster consultation patterns around a single emphatic event or closely related series of events, particularly at the junctures between the battle days. This allows him to provide a range of perspectives on important actions or decisions, with each of the three major character groups allotted one pattern in each cluster. In this case the cluster consists of the consultations which concluded the previous day of battle,[41] wherein both Greeks and Trojans expressed their anxiety and uncertainty over the situation, which was then justified by Zeus' rather indiscriminate and

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39 cf. above on 8.28-32, pp. 14-15 n. 28 on the relationship between [16/2] & [16/6].
40 cf. below on 8.477-82, pp. 209-10 n. 518.

unmotivated hostility.[42] This naturally feeds into the aggression shown towards the other gods and the lack of specifics in his determination, and helps to establish his priority in the motivation of the day's action.

It is more usual for transitional *agorai* to be closed by the departure of a character in order to fulfil the determination, and these departures are necessarily linked to the determination as a means of resuming the narrative: [**4/1**] Khryses departs in fear (1.34f.); [**4/4**] Athene speeds down to the battlefield to break the oaths (4.73-8), as she does again in [**4/12**] to hasten Hektor's end (22.186-7); [**4/7**] Idaios leaves for the Greek camp (7.381); [**4/11**] Apollo and Iris speed on their way to Zeus (15.150f.); [**3/11**] the other gods leave for battle (20.32). This difference between transitional and *ab initio* patterns is not to be pressed too hard, for the gods are assumed to be in a semi-permanent state of assembly, departures from which to the mortal plane are surely to be expected. Indeed, the only other *ab initio agore* allotted to the gods [**3/11**] is also ended by departure (20.33f.), though this time Zeus is left behind as the other gods journey to the battle.

The clustering of these patterns allows the audience to see the perspective of each group upon a focal event or point in the narrative, and thus predict and / or summarise their attitudes and actions. As such, they are particularly concentrated around the junctures of the battle days: [**4/2**] (Gods), [**3/2**] (Greeks) & [**4/3**] (Trojans) preface the first day of battle, giving (in order) Zeus' determination not to be stopped and Here's resistance to it, the Greek belief in their coming victory, and the Trojan determination to resist; [**5/2**] (Gr), [**3/5**] (T), [**4/7**] (Gr), [**4/8**] (T), [**4/9**] (G) & [**3/6**] (Gr) introduce the second day, setting up the truce, the rejection of restitution, and Zeus' attitude to the action. The number of such patterns is an indication, perhaps not of the importance of the second day in itself, but of that day in the progression of the *Dios Boule*; [**4/10**] (G), [**3/7**] (T) & [**3/8**] (Gr) introduce the third, central day of battle, and summarise the Greek and Trojan beliefs about the course of the coming battle, and their decision to renew hostilities (on the Greek side after some vacillation); [**3/9**] (T), [**3/10**] (Gr) & [**3/11**] (G) usher in the fourth, and establish the Trojan persistence and acquiescence in their doom at this crucial moment, the renunciation of Akhilleus' wrath in the Greek camp, and the notion of divine action as a requirement and

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41 [5/2], [3/5], [4/7], [4/8] & [4/9].

42 cf. above on 8.1, pp. 1-3; also below on 8.553-9 (554), pp. 234 n. 579 [161/6] & [161/7].

magnification of Akhilleus' presence on the battlefield. Finally, **[5/3]** (Gr), **[5/4]** (T) & **[6/1]** (G) frame the embassy and the *Doloneia*.[43]

Thus, the *agore* shows the audience the direction for the day to come, and establishes two vitally important - and linked - themes: the exclusive and mistaken attitude shown by a fiercely determined Zeus, and the other gods' resentment or unwillingness simply to knuckle under. Important and expected specifics are not forthcoming. We are not told directly what Zeus is to do, only that his intention is to act upon the battle without interference. That he will begin to honour Akhilleus by harming the Greeks may be inferred from a knowledge of the larger story and events earlier in the poem, but here it is not explicit. The poet directs the audience with general hints, creating suspense and uncertainty, a connotative background against which he may construct his narrative. They infer that Zeus' actions represent an initial and, as yet, relatively unformed stage in the gradual imposition of the *Dios Boule*.

41-52 Zeus' journey is expressed with the chariot journey typical scene (41-52), a sequence which may be divided conveniently into mortal and divine return journeys. Both are constructed around roughly the same kernel of typical elements, with the outward leg and divine journeys in general receiving the greater share. The present example is no exception, almost every possible action for this type of scene being included, but the poet takes no opportunity to expand on any of the individual items, reinforcing once again

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[43] This would argue against following Zenodotos and Π 7 (s. iii a.C.) in reading 8.1 after 8.52, for it would be the only occasion on which any of the three character groups is allotted more than one consultation pattern in one day (taking a day to start at dawn), since [4/9] had occurred earlier on that day.

earlier intimations about the relatively restricted and indecisive parameters of the coming battle.

Return Journey (Divine): **[17]** 4 examples: [1] Here and Athene ([a] 5.720-55f. [b] 768-77 | 906-8); [2] *Zeus (8.41-50 | 438-51)*; [3) Here and Athene (8.382-96 | 532-5); [4] Poseidon (13.23-28 | 15.218-19). Return Journey (Mortal): **[18]** 3 examples: [1] Priam and Antenor (3.259-66 | 310-13); [2] Akhilleus (19.392-424 | 22.395-405); [3] Priam ([a] 24.189-351 [b] 440-576 | 690-4f.).[44]

The full list of typical elements (universal ones in divine journeys italicised) is (a) outward: *harnessing*, *dress/arming*, *mounting*, whipping, *departure*, *journey*, *arrival*, *stopping*, *unharnessing*, concealment, feeding; (b) return: *departure/arrival*. Other individual elements may creep in, such as **[17/1]** the assembly of the chariot (5.722-31), which is enclosed within the harnessing (5.720-1 / 731-2); compare the assembly of Priam's wagon **[18/3]** (24.265-76), once again generated with an expansion of the harnessing element (24.189-90 / 277-80), also with the reaction of Hekabe, description of the gifts and the rebuke of his sons intruding into the sequence.

The number of elements is no guarantee of greater size or importance, as the comparison between our current example and **[18/3]** will show. That sequence is greatly expanded with actions untypical of this scene, but its elaboration indicates the importance of the journey. The return leg is usually very brief, and no divine journey repeats the preparatory elements of (re)harnessing etc. Mortal journeys do, but they are always smaller, composed of fewer elements, and there are no universal elements. Compare the outward and return legs of **[18/1]**: the first contains seven elements in eight verses (harnessing, mounting [x2], taking reins, departure, journey, arrival), the second four in four (mounting [x2], taking reins, departure/arrival). Secondly, mortal journeys have only four universal elements (harnessing, mounting [x2, i.e. driver and passenger], departure [outward & return]) whilst divine journeys have nine. This reveals a greater level of fixity, that is, an audience expectation of a range of actions which a god *must* go through during this process, as well as the greater importance and magnificence of divine characters. It is perhaps worth noting that Akhilleus is the only mortal to be given a chariot journey sequence at the start of a day of battle (compare Agamemnon's *aristeia*, where his preparations are then interrupted to begin the day's battle by both sides in general terms [11.47f.]). It is another indication of his invincibility and uniqueness.

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[44] cf. Arend 1933, pp. 86-91; Fenik 1968, pp. 28, 74-5, 115-6, 219.

The small scale of the current scene is obvious, even though we find several elements herein. Aside from the universal elements, we find taking the whip (8.43-4), the whipping of the horses (8.45), the concealment of the horses (8.50), and the unharnessing and putting away of equipment on the return leg.[45] The lack of expansion is also noticeable. Compare the way in which the poet handles dress/arming in **[17/1]** & **[17/3]**: on both occasions, Athene's accoutrement is described at some leisure (5.730-44 & 745-7; 8.384-91). In this case, the poet chooses simply to say χρυσὸν δ' αὐτὸς ἔδυνε περὶ χροί ([43] = 13.25 **[17/4]**). Thus it is clear that the poet does not wish his audience to focus upon any particular aspect of Zeus or his intentions as he journeys to the battle, beyond the fact of his general impressiveness and determination to control matters.[46] The poet makes so much of Athene's preparations in **[17/1]** & **[17/3]** because he wishes to emphasise her connection with Zeus; in the former case, that is permissible because she intervenes with his blessing, whilst in the latter it only adds to the portentous nature of their coming conflict.[47]

51 These journeys are usually provided with an explicit statement of the character's motive or purpose in the narrative immediately preceding the journey, and are overwhelmingly successful. However, this example lacks such an indication, and so the audience know only that Zeus' trip to Ide does have a specific purpose, but that information is not to be divulged yet. However, all the divine journeys by chariot in the *Iliad* are concerned with direct intervention in the battle and so, notwithstanding explicit motivation, the audience will infer that Zeus' presence on Ide is to be directly concerned with the battle's course. This impression is strengthened by his first action upon arrival (καθέζετο κύδει γαίων [51]), an apparently innocuous phrase elsewhere used of deities in situations where there is an undercurrent of heavenly disorder, its referential effect adding to earlier implications that Zeus' attitude and actions will fan the discord amongst the gods. This theme now sits in

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45 cf. below on 8.432-7, pp. 195-7 et ff.

46 This is of course furthered by the three mentions of gold in Zeus' equipment in 8.42-4; cf. Willcock [1978] ad 8.44, p. 261; also Leaf [1904] ad loc., p. 336.

47 cf. below on 8.382-96, pp. 182-4.

the background of the audience's awareness until 8.199, where it will be dramatically picked up, but it bubbles away as the human protagonists come to grips.

The statement may be direct (speech) or indirect (simple description): **[17/1]** Here and Athene have a chat on the need to remove Ares (5.713-8), and then ask Zeus whether they can (756-63), in the second half of their outward journey; **[17/3]** the same duo speak again of the need to remove Hektor (8.350-80); **[17/4]** Poseidon (13.10-16) is said to be watching the battle when Zeus turns away his attention at the start of Book 13. Moreover, he notices that Zeus is no longer guarding the course of the battle with the phrase οὐδὲ ἀλαοσκοπίην εἶχε, which connotes ultimately unsuccessful divine intervention based upon the individual deity's reaction to the previous scene.[48] Thus the success for this journey is qualified, and restricted to his immediate intervention before Zeus wakes at the start of Book 15.[49] The information is also to be found in the mortal journeys: **[18/1]** the heralds summon Priam to the battlefield to swear the oaths (3.249-58); **[18/2]** Akhilleus' desire for revenge specifically against Hektor is too well-known to require direct comment; after his death Akhilleus returns to the camp (despite a brief contemplation of further action which is quickly dismissed at 22.381-4); **[18/3]** Priam is told by Iris of Zeus' command (24.143-88), which has itself been constructed since 24.32.

The concern of divine journeys with battle is swiftly exemplified: **[17/1]** Athene and Here intervene to remove Ares; **[17/3]** they try to intervene in order to quell Hektor's victorious surge across the field; **[17/4]** Poseidon intervenes to breathe new spirit and strength into the Greeks. Only once does the travelling group fail to achieve the end envisaged: **[17/3]** the abortive attempt of Athene and Here, where the audience is led to expect successful intervention but, as they already know that Zeus has forbidden such activity, the poet creates a connotative tension by counterposing those two expectations. It is a familiar part of his technique, and we shall have occasion to speak more of this episode later on.[50]

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[48] οὐδὲ ἀλαοσκοπιὴν εἶχ[ε]: [A] 3 examples (1): [1] 10.515, [2] 13.10, [3] 14.135, [4] *Od.* 8.285; [A/1] Apollo notices Athene and Diomedes as they retreat, and then rouses the Trojans (too late!); [A/3] Poseidon (once again) notices the wounded leaders moving towards the battle in order to provide inspiration and exhortation, and then joins them for a brief exhortatory offering; [A/4] in ignorance of Hephaistos' web, Ares notes his departure before racing to Aphrodite's side. In each case, the subsequent action is eventually unsuccessful.

[49] cf. above on 8.2-40, pp. 3-21, n. 10 [4/11].

[50] cf. below on 8.382-96, pp. 182-4.

καθέζετο κύδει γαίων: **[19]** 4 examples: **[1]** 1.405, **[2]** 5.906, **[3]** *8.51*, **[4]** 11.81.[51] This undercurrent need not be fixed in its relationship to the action itself: **[1]** Briareos' power stops the other gods from revolting against Zeus; **[2]** Ares has just been rebuked and his position within Olympos threatened by Zeus for his violence (even though he has failed to carry the day); **[4]** Zeus' disregard for the other gods and their opinion of his course of action is emphasised by his solitary position.

Thus the poet continues in his directional ambivalence: Zeus' intervention is heralded but obscured, hinted at but not described. The form of the journey indicates that it is to continue the divine discord set up in the consultation pattern, that it is eventually to be successful, and that it will bring him into conflict with the other Olympians. Precisely what it will be is another matter.

53-129 Battle is prepared on either side (53-9), then joined (60-5); Greek retreat (66-79), Nestorbedrängnis (80-90), rescue by Diomedes and their counterattack (90-129).

53-9 The poet's focus now turns to the armies' preparations (53-9) before the actual opening of battle (60-77). Again, this passage is noticeable for its brevity. There is, for instance, no divinity present to assist or at least attend during the preparations, the freedom of the other gods being emblematic of the level of control Zeus exercises over the course of the fighting. Moreover, no human character is the focal point of the army's preparations, as though the martial exploits of the heroes themselves are a secondary consideration to this first imposition of Zeus' will. Other absent features include the catalogue of forces, which elsewhere serves (often in combination with the prominent indvidual) to indicate the

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[51] cf. Kirk [1985] ad 1.405, p. 95; Hainsworth [1993] ad 11.81, p. 230.

general fortunes of the battle, and the simile, regularly used to focus on the martial prowess or fury of the combatants. The poet's decision not to generate these features suggests that the protagonists, or at least their ability to influence events, are to be far from the audience's mind.

Preparations at beginning of day: **[20]** 4 examples: **[1]** 2.432-4.445 (1st battle day), **[2]** *8.53-9* (2nd), **[3]** 11.5-66 (3rd); **[4]** 19.340-20.75 (4th).[52] There are six types of element: (a) meal, (b) marshalling, (c) exhortation, (d) arming, (e) displacement, (f) advance. There are other typical features which may be subsumed within these categories (and with which we shall deal as we come across them). For instance, the noise made by the army, on which the poet always comments at least once during any battle sequence, may occur during moments of marshalling, exhortation, arming, displacement and advance.

The complexities of **[1]** and **[4]** reward closer examination. The poet expands **[1]** by adding to it, and then generating that expanded version another time, between the two sections inserting the elaborated combat between Paris and Menelaos:

i	A	Greek (2.432-784)	ii	B	Trojan (4.221)
	B	Trojan (2.786-3.7)		A	Greek (222-432)
	A'	Greek (3.8-9)		B'	Trojan (433-8)
	C	Greek & Trojan (3.10-14)		C	Trojan / Greek (439-45)

The first two elements of each section are connected by an advance, first Greek then Trojan, the poet thus managing to achieve a reversal in the aggression between the two sides because of the oath-breaking. The addition to the usual sequence ([i] A' - C; [ii] B' - C) is achieved in each case by a juxtaposition of the armies in advance: at 3.1/2-7 he describes the noise made by the Trojans (end of [i] B), and then contrasts the silence of the Akhaians (start of [i] A': 3.8-9); then at 4.422-32 (end of [ii] A) the silence of the Akhaians is contrasted again at 4.433-8 (start of [ii] B') with

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[52] Given the flexibility of our definitions, there are many passages which can be considered preparatory, but the most immediate *comparanda* are those sequences preceding the beginning of the day's battle, when the poet narrates first the Greek and then the Trojan preparations; cf. also Hainsworth 1966.

the noise made by the Trojans. Each section is then rounded off by a passage focusing on both sides.

[4] is also expanded, but in another way. After an ordinary sequence (though with only one verse granted to the Trojan preparations [20.3]), the poet then generates a divine *agore* (20.4-32 [**3/11**]) and a full sequence of divine preparations (20.32-75). In other words, we have a preparation made up of three sequences: Greek (19.340-20.2); Trojan (20.3); Divine (20.4-75). The third constituent of this pattern is connected with the first two in a complex fashion. The poet splits it into two halves (20.32-40; 48-75), between which he generates a passage of general description to denote the opening of battle (20.41-7). Such a passage is typical of the means employed by the poet to narrate the commencement of the actual fighting, and is delayed from the end of the first two sections in the sequence, where it usually occurs. It is clear from this short passage that the divine preparations until that point are to be seen as occurring simultaneously with the structurally prior human preparations (cf. esp. 41-2 & 47), although the poet is not too concerned about their precise relationship. The gods do not actually join battle until 21.391, but retire *en masse* at 20.136ff. in the lead-up to the duel between Aineias and Akhilleus (20.158ff.). By constructing [4] in this way, the poet manages to get the gods down on the battlefield, join the general battle, and prepare for the first major duel of Akhilleus' *aristeia* - which is brought about by Apollo's advice to Aineias, and ended in a traditionally safe manner by the intervention of Poseidon. In other words, all the antagonists are thus located to the battle scene, and the possibilities for the interaction between those characters subtly foreshadowed. We must keep in mind that this unusual preparation sequence is demanded by the fact that this is the only time that gods play a direct role in the battle *as a group* - hence they require their own preparation.

The diminution in scale of the current example is obvious from the citations above, but its elemental poverty can be summarised by comparing [**3**], the next largest example, which is constructed of four types of element in the Greek section, and two in the Trojan: [Greek] divine exhortation (11.5-11), marshalling (15-16), arming (16-46), displacement of the army (47-50); [Trojan] displacement (56-60), exhortation (61-6). The current example, by contrast, contains two in the Greek and two in the Trojan sections; [*Greek*] meal (8.53-4), arming (54); [*Trojan*] arming (55-6), advance (58-9).

The absence of the gods is important, for they are ubiquitous in the other examples: [**1**] Athene (2.446-54), Iris (2.876-7 et ff.), Ares, Athene, Deimos, Phobos, Eris (4.439-45); [**3**] Eris (11.3-14), Here and Athene (11.45-6), Zeus (11.52-5); [**4**] Zeus and Athene (19.340-51), *dei multi*

(32-75). In [**1**] the freedom of the gods is a symbol of the undetermined nature of the battle; [**3**] Eris (at Zeus' behest [11.3-4]) is the only deity taking an active part in the battle (at least at the beginning of the fight. This must be related to the progression of the *Dios Boule*, in that at the latter stage of the day the control Zeus exercises over the battle is absolute; [**4**] introduces a divine free-for-all, because the *Dios Boule* has been fulfilled, and Akhilleus is arisen.

The explicit exhortation of the army by a prominent figure is also lacking: [**1**] Athene (2.446-54), Agamemnon (2.578-83, 4.223-421); [**3**] Eris (11.5-11), Agamemnon (11.15-16), Hektor (11.61-6); [**4**] Akhilleus (19.399-423). In examples [**3**] & [**4**], the character in question is in preparation for a period of martial pre-eminence that we have come to term, following the scholiasts and ancient critics, the *aristeia*.[53] The signal to an *aristeia* in these examples is the individual preparation of the hero in question. In these cases, the audience is directed to follow the fortunes of that hero until the end of his *aristeia* - that is, wounding, death or victory. His fate symbolises the fortunes of his camp generally. [**1**] lacks such an individual preparation, but it too directs the audience's expections for the coming battle. By focusing upon Agamemnon as he rouses his army to battle (cf. 2.478-83, 4.223-421), the poet manages to move the martial onus from Agamemnon to his subordinates during the course of the *Epipolesis*. In the course of the coming battle on that first day, it is no accident that many of those heroes are to play a major role, particularly Diomedes, the last addressed and most stingingly rebuked. That there is no *aristeia* sequence directly introduced at this early point implies that no single hero is to have a decisive influence in the coming brouhaha,[54] with the concomitant awareness that the battle is still at a relatively undetermined stage vis-à-vis the realisation of the *Dios Boule*.

Another common feature at this juncture in the day is the catalogue, which has a general significance, in that it presents to the audience the groups whose martial activity is to form the background of the narrative:[55] [**1**] both sides (almost) in full are allocated a catalogue; [**4**] the gods. There are, however, more specific significations to the catalogue form, shaped by a number of considerations. The first of these is size; the larger a catalogue, the more emphasis is placed upon the army involved. There is only one occasion [**1**] where both sides are allocated a separate catalogue, and there the Greek catalogue is noticeably larger. On this day in general, a great proportion of the major figures have a prominent role to play during the course of the battle, but

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53 cf. Krischer 1971; cf. below on 8.267-77, pp. 137-43.
54 cf. Krischer 1971, p. 86.
55 cf. below on 8.78-9, pp. 40-3.

the fighting is indecisive (it is, however, incontestable in my view that the Greeks have the better of it); [4] the Gods assisting each side are listed by the poet, combining so it would seem the catalogue form to cover both sides. It is once again noticeable that the Greek gods are more powerful and given more description. In these two sequences, the catalogue intimates to the audience that the battle will go generally in the Greeks' favour.

Finally, the simile is often found in preparation sequences at the start of the day: e.g., [1] contains fifteen separate similes: (Greek army) 2.455-8, 459-66, 467-8, 469-73, (Agamemnon) 2.478, 479, 479, 480-3, (Greek army) 780, (earth) 781-5, (Trojan army) 3.1/2-7, (Greek army) 3.8-9, (Trojan army) 4.221, (Greek army) 422, (Trojan army) 433-8. This, of course, does not count the similes in the duel and the oath-breaking (3.15-4.220). One should not assert that the audience would note the absence of a simile, but it adds to the diminutive quantity and unemphasised quality of the current sequence.

Furthermore, this is the only sequence in which the Trojan preparations receive more attention than the Greek. Uniquely, the ubiquitous feature of the noise made by the army in its advance is denoted solely on the Trojan side. The lack of elaboration accorded the Greeks is by itself unusual but, when coupled with the relatively greater emphasis upon the martial eagerness of the Trojans, the sequence is noticeably irregular. The reversal of that proportion in this current sequence would seem to hint at a similar reversal in fortune on the battlefield. Therefore, from the scale of the sequence, its unusual imbalance in the Trojans' favour and its significant omissions, the audience are directed to expect less in the way of the individual brilliance exhibited on the first day of battle, and more of Zeus' direct control over the fighting. All of this is of course undergirt by an uneasy feeling that things are about to go a little awry for the Greeks.

The usual proportion in these sequences is swiftly illustrated: for [1] & [4] cf. the citations and diagrams given above:[56] [3] 11.3-55 (Greek), 56-66 (Trojan). This inclination is also evinced from the range of elements usually allotted to each side. For instance, with regard to the noise made by the army as it advances, it is more usual for the poet to apportion this element to the Greeks ([1] 2.781-5, [3] 11.50, [4] 19.363-4, 424). This is not to say that the Trojans do not make noise in their advances, for they do ([1] 3.1-7, 433-8, [2] 8.58-9), but their silence in this regard is at least as common (in [3] & [4]).

Of course, it is true that in [3] the Greeks are accorded the lion's share of the preparations, and yet suffer terribly during the latter half of the day after the withdrawal of Agamemnon. It was suggested above that prolepsis is focused around the prominent individual, in that the audience is directed to expect the victorious progress of that figure until his death, wounding or complete victory. In other words, because the poet has there chosen to intertwine the *aristeia* with the preparation sequence, the audience follows that figure, whose progress is a symbol of the fortunes of his side generally. When he is wounded, they know that the battle is to go against the Greeks. Here in Book 8, by contrast, no such information is made available to them. Not only is there no figure to follow, there is no *Greek* figure to follow.

60-65 The poet opens the battle with a passage of even contest (60-5), one of the most common ways to introduce the specific combat narrative.[57] That this is a relatively substantial example is an indication of the importance of the narrative, but a comparison with the

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[56] cf. above, p. 26f.

[57] The best guide to the battle narrative remains Fenik 1968, but cf. now Hellmann 2000, a timely refutation of the historicism which has become dominant in this area; cf., e.g., Latacz 1977; Pritchett 1985, pp. 7-32; van Wees 1986, 1988, 1992, 1994 & 1997; cf. also Kirk [1990], pp. 20-22; Janko [1992], *passim*. I find this approach, which is in fact only one stream of the new historicist river (cf., e.g., Morris 1986 & 2002), utterly unpersuasive. For specific criticisms of Latacz, who has remained the most influential author of this group, cf., e.g., Snodgrass 1993, Singor 1991 & 1994, Hellmann 2000. The idea that Homeric battle is a compositional or poetical entity is now considered only tenable "if we are willing to believe that contemporary audiences were capable of suspending belief to the extent of not being offended by bold juxtapositions of types of warfare which they must have known from experience were incompatible": van Wees 1997, p. 679. If the audience were capable of understanding the expression Πηληιάδεω Ἀχιλῆος, surely a bold juxtaposition of types of genitive case declension (i.e. post- and pre- quantitative metathesis), which they must have known from experience were incompatible, then why should battle tactics of the same sort have been so offensive?

other opening even contests (at 4.446-56 and 11.67-85f.) reveals, yet again, a certain diminution in scale and emphasis.

Passages of even contest: **[21]** 32 examples: [1] 4.446-56, [2] 4.470-2, [3] 4.539-44, [4] 6.1-4, [5] *8.60-6f.*, [6] 11.67-85f., [7] 11.216, [8] 12.156-61, [9] 12.278-89, [10] 12.338-41, [11] 12.377, [12] 12.417-36, [13] 13.169, [14] 13.330-44, [15] 13.496-9, [16] 13.526, [17] 13.540, [18] 14.24-6, [19] 14.392-401, [20] 15.312-7f., [21] 15.405-13f., [22] 15.696-715, [23] 16.565-8, [24] 16.633-43, [25] 16.763-76, [26] 17.360-77, [27] 17.384-401, [28] 17.412-25, [29] 17.543-5, [30] 20.156-8, [31] 20.374, [32] 21.385-91.[58] Such passages are not 'typical' in the sense in which we apply the term, e.g. to arming scenes, for there are no universal elements and very few verbatim repetitions, no fixed order, number, or relationship between the elements, and indeed one statement may express more than one feature. The even contest is an opportunity for the poet to pause before he begins or resumes the specific narrative, and he deals with it by deploying a number of features which denote battle in a fairly generic manner. We find them commonly after a passage of preparatory action, and they are usually followed by specific combat narrative or further preparations for it. Thus the function of the even contest is to open the fighting with a broad picture of the initial clash which then devolves into specific encounters.

The poet may focus on the reciprocity or ferocity of the battle (e.g., 1.444-51 [1]), its evenness (e.g., 11.72 [6]), the noise arising (e.g., 14.25-6 [18]), the thoughts of the protagonists (e.g., 15.702-3 [22]), its *locus* (wall, ships, corpse; e.g., 14.392-3 [19]), divine activity or influence during it (e.g., 17.400-1 [27]), and the weaponry employed (e.g., 20.156-7 [30], which itself occurs during a mention of the fight's *locus*), and he may even deliver an authorial comment upon any and all of the above aspects (e.g., 17.366-9 [26]). The reciprocity of the battle and the noise it produces are the most common descriptive elements, but neither are universal and the import of the scene is one of type rather than content or internal structure.

These scenes are not as a rule extensive, and so the larger ones are generally located in important beginnings or reactivations of the battle: [1], [5] & [6] occur at the beginning of the fighting on their respective days, [12] is followed by the shattering of the gates and Hektor's advance into the camp, [14] the *aristeia* of Idomeneus, [19] the Greek resurgence during the *Dios*

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[58] cf. Fenik 1968, pp. 79-80.

Apate, **[22]** the firing of the ships, **[24]** Zeus' decision and intervention to save Sarpedon's body, and **[26]** - **[28]** are all linked with several episodes during Patroklos' *Leichenkampf*.[59]

The positioning of these passages makes obvious their bridging function between preparation and specific combat. Preparatory features, such as exhortation, advance etc., appear frequently (as in **[1]**, **[4]** - **[9]**, **[11]** - **[15]**, **[19]** - **[26]**, **[30]**, **[31]** - twenty two of the thirty-two total passages). Of the ten remaining examples, five (**[2]**, **[3]**, **[16]**, **[17]**, **[29]**) are preceded by the death of a warrior over whose corpse a *Leichenkampf* has developed, or is in the process of developing. Two more examples (**[27]** & **[28]**) are situated within the *Leichenkampf* of Patroklos (as are **[26]** & **[29]**, but they are both preceded by the usual types of preparatory actions), and their pre-texts concern the lack of knowledge of another warrior (in the first case Antilokhos, in the second Akhilleus) about the death of Patroklos. Lack of knowledge of a person removed from the current situation is a common motif in the battle scenes (cf., e.g., 11.497, 13.521-5, 13.673-8), and is employed in this particular episode as a means to connect the fight, Antilokhos, and the eventual informing of Akhilleus at the start of Book 18, whilst piling on the typical structures in order to emphasise the importance of the struggle.

The even contest gives way to specific combat narrative, whether immediate (as in **[1]**, **[2]**, **[4]**, **[9]**, **[11]**, **[13]**, **[15]** - **[17]**, **[19]**, **[30]** & **[32]**) or after another reactivation (as in **[3]**, **[7]**, **[8]**, **[10]**, **[12]**, **[14]**, **[18]**, **[21]** - **[24]**, **[28]**, **[29]** & **[31]**). We should not insist on too rigorous a differentiation between these two groups, for some of the latter are only separated from the former by a single and briefly narrated action; in, e.g., **[7]**, allotted to the latter group, the reactivation is comprised of an advance for Agamemnon which is very briefly narrated (216-7). Lengthy reactivations occur only after examples **[3]**, **[18]**, **[22]**, **[24]**, **[29]**, **[31]**. These two continuation strategies account for twenty-six of the thirty-two total passages. Of the other six examples, four are followed by the ὄφρα | τόφρα syntax (**[5]**, **[6]**, **[20]** & **[25]**) and then, after the directional moment closing the syntax,[60] by specific combat narrative. The last two examples (**[26]** and **[27]**) fall during the *Leichenkampf* over Patroklos (the post-text of **[26]** is the pre-text of **[27]** and so on), whose relationship can be charted in the following way:

	Prelude	Continuation
[26]	Preparations (17.356-60)	Antilokhos doesn't know
[27]	Antilokhos doesn't know	Akhilleus doesn't know

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[59] cf. below, pp. 32-3.

[60] cf. below on 8.66-9, pp. 36-8.

[28]	Akhilleus doesn't know	Preparations (424-40ff.)
[29]	Preparations (424-40ff.)	Exhortation (Athene - Menelaos [553f.])

These examples are part of a single complex structure, which delays the particular narration of the fight over Patroklos' corpse in order to connect Antilokhos and Akhilleus as prolepsis for the conveying of the news at the beginning of Book 18, and also to emphasise the importance and intensity of the episode.

Finally, not a great deal of emphasis can be laid upon differences of scale with other even contests at the start of the day's battle (as in **[1]** 4.446-56 & **[6]** 11.67-85), but the relative decrease in size is obvious, and resumes one of the observed characteristics of this part of Book 8. The opening of hostilities on the fourth battle day is the most complex of all, but the first clash of the armies is not actually described. Instead, the poet switches to the divine consultation (20.4-31 **[3/11]**), and then the advent of the gods on the battlefield (32-40); we are only told that the battle has been joined, and the Greeks in the ascendant (41-46) before the gods make their presence felt (47f.).

66-74 The specifics of the initial fighting are replaced by a directional statement which skips any individual episode during the morning's battle and concentrates on the first turning of the tide. These moments introduce 'Fluchtphasen', which set the course of the battle until an eventual steadying. This may be achieved either with an immediate reaction or (much more often) a delayed resolution, where the intervention of another figure or event halts the retreat or begins a counterattack. The poet as yet gives no indication as to when this will happen, but he creates an eventual expectation of reversal as the audience settles in to follow the course of this Trojan advance.

'Fluchtphasen': **[22]** 27 examples: **[1]** 4.505-16 (Trojan retreat), **[2]** 5.37-444/453 (T), **[3]** 5.596-710/777 (G), **[4]** 6.5-72/106 (T), **[5]** 7.8-16 (G), **[6]** *8.78-216/250* (G), **[7]** 8.253-319/335 (T), **[8]** 8.335-49 (G), **[9]** 11.86-180/214 (T), **[10]** 11.284-309/484 (G), **[11]** 11.486-97/544 (T), **[12]** 11.508-20 (G), **[13]** 11.544-74/595 (G), **[14]** 12.470-13.89/125 (G), **[15]** 13.717-23/794 (T), **[16]**

14.506-15.4/262 (T), [**17**] 15.279-369/379 (G), [**18**] 15.636-58/667 (G), [**19**] 16.278-418/547 (T), [**20**] 16.569-80 (G), [**21**] 16.588-92 (T), [**22**] 16.659-97/730 (T), [**23**] 17.274-7 (G), [**24**] 17.316-8/343 (T), [**25**] 17.597-18.148/221 (G), [**26**] 18.222-31/248 (T), [**27**] 20.381-21.520/22.3 (T).[61] Just as with the even contest, there are no universal elements of inception, conduct or conclusion. The immediate motivation for flight may include the death or advance of a prominent warrior, the direct or indirect intervention of a deity, or simply the ability of one side to force the other back σφῆι ἀρετῆι (11.90). The actions describing the course of the flight may be general or specific battle narrative, there may be a focus upon a single character, and there may also be extensive interruptions and even temporary reversals in the course of the retreat.[62]

The categories of motivating actions are not mutually exclusive, including death / wounding of a (prominent) warrior (as in **[1]**, **[8]**, **[10]**, **[12]**, **[16]**, **[21]**, **[23]**, **[24]**, also during the course of **[19]** & **[27]**, and in the Pylian/Epeian conflict [11.744f.]), advance *eiusdem* (as in **[3]**, **[5]**, **[10]**, **[11]**, **[13]**, **[14]**, **[17]** - **[19]**, **[21]**, **[24]** - **[26]**), direct or indirect divine intervention (as in **[3]**, **[6]** - **[8]**, **[13]**, **[15]** - **[17]**, **[22]**, **[25]** & **[26]**), σφῆι ἀρετῆι (as in **[2]**, **[4]**, **[5]**, **[7]**, **[9]**, **[13]** - **[24]**, **[26]**, **[27]**). The fact that **[5]**, **[10]**, **[12]**, **[14]**, **[18]**, **[20]** & **[23]** are periods of Greek retreat not directly caused by divine intervention would seem to bely the claim that "[i]n the entire Iliad, in fact, retreat of the Greeks is confined to those scenes . . in which they are forcibly pushed back by the gods."[63] Nonetheless, the poet does on several occasions make an equation between Greek victory and divine absence (as before **[2]**, **[4]** & **[27]**); on the other hand, Zeus rouses the Greeks before **[23]** and still the Trojans manage to push them back, albeit only temporarily.

The activity possible within these periods is best illustrated by taking one of the larger examples and summarising it: **[2]** the motivation or pretext is the withdrawal of Ares and Athene (29-36), then the Greeks force the Trojans back (37-8). There follows a list of *androktasiai* (85-

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[61] The citations after the / denote the point at which the delayed reversal begins, after the poet introduces another action or character which leads to the steadying of the army and usually a counterattack. We include here only those periods where one side's retreat is accompanied by the other's advance, which may be used by itself (e.g., 12.251-64 & 15.592-629), and so much of the fight at the wall and ships. We might also consider Nestor's narration of the battle between the Pylians and Epeians (11.737-61); cf. Latacz 1977, p. 212; Hellmann 2000, p. 135f. The latter's list has only fourteen examples, focusing on only the most obvious. Thus he excludes the Greek retreat before Hektor and Ares, which is begun by Diomedes and his speech at 5.596ff. [22/5], interrupted by a period of battle in which the Greeks are unable to press home their advantages (Aias forced back from a victim [608-26]) or suffer setbacks (Tlepolemos killed by Sarpedon [627-69]) before a brief *aristeia* for Odysseus which is soon ended by Hektor (680ff.). The poet then returns to the Greeks retreating before Hektor (699f.). It is undoubtedly a 'Fluchtphase', but a complex example.

[62] cf. Hellmann 2000, pp. 135-6.

[63] Fenik 1968, p. 46.

94) for each of the leaders, then a general description of Diomedes' advance (35-84), the first episode with Pandaros and Diomedes' rehabilitation by Athene (95-133), more general narrative and *androktasiai* for Diomedes (134-65), then the combat with Aineias and Pandaros (which includes the confrontation with Aphrodite and her retreat [166-431]), and Diomedes' encounter with Apollo (432-53). From this point, the poet uses Apollo's exhortation of Ares (454-70) and then Sarpedon's rebuke of Hektor (471-93) as the immediate pretext for steadying the ranks (494-7).

Resolution or reversal of these periods may be achieved, as in the above example, by the intervention of another character who is motivated into the battle. Every other example is of the delayed resolution variety: **[7]** after the implied retreat represented by the Greek counterattack and Teukros' *aristeia*, the delayed resolution begins with Hektor's attack and wounding of the latter (8.320-34); then Zeus intervenes (335) leading into Trojan counterattack **[8]**;[64] **[10]** after Hektor's initial *aristeia* and advance (11.285-309), the poet uses the interference of Diomedes and Odysseus (310-458), and then the final Trojan pursuit of the latter after he has been wounded (459-84) before Aias' arrival puts an end to their advance (485f. **[11]**). In both of these cases, wounding is an important element in the reversal of the dominant side's fortunes. Compare that with **[16]**, when the reversal of the Trojans' retreat is engineered by the waking of Zeus (15.4), but does not actually begin until 262. Immediate reaction, which is far less common, precedes **[20]**, **[21]** & **[23]**.

There are exceptions to this regular delayed situation in **[1]**, **[8]**, **[11]**, **[12]** & **[17]**: **[1]** is closed by two matching episodes of divine exhortation, and though the poet does not mention the steadying of the ranks, this is to be assumed from the following combats (4.517f.); **[11]** is connected with **[12]** & **[13]** in a complex manner. The delayed resolution of **[11]** begins with Hektor *not* knowing about Aias' victories. The poet then inserts an immediate resolution **[12]** to put the Greeks into flight on the other side of the battle, before he has Kebriones move Hektor over to the right side of battle before **[13]**, when Aias also retreats. **[13]** thus represents the closure of **[11]**, whilst **[12]** is an insertion which serves not only to make the retreat universal (for after that point, we focus on Aias' side of the battle) but also to introduce Makhaon and Nestor's retreat, whose arrival at the Greek camp will be the occasion for the despatch of Patroklos; **[17]** is closed by a prayer from Nestor and a favourable response from Zeus which is, uniquely,

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[64] cf. below on 8.212 and ff., pp. 112-15 et ff.

misinterpreted by the Trojans as favouring them.[65] It is unusual precisely because the poet wishes to heighten the irony of the Trojans' belief in themselves, and he combines associations of omen reaction and retreat resolution in order to achieve this.

The range of actions with which the resolution may be initiated includes exhortation / rebuke by a character who has noticed the problem (as in **[1]** - **[6]**, **[8]**, **[9]**, **[13]** - **[19]**, **[22]**, **[24]**, **[25]** & **[27]**), the making of an individual attack (as in **[7]**, **[10]**, **[13]**, **[19]**, **[22]**, **[24]**, **[27]**) and, on one occasion, the intervening action is the setting of the sun **[26]**, which always closes battle (cf. 7.282) and has been consistently emphasised as the limit of the Trojans' victory (cf., e.g., 11.194 & 209, 17.455).

66-9 The initiating event, a moment of direct divine intervention, is introduced by a correlative summary (ὄφρα | τόφρα [66-7]) signalling a narrative redirection, achieved in this case by another transitional syntax (ἦμος | τῆμος [68-9f.]),[66] which is employed to express progression in a larger ritual process, such as a funeral rite or the propitiation of Apollo. On three occasions, the construction falls in a context very similar to the present one, specifically moments directly concerned with the fulfilment of the *Dios Boule* but which, however, are only successful after a delay. Thus, the referential impact is the delayed operation of the *Dios Boule* as a result of the action expressed by the double construction.

[ὄφρα] | τόφρα: **[23]** 28 examples: **[1]** 4.220-1, **[2]** 5.788-91, **[3]** 7.193-4, **[4]** *8.66-9*, **[5]** 8.87-90, **[6]** 9.352-6f., **[7]** 9.550-2, **[8]** 10.507-8 (ἔως), **[9]** 11.84-5, **[10]** 11.187-90, **[11]** 11.202-5, **[12]** 11.264-6, **[13]** 11.357-60, **[14]** 11.411-12, **[15]** 11.476-7, **[16]** 12.10-12, **[17]** 12.195-9, **[18]** 15.318-19, **[19]** 15.343-5, **[20]** 15.390-5 (ἔως), **[21]** 15.539-41 (ἔως), **[22]** 16.777-8, **[23]** 17.106-7 (ἔως), **[24]** 18.15-16 (ἔως), **[25]** 18.257-8, **[26]** 18.380-{1}, **[27]** 21.100-2 (πρίν μὲν γάρ), **[28]** 21.602-7 (ἔως).[67]

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65 cf. below on 8.245-52, pp. 130-2 [93/15]; also on 252-4, pp. 132-3 [95/3].
66 cf. above on 8.1, pp. 1-3.
67 cf. Janko [1992] ad 15.318-19, p. 262.

The relationship between the correlation and the redirection may be one of strong contrast or simple juxtaposition: **[8]** Diomedes ponders his course, Athene tells him to flee, and he does so; **[14]** while Odysseus ponders his course, τόφρα the Trojans advance, and he then launches into them (420f.); **[17]** ὄφρα the Lapithai strip their victims, those around Hektor and Poulydamas are stopped in wonder at the omen, and Poulydamas' attempted redirection suggests retreat; **[19]** the Trojans strip the dead Greeks, the Greeks scatter inside the wall, and Hektor exhorts his men (redirection), thus continuing the reactivated Trojan advance, but heralding the final phase of the fight at the wall. In each case, what strikes one most is the poet's intention to move the narrative to new ground. Whilst most of these examples fall during the battle narrative (as in **[4]**, **[5]**, **[8]**, **[9]**, **[12]** - **[15]**, **[17]** - **[23]** & **[27]**), some are employed by speakers as a persuasive device to compare the admirable situation of the past with the current, relatively less positive state of affairs: **[2]** Here (*qua* Stentor) rebukes the Greeks for the fact that ὄφρα Akhilleus fought, τόφρα the Trojans were afraid to essay forth, but they are now fighting far from the city and posing a real threat (cf. also **[6]**, **[7]**, **[25]** & **[27]**).

ἦμος | [τῆμος]: **[24]** 8 examples: **[1]** 1.475-6 (δὴ τότε), **[2]** 1.477-8 (καὶ τότε), **[3]** 7.433-4, **[4]** *8.68-9* (καὶ τότε), **[5]** 11.86-91, **[6]** 16.779-80 (καὶ τότε), **[7]** 23.226-8, **[8]** 24.788-9. Expressions for dawn account for **[2]** (1/3), **[3]** (1/7), **[7]** (1/12) & **[8]** (1/16); **[2]** introduces the second day of the propitiation of Apollo (and **[1]** denotes the sunset before that dawn)[68], **[3]** the second and last day of the funeral for those who died on the first battle day, **[7]** the day of the games as the culmination of Patroklos' funeral and **[8]** the final day of Hektor's funeral.[69]

The remaining examples occur after examples of ὄφρα | τόφρα: **[4]** after **[23/4]**, **[5]** after **[23/9]**, **[6]** after **[23/22]**.[70] Zeus' involvement is noticeable: **[4]** he is present on Ide, and the action introduced by the double correlation is the direct imposition of his will upon the battle; **[5]** he is represented by Eris' lone presence on the field (cf. 11.3f., 73-83), and the action is the initial run of Greek success represented by Agamemnon's fortunes, at whose wounding the fighting will turn inexorably against them; **[6]** Apollo is actively taking part in the fighting on Zeus' explicit instructions, and the action introduced by the correlation is the claiming of Kebriones' body as prelude to the final reactivation of Patroklos' *aristeia* and his death. In addition, it should be noted that at 15.318-20f. (the fourth occasion on which ὄφρα | τόφρα **[23/18]** is used after an even

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68 cf. below on 8.485-8, pp. 213-4.
69 cf. Edwards 1986b.
70 cf. Fenik 1968, p. 81.

contest, but this time *without* ἦμος | τῆμος), Apollo is employing the *aigis* on the instructions of his father and he turns the battle immediately, bringing it into the final phase of Greek retreat before the firing of the ships and Patroklos' intervention.

All of the double correlative examples, however, represent a delayed fulfilment of his purpose: [**4**] another thundering salvo is required in order to make Diomedes retreat; [**5**] the Greeks enjoy a considerable run of success before the litany of woundings begins, and Hektor is hardly dominant before the end of the book; [**6**] Patroklos manages to enjoy a last brief and bloody run before he is hacked down. The final example from the last paragraph is, by contrast, an immediate and decisive impact upon the fighting.

From the way in which the poet joins and narrates the first turning of the battle, the audience is extremely well-informed about what is to come. They expect specific combat narrative to follow shortly, that this narrative is to be concerned with the delayed operation of the ongoing process we term the *Dios Boule*, and that the Greeks will retreat immediately.

69-77 This is, however, straightaway undermined by the way in which Zeus inclines the battle, for he weighs the κῆρε[ς] of each side (69-74)[71] before hurling a thunderbolt into the Greek army (75-6). The τάλαντα are a traditional symbol of the immediate implementation of Zeus' will, expressions of which in this form (ἔκτυπε [75]) are always followed by a more or less direct human reaction. The astonishment of the Greeks (θάμβησαν [77]) is typical when something occurs which necessitates a re-evaluation of

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[71] In its varying degrees, Neoanalysis holds that the 'Kerenwägung' is a motif ill-used in Book 8, and derived or borrowed specifically from the death of Memnon in the *Aithiopis*, a *Memnonis* or other cyclic material concerning that hero; cf., e.g., Pestalozzi 1945, p. 12f.; Kakridis 1949, pp. 94-5; Leumann 1950, pp. 227-8; von der Mühll 1952, p. 147; Schoeck 1961, pp. 25-31, esp. p. 29f.; Kullmann 1960, p. 317f.; Clark and Coulson 1978; van Thiel 1982, p. 273; Janko [1992] ad 16.658, p. 394; Heitsch 1993; cf., *contra*, Fenik 1968, pp. 219-20. It is by far the most probable hypothesis that the poets of the *Iliad* and *Aithiopis* independently knew of, and used, the 'Kerenwägung' as a motif which could be used of both individuals and groups.

opinion or behaviour. They are forced to recognise Zeus' hostility, in the face of which they are helpless (χλωρὸν δέος [8.77]).

τάλαντα Διὸς: **[25]** 4 examples: **[1]** *8.69-74*, **[2]** 16.658, **[3]** 19.223-4, **[4]** 22.208-13.[72] **[2]** Zeus causes Hektor to retreat (656) and he does so γνῶ γὰρ Διὸς ἱρὰ τάλαντα (658); **[3]** Odysseus invokes Zeus' supreme power in war through a striking metaphor,[73] where the decisive moment in battle is described as ἐπὴν κλίνῃσι τάλαντα | Ζεύς, ὅς τ' ἀνθρώπων ταμίης πολέμοιο τέτυκται (223-4); **[4]** in a close parallel with this episode, the τάλαντα are whipped out again at Hektor's penultimate moment (22.208-13).[74] The association therefore would seem to be one of direct and efficacious intervention.

[ἔ]κτυπε[ν] (Zeus' will): **[26]** 5 examples: **[1]** 7.479, **[2]** *8.75*, **[3]** 8.170, **[4]** 15.377, **[5]** 17.595.[75] In **[1]** - **[3]** & **[5]**, the hostility is sensed by those at whom it is directed, though in **[4]**, where the sign is a favourable response to Nestor's prayer, it is the Trojans who leap on ever more eagerly (379ff.), increasing the irony of the situation.[76] In all these cases, the poet provides the audience with clear information about the object of the action, who reacts immmediately: **[1]** Zeus σφὶν κακὰ μήδετο (478), drawing us back to the previous sentence (476-7) in which the actions of the Greeks and then Trojans are narrated. It is quite clear that the pronoun refers to both groups, as does the fearful reaction (χλωρὸν δέος [7.479])[77] which follows straightaway; **[4]** Zeus' direction towards the Greeks is quite clear from the fact that he responds to a prayer;[78] **[5]** the thundering is followed by an explicit statement of its purpose, νίκην δὲ Τρωέσσι δίδου, ἐφόβησε δ' Ἀχαιούς (596), and the Greek rout begins in the next verse.

θάμβ[ησαν] (noun and verb): **[27]** 11 examples: **[1]** 1.199, **[2]** 3.342, **[3]** 3.398, **[4]** 4.79, **[5]** *8.77*, **[6]** 23.728, **[7]** 23.815, **[8]** 23.881, **[9]** 24.482, **[10]** 24.483, **[11]** 24.484.[79] Such reactions are common during the funeral games (**[6]** - **[8]**) because this is the arena in which the relative status of the individual leader is worked out and proven; re-evaluations or potential re-evaluations of

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72 cf. Leaf [1904] ad loc., p. 337; cf. Dietrich 1964, p. 98; Erbse 1986, pp. 290-1; Willcock [1978] ad loc., p. 261; also Morrison 1997, esp. p. 289f. (and n. 34).

73 cf. Edwards [1991] ad 19.221-4, pp. 260-1.

74 cf. Richardson [1993] ad loc., pp. 129-30.

75 cf. Stockinger 1959, pp. 24-5.

76 cf. below on 8.242-6, pp. 127-30 [93/15]; also 252-4 (252), pp. 132-3 [95/3].

77 cf. below, p. 40 [28/1].

78 cf. below on 8.198-9 (198), pp. 102-5 [77/8]; also 8.242-6, pp. 127-30 [93/15].

79 cf. Dietrich 1983; Aubriot 1989; Fisher 1995; Latacz [2000]b ad 1.199, p. 90.

this status are thus the focal point of the onlookers' emotions. This also accounts for the crowd's reaction to the advance of Menelaos and Paris prior to their duel in [**2**], for the outcome would decide the entire war; cf. similarly [**4**]. The reaction is also common as a result of an arrival which forces an unexpected course of action upon the participants ([**1**], [**3**], [**4**], [**9**] - [**11**]). The accumulation of this emotion during the meeting of Akhilleus and Priam ([**9**] - [**11**]) emphasises the intensity of that episode.

χλωρὸν δέος: **[28]** 3 examples: [**1**] 7.479, [**2**] *8.77*, [**3**] 17.67.[80] On each occasion, the action causing the fear is beyond the group's control and causes a reaction which encapsulates their helplessness: [**1**] the thundering of Zeus causes libation; [**3**] within a lion simile applied to Menelaos as he strips Euphorbos, the Trojans are likened to hunters who do not dare face the creature.

The Greek reaction captures precisely the overturning of their expectations, and emphasises to the audience once again the fact that the course of the battle is beyond the control of its human participants. The expectation of immediacy resulting from these features is thus juxtaposed with the earlier sense of delay, postponing the fulfilment of the *Dios Boule* beyond at least this current phase of the fighting. In this way the poet sets the stage for the heroes to strive against that design whilst remaining bound to act within it.

78-9 Retreat begins immediately, in the form of a catalogue, a structure obviously preparatory to another event, providing its personnel and / or its precondition, though the figures

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[80] M West [1966] ad *Theogony* 167, p. 216; also Renehan 1976, p. 37, for parallels in early Greek literature; also Foley 1999a, pp. 216-8. Foley's examination of this figure (he calls it 'green fear') in Homer and the Hymns concludes with the statement that it "describes a situation in which a *supernaturally inspired fear* takes hold of a person or a group of people" (217). His comparative pool has ten examples, three from the *Iliad*, six from the *Odyssey* (11.43, 11.633, 12.243, 22.42, 24.450, 22.533) and one from the *Hom. Hy. to Demeter* (190). He acknowledges that there is one case in the *Odyssey* (22.42) which does not at first appearance seem to concord with this definition, but he misses the fact that [28/3] has nothing to do with supernatural fear. This example

named may not actually play any explicit role in either the unit or the subsequent action. As part of its action-unit, such a list provides the audience with a general connotation of preparation, and an intimation of the broader sweep of the action beyond the particular narrative focus. Thus, the naming of only four characters (78-9) here need not be seen as the totality of the retreat, for they are representative of the group engaged in that action.

Catalogues in small-scale action units: **[29]** 31 examples: **[1]** 2.405-7, **[2]** 3.146-53, **[3]** 4.293-6, **[4]** 4.440-5, **[5]** 7.161-9, **[6]** *8.78-80*, **[7]** 8.261-6,[81] **[8]** 9.81-6, **[9]** 10.227-32, **[10]** 11.56-66, **[11]** 12.19-23, **[12]** 12.139-40, **[13]** 13.4-6, **[14]** 13.91-3, **[15]** 13.477-9, **[16]** 13.490, **[17]** 13.758-9, **[18]** 14.29, **[19]** 14.380, **[20]** 14.425-6, **[21]** 15.301-2, **[22]** 16.535-6, **[23]** 17.216-8, **[24]** 17.256-9, **[25]** 17.534-5, **[26]** 18.39-49, **[27]** 19.239-40, **[28]** 19.310-11, **[29]** 20.33-7|38-40; **[30]** 20.67-74; **[31]** 24.249-51.[82] There seems to be no constant relationship between the personnel of the catalogue and the continuation of the narrative. For instance, all of the characters in **[15]** are either killed or play a role in the battle to come, and Janko opines that "[s]uch lists . . were surely a device to help the bard create [the following narrative] and recall it."[83] This is clearly the case in **[24]**, where a group of Greek leaders advance in response to a call for help from Menelaos (17.246-56), for all of the figures play some role in the fighting until the appearance of Akhilleus in Book 18. However, **[21]** defeats any such interpretation. The action-unit is the response to Thoas' suggestions in the battlefield *boule* from 15.300f., and the figures named are the Aiantes, Idomeneus, Teukros, Meriones, and Meges. Aias *maior* plays an important role, and is constantly singled out (e.g. 419f.), Teukros likewise is of indvidual importance (437f.), but Meges plays a

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demands that we privilege helplessness over a putative divine provenance, although the two will often co-exist, as they do at [28/1] and [28/2].

81 cf. below on 8.256-65, pp. 135-7 [98/6].

82 Because the catalogue is one of the most characteristic and common features of Homeric narrative, we have restricted our enquiry to directly analogous examples, i.e. those catalogues which denote the participants of a small scale action-unit. Thus we exclude extended catalogues (e.g., 2.484-779, 2.816-77, 12.88-104, 16.168-97), sequences of reciprocal and serial *androktasiai* (e.g., 6.5-36, 15.515-24, 16.307-50), genealogies (e.g., 2.101-9, 6.196-8, 14.117, 20.232 / 236-40), catalogues employed in character's speeches (e.g., 1.145-6, 1.263, 1.400, 6.435-7, 9.149-52 etc.), catalogues of things rather than people (e.g., 9.149-52), and catalogues of victims; cf. below on 8.273-7, pp. 137-43. These exclusions are to some extent arbitrary, given that so many features we will isolate for discussion are also to be found in other types of catalogue. Nonetheless, some spatial sacrifice had to be made, and the addition of further examples would be a purely quantitative one; cf., e.g., Minton 1962; Beye 1964; Edwards 1980; Minchin 1996; Gaertner 2001.

83 Janko [1992] ad 13.478-80, p. 108.

very minor role (520f.), and neither Aias *minor* (not mentioned again until 17.256) nor Idomeneus (next mentioned in the *aristeia* of Patroklos at 16.345) nor Meriones (unmentioned until Patroklos' *aristeia*, at 16.342) actually appear in the fighting which follows. Compare also **[23]**, where the list is made up of figures who are to be killed later on (Hippothoon, Phorkus, Khromios, Thersilokhos, Asteropaios), are elsewhere unknown or very minor characters (Mesthles, Ennomos), and who are never mentioned again in the poem (Glaukos, Medon, Ennomos). This is not to deny that the presence of the figure can have any proleptic import. It is just that any such ramification is so variable that the audience would not draw any conclusion from a character's appearance in a catalogue about his presence or role in the coming narrative. In many catalogues, the figures are simply there in order to fill out the picture of who should be present during the particular action (as in, e.g., **[1]**, **[26]** & **[27]**).

In this regard, it is noticeable that the poet avails himself of these catalogues before battle (as in **[1]** - **[4]** in general, **[9]** - **[11]** (interlude), **[29]** & **[30]**) and its many reactivations (as in **[12]** - **[25]**). However, other episodes are also introduced by catalogues of those involved: **[26]** the lamentation of Thetis, **[27]** the fetching of the gifts, **[28]** Akhilleus' lamentation over Patroklos, **[31]** the preparation of the wagon. These episodes, it should be noted, are all in themselves preparatory to another major episode, from the encounter between Thetis and Akhilleus, the reconciliation between Agamemnon and Akhilleus, the eruption of Akhilleus' fury against the Trojans, and the memorable episode between Priam and Akhilleus. This pre-preparation, as it were, is also evident in the many battlefield examples where an exhortation is often the immediate action-unit of the catalogue, which then leads into the actual advance and reactivation of the battle (e.g., **[14]**, **[15]**, **[22]** & **[23]**). Even if the actual figures named may not be important, it is clearly of some weight that the audience understand a preparatory phase of the action as a result of the action-unit as a whole.

The poet on several occasions states that catalogues are not all-inclusive: after **[20]** we find τῶν τ' ἄλλων οὔ τίς ἑ' ἀκήδεσεν, ἀλλὰ πάροιθεν | ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους σχέθον αὐτοῦ (14.427-8); cf. also the *aporia* after **[24]**, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τίς κεν ἥισι φρεσὶν οὐνόματ' εἴποι, | ὅσσοι δὴ μετόπισθε μάχην ἤγειραν Ἀχαιῶν; (17.260-1). However, he is free to use numerical expressions in catalogues when he apparently wishes to convey that the group represents the totality of participants: **[1]** Odysseus, the last figure of those summoned to the sacrifice, is numbered ἕκτον (2.407), before the poet adds the information that Menelaos came of his own accord (408f.); we are told before **[6]** that ἐννέα responded to Nestor's rebuke (7.161); **[7]** the last item, Teukros, is described εἴνατος (8.266); **[8]**

of those who lead the setting of the guard, telling us after the catalogue that there were ἕπτα (9.85); **[31]** the sons of Priam are numbered after the catalogue (ἐννέα [24.252]). How far to push this information is a little difficult to know, for in **[8]** and **[31]** the poet mentions figures who do not reappear, and their utility is a function of the general reference which these catalogues make.[84]

78 The continuation of the action-unit, or its application to a group larger than that mentioned, is also suggested by the form of the retreat as given in the first item (οὔτ[ε] τλῆ μίμνειν [78]), on which the subsequent items build. Such expressions are used of characters who are prevented from a certain activity by the intervention or intercession of an irresistible influence, and they express a course of action in which the character or group behaves in accordance with the expectations of that intercession. The withdrawal is, therefore, the expected action.

οὐ | [ἐ]τλ[ῆ]: **[30]** 16 examples: **[1]** 1.534, **[2]** 5.21, **[3]** 7.151, **[4]** 7.480, **[5]** *8.78*, **[6]** 17.153, **[7]** 17.489-90, **[8]** 17.733, **[9]** 18.246, **[10]** 19.14, **[11]** 20.421, **[12]** 21.608, **[13]** 22.136, **[14]** 22.251, **[15]** 24.35, **[16]** 24.565. In all of these cases, the action (whether of groups or indviduals) is performed in the context of a prior episode which motivates the audience's expectations, whereby the character's reaction is depicted as its logical consequence; **[7]** the Aiantes continually whirl around (motivating action), the Trojans go pale with fear and none dares to face them; **[11]** Hektor is shamed by the death of his brother Polydoros (motivating action) so that he does not endure standing off, and goes to face Akhilleus; **[1]** the arrival of Zeus is the motivating action which demands the gods not dare to remain seated, but stand. The list could go on, but the point would remain the same.

The point is well made in relief, for the positive forms of τλῆναι all denote unexpected activity. For example, the three examples of positive ἔτλης (21.150, 22.236, {24.519}) represent the action dependent on τλῆναι as extraordinary, given the circumstances: [21.150] Akhilleus' challenge clearly implies that Asteropaios' advance is foolish; [22.236] Hektor promises to reward Deiphobos for being the only one to come to his aid, when all the others remained within

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[84] cf., however, below on 8.256-65, pp. 135-7.

the city; [24.519] Akhilleus wonders at Priam's courage to have come to the camp alone. In each case the addressee's behaviour is contrasted with the expected action, from the unhappy state of those whose children meet Akhilleus in battle, to the notion that all the others remained in Troy, and that not even a young man would dare such an act (which is itself expressed with negative τλῆναι + infinitive **[16]**). Moreover, the collocation of positive τλῆναι and μένειν in 2.299, 11.317 & 19.308 fall in situations where the expression of resolve (endure and stay etc.) explicitly counteracts the prevailing opinion about the course of action to be adopted, which may in fact be recognised by the speaker. Finally, when Dione details the sufferings the gods have had to endure from mortal men, τλῆναι is employed five times (5.382, 383, 385, 392, 395) in the space of fifteen lines to outline these extraordinary events. Compare also the statements of Thetis (18.433) and Priam (24.505) to Akhilleus, where each character details an action which they should not in the ordinary course of things have had to experience.

80-2 As the final item in the catalogue (or the first item outside it), the image of the stranded Nestor is the introduction to the narrative's continuation. Such elaboration elsewhere continues the action-unit, and so the current episode goes against the expectations constructed not only by the catalogue form, but also by the expression of the action within that structure. When this is combined with the fact that Nestor remains οἷος (80), we are to infer the singularity of Nestor and Diomedes' actions.[85] Further focus is provided by the ascription to Paris of Nestor's difficulty (81-2), for this forecasts that the wounded figure's retreat will be the centre of the subsequent narrative. In this case, the

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[85] The coming episode is the complete picture, as it were, of the battle. The tenor of retreat has been set, and it is only Nestor and Diomedes, the former through necessity, the latter through an excess of heroic virtue, who resist. Their isolation, introduced by the expectations of retreat implicit in the form and function of the catalogue, is constantly emphasised throughout the coming narrative: at 8.98-9 Diomedes is said αὐτός περ ἐών to mix with the *promakhoi*, at 8.158-9 the phrasing of the Trojan attack upon them once they flee implies their isolation, whilst Hektor's taunts at 8.160-6, as well as his encouragement to his horses (184-97, esp. 191-5), are directed specifically towards an encounter with Nestor and Diomedes; cf. cf. below on 8.99-100 (99), p. 55 [40/2]; on 8.157-9 (159), pp. 82-3 [62/1]; on 8.160-7, pp. 84-6 [63/4]; on 8.184-90, pp. 97-9 [72/1]. For him, the other Greeks are envisaged behind their wall (177f.) and, indeed, the first we see of them, they are penned in the camp (213ff.).

audience are to understand that the rescue of Nestor will lead into a subsequent episode involving that character.[86]

Final-item elaboration is a common device in catalogue poetry. In the current pool, it is employed in **[29/1]**, **[29/6]**, **[29/7]**, **[29/11]** & **[29/22]**, but in a variety of ways. For instance, the final item may be more elaborated than the rest, but not employed or even mentioned in the following narrative (as in **[29/1]** & **[29/11]**) or it may in fact serve as the centrepiece of the subsequent narrative (as in **[29/6]**, **[29/7]**, **[29/22]**). In fact, only one other catalogue action-unit **[29/2]** shows a similar, but not precisely analogous, disjunction; after the catalogue of old men on the wall, the poet gives a generic speech representative of their opinion (3.154-61). In contrast, Priam, who was the first figure in the catalogue, makes a point of treating Helen well (161ff.). On this (really post-catalogue) disjunction then hangs the *Teikhoskopia.* An example of the usual final item elaboration is to be seen in **[29/22]**, where Hektor is the figure to whom Glaukos directs his rebuke, with immediate results.

Paris' non-fatal arrow casts: **[31]** 4 examples: **[1]** *8.81-2*, **[2]** 11.369-78, **[3]** 11.505-7, **[4]** 11.581-4.[87] In these circumstances, the wounding of the hero is used in order to introduce a further episode or continuation: **[2]** the wounding of Diomedes leads to his retreat and the stranding of Odysseus, who then enjoys a defensive *aristeia* before being wounded and rescued;

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[86] The stranding of Nestor has long been felt to depend upon the scene in the *Aithiopis* (known principally from Pindar *Pythian* 6.28-39, on which, cf. below on 8.91-6, p. 50 n. 93) where Nestor is rescued by his son Antilokhos, who is subsequently killed by Memnon; cf., e.g., Wilamowitz 1916, p. 46; Pestalozzi 1945, pp. 10-11; Kullmann 1960, pp. 30f., 314-5; Schoeck 1961, pp. 20-2; Willcock [1978] ad 8.78-98, p. 262; Willcock 1983; Mühlestein 1987, pp. 52-4; Heitsch 1990, esp. p. 55f.; also Willcock 1997, p. 179f., for an overview. Crucial for these discussions is the assumption "[b]esser motiviert = älter" which Erbse 1993a, p. 397 n. 20, rightly criticises; cf. also Page 1961 & 1963; Schadewaldt 1966, pp. 97-8 (though he did change his mind; cf. Schadewaldt 1965 [1951], esp. p. 163); also Andersen 1978, p. 117f.; Fenik 1968, p. 229-39; Dihle 1970, ch. 1, esp. pp. 11-12; Erbse 1993a, pp. 393-8; Burgess 2001, surprisingly, does not deal with this scene.

A specific point to be made here is that arrow-wounding by Paris is clearly known to the poet of the *Iliad* as an action to be used in order to foreshadow the retreat or distress of the wounded figure, and is therefore a traditional element in his compositional technique. This coincidence between the two stories is not necessarily a question of direct influence. One might object that, in the other cases, the victim is human; cf., however, below on 8.87-91, p. 46 n. 89, where another horse is killed in a manner usually reserved for humans (*alienum vulnus*; cf. below on 8.119-21 (119), pp. 63-5 [46/8] & [46/9]). For other such points, cf. also below on 8.91-100, pp. 48-9 n. 92; also 8.91-6, p. 50 n. 93.

[87] cf. Schadewaldt 1966, p. 61, n. 2; cf. also Hainsworth [1993] ad 11.505, p. 267. It should be noted that Paris does actually kill someone with an arrow at 13.660-72 as the last encounter in a period of reciprocal *androktasiai* (and so is rightly exluded from the examples above), and he also enjoys more conventional victories at 7.8-10 and 15.341-2.

[3] the wounding of Makhaon leads into an exchange between Idomeneus and Nestor on the need for his retreat (11.510f.), and the retreat itself. The narrative then switches to Hektor driving to face Aias, who is whirled into retreat by Zeus, at which point we find [4], where Eurupulos is wounded whilst trying to give assistance to the beleaguered hero. As he in turn retreats into the crowd, he exhorts the other Greeks to protect Aias (585-92), who then does reach the Greek lines. Then we find the continuation episode introduced by [3], as Akhilleus sees Nestor and Makhaon driving into the camp and sends Patroklos to make enquiries. Thus, these last two examples are closely intertwined at the end of the fighting in that book, [3] being used to set up the expectation of a continuative episode which is delayed until the end of [4], whose own continuation is only briefly narrated in order to make way for important episode between Patroklos and Nestor which follows.

87-91 The actual *Nestorbedrängnis* begins with another ὄφρα | τόφρα correlation (87-90),[88] linking Nestor's inability to move and attempt to cut himself free (ὄφρα) and Hektor's advance (τόφρα). The poet hereby creates a tension between the audience's knowledge of Nestor's eventual survival of the war and his current danger, increased by the fact that a hero is nowhere else stranded in his chariot by the death of one of his team.[89] The conflict is resolved by the redirective, in this cast in the form of a negative contrafactual conditional sentence (καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' | εἰ μή [90-1]). This structure is used to resolve

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[88] cf. above on 8.66-7, pp. 36-8 [23/10].

[89] cf. Fenik 1968, pp. 220-1. The stranding of the chariot is suggestively paralleled in the death of one of Patroklos' horses in Book 16 during his encounter with Sarpedon, after which Automedon leaps down to cut away the παρήορος (16.471) holding the horse to the chariot; cf. Fenik 1968, p. 204; Kirk [1990] ad loc., pp. 305-6. The death in combat of the 'trace-horse' is not as unparalleled as even Fenik 1968, pp. 220-1, thinks, and should provide another cautionary check to the Neoanalysts' reliance on supposed similarities between the *Iliad* and *Aithiopis* on this point; cf., e.g., Leumann 1950, pp. 221-31; Kullmann 1960, p. 315f.; Heitsch 1990 & 1993; *contra*, cf. Erbse 1993b. In fact, the two Iliadic scenes comprise a typical pattern which was not apparently used in the *Aithiopis*. It should be noted that Automedon in Book 16 automatically leaps down to cut away the offending equine whilst, when he arrives to rescue Nestor here in Book 8, Diomedes makes particular mention of the weakness of the latter's charioteer (8.104). One might reasonably infer that the failure of the charioteer to act in the circumstances, leaving the task instead to the γέρων (8.87-8), is being emphasised as the untypical reversal of what could be a common detail in the pattern.

conflicting narrative strands by stating what would have happened, but for the emergence of a third party heralding a causal chain of action and / or exhortation which always succeeds in resolving the conflict or altering the direction of the preceding narrative.

Negative contrafactual conditional sentences: **[32]** 38 examples: **[1]** 2.155-6, **[2]** 3.373-5, **[3]** 5.22-4, **[4]** 5.311-3, **[5]** 5.388-90, **[6]** 5.679-80, **[7]** 6.73-6, **[8]** 7.104-8, **[9]** 7.273-5, **[10]** *8.90-1*, **[11]** 8.130-2, **[12]** 8.217-9, **[13]** 11.310-12, **[14]** 11.504-7, **[15]** 11.750-2, **[16]** 12.290-3, **[17]** 13.723-5, **[18]** 14.258-9, **[19]** 15.121-4, **[20]** 15.459-62, **[21]** 16.698-701, **[22]** 17.70-1, **[23]** 17.319-25, **[24]** 17.530-2, **[25]** 17.613-4, **[26]** 18.165-8, **[27]** 18.397-9, **[28]** 18.454-6, **[29]** 20.288-91, **[30]** 21.211-13, **[31]** 21.544-6, **[32]** 22.202-4, **[33]** 23.154-5, **[34]** 23.382-4, **[35]** 23.490-1, **[36]** 23.540-2, **[37]** 23.733-4, **[38]** 24.713-4. The apodosis is introduced by ἔνθα κ[εν], καί νύ κ[εν] *aut sim.*, the protasis by εἰ μή, ἀλλά *aut sim.*[90]

The specific configurations constructed by the poet in this regard are all essentially causal chains, in which one event (action and / or exhortation) gives rise to another and so on. In every case, the purpose of the chain is to establish an action as a response to the connotative tension or direction of the preceding narrative which then redirects or re-establishes the narrative course: **[2]** Menelaos' imminent victory in the duel with Paris is resolved by Aphrodite's breaking of the hemlet-strap; **[3]** the death of both sons of Dares at the hands of Diomedes is clearly implied by the fate of the first, the favour shown to Diomedes by Athene (5.1f.), and the typicality of the slaying of two sons in the same chariot.[91] The second's rescue by Hephaistos renders that ineffective; **[8]** Menelaos, as the poet acknowledges, would have perished at the hands of Hektor, who as we have been told is not fated to die yet. The other *basileis*' intervention prevents that unfortunate eventuality; **[13]** the action decided upon by Odysseus and Diomedes is directed specifically towards stopping the retreat inspired by Hektor's victorious course over the battlefield (esp. at 304-9); **[18]** Hypnos recounts that Zeus' previous anger at him, which would have been of dire consequence, had surely been fulfilled were it not for the intervention of Nux; **[24]** the poet tells us that Hektor and Automedon would have come to blows, had it not been for the arrival of the Aiantes, whereat Hektor and the other Trojans retreat, and the danger is averted; **[28]**

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90 cf. Fenik 1968, pp. 175-7, de Jong 1987, pp. 68-81; Lang 1989; Morrison 1992a; Morrison 1992b; Nesselrath 1992; Louden 1993.

91 cf. Fenik 1968, p. 88; also Kirk [1990] ad 5.20-1, pp. 55-6.

imminent Trojan victory in the *Leichenkampf* precedes Iris' journey to Akhilleus, which is designed specifically for and succeeds in its prevention.

There is no example of an intercession expressed by this resolutionary method in which the action does not prove to be successful. One might argue that **[4]** is an exception, given that Diomedes then goes on to wound Aphrodite (5.330f.) who promptly drops her son before he is rescued by Apollo (343-6), with further attempts to confound the rescue (432f.). Nonethless, the rescue is still eventually effected, and its successful outcome is delayed here in order to allow the poet a memorable series of episodes.

91-100 The intervention here comes from Diomedes, in the form of a common sequence whereby the poet dispatches a character(s) to the aid of an endangered but unwounded character(s). These situations are possessed of a range of constituent elements variously and unevenly combined, but on every occasion the augmented group succeeds in averting the danger which is said to face the assisted character, in a passage of specific combat involving the group which follows shortly thereafter.

Aid of an endangered character: **[33]** 10 examples: **[1]** 5.565-70, **[2]** *8.91-100* (32/10), **[3]** 11.575-7, **[4]** 12.333-77, **[5]** 13.455-95 (455-69 | 477-88 | 489-95), **[6]** 17.237-61, **[7]** 17.507-32 (with interruption, i.e. combat, from 514-29 [32/24]), **[8]** 20.443-54, **[9]** 20.291-340 (32/29), **[10]** 21.596-8.[92]

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[92] These last three examples could also be classed as 'rescue scenes', in that although Aineias, Hektor and Agenor are as yet unwounded, they are removed by a deity from the scene - the end result of rescues; cf. Fenik 1968, p. 33f., 36f. We differentiate between assistance and rescue in a way which is not to be found in Fenik's treatment, and are not interested in cases ending in the removal of the character from the field of battle. There are ten examples of this latter action, some of which also are introduced by the resolutionary contrafactual: 3.374-6 [32/2] & 380f., 5.311f. [32/4], 5.355f., 5.663f., 8.330-4, 11.462-8, 11.510-20, 13.533f., 14.424f., 21.416f.; cf. below on 8.330-4, pp. 161-2 [116].

The ubiquitous success of the augmented group is another consideration which militates against the assumption of direct influence between the *Iliad* and *Aithiopis* on the question of the *Nestorbedrängnis*; cf. above on 8.80-2, p. 45 n. 86, & 8.87-91, p. 46 n. 89. Sending one hero to the aid of another in distress is a fully typical activity, perhaps the closest *comparandum* being [33/1]. Menelaos finds himself in a difficult situation because of what seems to be an unusual action (Ares sends him into battle in order to have him killed). In reality, of course, the action is unparalleled, but an unusual form of a typical detail; cf., e.g., 21.79f. for the sending of a hero into battle by a deity. A younger, more powerful warrior then notes the hero's danger and moves,

The elements we find include: (a) summoning aid, (b) noticing the trouble, (c) a discourse (either from the poet himself or a character) on the situation, (d) the advance, and (e) its effect on the course of the battle. The distribution of these elements may be exemplified as follows: **[1]** we find first (b) the noticing of the difficulty (5.565), followed by (c) direct narration of Antilokhos' fear for Menelaos (567-9) which is framed within (d) the advance (566; 570); upon his arrival at 570, Aineias retreats (571-2), they reclaim the corpses of Krethon and Orsilokhos (the *Leichenkampf* over whose corpse was being threatened between Aineias and Menelaos) and then the augmented group goes on to enjoy a double *androktasia* (576f.). Or again, when Aias and Teukros come to the aid of Menestheus **[4]**, we find first (a) a series of speeches between Menestheus and the herald Thootes, who then reports his words to Aias (12.333-63), (b) Aias obeying the request, (c) a disquisition on the situation to Aias *minor* (365-9), (d) the arrival of Aias and Teukros at the desired point (370-2), and then (e) the joining of battle over the wall, followed by two *androktasiai* for the newly arrived couple (373f.). Notice that the commentary on the situation is provided both within the summoning element, and the speech between the Aiantes at 365-9. This is common where a hero summons aid, even where a separate commentary on the situation is not provided: cf. **[5]** - **[7]**. In other words, the audience is never left in any doubt about the type of action being undertaken. Finally, we notice the unusual case of **[5]**, in which there are three separate cycles of assistance, 13.455-69 (Aineias to Deiphobos), 477-88 (Greek heroes to Idomeneus), and 489-95 (Trojan heroes to Aineias). This is an escalating series, in which one advent demands another until parity is achieved in the forces on either side after the third sequence.

The success of the augmented entity is ubiquitous: **[1]** Antilokhos' arrival chases off Aineias, who represents a threat to Menelaos; **[3]** Eurypylos, before he is wounded, provides temporary relief for Aias, allowing him to return to the ranks of his comrades; **[4]** the advent of Aias and Teukros prevents Sarpedon and Glaukos from overturning the wall; **[5]** in the series of escalating arrivals, Aineias stops Idomeneus from killing Deiphobos, the arrival of several Greek heroes prevents Idomeneus' death at Aineias' hands, and of several Trojan heroes obviates the overwhelming of Aineias by this augmented force; **[6]** the arrival of several Greek figures hinders the claiming of Patroklos' corpse by the Trojans; **[7]** the advent of the Aiantes stops Automedon

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successfully, to intercede. We might conclude, then, that the success of this activity, rather than the death of the rescuing hero in the *Aithiopis*, is the more traditional form of the motif in epic poetry; cf. above on 8.69-77, p. 38 n. 71.

and Hektor from coming to blows; **[8]** - **[10]** individual Trojan heroes are rescued by deities (Aineias by Poseidon, Hektor by Apollo and Agenor by Apollo), preventing their death at the hands of Akhilleus.

91-6 If we turn to the specific actions initiating the resolutionary chain we find Diomedes' notice of Nestor's plight (ὀξὺ νόησε [91]) and his call for assistance to Odysseus (92-6).[93] The first expression typically introduces another character's reaction to the immediately preceding narrative, but the success of that reaction is forecast primarily by the current resolutionary frame. The second act is a common element of the assistance sequence, and introduced here in a form (σμερδαλέον ἐβόησεν [92]) which connotes an action depicted as sufficiently threatening of an immediate consequence as to require some type of response. Nor is this the only such feature: questions beginning with πῆι / ποῦ, comparison to a κακός, being struck in the back (μεταφρένωι ἐν δόρυ πῆξηι [95]), are all features which carry the negative implication of flight or defeat, heroic sensitivity in which regard needs little demonstration.[94]

ὀξὺ νόησε[ν] **[34]** 8 examples: **[1]** 3.374 (32/2), **[2]** 5.312 (32/4), **[3]** 5.680 (32/6), **[4]** *8.91* (32/10), **[5]** 8.132 (32/11), **[6]** 11.343, **[7]** 15.649, **[8]** 20.291 (32/11). Of the two examples which do not occur within the contrafactual sentence, the intervention is unsuccessful in one case **[6]** and successful in the other **[7]**. Thus, it is difficult to conclude that this phrase by itself connotes success, as it generally falls within a broader contrafactual frame which always connotes success, and the

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[93] The summoning of aid here has been held to parallel Nestor's call for aid (Μεσσανίου δὲ γέροντος | δονηθεῖσα φρὴν βόασε παῖδα ὅν [*Pythian* 6.35-6]) in the face of Memnon's onslaught in the *Aithiopis*; cf. above on 8.80-2, p. 45 n. 86 and refs. there. However, what Diomedes does here is to call to another figure to join in a venture on the battlefield, which also occurs at 11.312f. (and in response to a cry for aid at 11.465f.); cf. Fenik 1968, pp. 91, 113.. Further, the theme of calling for aid for oneself (which is Pindar's form of the tale) is also typical in the *Iliad*; cf. esp. 11.461f., 13.477f.; also Fenik 1968, pp. 104-5. Finally, the closest parallel for this action actually comes at 17.608-19, where Koiranos is killed after driving his chariot up to save the embattled Idomeneus. There is, once again, no need to posit an extra-Iliadic source for this detail.

[94] cf. Fenik 1968, pp. 56-7.

number of examples outside this frame are simply too few, and their evidence too equivocal, to speak for it definitively. However, [**6**] might indicate a moment of connotative uncertainty, where the poet employs the associations of victory in order to hint at Hektor's success in his confrontation with Diomedes and Odysseus.

Adverbial σμερδαλε- gives rise to the expression σμερδαλέα [ἰάχων]: **[35]** 8 examples: [**1**] 5.302, [**2**] 7.479 (κτυπέων), [**3**] 8.321, [**4**] 16.785, [**5**] 19.41, [**6**] 20.285, [**7**] 20.382, [**8**] 20.443.[95] There is a typical notion of threat to this adverb participial combination: [**1**], [**3**], [**4**] & [**6**] - [**8**] all denote aggressive cries by an advancing hero, whilst [**2**] is the thundering from Zeus; [**5**], which falls during the summoning of the assembly, is not threatening to the addressees but it refers obviously to the coming battle, and hints at the unresolved conflict to be addressed in the assembly which follows. In every case, the threat is then played out or responded to: [**2**] the armies libate as a response to Zeus' threatening thundering, whilst in [**1**], [**4**], [**6**] & [**8**] the threatening action is then countered by another action (in [**1**] and [**6**] the lifting and casting of a stone [rescue of the individual in the latter case], [**4**] the resistance of Apollo, and [**8**] the rescue of Hektor); where there is no reaction, as at [**5**] and [**7**], the agent character is allowed to proceed with the threatened behaviour (the wounding of Teukros and the catalogue of slayings respectively).

The poet's usage of adverbial σμερδαλέον is not quite so uniform; σμερδαλέον: **[36]** 12 examples: [**1**] 2.334, [**2**] 2.466, [**3**] *8.92*, [**4**] 13.498, [**5**] 15.609, [**6**] 15.648, [**7**] 16.277, [**8**] 18.35, [**9**] 19.399, [**10**] 21.255, [**11**] 21.593, [**12**] 22.95. The adverb is used overwhelmingly of the noise made by an inanimate object after it has been struck or pounded: in [**1**], [**2**], [**4**] - [**7**], [**10**] & [**11**] the noise from the ships, the earth, armour, helmets, and greaves. There is still a sense of threat to these actions, for they are the signs, indeed the effects, of current and forthcoming conflict. The other occasions are all noises made by a character: [**3**] Diomedes' call for aid, [**8**] Akhilleus' groans over the body, [**9**] Akhilleus' shout to his horses and [**12**] of Hektor (*per* simile) as he waits for Akhilleus. An active threatening sense is immediately apparent only in the latter two examples, but the requirement of response may still be seen in the fact that Thetis comes to aid her son, Akhilleus' horses reply to his exhortations, whilst Hektor's glare as he waits for Akhilleus is clearly predicated of a response.

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[95] cf. Kirk [1985] ad 5.302-4, p. 91.

πῆι / ποῦ questions (I): **[37]** 11 examples: **[1]** 6.377, **[2]** *8.94*, **[3]** 8.413, **[4]** 10.385, **[5]** 10.406-7, **[6]** 13.307, **[7]** 13.770-1, **[8]** 14.298, **[9]** 16.422 (πόσε), **[10]** 24.201, **[11]** 24.362.[96] These questions concern the current direction of a figure or journey being undertaken, the implication being that the journey or situation itself is unusual: **[1]** Hektor's demand for Andromakhe's whereabouts is obviously predicated upon a belief that she should be at home; cf. the options for her journey he gives at 6.378-80, and his brief refusal to countenance her tactical advice at 441 and again at 490-3; **[3]** Iris is openly indignant about the intentions of Here and Athene in their current journey;[97] **[4]** night is, as Odysseus says to Dolon (10.385-6), an unusual time to be travelling. Subsequent inquiries **[5]** about the location of Hektor and the Trojan forces resume this theme, which is again taken up by Hermes in **[11]**, this time directed towards Priam; **[6]** the place at which they should rejoin the battle is an extension of the earlier contest between Idomeneus and Meriones over their valour, during which the former particularly had seemed to insinuate a failure on the part of his companion;[98] **[7]** Hektor demands from Paris the location of the other major heroes. Herein he rebukes Paris through the connotation of his worthlessness next to these figures, who have been fighting properly and should still be doing so. Paris replies as if stung;[99] **[8]** Zeus implies that Here's current journey is strange in the absence of her chariot; **[9]** before facing Patroklos, Sarpedon rebukes his men for fleeing. In every case, a response is immediately forthcoming, except in **[9]** where Sarpedon simply moves towards the combat with Patroklos.

μεταφρένωι ἐν δόρυ πήξ[ηι]: **[38]** 5 examples: **[1]** 5.40, **[2]** *8.95*, **[3]** 8.258, **[4]** 11.447, **[5]** 22.283. The expression is preceded by a dative participle ([μετα]στρεφθέντι in **[1]**, **[3]** & **[4]**, φεύγοντι in **[2]** & **[5]**) which makes the retreating posture of the victim clear; in **[2]** & **[5]**, Diomedes and Hektor employ the image in strong denials of the desirability of such a death, and their consequent determination to avoid it.[100]

The defensive implications are also clear in other μετάφρεν[ον] strikes: **[39]** 6 examples: **[1]** 2.265 (& 267), **[2]** 5.56, **[3]** 16.791, **[4]** 16.806, **[5]** 20.402, **[6]** 20.488. The victim's defensive attitude in these examples is made clear by accusative participles (as in **[2]**, **[5]** & **[6]**), or is

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96 cf. Ameis-Hentze [1907] ad loc., p. 46; also below on 8.228-35 (229), pp. 124-5 for πῆι / ποῦ questions (II).

97 cf. below on 8.409-25, pp. 189-92.

98 cf. on 8.200-8 (200), pp. 105-10 [79/8] - [79/13].

99 cf. below on 8.292-9 (294), pp. 151-5 [110/2]; also on 8.292-9 (295), pp. 151-5 [111/2].

100 cf. below on 8.118, pp. 62-3 [44/5]; also 8.172-4 (172), pp. 92-5 [70/2]; also on 8.497-541 (498), pp. 218-20 [150/7].

otherwise evident (as in **[1]**, where Thersites' clearly subordinate position is emphasised in Odysseus' reply and acted out on a formal level by the beating; it is not directly analogous to the battlefield slayings).[101] Similarly, the defensive or soon-to-be-defeated position of Patroklos is achieved in **[3]** & **[4]** in a complex way. Apollo comes up behind him concealed in a cloud, and disarms and stuns the hero **[3]**, rendering him open to Euphorbos' first strike **[4]**. The two actions form a clear preparatory doublet, which puts Patroklos into the victim's position, undermines Hektor's victory and, in addition, forecasts the continued Trojan success in the *Leichenkampf*.

97-8 It is, therefore, all the more surprising that Odysseus does not reply but continues to the ships (97-8),[102] and this disjunction is precisely the poet's aim. The scene, first of all, provides the audience with typical information about the character's intentions or reasons for assisting,[103] and the motive of Diomedes is to be crucial to the development of the

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[101] cf. above on 8.10-22 (22), pp. 10-13 [10/2].

[102] Scholarship is divided over the precise meaning of the crucial verb ἐσακούειν (8.97) and the poet's attitude towards Odysseus in this scene; cf. Kirk [1990] ad 8.97-8, p. 306, for a brief account of opinion, after which he decides that the compound denotes a failure to hear; *contra* cf., e.g., Stanley 1993, pp. 106, 348 n. 7. It is certainly true that ἐσακούειν in the post-Homeric period can mean 'hearken' and 'obey' (e.g., Thoukydides 1.82.2) but the tragedians often use it in the simple sense of 'hear' (e.g., Euripides *Phoenician Women* 96, 1342) and, as Kirk points out, this meaning is not unknown in prose (e.g., Thoukydides 4.34.3). These references suggest at a minimum that the verb in the Homeric period could bear the simple meaning, since the only other case from archaic hexameter poetry (*Hom. Hy. to Demeter* 284) is indeterminate.

Lack of awareness is a perfectly legitimate cause for inactivity: [4.331] Odysseus' men are standing still οὐ γάρ πω σφιν ἀκούετο λαὸς ἀυτῆς, and the inappropriateness of Agamemnon's following rebuke is pointed out by Odysseus in his reply; cf. also, e.g., 11.497-8f., 13.521f., 17.377f., 17.401-2f. Moreover, deliberate silence to a request for rescue or assistance is not as unparalleled as Fenik 1968, p. 221, believes. The closest example in such a situation is 5.688f., where Hektor does not reply to Sarpedon's request for aid but continues in his advance preparatory to his *aristeia* from 699f.; cf. below on 8.483-4 (484), pp. 210-13 [148/3]. Kirk [1990] ad 8.92-8, p. 306, considers this passage an inadequate analogy, since Hektor's advance is motivated by the poet at 5.690-1. However, Odysseus' continued retreat here is to be seen within the general context of retreat set earlier by Zeus' actions, and the poet has gone *out of his way* to provide Odysseus with a motive. He is retreating because he has recognised, as others have, that the will of Zeus is against them; cf. Σ bT ad loc.: φεύγει γὰρ σὺν Αἴαντι καὶ θεομαχεῖν οὐ θέλει: "ἐν γὰρ δαιμονίοισ<ι> φόβοις φεύγοντι καὶ παῖδες θεῶν" (Pindar *Nemean* 9.27); cf. Andersen 1978, pp. 113-4; also below on 8.256-65, p. 136 n. 320. When the clear disfavour of the gods is apparent, retreat is far from reprehensible, as Nestor makes clear to Diomedes at 8.139ff.; cf. also, e.g., 5.596-606, 5.814-24, 16.656-8. Furthermore, Antilokhos deliberately ignores the cautionary shout of Menelaos during the chariot race (23.425-8): ὡς οὐκ ἀιόντι ἐοικώς (23.430). Of course, any audience is perfectly at liberty to damn Odysseus as Aristarkhos did (cf. Σ A ad loc.), but, given these parallels, it is impossible to conclude that this was the poet's intention.

[103] cf. above on 8.91-100, pp. 48-50.

narrative. Secondly, the unexpected removal of Odysseus throws the individuality of Diomedes' intentions starkly into relief. He now takes the burden of action upon himself, but his appeal reveals a willingness to resist even Zeus himself in the pursuit of heroic pre-eminence.

Hereby the poet directs the audience to a great individual virtue which is utterly inappropriate at this stage of the battle. The non-participation and retreat of someone like Odysseus, who is marked by the special favour of Athene and a traditional association with Diomedes,[104] focuses the audience upon a figure the ἀπρεπεία of whose best efforts are now, in changed circumstances, a barometer of the plot's development. Zeus is dominant, and it is in this scene that we observe the first explicit juxtaposition of that supremacy and the struggle of a prominent individual against it, a conflict earlier suggested during the initial period of fighting and Zeus' intervention, and which will be a major part of the fighting to come. In sum, the exchange with Odysseus serves to highlight Diomedes and, through him, afford the audience a prolepsis of the battle.[105]

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[104] Odysseus' relationship with Athene is of course particularly evident during the *Odyssey*; cf. esp. Clay 1983. Nonetheless, we find it well evidenced in the *Iliad* also. It is, for instance, to Odysseus that Athene comes to stop the Greeks from taking to their ships in Book 2 (167f.), while Diomedes mentions her particular favour for Odysseus before the *Doloneia* (φιλεῖ δέ ἑ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη [10.245]), and she aids him in the footrace (23.768-783). Note particularly Aias *minor*'s rueful ὦ πόποι, ἦ μ' ἔβλαψε θεὰ πόδας, ἠ τὸ πάρος περ | μήτηρ ὡς Ὀδυσῆι παρίσταται ἠδ' ἐπαρήγει (23.782-3). The co-operation between Odysseus and Diomedes is particularly strong in the *Iliad*, particularly in the *Doloneia*, the battle in Book 11 and so on; cf. the convenient summary of Reichel 1994, pp. 224-6. It is also reflected in the extra-Homeric tradition from, e.g., the theft of the Palladion (*Ilias mikra* enarratio Procli; Davies [1988] pp. 52-3, & fr. 9) and the killing of Palamedes (*Kypria* F 20; Davies [1988]); cf., in general, Kullmann 1960, pp. 85-9 (Diomedes), 99-101 (Odysseus); Andersen 1978, ch. 2.

[105] cf. Andersen 1978, p. 114; cf. also Erbse 1993a, p. 395-7. Stanley 1993, pp. 348-9 n. 7, asks "[b]ut why include Odysseus at all at this point in Book 8, if not to contrast his self-interest with Diomedes' earnestness?" There is still a powerful contrast, even without the idea of cowardly self-interest, for Diomedes' extraordinary heroism is highlighted against the general action of the Greek army, represented at this crucial moment by the flight of a figure who is traditionally associated with Diomedes. We shall see in the coming narrative many features which can only be explained in the light of his centrality.

99-100 The contrast here is effected even more powerfully because the poet has employed the assistance sequence with a negative contrafactual[106] in order to 'overdetermine' the success of Diomedes' intervention. Not only does the hero try to contravene the direct and unequivocal indications of Zeus' will, but the attempt - at least in the short term - will be successful. As Diomedes rolls up (αὐτός περ ἐὼν προμάχοισιν ἐμίχθη [99]), stressing his isolation, the associations of the assistance sequence require the negation of that threat, whether in the form of direct action against Hektor, or an encounter in which the augmented group plays a prominent and generally advantageous part.[107] The audience therefore expects Diomedes to succeed in averting the danger facing Nestor; what they may also intuit is that he will not be satisfied there.

προμάχοισιν ἐμίχθη: **[40]** 4 examples: **[1]** 5.134, **[2]** *8.99*, **[3]** 13.642, **[4]** 15.457.[108] The current example is the only one not preceded by ἐξαῦτις or αὖτις emphasising a return to the front line (*promakhoi*), and in each case the expression describes a return to the front line after a defensive action: **[1]** Diomedes returns after being wounded by Pandaros and revived by Athene; **[3]** Menelaos after giving the armour to his comrades; **[4]** Pouludamas after giving the horses of the recently dead Kleitos to Astunoos. Without pointing to the fact that the poet has explicitly remodelled the line (with αὐτός περ ἐών) in order to fit the expression to this changed circumstance, the idea of mixing with the *promakhoi* emphasises the fact of Diomedes' *return* to the fray, and so the individuality of his action.

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106 cf. above on 8.87-91, pp. 46-8; also on 91-100, pp. 48-50.

107 cf. above on 8.91-6, pp. 50-3.

108 cf. above on 8.60-5, pp. 30 n. 57. The nature and identity of the *promakhoi* has been the subject of much recent debate; cf., e.g., Singor 1991, van Wees 1997, p. 137; Hellmann 2000, pp. 64f., 157-9. Kirk [1990] ad 8.99-100, p. 307, is hasty when he says that 8.99 is "quite inappropriate here, where there are no front fighters, either Achaian or Trojan, for him to mingle with. It seems that 5.134 . . has been carelessly reused here;" cf. de Jong 1987, p. 262 n. 63.

101-11 Diomedes' address to Nestor is prefaced with an hemistich formula (ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα [101]) used to stress the continuity between the character's prior motivation or attitude and the coming speech, which then seeks to assert that attitude upon the addressee. The importance of these speeches lies in the expression and imposition of the character's will, thus directing the audience to Diomedes' intentions, and putting his expectations and resolution at the centre of the narrative, as does his pride in the horses taken in Book 5 from Aineias (105-7).[109] He opens on the fact and consequent difficulties of Nestor's old age (102-4), before suggesting that he mount his chariot (105) and direct it into the midst of the Trojans (109-11). Each suggestion is supported by a statement of purpose of very common form (ὄφρα ἴδηαι [101]) and usually occurring in persuasive or at least thoroughly convinced statements of will or opinion, and once again underlining Diomedes' conviction.

ἔπεα πτερόεντα [προσηύδα]: **[41]** 60 examples: **[1]** 1.201, **[2]** 2.7, **[3]** 3.155 (ἀγόρευον), **[4]** 4.69, **[5]** 4.92, **[6]** 4.203, **[7]** 4.284, **[8]** 4.312, **[9]** {4.337}, **[10]** {4.369}, **[11]** 5.123, **[12]** 5.242, **[13]** 5.713, **[14]** 5.871, **[15]** 7.356, **[16]** *8.101*, **[17]** 8.351, **[18]** 10.163, **[19]** {10.191}, **[20]** 11.815, **[21]** 12.365, **[22]** 13.94, **[23]** 13.462, **[24]** {13.480}, **[25]** 13.750, **[26]** 14.2, **[27]** 14.138, **[28]** 14.356, **[29]** 15.35, **[30]** 15.48, **[31]** 15.89, **[32]** 15.145, **[33]** 15.157, **[34]** 16.6, **[35]** 16.537, **[36]** 16.829, **[37]** 17.74, **[38]** {17.219}, **[39]** 18.72, **[40]** 18.169, **[41]** 19.20, **[42]** 19.341, **[43]** 20.331, **[44]** 20.448, **[45]** {21.73}, **[46]** 21.121 (ἀγόρευεν), **[47]** 21.368, **[48]** 21.409, **[49]** 21.419, **[50]** 21.427 (ἀγόρευε), **[51]** {22.81}, **[52]** 22.215, **[53]** 22.228, **[54]** 22.377 (ἀγόρευεν), **[55]** 23.535 (ἀγόρευε), **[56]** 23.557, **[57]** 23.601, **[58]** 23.625, **[59]** 24.142 (ἀγόρευον),[110] **[60]** 24.517.[111] προσηύδα is

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[109] Again Kirk [1990] ad loc., p. 307, is wrong to say that 8.105-7 (= 5.221-3) "assume(s) an especially complacent ring." These verses help the audience see further into the motivation of this central character; cf. Erbse 1993a, pp. 395-6. Indeed, this concern with heroic status and reward - and its inappropriateness - will be the constant theme of Book 8.

[110] This is the only example where the expression is not used to introduce a speech, replacing the resumptive transitional verse ὣς οἳ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον; cf. below on 8.212, p. 113 n. 260.

replaced by ἀγόρευ[εν] when either the verb requires a plural subject (as in **[3]** & **[59]**) or when the subject of the verb is speaking amongst a generic group, i.e. 'Greeks' etc. (as in **[46]**, **[50]**, **[54]** & **[55]**). The subject of the verb is named in the previous verse, and the first half of the verse may be filled with the name of the addressee or a participle qualifying the subject. Obviously the expression will be affected by the previous hemistich, but the referential definition focuses the audience's attention on the continuation of the speaker's attitude towards the situation, which may be configured by that previous hemistich (as in **[14]** & **[20]** by καί ῥ' ὀλοφυρόμενος, or in **[22]**, **[24]** & **[38]** by τοὺς ὅ γ' ἐποτρύνων) or previous verse(s) to a number of different contexts.

The speech actions we find so prefaced include commands, directly or indirectly expressed (as in **[2]** - **[13]**, **[15]** - **[17]**, **[19]**, **[21]** - **[25]**, **[27]**, **[30]**, **[32]**, **[33]**, **[35]**, **[37]**, **[38]**, **[40]** - **[43]**, **[45]**, **[47]**, **[49]**, **[51]** - **[55]** & **[60]**), requests for information (as in **[1]**, **[14]**, **[20]**, **[31]**, **[34]**, **[39]** & **[43]**), post-combat vaunts (as in **[36]**, **[44]**, **[46]**, **[48]** & **[50]**), and statements of acquiescence (as in **[29]**, **[56]** - **[58]**). Behind this variety there is the common conviction in the necessity of imposing the character's attitude or conviction upon the addressee and, by extension, the situation: **[4]** Zeus' instruction to Athene represents his acquiescence to the eventual destruction of Troy as signalled in the previous verse (68). His acquiescence is of fundamental import throughout the poem, but here establishes the factual responsibility of the Trojans as oath-breakers; **[7]** - **[10]** Agamemnon's attitude is made clear by his reactions on each occasion, and the following speeches express that reaction as a means of exhortation; **[13]** Here's attitude towards the situation is clear, less from the immediate context than from her very nature in the poem as a pro-Greek deity. Her actions here are intended to counteract that situation; **[23]** Deiphobos' appeal to Aineias for aid is prefaced by a μερμήρι[ξεν] sequence which has made his motivation clear. Fighting for a kinsman is an important duty, and not disregarded by Aineias;[112] **[29]** Here's fearful reaction to Zeus' threat prefaces her excuse and denial of blame in the situation; **[34]** on seeing the tearful Patroklos, Akhilleus feels a pity which, though it is not directly evinced in his first speech, leads him to grant Patroklos' request. There is a real difficulty in this situation, an implication that Patroklos should pity the Greeks, which necessarily undermines the absolute validity of Akhilleus' continued withdrawal. His decision to allow

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[111] This particular expression has been the subject of a long debate; cf., e.g., Calhoun 1935; Parry 1971 [1937]; Edwards 1970; Vivante 1975; Riggsby 1992; Machacek 1994; Pulleyn [2000] ad 1.201, pp. 180-1.

[112] cf. below on 8.167-71, pp. 86-8 [66/5].

Patroklos to fight is a further concession;[113] **[39]** Thetis' request for information from her son is obviously to be connected with her knowledge of his impending death, which was evinced in the scene before their meeting, and her distress at which is made clear in her sympathetic reaction when she arrives. She attempts to assuage him (and herself) with a reminder that this was precisely what he had asked for, though of course he hadn't;[114] **[45]** Lykaon's supplication is clear from the way he avoids fighting and grabs at Akhilleus' knees (21.64f.); **[48]** Athene's triumphal vaunt over Ares is contextualised by the joy she feels at his overthrow (408). Such expressions of superiority are a commonplace in vaunts (as in **[36]**, **[44]** etc.);[115] **[57]** Menelaos softens towards Antilokhos because of the latter's exemplary behaviour in the quarrel, and his speech then concerns his determination not to seem overbearing in such a situation; **[60]** Akhilleus' reception of Priam is at this point a matter of his pity (24.516), a result of Priam's initial supplication and reminiscence of Peleus which had led into mutual lamentation.

The conviction need not concern the entire speech or even be its dominant theme, but is an attitudinal frame, allowing the audience to use that information as the background of their understanding: **[41]** Akhilleus' marvelling and evident joy at Hephaistos' arms precedes his speech, and he opens with an expression of their excellence (19.21-2) before an intention to arm (23). Then the bulk of the speech (23-7) concerns the protection of Patroklos' corpse from putrefaction. Thus the psychological link between the fact or imminence of revenge and its motivation is made clearer; **[34]** Akhilleus' speech will manifest his pitying of his friend, yet he cannot quite bring himself to yield to the position he knows Patroklos will present to him, because its concession represents a denial of his withdrawal; hence his qualification in the next speech (16.48-101, esp. 49 & 52).[116]

Speeches so introduced are overwhelmingly persuasive, where such an intention is evident, and compliance is very often simply enacted without further comment (as in **[2]**, **[4]**, **[5]** etc.). In fact, only in **[1]**, **[3]**, **[9]**, **[10]**, **[12]**, **[14]**, **[34]**, **[36]**, **[45]** & **[51]** does the speaker fail to persuade the addressee about the truth of the statement or command, whilst in **[40]** we find an initial disagreement, which Iris manages immediately to overcome.[117] In all of these cases, the

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[113] cf. below on 8.147-50 (147), pp. 80-1 [59/3]; also on 8.151-6 (152), pp. 81-2 [61/4]; 8.208-11 (208), pp. 110-12 [81/6]; 8.361-2 (361), pp. 176-8 [124/8].

[114] cf. also below on 8.145-7 (145), pp. 76-80 [57/22] and Appendix 1.

[115] cf. also above on 8.10-22 (17), pp. 10-13.

[116] cf. above, n. 113.

[117] cf. above on 9.87-91 (90-1) [32/26]; the contrafactual indicates the resolution of the situation generally, which demands Akhilleus' assent.

conviction of the unsuccessful character resonates with the audience's awareness of extra-contextual considerations which make that conviction impossible to implement or agree upon anyway: **[1]** Akhilleus simply can't kill Agamemnon, as he intends; **[3]** the wish of the old men that Helen leave Troy can not be fulfilled, as Priam acknowledges in his following speech; **[9]** Agamemnon's lack of success initially in exhorting Odysseus is a signal of his rhetorical inadequacies, which Odysseus goes on to prove on the field in Book 5. He also, however, forces a retraction from Agamemnon, which Diomedes in **[10]** does not. This is an important interchange of scenes, for the crucial issue in this first half of the poem is the way in which Diomedes is employed as a doublet for Akhilleus, not simply in the fighting but also in his dealings with Agamemnon. Diomedes here doesn't reply, but intends to let his actions speak.[118] That Sthenelos chooses to reply in a fairly violent manner thus prepares the audience for the failure of his cowardly suggestion in **[12]**; **[14]** Ares' complaint is to fail because of the fact that Zeus has already granted his removal from battle (5.764-6); **[34]** notwithstanding his reluctance to relent to Patroklos' request, Akhilleus' pity will lead him to it, and so he must fail to deflect his friend's intention; **[36]** Hektor's vaunt, though continuing the victory he has just enjoyed, is unpersuasive because it is untrue. His pre-eminence in the victory has been severely qualified by the poet, and his delusion comes to the fore again in this important scene; **[45]** Lykaon's appeal focuses upon his previous commensality and the fact that he is not of the same womb as Hektor. The praeternatural wrath of Akhilleus has little to do with these matters, as he immediately makes clear in his speech (esp. 21.100-2); **[51]** Hekabe's appeal, prefaced by revealing her breast and crying, must be unsuccessful. Hektor must face Akhilleus, and must do so by choice.

ὄφρα ἴδ[ηαι]: **[42]** 26 examples: **[1]** 1.185, **[2]** 1.515, **[3]** 2.237, **[4]** 3.163, **[5]** 4.195, **[6]** 4.205, **[7]** 4.249, **[8]** 5.221, **[9]** 6.150, **[10]** 6.365, **[11]** *8.105*, **[12]** *8.110*, **[13]** 8.376, **[14]** 8.406, **[15]** 8.420, **[16]** 10.97, **[17]** 13.326-7, **[18]** 13.449, **[19]** 15.32, **[20]** {16.242-3}, **[21]** 18.52-3, **[22]** 18.63, **[23]** 19.144, **[24]** 20.213, **[25]** 21.61, **[26]** 21.487. The speaker is convinced of the truth of the statement so supported, allowing its deployment in a number of different speech situations, where the action (command, exhortation, intention, threat) is affirmed from the speaker's perspective. It is thus an agonistic or persuasive device and so, obviously, we find it often in simple commands, where the speaker is trying to persuade the addressee to perform the action: **[2]** Thetis seeks from Zeus the honouring of her son; **[4]** Priam asks Helen to view the Greek army so as to identify for him the individual characters; **[5]** Agamemnon tells Talthybios to fetch

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[118] cf. below on 8.483-4 (484), pp. 210-13 [148/2].

Makhaon so that he may tend to Menelaos (repeated in **[6]**); **[8]** Aineias bids Pandaros mount his chariot in order to see how good his horses are; cf. also **[11]** - **[13]**, **[16]** - **[18]** & **[26]**.[119]

However, we also find the device in situations where the idea of persuasion is not quite so literally apparent, and there need not be any actual or 'real' direct command, for the speaker may merely be trying to convince the audience of the truth or strength of the statement made in an attempt to impose his or her view upon the addressee in a more general way, viz stating an intention or the consequence of an action etc. This is particularly apparent in pre-combat flyting situations, but frequent elsewhere: **[1]** Agamemnon tells Akhilleus that the purpose of removing his prize is that he should recognise Agamemnon's greater power; **[3]** Thersites suggests they depart and leave Agamemon to himself, in order that he should know their part in his protection; **[7]** Agamemnon asks the stragglers if they wish to allow the Trojans to come right to the ships so that they can see whether Zeus protects them; cf. also **[9]**, **[10]**, **[14]**, **[15]**, **[19]**, **[20]** - **[25]**.

Nonetheless, it must be emphasised that the addressee is persuaded, where the statement is made to an explicitly or implicitly persuasive end. Where there is no call for such an objective action, the statement simply expresses the next phase of the character's actions. This does not, however, give rise to an expectation that the action then undertaken, by addressee or speaker or even another character connected with the expression, will be successful. It simply connotes a resolution to act in a certain manner.

112-7 His expectations, namely of a successful conflict with Hektor, resume earlier indications about the outcome,[120] and are augmented here by Nestor's agreement to the suggestion with a phrase (οὐδ' ἀπίθησε [112]) which always denotes acceptance of a command or suggestion from a previous speech, whilst connoting that its substance is then played out in the course of the narrative in the manner foreseen by the character giving the command. So as Nestor boards Diomedes' chariot and they approach Hektor (117), the audience is in no doubt about the result of the coming encounter.

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[119] cf., on this latter example, above on 8.10-22 (17), pp. 10-12 [9/6].
[120] cf. above on 8.91-100, pp. 48-50; also on 8.99-100 (99), pp. 55-6 [40/2].

οὐδ' ἀπίθησε[ν]: **[43]** 30 examples: [1] 1.220, [2] 2.166, [3] 2.441, [4] 3.120, [5] 4.68, [6] 4.198, [7] 5.719, [8] 5.767, [9] 6.102, [10] 7.43, [11] *8.112*, [12] 8.319, [13] 8.381, [14] 10.129, [15] 11.195, [16] 11.516, [17] 12.329, [18] 12.351, [19] 12.364, [20] 14.277, [21] 15.78, [22] 15.168, [23] 16.458, [24] 17.246, [25] 17.491, [26] 17.656, [27] 23.895, [28] 24.120, [29] 24.300, [30] 24.339. The action proposed is overwhelmingly successful: [1] Akhilleus' acceptance of Athene's advice is succeeded by the abusive encounter and his great honouring by the Akhaians; [5] Zeus does as Here asks, engineering the Trojan oath-breaking; [9] as Helenos advises, Hektor rallies the army, goes into Troy and arranges the supplication. The prayer itself, which the audience knows cannot succeed, is a further sign that the Trojans are not fully aware of their role in the *Dios Boule*;[121] [15] as Zeus foretells, Hektor is drawn away until Agamemnon retreats and thereafter begins his run of success; [19] the request of Menestheus, conveyed by Thootes, is answered, and the Lykians are repulsed; [24] Aias' worries about continued health necessitate the enlisting of other heroes and thus widening the *Leichenkampf* over Patroklos. They come and the battle continues with eventual Greek success; [30] Zeus' instructions to Hermes are fully carried out, and the old man arrives at the camp and returns to Troy in safety. The connotation of success may also be seen in the two examples where there is no preceding speech, merely a summary of the instruction: [4] Talthybios obeys Agamemnon's order to fetch a lamb for the sacrifice. The sacrifice is conducted, of course, but the connotation is used with broader ramifications to create an associative conflict in the audience, for Agamemnon is clearly hoping for Menelaos' victory, which is of course traditionally impossible. The poet thus proffers an early end to the war; [12] Kebriones obeys Hektor's instruction to drive his chariot, and in the following combat Teukros is indeed wounded and removed from the fight, though Hektor is not of course on his chariot at the time. Success is, nonetheless, the persistent general connotation.

Where the action is not successful, the poet requires the active intervention of powerful figures in order to break the assumed causal chain: [13] Zeus intervenes; [17] the attack of Sarpedon and Glaukos is a doublet of Hektor's successful breaking of the camp gates, and is only prevented from being fully successful by the particular intervention of Aias and Teukros (earlier requested); [25] Hektor and Aineias' attack on Automedon is prevented by the (again, requested) arrival of the Aiantes. In each case, the poet makes a great deal out of the preventive action, presumably in order to counter the expectations confirmed by the οὐδ' ἀπίθησε[ν] persuasion of the

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[121] cf. below on 8.242-6, pp. 127-30 [93/8]; also Morrison 1997.

second character in each situation. Moreover, we should not forget the excitement caused in such situations by the construction of an associative conflict.[122]

118 The combat begins in a way which seems to justify Diomedes' confidence, for the poet combines two sources of referential information to that effect (τοῦ δ' ἰθὺς μεμαῶτος ἀκόντισε Τυδέος υἱός [118]). The expression ἰθὺς μεμαωτ[ος] is elsewhere deployed for the onset of the *vincendus*, whilst an aimed ἀκόντισε[ν] strike (i.e. with a genitive case noun or pronoun) always goes on either to strike fatally another minor figure or to miss everyone completely. Hektor is to be defeated, but not actually wounded.

ἰθὺς μεμαῶτ[ος]: **[44]** 5 examples: **[1]** *8.118*, **[2]** 11.95, **[3]** 20.386, **[4]** 22.243, **[5]** 22.284. On only one occasion does the expression refer to the subject of the main verb: **[4]** Athene *qua* Deiphobos persuades Hektor to stand and fight. This case is highly significant, as the poet expresses the death of Hektor from the Trojan's own perspective; he does this again in **[5]**, where Hektor this time exhorts Akhilleus ἀλλ' ἰθὺς μεμαῶτι διὰ στήθεσφιν ἔλασσον, for, by expressing this referential association through the character's own mouth, the poet introduces Hektor's coming acceptance of his death, so magnificently set out at 22.296-305.[123] As ever, denotative and connotative aspects co-operate to produce the communicative whole for an audience.

Targeted ἀκόντισε[ν] casts: **[45]** 12 examples: **[1]** 4.490, **[2]** *8.118*, **[3]** 13.183, **[4]** 13.403, **[5]** 13.502 (miss), **[6]** 13.516, **[7]** 14.402 (hits without wounding), **[8]** 14.461, **[9]** 15.429, **[10]** 17.304, **[11]** 17.525 (miss), **[12]** 17.608.[124] The combination employed here is quite unique, as one can tell from the fact that this is the only occasion on which ἰθὺς μεμαῶτ[ος] is employed in the genitive case, because that is the case demanded by this sense of ἀκόντισε[ν]. It is much more usual for the intimation of defeat inherent in the adverb-participle unit to be equated with direct and immediate personal injury or death: **[1]** Leukos is hit in place of Aias; **[3]** Amphimakhos is hit *pro* Teukros; **[4]** Deiphobos hits Hypsenor *pro* Idomeneus; **[5]** Aineias' cast at Idomeneus

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122 cf. below on 8.350-6 and ff., pp. 170-3ff.

123 cf. also 22.283, and above on 8.91-6, pp. 52 n. 100 [38/5] for further refs.

124 This verb is also used for an indiscriminate cast (4.496, 5.533, 5.611, 11.577, 15.573, 16.284, 17.347, 17.574).

misses completely; **[6]** Deiphobos hits Askalaphos *pro* Idomeneus; **[7]** Hektor's cast at Aias hits but fails to penetrate his δύω τελαμῶνε (14.404); **[8]** Aias hits Arkhelokhos *pro* Poulydamas; **[9]** Hektor's cast again at Aias strikes Lykophron; **[10]** Hektor hits Skhedios *pro* Aias; **[12]** Hektor's cast at Idomeneus hits Koiranos.

119-21 Hektor may be safe, but someone else isn't. A failure to hit the intended figure after ἀκόντισε[ν] frequently results in *alienum vulnus*, a well-defined eventuality in which the intended cast hits another person.[125] The poet uses a form of [ἀφ]αμαρτάνω after an ἀκόντισε[ν] cast to denote an immediate initial miss when the unintended recipient is to become important for the continuation of the narrative, providing motivation and context for subsequent actions. There need be no link between the characters themselves, for what is important is simply that the audience be keyed to the unfortunate individual (or item).

[ἀφ]αμαρτ[εν] *alienum vulnus*: **[46]** 12 examples: **[1]** 4.491 (45/1), **[2]** *8.119* (45/2), **[3]** 8.302, **[4]** 8.311, **[5]** 13.518 (45/6), **[6]** 15.430 (45/9), **[7]** 15.521, **[8]** 16.466, **[9]** 16.477, **[10]** 17.609 (45/12), **[11]** 21.171, **[12]** 23.865.[126] **[11]** and **[12]** are clever variations on the theme, for in the first case the object hit is a stump, in the second the cord holding the target bird in the archery competition. The continuation of the narrative may take several different forms: **[1]** the slaying of Odysseus'

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[125] On *alienum vulnus* in general, cf. Fenik 1968, pp. 126-8; cf. also Bannert 1988, ch. 1; Tsagarakis 1982, p. 111f.; Lossau 1991; Jiménez 1999. The examples chosen here (i.e., those in which a form of [ἀφ]αμαρτάνω is employed directly after the cast to denote the miss of the intended target) form the largest sub-group of the type, though *alienum vulnus* after ἀκόντισε[ν] eventuates in several ways. [45/3], [45/4], [45/8] & [45/10] are followed by evasive action; [45/1], [45/2], [45/6], [45/9] & [45/12] are followed by an immediate hit (all examples of [ἀφ]αμαρτάνω); in [45/5] & [45/11] the casts miss everything entirely after evasive action. [45/7] is an exception to the general rule, for it is the only example of any ἀκόντισε[ν] strike in which the cast does actually hit the intended target, though no wound is inflicted. This episode combines the associations of ἀκόντισε[ν], by which the cast misses its intended target but usually kills someone else, with that of the negative ἁμαρτάνω strike (cf. next note), whereby the cast hits but fails to kill, being repelled by a piece of equipment.

[126] [ἀφ]αμαρτάνω is not confined to *alienum vulnus*, also being used either with οὐδέ to denote a successful strike which usually fails to kill (11.350, 13.160, 14.403, 21.591, 22.290; *contra* 16.322), or to denote actual misses of the intended target which do not hit anything (10.372 [deliberately], 11.233, 13.605), and (again with οὐδέ) for the reception of sacrifice at 24.68.

companion Leukos motivates Odysseus' own unaimed ἀκόντισε[ν] throw (4.494-504), which in turn causes the withdrawal of the Trojans (505f.), exhortation to either side (507-16) before a reactivation (517f.); **[3]** the first *alienum vulnus* is a doublet for **[4]**, after which Hektor finds another new charioteer and then attacks Teukros; **[5]** the death of Askalaphos (no link with the intended target Idomeneus) serves a dual purpose - to foreshadow (13.521-5) Ares' frustrated intervention (which eventuates only at 15.113f.), but also to introduce the *Leichenkampf* over his body, which serves as the locus for a series of reciprocal *androktasiai* until the change of scene at 13.673f.; **[6]** the death of Lykophron introduces Aias' reaction and call for help from Teukros at 15.436f., who then drives the battle narrative until the destruction of his bow at 461f., which in turn is the subject of Hektor's exhortation of the Trojans at 484f., prompting a reply from Aias at 501f. - in other words, a reactivation of the battle before the resumption of elucidated combat at 515f.; **[7]** Meges' miss on Poulydamas nevertheless kills Kroismos, whom Meges then tries to strip but is challenged by Dolops, and a series of reciprocal encounters until the Greeks claim the bodies (15.544); **[8]** & **[9]** denote the two unsuccessful strikes by Sarpedon, the first hitting the trace-horse, the second being evaded by Patroklos. We class this latter an *alienum vulnus* because, even though no target is actually hit, the poet is using the associations of this verb (which he has employed for the first strike) in order to suggest, just for a moment, the possibility that Patroklos or Automedon might be struck.[127] In the first case, the combat is delayed whilst the trace horse is cut free, but in the second there is simply an immediate countercast, which would also strike an audience as unexpected; **[10]** Koiranos is Meriones' charioteer, and at his death Meriones himself tells Idomeneus (intended target, who would have died were it not for the presence of Koiranos) to retreat in the now empty chariot to the ships (17.620-2), which he then does (624-5). This action is noticed by Aias (626f.) who begins the general Greek retreat at 628f.; **[11]** Asteropaios is slain as he struggles to remove Akhilleus' spear from the ὄχθη into which it had been mistakenly cast, as he had already thrown both of his spears at 21.162-3f. Akhilleus in fact has to use his sword (173, 179f.), and the Paionian's attempt to use his foe's chief weapon is in any case highly significant, given the poet's statements at 16.140-44 and 19.387-91; **[12]** Teukros' shot misses the bird and hits the cord holding it, thus setting it free - making Meriones' successful shot (23.870f.) all the more remarkable and pious (compare 863f. and 872f.).

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[127] cf. Introduction § II, pp. xix-xx. Of course the audience knows that Sarpedon is to die at the hands of Patroklos - just as they know that Aineias could not possibly defeat Akhilleus - but the poet

122-5 In this case, the gentleman in question is Hektor's charioteer Eniopeus, a member of a generally endangered species in the *Iliad*, *alienum vulnus* being one of the typical means of departure.[128] His fall from the chariot (ἤριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων· ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι [122]) intimates a further *undetermined* encounter with Diomedes motivated specifically by the charioteer's death, for the first hemistich generally connotes continued success for the victorious side, whilst the second is added when the narrative is then concerned with the claiming of that chariot, after which the victor is prevented from following up his advantage. The search for the new charioteer (124-9) is also a means temporarily to halt Hektor's offensive,[129] and depicted as a necessary action undertaken reluctantly (ἀχνύμενός περ [125]).

ἤριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων: **[47]** 9 examples: **[1]** 5.47, **[2]** 5.294, **[3]** *8.122*, **[4]** 8.260, **[5]** 8.314, **[6]** 15.452, **[7]** 16.344, **[8]** 17.619, **[9]** 20.487.[130] The usual association of the fall is continued success for the victor or his side, whether in the form of further *androktasiai* either for the hero or his side (as in **[1]**, **[4]**, **[7]** & **[9]**) or simply an assumption of success (as in **[8]**).

The other examples (**[2]**, **[3]**, **[5]** & **[6]**) may be said to constitute a counter-group, each being followed by some description of the horses swerving to avoid the corpse; ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι:

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manipulates that expectation to cause an uncertainty which he then immediately counters.

[128] Fenik 1968, p. 60f., distinguishes between two major varieties of charioteer slaying, the first where both passengers are slain, the second only the charioteer *alieno vulnere*. Hektor is a particularly dangerous man to drive around, as noted by Σ bT and Willcock [1978] ad loc., p. 263, but he is not the only one to have his charioteer killed in this manner, which is asserted by Bannert 1988, p. 30f.; cf., e.g., [46/10] & [47/6]. Bannert proposes that a 'Geschehenslinie' concerning Hektor is being constructed around the theme of 'Wagenlenkertod' / 'Wagenlenkerersatztod', reaching its climax in the death of Kebriones, and an anticlimax in the death of Meriones' charioteer (17.608f.), but there are problems both with his method's application and its assumptions; cf. Smith 1991. Perhaps the best conclusion in this case is that the action is very often linked with Hektor, but this is at least partially because he is the most prominent warrior on the Trojan side. Where another Trojan becomes prominent enough to conduct a single combat with a powerful Greek figure, the motif is applied to this episode as well.

[129] cf. Fenik 1968, p. 222.

[130] cf. Morrison 1991.

[47a] 4 examples: **[1]** 5.295 (παρέτρεσσαν) (47/2), **[2]** *8.122* (47/3), **[3]** 8.314 (47/5), **[4]** 15.542 (47/6).[131] **[2]** - **[4]** follow the ἤριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων hemistich in the same verse, **[1]** in the next verse, whereon the poet narrates the claiming of the chariot by another hero **[1]** or the replacement of the driver (as in **[2]** - **[4]**) before the victor is immediately opposed (in **[1]** by Aineias, **[2]** & **[4]** an action from the gods, **[3]** Hektor).

Success is indeterminate: **[47/2]** Diomedes beats Aineias in the following combat, but is prevented from killing him by Aphrodite and then Apollo; **[47/3]** Diomedes is again prevented from following up his success, this time by Zeus, whilst in **[47/4]** he is simply replaced after a catalogue by Teukros; **[47/5]** & **[47/6]** Teukros is removed from the forefront, firstly by Hektor and then by Zeus. Thus, this combination of actions intimates the (re)claiming of the chariot, immediate opposition for the victor, and his failure to pursue a definitive success from that point. Of course, Diomedes does go on to wound Ares after **[47/2 | 47a/1]**, but this is because Athene and Here journey to the battlefield and reactivate his *aristeia*. The unique connotative combination of this episode predicts initially an expectation of victory for Diomedes and the issue of fighting over Pandaros' body (ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῶι [5.294])[132] and at the same time introduces immediately the opposition of Aineias, whom the audience know is not to die during the war. In the ensuing encounter, he fails of course to kill Aineias, but the introduction to the episode is exciting because the traditional associations of which it is comprised give rise to an uncertainty within the audience about its outcome.[133] Thus, the combination here in Book 8 connotes a resulting encounter between Hektor and Diomedes without necessarily determining the outcome, but only after there has been a digression concerning the recovery of the chariot. One might say that the poet intimates, in addition, a defeat or at least partial reversal of Diomedes' fortunes. However, as there are only four precisely analogous examples, one of which is exceptional, such a conclusion would be a trifle hasty.

ἀχνύμεν[ός] περ: **[48]** 15 examples: **[1]** 1.241, **[2]** 1.588, **[3]** 2.270, **[4]** *8.125*, **[5]** 8.317, **[6]** 12.178, **[7]** 13.419, **[8]** 15.133, **[9]** 15.651, **[10]** 17.459, **[11]** 18.112, **[12]** 19.8, **[13]** 19.65, **[14]**

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131 The alteration is metrically motivated, for ὑπερώησαν extends from the hephthemimerus, παρέτρεσσαν the trochaic caesura. The use of the latter in [47/2 | 47a/1] is necessitated by the fact that the poet decides to use the ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῶι hemistich (cf. below on 8.258-60 [260], pp. 133-5 [97/4]) directly after ἤριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων in 5.294, in order to predict a concern with the victim's armour.

132 cf. below on 8.258-60 (260), pp. 133-5 [97/3].

133 cf. above, Introduction § II, pp. xix-xx, for a similar example; also on 8.119-21 (119), pp. 63-5 and n. 127 [46/8] & [46/9].

22.424, [**15**] 24.523.[134] The accompanied action is depicted as necessarily undertaken in spite of the emotional turmoil involved, in every case there being disjunction between the subject's desires and that action: [**1**] for all their pain, Akhilleus predicts that they will be unable to make good their loss; [**2**] Hephaistos uses his helplessness to save Here to persuade her to assent to Zeus' will; [**6**] the Greeks defend their ships out of necessity, in which case the poet seems to be intimating that their desire is to give in to despair and flee. There may, however, be a more explicit statement of a preferred alternative: [**14**] Priam magnifies his grief over Hektor by saying that his loss causes him more pain than the others - though he still grieves for them. ἀχνύμενός περ here would most naturally be held to mean that Hektor's natural reaction would have been to counterattack and avenge the loss of his charioteer immediately, as he does at 16.755f. but fails to do here [**4**] or - initially - in [**5**], and so the poet underlines the necessity of the action.

130-216 First Fluchtphase (Greek) completed; intervention of Zeus (130-6), debate between Diomedes and Nestor (137-171), Hektor's vaunt and exhortation to his team (172-97); divine interlude in which Here and Poseidon discuss intervention (198-216).

130-3 The complex of associations in this initial clash leads the audience to focus upon Hektor's non-fatal defeat in a subsequent encounter,[135] after which further success will be denied Diomedes. Given Zeus' earlier explicit direction of the battle, a decisive defeat would clearly contravene his will,[136] and this potential threat to the course of divine control over

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134 cf. Latacz [2000]b ad 1.103, p. 65.

135 Again, I would disagree with Kirk [1990] ad 8.118-23, p. 308, who feels that "[t]he whole incident appears not to be very precisely visualised." By putting Hektor out of the picture momentarily, the poet spares him yet another losing and indecisive encounter, and is thus able through the coming contrafactual to return Zeus to motivating pre-eminence, as Krischer 1971, p. 86, notes. Schadewaldt 1966, p. 60, 103f., suggests a desire to construct a parallel with the conflict between Aias and Hektor in Book 11. The delay of determinative combat with Hektor must necessarily have been a difficulty often encountered by poets dealing with the Trojan war, and could easily be a traditional motif.

136 cf. above on 8.66-77, pp. 38-40; cf. Andersen 1978, p. 115. One should not push this point too far, as Diomedes and Odysseus cause a serious reversal to Hektor at 11.343f., well after Zeus has apparently indicated his will for the course of the day's battle.

the narrative is then acknowledged in another negative contrafactual sentence (130-2).[137] Of slightly unusual form, in that it has a double apodosis (ἔνθα κε [130]; καί νύ κε [131]),[138] the sentence reintroduces Zeus as the prime motivator of the action at this crucial moment, by engaging his notice (ὀξὺ νόησε [132]),[139] whereupon he takes immediate steps by sending a bolt down in front of Diomedes' horses (133f.).[140]

136-8 An obvious parallel to the first of Zeus' interventions, the reaction is similarly intentioned, the fear of Nestor (δείσε | θυμῷι [138]) mirroring the χλωρὸν δέος which gripped the Greek army after the first signal of Zeus' hostility (8.75-7),[141] for such collocations occur when the poet wishes to imply that the action consequent on that fear

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137 cf. above on 8.87-91 (90-1), pp. 46-8 [32/10].

138 The only precise parallel to the current, doubly apodotic, contrafactual is [32/13] (11.310 = 8.130), although very close is [32/29], in which ἔνθα κεν (20.288) Aineias would have hit Akhilleus with a stone, τὸν δέ κε (20.290) Akhilleus would have killed him, had it not been etc. Further, Σ T ad 8.130 preserves two extra verses here: Τρῶες ὑπ' Ἀργείων, ἔλιπον δέ κεν Ἕκτορα δῖον | χαλκῶι δηιόωντα, δάμασ<σ>ε δέ μιν Διομήδης' (8.131ab). These plus-verses would emphasise doubly the threat to the *Dios Boule*, along with the intimation of Diomedes' exceptional qualities; cf. Andersen 1978, p. 122, n. 4. As such they would be perfectly concordant with the poet's focus upon the extraordinary valour of Diomedes, and the importance of Zeus' renewed intervention; cf., *contra*, Cantarella 1929, pp. 126-7; van Leeuwen [1912], ad loc., p. 278; cf. below, p. 116 n. 267 for a similar double apodosis.

139 cf. above on 8.91-6 (91), pp. 50-3 [34/5].

140 Scholarship has focused upon the unparalleled nature of Zeus' action here; cf. Fenik 1968, p. 222; also Andersen 1978, p. 115. However, deities frequently intervene in very direct and personalised ways, e.g., Athene pulling Akhilleus' hair (1.197-8), Ares stripping the corpse of a victim (5.842-3) or Apollo shaking the *aigis* and yelling (15.320-2). Such intervention is quite common after a contrafactual sentence: cf. Aphrodite's breaking of Paris' helmet strap as he is being dragged off by Menelaos (3.373-5 [32/2]), Aphrodite rescuing Aineias from combat (5.311-3 [32/4]), Apollo standing on the wall of Troy to stop the Greeks taking it (16.698-701) and striking Patroklos' shield (703-4 [32/21]), and Apollo striking the whip from Diomedes' hand (23.382-4 [32/34]), whereon it is promptly returned by Athene (388-90) before she in turn breaks the yoke of Admetos' chariot (390-7). Given that this is one of the few sections of the narrative in which Zeus is determined to run the course of the battle personally, it is not an unnatural action. He thunders again in roughly similar form (δεινὸν ἐβρόντησε) at 20.56 and, to the objection that this is a general sign of the strife to come, we should also note Akhilleus' statement at 21.199, that even Okeanos fears the δεινὴν βροντήν of Zeus. It clearly can be directed against an individual figure, and presumably was against Kapaneus in the *Thebais*, as Stockinger 1959, p. 25, n. 29 suggests. The nature of the manifestation in this case is a result of the target of that expression, in that the individual virtue of the extraordinary Diomedes requires an individualised response.

141 cf. above on 8.69-77 (77), pp. 38-40 [28/3].

should be taken. The circumstances are very similar, in that clear divine opposition produces fear because of the individual's powerlessness to resist, and in this case Nestor drops the reins (137). Charioteers do this as a result of physical compulsion or incapacitation through fear, but the dropping of an item more generally is a symbol for the unsuccessful action itself. Moreover, it is appropriate that Nestor - and *not* Diomedes - is subject to the emotion.[142] The latter's concern with his heroic stature has already been employed by the poet as a symbol of the battle's progression, and it is to this constant imperative that Nestor directs his speech (139-44), thus ensuring that Diomedes' *arete* is to be a dominant theme in what is to come.

δεῖ[σε] | θυμῶι: **[49]** 6 examples: **[1]** *8.136*, **[2]** 13.163, **[3]** 13.623-4, **[4]** 15.299, **[5]** 24.672, **[6]** 24.778-9. The unit as a whole may also be employed (as in **[5]** & **[6]**) in order to persuade someone not to fear, merely underlining the fact that the consequent action is the normal or expected one: **[2]** Deiphobos should fear the ἔγχος of Meriones, who is awarded a compensatory prize in the spear-contest in the funeral games; **[3]** Menelaos rebukes the Trojans for not fearing the wrath of Zeus Xenios which, he implies, would have prevented the now inevitable destruction of their city; **[4]** Thoas attempts to persuade the Greeks of his plan, which is that they should stand against Hektor whilst the πληθύς retreat to the ships, by predicting that Hektor will not wish to enter the throng; **[5]** Akhilleus, in persuading Priam that he should not be afraid to sleep under his protection and so complete the hospitality ritual, grasps the old man's hand. An earlier attempt at hastening or foreshortening the ritual had brought the pair close to disaster, and Priam's safety in the middle of the Greek camp is not secure; **[6]** Priam orders the Trojans to collect wood, and not to fear a λόχος, something which, we assume, was a constant danger during the course of the war.

Reins dropped: **[50]** 8 examples: **[1]** 5.582-3, **[2]** *8.137*, **[3]** 11.128, **[4]** 16.403-4, **[5]** 16.470-1, **[6]** 17.619, **[7]** 23.384 (whip), **[8]** 23.465.[143] In every case, whether the charioteer survives or

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[142] cf. Andersen 1978, p. 115; also below on 8.157-9, p. 83 n. 175; also on 8.167-71, p. 86 n. 189.
[143] cf. Fenik 1968, p. 62.

not, the action on which they had been engaged is forced to a halt and, in those cases where it is restored, requires the intervention of another character or action: [**1**] after Antilokhos strikes Medon, he runs up and through him with a sword; [**3**] Peisandros and Hippolokhos drop the reins to supplicate Agamemnon - unsuccessfully; [**5**] Automedon has to leap down and cut the trace horses free; [**6**] Koiranos is killed seeking to support Idomeneus. Meriones then picks up the reins and exhorts Idomeneus to flee; [**7**] Apollo casts the whip from Diomedes' hands, whereon it is restored by Athene; [**8**] Idomeneus speculates that Admetos has dropped his reins.[144]

Individuals dropping items ([ἐκ] χειρ[ός]): [**51**] 9 examples: [**1**] 3.363, [**2**] 4.493, [**3**] 8.329, [**4**] 13.529, [**5**] 14.419, [**6**] 15.421, [**7**] 15.465, [**8**] 15.714, [**9**] 17.298. In examples [**2**], [**4**] & [**9**], the dead or wounded individual drops either a body or an item from it during a failed attempt to claim it; the other examples concern an item of weaponry, either because the individual is killed (as in [**6**] & [**8**]), incapacitated (as in [**3**] & [**5**]) or the item simply breaks (as in [**1**] & [**7**]); [**8**] is an individual case, occurring during a passage of general battle description and referring to the swords dropping ἄλλα μεν ἐκ χειρῶν | ἄλλα δ' ἀπ' ὤμων (714). All these situations are connected by the fact that the action so represented is either interrupted or brought to an end: [**1**] Menelaos' attack on Paris is brought to an end, after his sword breaks, by Aphrodite's rescue of the latter. That his sword should shatter and fall from the his hand is an obvious indication of failure; [**3**] the bow drops from the wounded Teukros' hand at the end of his *aristeia*;[145] [**6**] the torch drops from the dead Kaletor's hand, necessitating a *Leichenkampf* over his corpse and much fighting before Hektor actually manages to fire a ship at 16.112f. The attempt is not interrupted, but its success most certainly is.

139-44 The Pylian opens with a suggestion of retreat (139), a frequently broached topic both on the battlefield and in consultation patterns, its examples showing considerable formal variation. The success or otherwise of the suggestion depends upon the existence of a prior and specifically divine intervention or, more precisely, the ability of the characters to recognise and then react correctly to that intervention. Thus the suggestion itself clues the audience to a wider sequential significance, for they know that in such fearful

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[144] cf. also below on 8.269-71 (269), pp. 139-41 [101/16].

situations the character's ability and willingness to respond in the right way (i.e., retreat) is paramount. Diomedes is not, however, the type to retreat.[146]

Suggestion of retreat: **[52]** 11 examples: **[1]** 2.109-41, **[2]** 2.224-42, **[3]** 5.241-40, **[4]** 5.590-606, **[5]** *8.138-44*, **[6]** 9.16-29, **[7]** 12.208-29, **[8]** 14.64-81, **[9]** 15.281-300, **[10]** 17.621-3, **[11]** 18.249-83.[147] These speeches may be split into two groups, depending upon the presence or absence of divine disfavour compelling the retreat envisaged: **[4]**, **[5]**, **[7]**, **[9]**, **[10]** & **[11]** are preceded by divine intervention which motivates (or at the very least contextualises) the suggestion; **[4]** Ares' presence; **[5]** lightning flash; **[7]** an omen sent by Zeus; **[9]** Hektor's re-emergence due to Apollo's action; **[10]** the flashing of Zeus and his shaking of the *aigis*, followed by an *alienum vulnus* victory for Hektor; **[11]** Akhilleus' appearance at the trench. On only two occasions (**[7]** & **[11]**) is the suggestion not followed (cf. further below). The suggesting character need not make any reference to the intervention **[10]**, nor even be directly and explicitly aware of it **[9]**.

The other five examples (**[1]**, **[2]**, **[3]**, **[6]** & **[8]**) are not preceded by this direct divine intervention, but all of them are unpersuasive: **[1]** opens the deceptive *Diapeira*, which is unmentioned in the Dream's speech and so not really motivated by it. Agamemnon does, however, connect it with his belief in Zeus' (dis)favour, and it employs that idea in order to persuade the group (as he does again in **[6]** & **[8]**). The intervention in these cases, though no less real, is of a more general and indirect kind; **[2]** is clearly intended by the poet to fail as an exhortation, and in response to **[3]** Diomedes makes the telling point that Athene's support, *inter alia*, does not allow him to retreat.

Recognition of the divine will (and so automatic compliance therewith) is the common feature to all the successful suggestions in the first group, whilst the refusals in the second group are characterised by a recognition that such a motive is absent or argues for the opposite conclusion. Indeed, the refutations often contain reference to the gods and previous omens which vitiate the suggestion (cf., e.g., 5.251-4 **[3]**). The two justified but refuted suggestions of Poulydamas (**[7]** & **[11]**), then, imply that it is Hektor's failure to recognise the operation of the

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145 cf. below on 8.320-9 et ff., pp. 158-9 et ff.
146 cf. van Wees 1992, p. 97; also Cairns 1993, pp. 72-4.
147 cf. Fenik 1968, p. 164.

divine will which signals his error in refusing the follow the advice. Tellingly, both of his refutations (12.230-51 & 18.284-310) contain substantial references to the gods, in the first case a somewhat daring denial of ornithomancy, in the second an insistence on Zeus' favour to him (18.293-4) and an irrelevant reliance on chance in Ares' awards of victory (306-9). As if that were not enough, the poet then tells us that Trojans as they approve his speech are νήπιοι· ἐκ γάρ σφεων φρένας etc. (311).[148]

141-3 Nestor is indeed well aware of the other's reluctance, for he employs several techniques to overcome the objections Diomedes could muster, revealing a conciliar ability unparalleled in the poem.[149] Firstly, he employs the inevitably persuasive σήμερον / ὕστερον contrast (141-3), in which he concedes the future operation of an addressee's envisaged reluctance to comply with the current suggestion. The point of the first part of this unit is that Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀπάζει (141), and Nestor then relates this to a consideration of *force majeure*: Zeus will grant you might and glory hereafter, αἴ κ' ἐθέλῃσι (142-3), a concession employed with predictions or commands where the speaker admits of the third party's independence of action, but nonetheless connotes the ineluctibility of the apodosis. With this combination, Nestor speaks directly to Diomedes' overriding concern - that he will *definitely* have another opportunity for the exhibition of his heroic qualities - but subjects this to the overriding dominance of the divine.

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[148] There are a plethora of intimations in this episode of Hektor's delusion; cf. below on 8.141-3 (141), pp. 72-5 [55/10]; 8.177-9 (177), pp. 95-7 [71/13] & [71/14]; 8.473-7 (475), pp. 206-9 [144/7]; 8.497-541, pp. 218-29 [151/5] & [151/6], [152/4]; 8.531-4 (532-4), pp. 222-4 [152/4], [153/10].

[149] cf. Austin 1966; Preisshofen 1977, pp. 26-8 on Nestor; Erbse 1993a, p. 392f.; Dickson 1995, esp. ch. 3; *contra*, cf. Silk 1995, who compares Priam's supplication of Akhilleus in Book 24 with Nestor's appeal to Patroklos in Book 11, and finds the latter marked by its garrulity etc. The current speech, of course, is brief and to the point. On Diomedes' rhetorical development throughout the poem, cf. Martin 1989, pp. 23-5.

σήμερον | ὕστερον: **[53]** 4 examples: [1] 7.29-30 | 30-2, [2] 7.290-1 | 291-2, [3] *8.141-2* | *142-3*; [4] 20.125-7 | 127-8.[150] The suggestion itself in its most specific form may come before or after the juxtaposition: [1] Apollo, knowing Athene's hostility to Troy, focuses on the fact that the city can be destroyed ὕστερον in order to overcome her reluctance; [2] Hektor, fully and rather painfully aware of Aias' prowess, concedes that Aias will have another chance to kill him ὕστερον; finally [4], Here well knows that Poseidon (and indeed, some of the other gods; cf. Apollo's actions and words at 21.461-7) are reluctant to fight and suffer for a mortal,[151] and she is also aware that divine protection can at times be held to have gone too far (cf. her comments to Zeus on the subject at 16.439-57). Her concession to the ordinary order of things provides an outer limit on their intervention, and a means to overcome Poseidon's hesitation to fight younger and weaker gods (cf. 20.134-5, 21.439-40). In every case, the structure persuades: [1] Athene does acquiesce in Apollo's request; [2] Aias also yields to Hektor's offer; [4] Poseidon promises Here his assistance in aiding Akhilleus if the other gods interfere with him.

κῦδος | ὀπά[ζει]: **[54]** 8 examples: [1] 7.205, [2] *8.141*, [3] 12.255, [4] 14.358, [5] 15.327, [6] 16.730, [7] 17.566, [8] 21.570.[152] Whilst κῦδος may be won or apportioned in a number of ways, the verb ὀπάζειν is only ever used of deities. Employed in speeches or in direct narrative, these moments of divine favour are impossible to resist: [1] the Greek onlookers pray, in the case of Zeus' favour for Hektor, that Zeus apportion equal honour to the combatants; [3] Zeus intervenes directly in the battle; [4] Hypnos tells Poseidon to grant honour to the Greeks now that Zeus has gone to sleep; [5] Apollo intervenes directly in the battle (again in [6]); [7] Menelaos invokes Zeus' aid for Hektor in these terms as a reason for his invincibility; [8] Agenor expresses his doubts about the coming encounter with Akhilleus in these terms, as a counterweight to the realisation of Akhilleus' mortality.

[αἴ κ'] ἐθέλ[ησι]: **[55]** 12 examples: [1] 4.353 (ἦν), [2] *8.142*, [3] 8.471, [4] 9.255 (ἦν), [5] 9.359 (ἦν), [6] 9.429 (ἦν), [7] 9.692 (ἦν), [8] 13.260, [9] 14.110, [10] 18.278, [11] 18.306, [12] 19.147.[153] [1] Odysseus' point is that Agamemnon will have to see him at his best, and indeed he does play a prominent role in the first day's play; [3] Zeus asserts his authority by forcing Here to recognise her impotence; she will not willingly watch her favourites being destroyed, but she will be forced

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150 cf. Kirk [1990] ad 7.290-3, pp. 272-3. We might also compare 7.375-8 ~ 7.394-7.

151 cf. below on 8.426-31 (427-30), pp. 194-5 [135].

152 cf. below on 8.213-6 (216), pp. 115-16.

153 In this group we include all examples of subjunctive forms with the conditional conjunctions αἴ κ[εν] / ἤν, and exclude those cases where the same unit is employed with a final sense: 1.408, 6.281, 7.394, 13.743, 18.143, 18.457; cf. Wakker 1994, p. 374.

to - and it does happen;[154] **[5]** is similar to **[3]** (and **[1]**) in that Odysseus (and Agamemnon) will be forced to see the departure of Akhilleus' ships (cf. next paragraph); **[6]** & **[7]** Akhilleus' speech until this point has been concerned with the duties and affection which Phoinix owes him, neatly pre-empting the persuasive vantage the older man will attempt to gain. Akhilleus has very good reason to assume that Phoinix will have to come along (and cf. the latter's following agonised question at 437-8); **[8]** Meriones is of course willing to fight (though a little sensitive about Idomeneus' implication), and he does find spears in the older man's tent.[155]

Whilst the apodosis is usually fulfilled, in **[6]**, **[7]**, **[10]** & **[11]** the prediction is incorrect. Neither does Akhilleus leave for Phthia **[6]** & **[7]**, nor does it go badly for him on the next day **[10]** & **[11]**, though one might with some justice say that Poulydamas' prediction (18.278-9) foreshadows the hero's death *after* the Iliad.[156] Hektor's reply to this speech **[11]** then employs the same rhetoric in order to undermine it. In fact, his usage of such a device simply underlines his delusion (and is one in a series of such signs in this speech),[157] for the audience are well aware of his fate. This is the difference between the characters and the audience in the interpretation of this structure and knowledge of the future: whereas the former are always convinced, the latter are privileged in being able to match or contrast the prediction with what they know to be traditionally possible; these four examples are not.

The addressee is generally persuaded of the speaker's opinion or intentions: **[1]** Agamemnon withdraws his words; **[6]** & **[7]** Phoinix does stay with Akhilleus (even though they do not depart), and thus shows his willingness to be subordinated to him; **[8]** after a short exchange which makes it clear that Idomeneus meant no disrespect, Meriones grabs a spear from the tent and they then depart together; **[11]** the Trojans obey Hektor. There are three exceptions: **[4]**, **[10]** & **[12]**; in **[4]** it is Akhilleus' refusal to be persuaded by this reminder which has such disastrous consequences for himself and the army, while in **[10]** the Trojans' failure to heed Poulydamas' advice seals their doom; **[12]** is a slightly different case, in that Agamemnon is persuaded of his prerogative and exercises it immediately against Akhilleus' desire to commence battle. The agonistic nature of the relationship is the very issue here, and Agamemnon is able to assert his control over Akhilleus during the process whereby he submits himself once more to membership of the army. Ironically, by conceding this, Akhilleus allows himself to be overruled.

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154 cf. below ad 8.469-72, pp. 205-6.
155 cf. below on 8.200-8 (200), pp. 105-10 [79/8] - [79/13].
156 cf., e.g., 18.94-6, 18.97-216, 22.358-60; also Richardson [1993] ad 23.359-60, p. 143.
157 cf. above on 8.139-44, p. 72 n. 148 [52/11] and refs. there.

143-4 Due caution of this sort is a pervasive theme in this Book, and Nestor rounds off his persuasion with an appeal (ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστιν [144]) which is usually compelling, but more importantly a mark of the character's conviction. The aged counsellor has packed his suggestion with a range of persuasive devices, and this careful attention is then justified by the simple fact that Diomedes chooses to reply (145-50). Replies generally refute the suggestion of retreat, and this disjunction is notable, for the audience expects either wordless assent and immediate retreat, *or* point blank refusal. By playing on this association, the poet undermines their certainty about the coming narrative, and alerts them to the singularity of the coming exchanges.

ἐπεί / γάρ | [πολὺ] φέρτ[ερος]: **[56]** 15 examples: **[1]** 1.169, **[2]** 1.581, **[3]** 2.769, **[4]** 4.56, **[5]** 4.307, **[6]** 6.158, **[7]** 7.105, **[8]** *8.144*, **[9]** 8.211, **[10]** 10.557, **[11]** 15.165, **[12]** 15.181, **[13]** {20.135}, **[14]** 20.368, **[15]** 22.40. This consideration is usually employed to support a statement of opinion, intention or command: **[2]** Hephaistos advises Here not to quarrel with Zeus, since he is far mightier (as Here acknowledges in **[4]**); **[3]** the poet qualifies his judgement of Aias as μέγ' ἄριστος with due mention of the fact that Akhilleus was by far the best; **[5]** Nestor's instructions are backed up with an assertion that this method of fighting is better; **[6]** Glaukos' story of Bellerophon focuses on his expulsion by Proitos on these terms, and adds Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ ὑπὸ σκήπτρωι ἐδάμασσεν (6.159); **[7]** the poet apostrophises Menelaos and his inevitable death had he continued in his determination to face the far stronger Hektor; **[9]** Poseidon reflects on Zeus' power as a means of refusing Here's suggestion;[158] **[10]** Odysseus denies Nestor's contention that the horses are the gifts of the gods by asserting that they could easily get their hands on horses far finer than this;[159] **[11]** Zeus calls upon Iris to remind Poseidon of his greater power (delivered in **[12]**); **[13]** Poseidon puts his hesitation to open the fighting down to the consideration that their side is the stronger and should not start the confrontation; **[14]** Hektor makes the point that taunts, but not

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158 cf. below on 8.208-11, pp. 110-12.

159 cf. below on 8.292-9 (292), pp. 151-5 [109/20].

deeds, can be directed against the gods. He is not blaspheming here, simply pointing out that the fierceness of Akhilleus' words have no necessary link with his actions.

Sometimes the statement so supported does not eventuate or is not followed: **[1]** Akhilleus does not actually go home, of course, but his rage is yet to be quelled by Athene with her promises of recompense (206ff.); **[15]** Priam begs Hektor not to fight Akhilleus, because he is far stronger. These two moments thus draw upon a connotation of conviction and success in order to underline the importance of these episodes in the poem. In the former case, Akhilleus' conviction to leave is in earnest, for he is yet to be convinced not to kill Agamemnon (206ff.), whilst the latter is yet another example of the way in which the poet leaves the audience in no doubt over the certainty of Hektor's death, adding to its pathos in an appeal from a father.

The importance of Diomedes' reply, in these terms, may be seen from the fact that such replies refute the suggestion: **[52/1]** 2.283-32, **[52/2]** 2.243-64, **[52/3]** 5.251-74, **[52/6]** 9.31-49, **[52/7]** 12.230-51, **[52/8]** 14.82-102, **[52/11]** 18.284-310. The audience need not infer that he will refuse the suggestion, simply that he is very reluctant to comply.

145-7 Diomedes opens his reply with an hemistich (τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα [145]) connoting the emotional perturbation of a respondent resulting from the remembrance of a past injury or action which impinges upon a current intention or activity.[160] Continuing this theme, he reluctantly agrees with Nestor (ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε | κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες [146]) so as to introduce (ἀλλά [147]) a qualification to that agreement, the substance of which is explored over the course of the following narrative. Neither of these directive devices entail the complete rejection of that prior statement; Diomedes accepts Zeus' power, but expresses his hesitation to act upon that realisation.

τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα: **[57]** 48 examples: **[1]** 1.121, **[2]** 1.172, **[3]** 1.413, **[4]** 1.544, **[5]** 1.551, **[6]** 3.199, **[7]** 4.50, **[8]** 4.317, **[9]** 5.375, **[10]** 5.381, **[11]** 5.825, **[12]** 6.263, **[13]** 6.359, **[14]** *8.145*,

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[160] Moreover, in comparison with its near semantic equivalent τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, it connotes the speaker's relative lack of authority in the situation; cf. below on 8.292-9 (292), pp. 151-5; also below, next note and Appendix 1.

[15] 8.151, **[16]** 9.162, **[17]** 10.60, **[18]** 10.86, **[19]** 10.102, **[20]** 10.128, **[21]** 10.143, **[22]** 10.390, **[23]** 10.426, **[24]** 11.655, **[25]** 13.231, **[26]** 14.52, **[27]** 14.103, **[28]** 14.193, **[29]** 15.92, **[30]** 15.200, **[31]** 15.471, **[32]** 16.439, **[33]** 17.715, **[34]** 18.127, **[35]** 18.181, **[36]** 18.360, **[37]** 18.393, **[38]** 18.428, **[39]** 18.462, **[40]** 19.28, **[41]** 20.132, **[42]** 20.309, **[43]** 24.89, **[44]** 24.372, **[45]** 24.386, **[46]** 24.405, **[47]** 24.552, **[48]** 24.659.[161] The recollection need not actually be expressed by the responding speaker, for it can also be introduced by the prior speaker, nor must it necessarily be something of great antiquity. Indeed, the speaker may actually refer to something which he or she has just said, which has been shown to be inappropriate or inaccurate. Thus the introduction comes to be used several times in the same exchange: **[18]** Agamemnon identifies himself and pleads the difficulty of his situation; **[19]** Nestor then replies and disagrees with his evaluation of their situation and goes on to reprove Menelaos for his absence in such a critical period; **[20]** after Agamemnon has pointed out that Menelaos has in fact also gone on the same mission, Nestor recants his condemnation. In each speech, the respondent has cause to fault an action or opinion of various types, both his own and that of his interlocutor.[162] Another sequence of these introductions comes from **[44]** - **[46]**: Priam's initial reply **[44]** to Hermes' question about his origin and purpose (24.360-71) ignores that question entirely, and is obviously grounded in his fear at being met in the middle of the night (generally an unusual or suspicious time to travel, as Hermes points out),[163] a desire to establish a safe relationship with his interlocutor, and to reconcile that with the previous intimations of support from Zeus. When Hermes asks for the same information a second time (378-85), and adds the reference to Hektor's death, Priam repeats

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[161] cf. Edwards 1969; Janko 1981; Riggsby 1992; Olson 1994; Machacek 1994; Latacz [2000]b ad 1.121; cf. below on 8.292-9 [292], p. 152 n. 364. It is usually held that the expression is a semantic as well as metrical equivalent for τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν]. We argue that τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] is used when the speaker will or wishes to align him or herself in a co-operative relationship with the speaker, and we thus replace metrically with semantically determined economy; cf. below on 8.357, pp. 173-6. The difference between τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα and τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] is very clear in those exchanges where the poet uses both; cf. Appendix 1 for full discussion of the situations, as well as those using the formula τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, but a few examples will be of use here.

For example, all of Priam's replies to Hermes in the scene in Book 24 are introduced by τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα, all of Hermes' by τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] (24.378 [123/38], 24.389 [123/39], 24.410 [123/40], 24.432 [123/41]). Hermes of course has not the emotional investment of Priam in this scene, and has been sent to assist him. Secondly, in the exchange between Aphrodite and Here before the *Dios Apate*, Aphrodite's reply to Here's initial request is introduced by τὴν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα (14.193 [57/28]) because Here has made reference to their current opposition in the Trojan war (14.190-2). After Here has made it seem that her request has nothing to do with the conflict (14.197-210), Aphrodite is happy to concede, and her agreement is introduced by τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε (14.211 [123/22]).

[162] cf. Appendix 1.

[163] cf. above on 8.91-6 (94), pp. 50-3 [37/11].

his request in [**45**] with greater perturbation now that Hektor has been brought into the discussion; after Hermes replies (389-404) with the requisite information about his identity, Priam presses further about Hektor's corpse [**46**]. In each exchange, the awareness of his mission and its dangers combine to underline his emotional involvement (cf. also [**47**] & [**48**]).

There is no guarantee that a reply so introduced will disagree with some element within the previous speech, although that is a common eventuality (as in [**1**], [**2**], [**4**], [**5**], [**7**] etc.). Instead, what is important is that the issue at hand should be of such a sort as to give rise to the character's emotional perturbation: [**3**] Thetis' reminder of her pains at giving birth to a mortal doomed to a quick death is a constant element in her involvement in the poem, and she brings up her woes whenever she is required to acquiesce or participate in the furtherance of her son's desire for revenge (as in [**34**], [**38**], [**40**] & [**43**]), whilst Here is another character similarly favoured with this introduction, though for her the important element is the need that her honour be satisfied by the fulfilment of her anger against Troy (as in [**5**], [**7**], [**29**], [**32**], [**36**] & [**42**]); [**21**] Nestor requests that Odysseus not be angry at being woken up or approached at this time of night (cf. his question at 10.141-2),[164] given the great difficulties facing the army. Perturbation can simply be caused by the respondent's recollection of the event or action: [**37**] Hephaistos reminds himself of his debt to Thetis, and the consequent necessity of acceding to her request. The nature of this debt leads him to feel great sympathy with Thetis' pain at the coming death of her son, and to assure her of his readiness to help [**39**]; Dolon blames Hektor's offer of gifts for his acceptance of the mission [**22**], and his awareness that this could prove a disastrous action on his own part is still underlined in his answer to Odysseus' questioning [**23**];[165] [**12**] Hektor, bloodied from battle, refuses for that reason to drink or libate, but his mission in Troy is testament to his and his army's failure on the field, and his anger at Paris in this regard is palpable (cf. esp. 6.280-5); [**6**] Helen simply replies by identifying Odysseus for Priam, but she is in an intensely difficult situation which the Trojan elders (and she herself) feel redounds not to her credit (cf. esp. her comments at 3.172-5, and theirs at 159-60); [**4**] Zeus, seeing yet another example of Here's quarrelsomeness, tries to forestall her interfering questions. Their quarrel is one of long standing. Thus the source of the perturbation may be implicit or explicit, of several types, and evinced in several different ways. The introduction helps the audience better to understand that character's motivation in the circumstance, and it does so with great economy.

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[164] cf. below on 8.444-7 (447), pp. 199-201 [138/4].
[165] cf. Appendix 1.

ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε | κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες: **[58]** 8 examples: [1] 1.286 (287), [2] *8.146 (147)*, [3] 9.59 (60) (κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες), [4] 10.169 (172), [5] 15.206 (208) (κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες), [6] 18.128 (130) (*sine* κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες), [7] 23.626 (646), [8] 24.379 (380).[166] On four occasions the qualification is not immediately provided (in [4], [6], [7] & [8]) and the intervening verses are a more detailed agreement with the preceding statement. The most extreme example is, unsurprisingly, spoken by Nestor in the Funeral Games [7] whereon, after receiving a prize from Akhilleus along with some suitable words about his old age, Nestor agrees at length and recounts a story of his own youthful exploits at an earlier set of games, before instructing Akhilleus to get on with the ceremonies at 646 (cf. further below).

The term 'qualification' may seem inappropriately applied, particularly where there is little or no obvious disagreement between the speakers. In all of these cases, however, the presence of the qualification constituents reveals subtle disagreement or variance of perspective: [8] Hermes and Priam undertake a dialogic contest, in which each speaker tries to assert his right to gain information from the other.[167] In the example itself, Hermes acknowledges Priam's compliments and essentially repeats his question. We should compare [7], in which Nestor's acceptance of the gift is followed by a lengthy story about his past, responding to the implication of feebleness by remembering to the younger man his youthful exploits. The formal sign of qualification, ἀλλά, is used to exhort Akhilleus to return to the games, which then dominate the rest of the narrative. Nestor in fact justifies his present worth by reference to his past exploits, and in fact the only current evidence of this central heroic quality is derived from speeches of this sort. Thus Nestor is asserting his own heroic status when it might seem as though Akhilleus were precluding its existence by focusing too strongly on its past operation. Akhilleus is not, of course, actually saying this (and other characters make reference to Nestor's old age in similar connections), but in the context of the funeral games it is important that the Pylian should be able to project his past into the heroic present.

The substance of these qualifications is always then played out during the coming narrative. The qualification introduced by Agamemnon [1] is that Akhilleus does not wish to subject himself to any authority at all (1.286-91). Akhilleus' angry reply likewise focuses upon that issue (292-303), which is a longstanding source of conflict between them, and its operation and

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[166] The number in brackets is the verse on which the qualification is introduced; cf. Latacz [2000]b ad 1.286, p. 112; also Dickson 1995, p. 128f.

[167] cf. above, p. 77 n. 161 [57/44] - [57/46].

developments then dominate the rest of the book; [3] the nature of the advice required by the Greek army in these circumstances is the issue at stake, and though Diomedes' fiery speech has reasserted the army's confidence, yet there is need of practical counsel. This is the thrust of Nestor's offering. In the same way, the fact (pointed out by Thetis) that the Trojans possess Akhilleus' armour [6] dominates the action of Book 18 as the *Leichenkampf* reaches its climax without him (148-64), then he appears on the trench to rescue his friend from afar (165-238), the Trojan reaction to it in their *agore* (243-313), and so on, all the way until the fashioning of the armour from 368ff.

147-50 His reason is the imagined response of Hektor, and the sense of shame he would feel (148-50), the introduction to this qualification (ἀλλὰ τόδ' αἰνὸν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἱκάνει [147]) once again signalling that he will, reluctance notwithstanding, comply with the injunction to retreat. Quotation of putative future third person speeches or reactions are typical devices, expressing the character's innermost wishes or fears at emotionally charged moments, and focusing upon the imagined statement's ramifications for the (actual) speaker's heroic reputation. This is, again, deeply important for Diomedes, particularly evident here in that this is the only such putative quotation in which the speaker names the character whose statement will be a matter of concern.

ἀλλὰ τόδ' αἰνὸν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἱκάνει: **[59]** 3 examples (1): **[1]** *8.147* (58/2), **[2]** 15.208 (58/5), **[3]** 16.52, **[4]** *Od.* 18.274. This expression is employed by a respondent when, though he will end up complying with the request or command contained within the prior speech, he wishes to register his reluctance to do so: **[2]** Poseidon acknowledges the necessity of bowing to Zeus' will, but his reluctance to do so is obvious; **[3]** though about to grant Patroklos' request, Akhilleus nonetheless refuses to participate in the battle personally because of his anger against

Agamemnon;[168] **[4]** Penelope complains of the suitors' awful behaviour, just as she has expressed the inevitability of marrying one of them.

Putative third person speeches: **[60]** 9 examples: **[1]** 4.176-82, **[2]** 6.459-63, **[3]** 6.479-81, **[4]** 7.87-91, **[5]** 7.300-3, **[6]** *8.148-50*, **[7]** 12.317-21, **[8]** 22.106-110, **[9]** 23.575-8. It has been noted that Hektor is the character who makes most common use of this figure, with five examples (**[2]**, **[3]**, **[4]**, **[5]**, **[8]**),[169] whilst no other character is given any more than one: Agamemnon **[1]**, Diomedes **[6]**, Sarpedon **[7]**, Menelaos **[9]**. These imagined statements, however, seem to be particularly appropriate in the context of a battle in progress, during which period Hektor is the most prominent Trojan. Any further conclusion should probably be avoided.[170]

The poet need not have any explicit evaluation of the speech, though he does in **[1]** - **[4]**, **[6]** & **[8]**, for the ramifications of the statement as generalised motivation are clear. The imagined speaker may be a friend or an enemy, the speech may concern the hero or a member of his family, and the statement may reflect well or poorly on the hero, but the moments at which these considerations seem to emerge are all deeply emotional: **[1]** is spoken by Agamemnon when he fears that Menelaos will die; **[2]** and **[3]** by Hektor to members of his family as he leaves the city for the last time; **[4]** and **[5]** once again by Hektor in the situation of the duel with Aias; **[7]** by Sarpedon to Glaukos as they move in to the fight at the wall; **[8]** by Hektor as he faces Akhilleus and **[9]** by Menelaos in the Funeral Games as his honour seems to have been usurped by Antilokhos.[171]

151-6 It is now, however, time to bow to the inevitable (151-6). Introduced with the same responsory formula (τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα [151]), and so continuing the emotional current of the exchange, Nestor's speech will point out his conviction in the necessity of retreat as a matter of some urgency. However, it also reveals the inherent tension in heroic behaviour, for Diomedes' reluctance to retreat necessarily taints Nestor's advice with the same potential charge of cowardice. Diomedes constantly shows his bouleutic

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168 cf. above on 8.101-11 (101), p. 58 [41/34] and further refs. there.

169 cf. Martin 1989, pp. 136-8.

170 cf., however, on 8.177-9 (177), pp. 95-7 [71/4], [71/10] & [71/13]; also on 8.160-7 (160), pp. 84-6 [63/4].

171 cf. below on 8.167-71 (164), pp. 84-6 [65/5].

apprenticehood, and Nestor is frequently the one to modify or redirect offerings less considered than his own.[172] In this case, the poet conveys the older man's conciliar victory with an immediately decisive rebuttal (οἷον ἔειπες [152]), and it is unsurprising to hear this final offering focusing on Diomedes' undeniable repute.

οἷον ἔειπες: **[61]** 6 examples: **[1]** 7.455, **[2]** *8.152*, **[3]** 14.95, **[4]** 16.49, **[5]** 17.173, **[6]** 22.178. In every example, the rebuke or rebuttal is either accepted without further ado (as in **[1]**, **[2]**, **[4]** & **[5]**) or then agreed with explicitly by the first speaker (as in **[3]** & **[6]**): **[4]** does not seem at first sight to be a rebuttal, as Akhilleus ends up agreeing with Patroklos' request (16.20-46). However, the form in which he does this is revealing.[173] The speech itself begins with this rebuttal trigger (49), thus informing the audience that the opinions or proposals to be made in this speech will be decisive, and hinting that these will be opposed to the prior request. Then the poet gives the audience an explanation of his reluctance (52-9), before Akhilleus abandons this line of reasoning (ἀλλά [60]) and allows Patroklos to enter the battle. In other words, the poet constructs an anticipation that Akhilleus is to refuse the request, but at the same time refuses utterly to preclude it, for the reluctance is only expressed from Akhilleus' perspective as the reasons why *he* cannot intervene. After he has finished delineating his reasons for not doing so, then he allows Patroklos to depart. As we can see, once again, a superficial variation actually relies upon the general referentiality in order to generate meaning in its context.

157-9 In this 'suggestion of retreat' sequence, signalled to the audience since 8.138, the poet has constructed a series of exchanges in which Diomedes presents to the audience his struggle with the central ethical conundrum of heroic existence - the reconciliation of the desire περὶ πάντων ἔμμεναι ἄλλων with the obligations and necessities which may fight against it, specifically in this case the need for due reverence towards the gods. In any reading of the *Iliad*, this is one of the poem's central concerns, and highlighted in what

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[172] cf. above on 8.145-7 (145), pp. 76-80 [57/14]; cf. Andersen 1978, ch. 6; also Reichel 1994, pp. 221-4;

has hitherto been seen as a relatively innocuous or even 'folgenlos' passage.[174] Once again, Diomedes' reaction is left unstated, as Nestor turns the horses φύγαδε (157) and the Trojans counterattack (158-9);[175] from their ἠχῇι θεσπεσίηι (159), a crowd noise typical when it is reacting to or impelling the actions of prominent individuals, it would seem as though Nestor and Diomedes are still very much isolated.

ἠχῇι θεσπεσίηι: **[62]** 7 examples: [1] *8.159*, [2] 12.252, [3] 13.834, [4] 15.355, [5] 15.590, [6] 16.769, [7] 23.213. In every case the noise is applied to the actions of a crowd when it reacts to or impels the actions of individual characters: [2] Hektor, after refusing Poulydamas' interpretation of the omen, advances and is followed by the army (as again in [3]); [6] the noise is applied to the Greeks and Trojans in simile in the *Leichenkampf* over Kebriones, where attention had been given to the individual actions of Hektor and Patroklos (each holding one end of the corpse) both in the narrative before the simile (and indeed in the entire passage leading up until Kebriones' death [712f.]), and at its beginning (765); [7] the winds arise after Iris' request and departure. Moreover, 8.158-9 ([1] ἐπὶ δὲ Τρῶές τε καὶ Ἕκτωρ | ἠχῇι θεσπεσίηι βέλεα στονόεντα χέοντο) is repeated at 15.589-90 [5], after the individual effort of Antilokhos (573-83) and his retreat (585-9) because of Hektor's advance (583-4).

160-7 Hektor now directs the expected insult at Diomedes (160-7), introduced by τῶι δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄυσε (160). Taunts are a battlefield commonplace,[176] but this particular introduction is only used after a combat encounter in which the addressed person has in fact been struck, and the speaker turns out to be mistaken about the success of the encounter. The

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also on 8.141-3, p. 72 n. 149; and on 8.145-7 (146), pp. 76-80 [58/7].

[173] cf. above on 8.101-11, p. 58 n. 113 [41/34] and further refs. there.

[174] cf., e.g., Kullmann 1960, pp. 31f., 317. We have already seen that Book 8 is aimed towards illustrating the difficulty which mortals and gods have in understanding or coping with the *Dios Boule*, and these episodes are far from 'unmotiviert', nor the "disiecta membra" of Mühlestein 1987, p. 53.

[175] cf. above on 8.136-8, p. 69 n. 142; and below on 8.167-71, p. 86 n. 189; Andersen 1978, p. 116: "[w]ir hören von keiner Reaktion auf Nestors Worte. Es dürfte bezeichnend sein, dass der Alte als Wagenlenker die Flucht ergreif . . Wie am Amfang des Gesangs wird uns auch hier nicht Diomedes selbst als ein Flüchtender vorgestellt."

substance of Hektor's speech is driven by delusion, and the poet directs the audience connotatively to its agonistic failure, as Nestor had predicted.[177] It is nonetheless rather brutal, the equation of Diomedes with a woman (163) amounting to an absolute denial of his heroic nature and status, before dismissing him curtly (ἔρρε [164]) in a way usually reserved for social inferiors who have sought to act above their station. It is no surprise that Diomedes begins to respond.[178]

τ[ῶι] δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄυσε: **[63]** 4 examples: **[1]** 5.101, **[2]** 5.283, **[3]** 5.347, **[4]** *8.160*.[179] One might also note that Diomedes is always involved as either speaker or addressee, and is tempting to say that this is a sign of the constant underestimation which seems to bedevil Diomedes.[180] On every occasion, the speaker is subsequently shown to be mistaken: **[1]** Pandaros wounds Diomedes in the shoulder, claiming imminent death for Diomedes (as in **[2]**); **[3]** where the positions are reversed, Diomedes is in fact right to assert Aphrodite's unsuitability for war (cf. Zeus' comments at 426-30), but as Dione goes on to intimate, such activity is not designed to lead to a happy old age. The taunting of gods is hardly to be tolerated, and Diomedes will (or could well) pay for it.[181]

That Hektor fails to interpret the actions of Zeus, or act with a sense of due caution, becomes his dominant character trait in this section of the narrative, and indeed for the rest of the poem.[182]

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176 cf. Fenik 1968, p. 20f., 40; Parks 1990; Martin 1989; Minchin 2002.

177 This is the first of many indications in this Book 8 of Hektor's delusion, his understandable overconfidence in the sudden reversal of Trojan fortunes on this day; cf., in general, Redfield 1975, esp. ch. 4. Hektor is of course not unique in having difficulty coping with the *Dios Boule*. Diomedes has already struggled with it, Agamemnon and Teukros will recognise the problem whilst trying to counteract or at least understand it, and Here and Athene will signally fail to come to terms with it.

178 van Thiel 1982, p. 277-8, feels the speech is 'unpassend'; cf., in reply, Nesselrath 1992, p. 15 n. 27.

179 cf. also below on 8.172-4 (172), pp. 92--5, for similar expressions.

180 Andersen 1978, pp. 116-7, traces a line through this episode back to Agamemnon's abuse of Diomedes in Book 4 and forward to his later exertions in Books 9-11 and, at p. 122 n. 5, notes that the word ἄναλκις is used 7 out of its 15 times in connection with Diomedes.

181 The story that Diomedes had to leave his home because of his wife's unfaithfulness is nowehere spelled out in Homer, though it is strange that are only two mentions of him in the *Odyssey* (3.181, 4.280), given the obvious connection between Odysseus and Diomedes in the *Iliad* and later poetry (cf., e.g., Sophokles *Philoktetes*, and perhaps Pindar *Pythian* 1.53f. [ἥρωας ἀντιθέους]). It could be that the poet is here referring obliquely to later difficulties, or attempting to construct an even greater parallel with Akhilleus.

182 cf., e.g., above on 8.139-44, p. 72 n. 148 for similar indications with regard to the fateful Trojan assembly in Book 18.

The elements of delusion in this speech are many: the dishonour the Greeks are meant to heap upon Diomedes (163), the prediction itself (164-6), particularly given the general background of the war - that Diomedes survives, Troy is taken, he himself is killed - as well as the fact that Hektor never comes off well when he does meet Diomedes in battle in the *Iliad* (cf. 11.349f.). The irony, of course, is that the prediction is, literally, partially correct.

Femininity as reproach: **[64]** 7 examples: **[1]** 2.235, **[2]** 2.289, **[3]** 7.96, **[4]** 7.236, **[5]** *8.163*, **[6]** 11.389, **[7]** 21.483. The rebuker need not be correct in his estimation of his (or her) opponent, but these taunts tend express the speaker's belief in the addressee's utter comparative worthlessness: **[1]** Thersites rebukes the Greeks as Ἀχαιΐδες for their willingness to pay court to such an unworthy ruler as Agamemnon; **[2]** Odysseus rebukes the army for its foolishness given the clear intimations of divine favour which he proceeds to recount; **[3]** Menelaos, ashamed at the silence greeting Hektor's challenge, determines to risk his life in order to avoid the charge of being one of the ἀκλεὲς αὖτως (7.100); **[4]** Hektor imputes to Aias this opinion of himself, and denies it vociferously before opening the encounter;[183] **[6]** Diomedes, though wounded by Paris and about to depart from the field because of it, denies any heroic credit for the Trojan;[184] **[7]** as she proceeds to thump the hell out of her, Here belittles Artemis' power on the grounds that it is restricted to killing women. Female unsuitability for war or the serious business of life is a recurrent theme in the *Iliad* (cf., e.g., 6.441, 6.490-3, 5.348-51, 7.233-43, 20.252, 22.125), and is naturally employed as a trope of reproach. Of course it is particularly ironic that this taint is applied here to Diomedes, given that he had earlier taunted Aphrodite in the same language.

ἔρρ[ε]: **[65]** 6 examples: **[1]** *8.164*, **[2]** 9.377, **[3]** 20.349, **[4]** 22.498, **[5]** 23.440, **[6]** 24.239.[185] These dismissals 'ad malam partem' are predicated upon the speaker's belief in his superiority, and the failure of the addressee to measure up to the required standard: **[2]** Akhilleus abrogates Agamemnon's apparent authority to himself throughout this speech, as we have seen elsewhere, and his usage of the figure here is particularly powerful, representing his faith in the rectitude of his position, and his refusal to accept the reality of Agamemnon's power; **[3]** in a passage similar to this current example, Akhilleus acknowledges Aineias' rescue by the gods, but at the same time damns the Trojan's unwillingness to face him in battle (349-50);[186] **[4]** Andromakhe predicts the

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[183] cf. below on 8.357, pp. 173-6 [123/9].
[184] cf. below on 8.477-82, pp. 209-10 [146/6].
[185] cf. Leaf [1904] ad loc., p. 350; Kirk [1990] ad 8.238-9, p. 319.
[186] Rescue by an immortal is elsewhere seen as a source of rebuke; cf. 11.361f., 20.448f (both of Hektor and his need to pray to Apollo).

scorn which Astyanax will receive now that his father is dead, as he is banished by other members of the mess in his absence; **[5]** Menelaos in fury calls out at Antilokhos and denies that his reputation of cleverness is deserved. In the confrontation between them which ensues at the end of the race, the issue of Antilokhos' inferior status, the dynamics of reciprocity between two individuals in such a position, and the only avenue towards reconciliation possible in such a society, is thoroughly explored;[187] **[6]** Priam rebukes his sons for their worthlessness compared to Hektor.

167-71 He briefly ponders turning around in a typical sequence of inner debate (μερμήριξεν [167]), employed where a character ponders one of a range of alternative actions, the choice being achieved through the character's decision or divine intervention. These patterns are noticeably continuative, carrying through an action which has already been initiated or heavily foreshadowed,[188] and their decisions are always successful. The guaranteed alternative is indicated by the fact that it continues the narrative's established direction - in this case the unstated alternative of Diomedes' continued retreat. Moreover, by focusing on his wondering about rejoining the fray,[189] the poet once again draws our attention to the extraordinary *arete* of the figure, at least in the sense of his unwillingness to place the demands of the situation above his adherence to the heroic ethic.

Inner debate ([διάνδιχα] μερμήρι[ξεν]-): **[66]** 9 examples: **[1]** 1.188-94, **[2]** 5.671-6, **[3]** *8.167-71*, **[4]** 10.503-7, **[5]** 13.455-9, **[6]** 14.20-4 (ὥρμαινε | διχθάδι'), **[7]** 16.435-8 (διχθὰ ὁρμαίνοντι), **[8]** 16.644-55, **[9]** 16.713-16 (δίζε).[190] This is the only example expressing just one choice and using an

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[187] cf. on 8.147-50 (148-50), pp. 80-1 [60/5].

[188] Arend 1933, p. 109.

[189] cf. Andersen 1978, p. 115f. also notes the absence of description of Diomedes' reactions to these several portents, which redound greatly to his heroic stature. van Thiel 1982, p. 278, feels that the current deliberation scene is a "schwächliche Dublette" to his speech at 145-50 and so, obviously, the work of the redactor; cf., *contra*, Pelliccia 1995, p. 229.

[190] We call this an indirect inner debates, 'indirect' in the sense that the poet simply narrates either their purpose or their alternatives; cf. esp. Arend 1933, pp. 106-15, esp. p. 108f.; Fenik 1978, Scully

infinitive rather than an indirect question. Resolution is achieved by the character's unaided decision in [**5**], [**6**] & [**8**], and is denoted by the formula ὣδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι (13.458 [**5**], 14.23 [**6**], 16.652 [**8**]). Divine intercession is involved in [**1**], [**2**], [**3**], [**4**], [**7**] & [**9**], and may takes the form of an arrival (as in [**1**], [**4**] & [**9**]), an action of intercession (as in [**2**] & [**3**]) and even a vehement persuasion [**7**].

The essentially continuative nature of the decision does not preclude a sense of novelty in the direction provided by these structures: [**6**] Nestor's decision to look for Agamemnon leads into the *boule* and its determinations which, though they have little practical effect on the battle, serve to prepare for a reactivation from 354ff. Instead, there is a dynamic between the context and continuation of this debate pattern, and the continuative nature of the structure seems more prominent, in that there is no example which alters the direction of the narrative: [**1**] Akhilleus' eventual decision continues the angry exchange with Agamemnon and moves that towards the schism at the end of the *agore*; [**2**] the reciprocal combat between the sides is continued after the duel between Tlepolemos and Sarpedon, and the *aristeia* of Odysseus which ensues is then resolved by an *aristeia* for Hektor (5.699f.); [**4**] Athene's persuasion of Diomedes of the need to return continues the similarly purposed action of Odysseus at 10.498-502; [**5**] Deiphobos recruits some extra help to negate the effect which Idomeneus is having on the battle, and the fighting quickly devolves into a series of reciprocal *androktasiai* in the *Leichenkampf* over Alkathoos (496), whose death had motivated the taunt (427-54) which leads Deiphobos to debate his course;

1984; Pelliccia 1995, p. 128f.; Latacz [2000]b ad 1.886-94, p. 87. This is the second of Arend's two types of μερμήρι[ξεν] scene, the poet also using the verb when the character is debating how to achieve a certain purpose: 2.1-6 (μερμήριζε / ὡς), 14.159-65 (μερμήριξε / ὅππως), 24.680 (ὁρμαίνοντα / ὅπως). One might also include 10.3-20 (ὁρμαίνοντ'), in which the poet does not state Agamemnon's purpose until after the decision verse (ἤδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο βουλή) has been deployed at 17 (εἴ τινά οἱ σὺν μῆτιν ἀμύμονα τεκτήναιτο | ἥ τις ἀλεξίκακος πᾶσιν Δαναοῖσι γένοιτο [19-20]).

It is usually stated that "[g]ewöhnlich ist es die zweite Möglichkeit, für die Überlegende sich entscheidet"; Arend 1933, p. 108, n. 1. However, the first alternative is chosen in [66/5] and [66/9] (after Apollo intervenes), and is in the process of being chosen in [66/1] before Athene intervenes (εἵλκετο δ' ἐκ κολεοῖο μέγα ξίφος, ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη [1.194]); moreover, none of the alternatives stated in [66/4] are taken up. In other words, of our eight total cases, five are exceptions, and deities are involved in only a little over half the cases in the *Iliad*. Kirk [1990] ad loc., pp. 310-1, is not entirely happy with the deployment of this idiom here, given that διάνδιχα (8.167) should "logically" be followed by a statement of alternatives. Obviously to compensate for this impression, Σ A ad loc. mentions another verse (ἢ μήτε στρέψαι μήτ' ἀντίβιον μαχέσασθαι) which is universally and probably rightly condemned, for the current scene is the only example in which the pondering hero is actually engaged upon an activity rather than being on the verge of doing so. In this unusual situation, it is obvious that the second choice is naturally to continue the action (retreat) begun at 8.157f., and so it is easily omitted; cf. Willcock [1978] ad loc., p. 264; also Pelliccia 1995, pp. 128, 228 n. 215.

[7] Zeus' momentary debate about saving Sarpedon is a small intrusion into the process of the combat which was begun at 16.419 as the Lykian noticed Patroklos' victorious progress, and Here's reply confirms the outcome of that combat (439-57);[191] [8] Zeus' meditation upon the precise moment of Patroklos' death, engineered for much of the poem, delays it for a few hundred verses; [9] Hektor is impelled by Apollo to that end, after Apollo has personally rebuffed Patroklos from the walls (16.705-11), though the decisive combat does not itself begin until 786f.

169-71 It is highly fitting that the decision is made not by Diomedes but by Zeus, who signals directly his intentions for this third and final time (169-71), the poet deploying a triple attempt (τρὶς μέν | τρὶς δέ [169-70]) as the resolution for the μερμήρι[ξεν] sequence. These patterns express two repeated actions as a discrete temporal unit, the resolution of which is then conveyed by a further episode relating it to the continuation of the narrative.[192] Its structural variations are so great that prolepsis is to be confined generally to bringing together the conflicting or contrasted implications of an episode before resolving it and moving the narrative on, with one universal: wherever a god and a mortal are involved, the mortal's action is (unsurprisingly) subordinated to the god's and so doomed to contravention. Therefore, as the poet sings of Zeus' triple thundering from Ide (170-1), the audience know that the game is finally up.[193]

τρὶς μέν | τρὶς δέ: **[67]** 12 examples: **[1]** 5.436-9, **[2]** *8.169-71*, **[3]** 11.462-4, **[4]** 13.20, **[5]** 16.702-3, **[6]** 16.784-7, **[7]** 18.155-8, **[8]** 18.228-9, **[9]** 20.445-8, **[10]** 21.176-9, **[11]** 22.165-212, **[12]** 23.817.[194] The actions themselves may be either continuative or contrastive. In the first case, the

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[191] cf. below on 8.208-11 (209), pp. 110-12 [82/6].

[192] This may be compared with the ὄφρα | τόφρα correlative examined earlier (cf. above on 8.66-9 [66-7], pp. 36-8), which also heightens tension to a crucial moment; in that case there is usually a change of agent between the clauses, which is not necessarily so with the τρὶς μέν | τρὶς δέ pattern.

[193] As Kirk notes, this is the only occasion where the figure is applied to any mental process; cf. Pellliccia 1995, p. 228; also Willcock 1995, p. 119; Fenik 1968, pp. 90-1.

[194] cf. Fenik 1968, esp. pp. 46-7; Bannert 1988, p. 40f., attempts to construct another 'Geschehenslinie' around this figure, connecting Diomedes, Patroklos and Akhilleus. There are far too many

same character(s) performs both actions (as in **[4]** *sine* τρὶς δέ, **[6]**, **[9]**, **[10]**, **[11]** *sine* τρὶς μέν, its action being expanded by means of similes etc. (22.138f.) & **[12]**), while in the second another character(s) performs the second action (**[1]**, **[2]**, **[3]**, **[5]**, **[7]**, **[8]**). The agents may be single characters or groups.

There are two major methods of resolution. The first is the fourth atttempt, where the poet uses ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον (5.438 **[1]**, 16.705 **[5]**, 16.786 **[6]**, {20.447} **[9]**, 22.208 **[11]**)[195] or τὸ δὲ τέτρατον (13.20 **[4]**, 21.177 **[10]**) after which a reaction amounts to the resolution of the unit. The second is simply the action itself without a fourth attempt. The further action, confirming and redirecting the narrative, may take a number of forms: **[9]** Akhilleus' speech concerns his determination to pursue other Trojans now, given that Hektor is under the direct protection of a god; **[1]** Diomedes is warned by Apollo not to press his pursuit of Aineias any further, for the same reason. In both of these cases, the further episode expresses the resolution of the τρὶς μέν | τρὶς δέ unit, and relates that resolution to the continuation of the narrative. But not only speeches are employed for this purpose: **[6]** is followed by a direct address to the hero and then a lengthily described divine intervention which finally leads into Patroklos' death. The unit itself in this case is Patroklos' final victories which, one would assume, would have continued without the direct intervention of Apollo; in other words, the situation resolved is Patroklos' pre-eminence itself, and the narrative continues into his death.

Associative regularities are difficult to establish. For example, when the poet employs a fourth attempt resolution, the τρὶς μέν action is usually the unsuccessful one, although there are two exceptions: **[4]** Poseidon does reach the object of his journey; **[11]** Hektor and Akhilleus are engaged upon the chase and there is no question of success or lack thereof. Both of these are continuative and also the only examples lacking one of the unit's constituents (τρὶς δέ in **[4]**, τρὶς μέν in **[11]**), thus removing the differentiating potential and the need for such a precise predictive purpose. This purpose is, however, far from clear in the examples not resolved in this way (in **[3]** and **[8]** the τρὶς μέν action is successful, in **[7]** it isn't, and in **[12]** neither action is). Moreover, continuative actions are in general not successful (as in **[6]**, **[9]**, **[10]**, **[11]** & **[12]**, though cf. **[4]**), whilst the rate of success for contrastive actions is equally undetermined. We find success in **[3]** & **[8]**, failure in **[1]**, **[2]**, **[5]** & **[7]**, though the last requires Akhilleus' extraordinary appearance at

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examples which have nothing to do with these figures to support his argument; cf. above on 8.122-5, p. 65 n. 128 for a similar attempt.

[195] 5.438 = 16.705 = 16.786 = 20.447.

the trench in order to thwart Hektor. Indeed, the position of the successful action, the contrastive or continuative nature of the actions, and the type of resolutions seems to admit of too many variations to permit any specific connotative purpose to the constituents of this structure. This does not prevent the association of divine contravention of mortal intention; in **[1]**, **[2]** & **[5]** the god's actions are introduced in the τρὶς δέ clause, while in **[6]** and **[11]** the god only appears in the pattern during the fourth attempt resolution. The opposition may be less pronounced: **[9]** Akhilleus' attempts to strike at the protected Hektor are thwarted by the fact of Apollo's protection (similarly **[1]**).

170-1 The thundering itself is an intriguing and important part of this information. As we remarked earlier, Zeus' action (κτύπε [170]) is not uncommon, nor is the direction as to its purpose, and where it is so used it produces an immediate reaction.[196] Here the poet calls it a σῆμα explicitly marked for the Trojans, a symbol or confirmation that the direction of the battle has altered (μάχης ἑτεραλκέα νίκην [171]); a σῆμα portent from Zeus is always (eventually) clearly directed and, when coupled with the 'altered battle' expression, provides a crisp and concise coda to this period of battle. Moreover, its explicit direction at the Trojans also indicates the removal of the focus from Diomedes,[197] and forecasts his continued retreat without further ado.

σῆμα portent: **[68]** 7 examples: **[1]** 2.308, **[2]** 2.353, **[3]** 4.381, **[4]** *8.171*, **[5]** 9.236, **[6]** 13.244, **[7]** 22.30.[198] Zeus is directly associated with these portents in every case but the last, where Akhilleus is likened to the Dog Star (and where Zeus must be associated with Akhilleus' activity in any case). The clear direction of the σῆμα may be observed from the fact that it is regularly employed in persuasive contexts (as in **[1]**, **[2]**, **[3]** & **[5]**) to underline the ineluctability of such signs of divine intent: **[1]** (& **[2]**) Odysseus recalls the favourable omen sent by Zeus at Aulis as a means

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196 cf. above on 8.69-77 (75), pp. 38-40 [26/3]; also Fenik 1968, p. 184.
197 cf. Stockinger 1959, p. 25.
198 cf. Nagy 1990, pp. 202-22; Foley 1999a, pp. 25-33; also Scodel 2002.

of persuading the Greeks to endure until they take Troy; [3] Agamemnon, during his rebuke of Diomedes, recalls his memories of Tydeus coming to Mykenai to enlist aid, which was only refused because of the clear portent Zeus showed them; [5] Odysseus points out that Hektor's victory is aided by Zeus, who thunders in clear favour to the Trojan. Akhilleus, of course, has some intimation of the true course of the *Dios Boule*, and refuses to be persuaded. In this latter example, as in [3], there is perhaps a sense of excuse; Agamemnon cannot invoke Tydeus without explaining why Atreus refused to assist him, and Odysseus must deflect some criticism of the Akhaian fighting qualities by reference to Zeus' will. Nonetheless, even when the figure is deployed outside these contexts, the direction is clear: [6] Idomeneus is compared to the lightning of Zeus sent to mortal men, in this case with a clearly threatening tone; [7] Akhilleus' appearance is likewise, and even more so, an expression of the danger he represents.

μάχης ἑτεραλκέα νίκην: **[69]** 4 examples (1): [1] 7.26, [2] *8.171*, [3] 16.362, [4] 17.627; [5] *Od.* 22.236 (*sine* μάχης).[199] The expression is confined to those moments in the battle where inclination is achieved by direct or indirect divine intervention: [1] Apollo inquires as to whether Athene is on her way to grant the Greeks the victory; [3] Hektor recognises that the battle has turned as a result of Patroklos' advent, which has obviously been engineered by Zeus; [4] Aias and Menelaos recognise that battle has been turned by Zeus, who shook the *aigis* in order to begin the rout (17.593f.); [5] spurred on by the suitors' threats to her disguise, Mentor, Athene rebukes Odysseus in order to urge him to greater efforts, but does not yet grant the inclination of the battle.

Though unstated, this acceptance of Zeus' will is significant, for Diomedes' grudging awareness of the diminished opportunities left him by direct divine participation provides an informative contrast with Hektor's behaviour, whose delusion and misunderstanding of the situation in this day's battle we have already seen.[200] Where the characters differ, however, is in being able to be deflected from these concerns by more pressing considerations. These heroic traits are to be an important theme as the narrative

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199 cf. Ameis-Hentze [1907] ad 7.26, p. 3; also Leaf [1904] ad 7.26., p. 300, and ad 8.171, p. 344; Kirk [1990] ad 7.26-7, p. 234; Janko [1992] ad 16. 358-63, p. 362: "victory for the losing side."

200 cf. above on 8.160-7, p. 84 n. 177.

progresses, and the focus moves slowly from the pre-eminence of the Greeks to that of Hektor, not only in this Book but during the course of the third day of battle as well. The poet here begins this gradual process of focal transfer, refusing to dwell further on the continued retreat as the further episode to the triple attempt, but turning to Hektor as he proceeds to exhort first his men (172-83) and then his horses (184-98).

172-4 The introduction to Hektor's exhortation (ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν ἀύσας [172]) is designed either to make a defensive group stiffen its resistance and / or reverse the tide of battle, or to urge an offensive group to further achievements. Such appeals are always persuasive and effective, being followed by a period in which the exhorted side takes the upper hand or at least responds positively. A generalising verse (ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς [174]) signals that the exhortation will be concerned with more than a simple instruction for the present exigency, as the speaker invokes or considers the broader ramifications of the situation. There does seem to be, furthermore, a connotation of delusion, in that the purpose or intention of the speaker is at variance with the possibilities open to the exhorted group.

[ἐ]κέκλετο μακρὸν ἀύσας exhortations: **[70]** 12 examples: **[1]** 4.508 (*sine* μακρὸν), **[2]** 6.66, **[3]** 6.110, **[4]** *8.172*, **[5]** 11.285, **[6]** 15.346, **[7]** 15.424, **[8]** 15.485, **[9]** 16.268, **[10]** 17.183, **[11]** 21.307 (*sine* μακρὸν), **[12]** 22.294 (ἐκάλει). On the last two occasions, the speech is directed at individuals rather than groups. The speaker is always a mortal, except for Apollo in **[1]** and Skamandros in **[11]** (also the only examples to omit μακρὸν).[201]

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[201] There are also four examples (13.413, 13.445, 14.453, 14.478) of the participle expression μακρὸν ἀύσας employed as part of a vaunting formula (ἔκπαγλον ἐπηύξατο μακρὸν ἀύσας); cf. below, pp. 94-5.

The group either stiffens its resistance after being routed or moves onto the offensive: **[1]** Apollo's exhortations allow the Trojans to return to a situation in which we find reciprocal *androktasiai*, after their earlier routing (4.505-7); **[2]** after Nestor's encouragements, the Greek offensive continues, but is matched by an exhortation on the Trojan side (6.73f.) to stabilise the battle before Hektor leaves the battle to go into Troy. Before his final departure, he delivers **[3]** in order to achieve that stability; **[5]** the Trojans respond and Hektor enjoys an *aristeia*; **[6]** Trojans continue to advance upon the ships; **[7]** after the momentary setback represented by the death of Kaletor, Hektor bids the Trojans to reply and save his body, initiating a series of reciprocal *androktasiai* and then an abortive *aristeia* for Teukros; **[8]** as a result of Zeus' disarming of Teukros at the end of the last sequence, Hektor repeats his exhortation; **[9]** the Myrmidons burst forth; **[10]** Hektor retreats in order to re-arm in the captured armour, and is sent back into battle strengthened by Zeus (17.209f.); **[11]** Skamandros exhorts Simoeis to join his pursuit of Akhilleus, continuing an aggressive move, shortly before he is forced to retire. Skamandros invokes the defensive posture of the Trojans generally in the face of Akhilleus' attacks.

The exhorted group / individual fails only once to dominate the battle or even to respond positively: **[12]** the poet uses this exhortation marker to denote Hektor's request for another spear from Deiphobos aka Athene, indicating Hektor's delusion, for he still thinks that he can win the encounter, and it is only after he receives no reply that he finally comes to understand his situation. At this ultimate moment, he progresses from his usual confident ignorance to a state of knowledge on a par with that of the poet and his audience. Thus the juxtaposition of Hektor's confidence in his appeal and the final realisation is extremely powerful - once again, best appreciated against the associations we have discovered.[202]

ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς: **[70a]** 7 examples: **[1]** 6.112 (70/3),[203] **[2]** *8.174* (70/4) **[3]** 11.287 (70/5), **[4]** 15.487 (70/8), **[5]** 15.734, **[6]** 16.270 (70/9), **[7]** 17.185 (70/10).[204] **[1]** Hektor

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[202] cf. above on 8.91-6, p. 52 n. 100 [38/5] and refs. there.

[203] M West [1998-2000] opts for Zenodotos' reading, ἀνέρες ἔστε θοοὶ καὶ ἀμύνετε ἄστει λαῴβην.

[204] Contextual requirements need to be kept in mind with regard to this generalising verse: [70/1] and [70/11] are spoken by undisguised gods, by whom the men are not to be regarded as their comrades in arms (and [70/11] is in any case directed by Skamandros to Simoeis), whilst [70/12] is directed by Hektor to Deiphobos; in these contexts, the verse is clearly ruled out by sense. Nonetheless, it seems clear that the expression was designed for this generalising purpose, particularly when we consider the cases which *are* directed towards the group by its leader but which lack the verse (as [70/2], [70/6] & [70/7]): [70/2] Nestor gives a direct instruction with regard to the immediate treatment of the corpses of the slain foeman (as in [70/6]); [70/7] Hektor exhorts the Trojans to fight for the recently slain Kaletor and prevent his corpse from being claimed by the Greeks.

gives no practical instructions at all, simply a general exhortation whilst he returns to the city (he retreats again after [7] to put on Akhilleus' armour); [2] Hektor speaks of the Greek delusion in constructing the wall and invokes Zeus' favour for him; [3] after the instruction from Zeus delivered to him earlier (11.199f.), Hektor now sees Agamemnon wounded and so believes himself (perhaps not unreasonably) to be the recipient of unbroken and decisive divine favour; [4] Hektor views the breaking of Teukros' weapons as Zeus' own intervention (which indeed it was, cf. 15. 461f.) and another sign of his favour; [6] Patroklos appeals to the Myrmidons' desire to show Agamemnon what a great warrior he has slighted. One might, therefore, say that these exhortations use more indirect grounds for motivation than the simple examples.

It must be noted that there is a constant of delusion accompanying both these simple and augmented exhortations, but the delusion is so general as to make one reluctant to include it within the referential definition. Moreover, its delusion is extremely variable, and there is no universal indication about which aspect of the exhortation is to be doubted. Instead, the direction afforded by the appeal in these situations seems to be more generally undermining: **[70/1]** Apollo's favour towards the Trojans, though they have more of a chance now that Akhilleus has withdrawn, is directed ultimately towards no good end; **[70/3]** Hektor expresses his desire to go into the city to prepare the supplication of Athene, which will fail; **[70a/5]** Aias is correct that there is need for stout resistance, but Zeus is driving the battle only to a certain point - there is no risk of total Greek destruction within the *Dios Boule*; **[70/10]** the act of putting on the armour is a useful poetic device making necessary the provision of new armour for Akhilleus, but as the poet has Zeus say, the claiming of the armour is οὐ κατὰ κόσμον (205) in the sense that it denotes a confidence in his victory which is unfounded;[205] **[70/11]** Skamandros is mistaken in his attempt to prevent Akhilleus from slaughtering the Trojans, and he will not be permitted to stand in his way; **[70/12]** Hektor has of course been tricked into believing that Deiphobos is near him. In this connection, it is perhaps worth noting that this exhortation is most often (in **[70/3]** - **[70/8]**, **[70/10]**, **[70/12]**) allotted to Hektor.[206]

In support of our contention about delusion, we could adduce those circumstances where the participle is employed as part of the vaunting formula ἔκπαγλον ἐπηύξατο μακρὸν ἀύσας (13.413, 13.445, 14.453, 14.478), not to mention the expression τῷι δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἀύσε.[207] In these situations,

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[205] cf. Edwards [1991] ad 17.205-6, p. 82.
[206] cf. above on 8.160-7, p. 84 n. 177; also below on 8.177-9 (177), pp. 95-7 [71/4], [71/10] & [71/13].
[207] cf. above on 8.160-7 (160), pp. 84-6.

the vaunt expresses a confidence in the hero's position or victory which is then immediately challenged *because* of that vaunt, with 13.413, 14.453 and 14.478 being followed by the verse ὣς ἔφατ'· Ἀργείοισι δ' ἄχος γένετ' εὐξαμένοιο (13.417, 13.458, 14.486) and a subsequent reaction from the Greek side, resulting in an *androktasia*. Moreover, 13.445, the only one of these vaunts to be expressed by a Greek (Idomeneus), leads Deiphobos to summon Aineias to his aid, whose arrival at 13.469f., whilst it does not directly end Idomeneus' *aristeia*, does lead him to confess δείδια αἰνῶς (13.481) on the grounds of his age and also to the augmentation of the battle in which Idomeneus recedes from importance - once again, with the poet stressing the impediments of his age (512-5).[208]

177-9 This general indication is importantly taken up by Hektor's condemnation of the Greeks' misguided hopes in the wall's defensive efficacy (νήπιοι [177]), for such judgements describe the disjunction between the intention or understanding of the character(s) so labelled and the actuality of any situation, and are most often stated in the poet's *propria persona*. Its proleptic utility is obvious, and subject to the speaker's level of knowledge; the poet and divine speakers are of course omniscient with regard to future events, but mortal characters are a different question. In fact, Hektor is the only mortal confident (or rash) enough to use the device with regard to actions which lie beyond his immediate personal control, and in this he is consistently shown to be mistaken. It is important that this delusion is here related explicitly to Zeus' favour, about which Hektor is indeed correct, but he cannot discern clearly its purpose or ramification (or he chooses not to act with due caution).

νήπι[οι]: **[71]** 20 examples: **[1]** 2.38, **[2]** 2.873, **[3]** 5.406, **[4]** *8.177*, **[5]** 12.113, **[6]** 12.127, **[7]** 15.104, **[8]** 16.46, **[9]** 16.686, **[10]** 16.833, **[11]** 17.236, **[12]** 17.497, **[13]** 18.295, **[14]** 18.311,

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[208] cf. above on 8.167-71, pp. 86-8 [66/5].

[15] 20.264, [16] 20.296, [17] 20.466, [18] 21.99, [19] 22.333, [20] 23.88.[209] Such comments are particularly appropriate to the omniscient narrator, who has by far the greatest number of examples: [1], [2], [5], [6], [8], [9], [11], [12], [14], [15] & [17]. These judgements are of particular proleptic utility for the audience, as the poet will often relate the character's knowledge to long term themes and events: [1] Agamemnon is so labelled for thinking that this current offensive would take Troy; [5] Asios makes an individual attack apart from the central Trojan advance and, even though he is not to be killed in this first fight around the wall, the poet foreshadows his death at the hands of Idomeneus, realised in the Greek counterattack in Book 13;[210] [9] Patroklos' doom is confirmed at the moment he charges into the Trojan ranks; [14] the Trojans' approval of Hektor's decision to remain out on the plain is condemned by the poet ἐκ γάρ σφεων φρένας εἵλετο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη (18.311).[211] In all of these cases, the narrator channels the thoughts and opinions of his audience by enabling an immediate disjunction between the character's knowledge and their own.

Divine speakers are similarly graced with knowledge and understanding: [3] Dione castigates Diomedes' attack on Aphrodite and relates it to possible consequences on his domestic difficulties;[212] [7] Here finally acknowledges, after the failure of the *Dios Apate*, the uselessness of opposing Zeus; [16] Poseidon condemns Aineias' attack on Akhilleus because of its obvious consequences, and the fact that he is supposed to survive the sack of Troy. This level of knowledge, which in [16] and probably in [3] extends to predictions of the future, is something usually lacking when mortals - other than Hektor - deploy the device. Akhilleus makes judgements over situations which he has the power immediately to effect: [18] he calls Lykaon νήπιε for his attempts at supplication, because the usual notions of capture and ransom are completely inappropriate now; [19] he does the same for Hektor, because he killed Patroklos without regard for the revenge coming from Akhilleus. Patroklos *e manibus* is even more circumspect [20], damning his own slaying of a kinsman over dice. Therefore, poet and divine characters reflect upon the future, humans upon the past or immediate future over which they have direct and personal control. Hektor, by contrast, is again the most egregiously erroneous

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[209] cf. de Jong 1987, pp. 86-7, 136-7; also Edmunds 1990 (which I have not seen); Ulf 1990, pp. 54-6; Janko [1992] ad 16.46, pp. 320-1; Ingalls 1998, esp. pp. 32-4. Our discussion is limted to the use of the term when applied to a character in the narrative, whether by the poet or one of his characters.

[210] Asios' attack is full of intimations as to its failure; cf. below on 8.236-41, pp. 126-7 [92/3]; on 8.450-6, pp. 201-4 [139/5]; 8.497-501, pp. 218-20 [150/4]; 8.535-41, pp. 224-9 [154/3].

[211] cf. above on 8.139-44, p. 72 n. 148.

[212] cf. above on 8.160-7 (160), pp. 84-5 n. 181 [63/3].

single speaker of this particular figure: [4] the wall will not easily be broken down, nor will he be able to fire the ships and kill the Greeks; [10] Hektor condemns Patroklos' martial activity by apportioning to Akhilleus the intention that Patroklos should sack Troy and kill Hektor; [13] his rejection of Poulydamas' advice to retreat is preceded here by a statement of Zeus' favour κῦδος ἀρέσθ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶ θαλάσσηι τ' ἔλσαι Ἀχαιούς (294). Whilst other characters are subject to partial delusion in various ways whilst using this figure (for instance, Akhilleus in [19] predicts the dishonouring of Hektor's corpse), the complete nature of Hektor's delusion marks him out.[213]

184-90 He now turns to his horses with an exhortation introduced (ἵπποισιν ἐκέκλετο [184]) so as to emphasise the team's failure to perform as it should. His appeal to Andromakhe's past favour (186-90) is revealing, for other characters often temporarily assume the functions of the charioteer-attendant. Hektor's wife, however, is perhaps the most appropriate figure for this role, given that he is never associated with a single charioteer or companion in the same way as Akhilleus and Patroklos or Diomedes and Sthenelos[214] and, when Hektor favourably compares the horses' treatment to his own, he uses a type of self-assertion (εὔχομαι εἶναι [190]) which establishes his suitability to act or speak *through his wife*, furthering the domestic aspect of his character so prominent earlier in Book 6, and drawing the audience's attention once again to his role and indeed nature as defender of the city, the hero with whose fate that of Troy is inevitably bound.

ἵπποισιν ἐκέκλετο Team exhortations: **[72]** 4 examples: [1] *8.184*, [2] 19.399, [3] 23.402, [4] 23.442.[215] There is a prominent element of rebuke in these exhortations: Akhilleus' curt reminder

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213 cf. above on 8.160-7, p. 84 n. 177.

214 Not to mention the fact that he seems careless about his drivers; cf. above on 8.122-5, p. 65 n. 128.

215 Some doubts have been raised over the authenticity of 8.186-90, Aristarkhos athetising 189 because it is οὐ σύνηθες οἶνον πίνειν ἵππους, which opinion has found much sympathy with modern scholars: cf., e.g., Leaf [1904] ad loc., pp. 344-5; Fenik 1968, p. 222: "a curious anecdote about Andromakhe's stable duties"; cf. also Kirk [1990] ad 8.186-90, pp. 312-3, and M West 2001a, p. 202. The general objection is hardly weighty, for the almost obsessive level of attention is paralleled by Patroklos' treatment of Akhilleus' team: τοίου γὰρ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπώλεσαν ἡνιόχοιο |

about Patroklos' demise [**2**], Antilokhos' threats [**3**], Menelaos' evocation of his horses' youth as the reason why they should not be beaten by Antilokhos' team [**4**], all these seem predicated upon the team's current failure to perform as expected. The reaction of the team often furthers this impression, with Antilokhos' and Menelaos' horses fearful as a result of the speech (ὑποδδείσαντες [23.417, 446]), and one of Akhilleus' horses so put out as to reply and deny the implications of the prior speech (19.404f.). In the current episode, the implication is obviously that Hektor's team is not performing in such a way as to deserve the favour shown them in the past, though there is little sense of threat in his tone.

Temporary chariot attendants include Iris with Ares' horses (5.368-9), Simoeis with Here's (5.777), the Horai with Here's again (8.432-7), and Poseidon with Zeus' (8.440-1).[216] As Diomedes' charioteer, Sthenelos naturally takes care of the horses after the race in Book 23 (513), and is singled out as his particular companion in the assembly in Book 9 (9.48-9; cf. also 5.365-7 etc.), in much the same way as Patroklos is by Akhilleus (cf. 16.97-100).

εὔχ[ομαι] εἶναι (1st pers.): **[73]** 13 examples: [**1**] 4.405, [**2**] 6.211, [**3**] 6.231, [**4**] *8.190*, [**5**] 9.60, [**6**] 9.161, [**7**] 14.113, [**8**] 15.296, [**9**] 20.209, [**10**] 20.241, [**11**] 21.187, [**12**] 21.411, [**13**] 23.669.[217] In [**2**], [**6**], [**7**], [**8**] & [**9**] the speaker appeals to his geneaology, often in martial contexts as a preparatory challenge (as in [**2**], [**7**], [**9**] & [**10**]) or concluding vaunt, or as a justification for making a proposal [**6**]; cf. Sthenelos' favourable comparison of himself and Diomedes with their fathers [**1**]. Other points of reference include greater age (as in [**5**] & [**6**]) or excellence (as in [**10**] & [**12**]), or indeed guest-friendship (as in [**3**], established in [**2**]). Self-image may be rapidly exemplified: [**5**] Nestor uses his greater age in order to underline his authority as a speaker (a constantly emphasised aspect of his character); [**6**] Agamemnon focuses on his greater age and authority as good reason for Akhilleus' yielding to him; [**7**] Diomedes,

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ἠπίου, ὅ σφωιν μάλα πολλάκις ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον | χαιτάων κατέχευε, λοέσσας ὕδατι λευκῷ; cf. Richardson [1993] ad 23.281-2, p. 206. One might say that special treatment is accorded to Akhilleus' team because of their immortality, but Hektor's horses were probably also from the immortal stock given to Tros in compensation for Ganymedes (cf. 5.265-71).

We should also keep in mind that Andromakhe has shown a keen interest in the war, beyond simply preparing baths for her husband (cf., e.g., 6.433-9, where she gives Hektor sound tactical advice based upon a sensible observation of the fighting), and so is far from being an inappropriate figure to perform the current service; cf. also Hirvonen 1968, pp. 116-7; also Lohmann 1988, p. 78. If 189 is removed, then 190 should probably go as well, as M West 2001a, ibid., saw. This would remove the self-definition reference (cf. below), which is thoroughly appropriate in the context, and contributes powerfully to our understanding of Hektor's characterisation at this moment of triumph.

[216] cf. below on 8.432-7, pp. 195-7, 196 n. 485; also 8.438-44, p. 198, on these last two episodes.

[217] cf. Adkins 1969a; Muellner 1976, p. 84.

once again seeking to establish his heroic stature, does so by reference to his father and his own past deeds; **[9]** (& **[10]**) Aineias' genealogy establishes his authority to fight against such a prominent foe, and thereby indeed his heroic identity.

Forms of this expression in other persons also focus upon heroic identity: εὔχ[ομαι] εἶναι (2nd & 3rd pers.): **[74]** 9 examples: **[1]** 1.91, **[2]** 2.82, **[3]** 3.430-1, **[4]** 4.264, **[5]** 5.173, **[6]** 5.246, **[7]** 5.248, **[8]** 13.54, **[9]** 20.102. The identification or configuration of the hero now becomes subject to a range of rhetorical purposes and points of view, appropriate to that change in person. Characters are reminded parainetically of past claims: **[3]** after his escape from the duel, Helen rebukes Paris for claiming previously to be a better man than Menelaos; **[4]** Agamemnon exhorts Idomeneus to act in a manner appropriate to his previous claims. Geneaology is again a source of identification (as in **[6]** & **[7]**, and with heavy sarcasm in **[8]**), but characters may also make reference to inherent qualities or status, with a range of conviction: **[1]** Akhilleus promises to protect Kalkhas even from Agamemnon who claims to be the best in the army. This need not be a disparaging reference to the King, but a means for underlining Akhilleus' determination to protect Kalkhas; **[2]** Nestor endorses Agamemnon's dream because of the latter's claim to be the best in the army; **[5]** seeking to persuade Pandaros to use his bow against Diomedes, Aineias makes reference to the fact that no-one claims to be better than Pandaros in its use;[218] **[9]** Aineias avows that, were it not for the constant help of the gods, Akhilleus would not win easily, even if he claims to be παγχάλκεος. In all of these situations, the identification of the hero is subject to the rhetorical purpose of the speaker: **[8]** Poseidon pretends that Hektor now claims to be the son of Zeus, in order to undermine that claim and spur the Greeks on with its ridiculous quality; **[9]** Aineias ascribes a similarly fanciful claim to Akhilleus because he wishes to denigrate him, and at the same time emphasise his own willingness to fight, whilst he boosts Pandaros' confidence **[5]** by making the claim to the latter's credit seem a general opinion.

191-7 Another dimension is added to Hektor's characterisation with his desire to capture Nestor's golden shield and Diomedes' breastplate. Though unmentioned elsewhere,[219]

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[218] cf. below on 8.228-35 (229), pp. 124-5 [91/2].

[219] A source of anxiety; cf. Leaf [1904] ad loc., p. 345; Fenik 1968, pp. 222-3; Kirk [1990] ad 8.191-7, p. 313. van Leeuwen [1912] ad loc., p. 281, compares the "splendida lorica" of Agamemnon in Book 11, but to parallel the material of Nestor's shield and the fact that it is never mentioned again, we can note that the golden armour of Glaukos is vital contextually in order to express the physically harmless victory of Diomedes in their abortive encounter, but is similarly forgotten after the event

both items are desirable possessions and appropriate objects for the heroically acquisitive eye. Moreover, the shield is described in a way (τῆς νῦν κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει [192]) traditionally employed when the thing so qualified is essential to the hero's identity, whilst information about its maker (τὸν Ἥφαιστος κάμε τεύχων [195]) rests the audience's eye upon the object whilst or shortly before it is employed *quo* to direct their conception of the character. Divine gifts are not always to be interpreted literally, but as expressions of the item's magnificence and beauty,[220] the point of these references being to illustrate Hektor's concern with material gain (as well as his delusion in thinking that he can gain the weapons of heroes who survived the war).[221] It is another typical element of the psychological imperative we have observed hitherto with regard to Diomedes, and one which is similarly misguided. As he was concerned with the worth of the horses he had captured and the damage to his *kleos* should he retreat,[222] so is Hektor here thinking in terms of material glory and his domestic life.[223] The more we see of him, the deeper and more distinct is the depiction of his delusion, and the *pathos* of his situation.

κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκ[ει]: **[75]** 1 example (3): **[1]** *8.192*, **[2]** *Od.* 8.74, **[3]** *Od.* 9.20, **[4]** *Od.* 19.108. The expression is applied to a number of different items (from a shield, an οἶμη of epic song **[2]**,[224] Odysseus **[3]** & Penelope **[4]**) but that item or individual is always deployed in a context when

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(6.234-6); cf., e.g., Calder 1984, Traill 1989, Donlan 1989b, Scodel 1992, Harries 1993. For the divine origin of Diomedes' breastplate, we might note that Pandaros' bow is a gift of Apollo at 2.827 but his own creation at 4.105-11; cf. next note. As Richardson [1993] ad 22.470, p. 157, has said with regard to Andromakhe's veil, "[i]t may . . be wrong here to make a distinction between 'literal' and 'figurative' gifts."

220 cf. Hainsworth [1993] ad 11.353, p. 265; Willcock 1970; van Wees 1992, p. 19. One might also contend that the possession of divine armour would make the obvious parallels between Diomedes in the first half of the poem and Akhilleus in the second half even more explicit, *pace* Andersen 1978.

221 cf. above on 8.160-7, p. 84 n. 177.

222 cf. above on 8.101-11, pp. 56-60; also on 8.145-7 et ff., pp. 76-80ff.

223 cf. Hellmann 2000, p. 158; also Fenik 1968, p. 31.

224 cf. Introduction § I, on the meaning of οἶμη.

the identification of the hero is affected by it: [2] the οἴμη from which Demodokos draws his song concerns the quarrel between Odysseus and Akhilleus, and Odysseus' reaction to it is one element in a series where his identity is concealed from the Phaiakians. During his sojourn with them, he delays revealing himself until well into his reception, either because they are traditionally unfriendly hosts or because the revelation of his name must await (or at least be part of) the regaining of his heroic identity;[225] [3] Odysseus now reveals himself as the preface to the tale of his wanderings, and qualifies himself with the expression. This, then, asserts his heroic identity in a powerful way, for the narration to come is as much an exercise in self-definition and justification as an interesting tale;[226] [4] in reply to Penelope's standard question about his identity (19.105-7) the disguised Odysseus applies the expression to the queen before an expansive comparison with a good king who benefits the land. He then refuses to reveal himself on the ground of his sorrows, remembrance of which would cause him to indulge in unseemly grief. Thus he emphasises the primacy of Penelope's position within the Nostos pattern, as the goal of his quest to return home. The expression is certainly used in a variety of ways, but the common context is that of heroic identification.

Maker of an item (κάμε): **[76]** 7 examples: [1] 2.101, [2] 5.735, [3] 7.220, [4] *8.195*, [5] 8.386, [6] 18.614, [7] {19.368}. The item itself may not be further mentioned in the coming episode, but its possession adds to the audience's figuration of the character: [1] Agamemnon's sceptre is the symbol of an authority which he is to test, and to negative results, in the coming *agore*. Hephaistos' craftsmanship links the item with Zeus and his authority, and so underlines the continuity of that authority through the Atreid line to Agamemnon; [2] (& [5]) Athene takes off her own creation at this point in order that she can put about herself the *aigis*. Symbolically, she arms herself in his authority;[227] [3] Aias' tower shield is to play an important role in the course of the combat to come, deflecting two strikes (7.244-8 & 258-9). Nonetheless, the poet chooses not to have a divine provenance for this item, perhaps another reflection of his ambiguous attitude to Aias;[228] [6] (& [7]) the construction of Akhilleus' new armour is an important and pervasive

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225 cf. Segal 1962; Rose 1969; cf. also next note.

226 cf. Most 1989; Olson 1995.

227 cf. below on 8.382-96, pp. 182-4 [127/5] & [127/6].

228 This ambiguity is reflected in the comparison between the poet's statement at 2.768-9 (ἀνδρῶν αὖ μέγ' ἄριστος ἔην Τελαμώνιος Αἴας, | ὄφρ' Ἀχιλεὺς μήνιεν) and his success in the duel with Hektor on the one hand, and on the other his constant failure in the Funeral Games. Of course, Aias is the constant opponent of Hektor on the third day of battle (cf. esp. Schadewaldt 1966, pp. 69-70), but this, his only real period of dominance, occurs after the wounding of the other major and hitherto dominant Greek heroes; cf. van der Valk 1952; Whitman 1958, pp. 169-70; Reichel 1994, p. 231f.

theme as the preparation to his *aristeia*. These two episodes note the gathering of the equipment by Thetis, and Akhilleus getting into it. The contextual significance of the gift is obvious.

198-9 As Hektor ends his exhortation, the poet again suggests his delusion, the hemistich (ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος [198]) being employed in both sacred and secular contexts to express the speaker's claim upon the future,[229] for the defeat of Diomedes and Nestor is refuted not only by the preceding narrative but also heroic tradition in general. The narrative is now removed to Olympos and Here's unsurprisingly hostile reaction, introducing her as a speaking character for the first time in the Book, and resuming once again the theme of divine confrontation as she comments for the first time upon Zeus' intentions. This is continued as she leaps up and shakes Olympos (ἐλέλιξε δὲ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον [199]),[230] for such commotion connotes trouble or disorder amongst the immortals, hinted at before but now openly suggested in her complaint to Poseidon (200-7). This effect is, however, the preserve of Zeus, and such a disjunction highlights the inevitability of her failure.

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[229] Adkins 1969a, esp. p. 33; cf. also Reynen 1983, p. 184f.

[230] cf. the doubts about this verse of Schadewaldt 1966, p. 11 n. 2: "[d]er persönliche mediale Gebrauch von σείσατο 'sie warf sich im Sessel hin und her' ist völlig singulär." However, Chantraine 1953, § 264, p. 178, points to the fact that "[l]e moyen a servi dans une large mesure à constituer des verbes intransitifs tirés de thèmes actifs et qui admettent d'être traduits par des réflechis"; id., § 265, p. 179, refers to "la coexistence d'un actif causatif avec un moyen intransitif (with a list of examples)." On these grounds, we should take careful note of 13.805 (ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κροτάφοισι φαεινὴ σείετο πήληξ), where σείετο seems at least to admit of the second interpretation. Morevoer, Hoekstra 1965, p. 145, compares 15.150 to suggest that the metrical lengthening in εἰνὶ θρόνωι betrays a Mycenaean survival permitting the reduction *ἐν θόρνωι. This need not be a decisive argument in the verse's favour, but Schadewaldt's second point against it is weak: "das Erschüttern des Olymp kommt wohl nur dem Zeus zu"; cf. also Leaf [1904] ad loc., p. 346; von der Mühll 1952, p. 154; Kirk [1990] ad loc., pp. 314-5. Ironically, these authors have grasped the poet's departure from usual practice, but have come to the wrong conclusion. Aside from the analysis above, which argues that Here is an essential component of much divine *stasis* (cf. below, n. 235; also below on 8.357, pp. 173-4 n. 127), the fact that she is the cause of the commotion is an indication of her coming, necessary failure to assert her will in open defiance of Zeus. Thus the individuality of this action underlines the important themes in the passage, and the usual association will be restored when Zeus returns to Olympos at 443f.; cf. also Reinhardt 1961, p. 181, n. 26.

ὣς ἔφα[τ᾽] εὐχόμεν[ος]: **[77]** 13 examples: **[1]** 1.43, **[2]** 1.457, **[3]** 5.106, **[4]** 5.121, **[5]** 6.311, **[6]** *8.198*, **[7]** 10.295, **[8]** 15.377, **[9]** 16.249, **[10]** 16.527, **[11]** 20.393, **[12]** 23.771, **[13]** 24.314.[231] Aside from **[3]**, **[6]** & **[11]**, the accompanied speech acts are formal prayers, in which the usual second hemistich is τοῦ δ᾽ ἔκλυε + nom., with the exception of ἀνένευσε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη in **[5]** and μέγα δ᾽ ἔκτυπε Ζεύς in **[8]**: **[1]** (and **[2]**) Apollo hears the request and grants it, on the first occasion then marching down to the camp (1.44-52), on the second with no further action (1.458ff.). By contrast, Athene simply refuses the request in **[5]**, and the poet combines the two in **[9]**. The common element to all of these prayers is of course the concern with the future, for which the hero requires the aid of the deity. When the hemistich is not used to close prayers, the hero makes a claim about the immediate present / future over which he apparently has complete control: **[3]** Pandaros connects the fact of his striking Diomedes as grounds for believing that he is to die. His claim is moderated by a mention of Apollo's patronage, but is mistaken anyway;[232] **[11]** Akhilleus' vaunt over Iphition focuses simply on his death and the fact that his γενέη live in Gugaie.[233] His particular status in terms of his knowledge of the future is often notable, but he chooses to direct such a speech to the certainty of his victim's death and separation from his family.[234] Thus, Hektor's current speech is marked in this way as an unreal claim upon the future at the expense of figures over whom the narrative up until this point, and indeed the subsequent heroic tradition, show he has no claim to have.

Olympos *commotus* (ἐλέλι[ξε] / πελεμιζ[εν]): **[78]** 3 examples (3): **[1]** 1.530, **[2]** *{8.199}*, **[3]** 8.443, **[4]** *Theogony* 842, **[5]** *Hom. Hy. to Dionysos [1]* 15, **[6]** *Hom. Hy. to Athene [28]* 9.[235] The

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[231] cf. below on 8.242-6, pp. 127-30. Muellner 1976, p. 29f., analyses the current speech as a prayer, exhibiting the same features - invocation, claim to favour, request of favour, and of course the closing hemistich. However, such reminders of past treatment are a typical element in these speeches, as is naming the horses and, thirdly, the closing hemistich is employed on two other occasions in the *Iliad* in 'secular' contexts; cf. below, n. 233.

[232] This speech is opened by a 'mistaken vaunting' formula, in which the speaker's claim on that future has been marked as erroneous; cf. above on 8.160-7 (160), pp. 84-6 [63/1] (& [63/2])

[233] It is to be noted that there exists a variant for [77/3] & [77/11] (ὣς φάτ ἐπευχόμενος), approved by Muellner 1976, pp. 23-4 (also 111 n. 15), who wishes to establish a firm division between the sacred and secular usages of the verb, noting at p. 66 that these categories could only overlap where the text is doubtful or the system under some 'strain'. This seems slightly disingenous, as the variants could easily be explained as the result of a desire to produce just such a split for which Muellner is arguing.

[234] An analogous differentiation between the predictive authority or, better, readiness of Akhilleus and Hektor is also apparent in their usage of the νήπι[ος] expression; cf. above on 8.177-9 (177), pp. 95-7.

[235] Here's failure to achieve anything against the will of Zeus is crucial to an understanding of the *Iliad*, for it is characteristic of her that she attempts indirectly to undermine Zeus' hegemony through the agency of surrogates, perhaps the only way in which she is able to live up to her role as the consort of the chief deity in the Succession Myth. On Here's role in Homeric and Archaic poetry and its

association of the commotion with the power of Zeus is almost ubiquitous, and there is an intriguing (and often indirect) thematic link with Here's various attempts at sedition: **[1]** in granting Thetis' request, Zeus' assent renders conflict inevitable amongst the gods, as he well knows; **[2]** & **[3]** are directly concerned with the aborted attempt of Here and Athene to contravene Zeus' direct instructions, and its effect. The non-Homeric examples are included here because they make a broader point about Here's character in early mythography: **[4]** concerns the sound made by Zeus as he goes to meet the challenge of Typhaon, with whom Here is elsewhere linked as mother (as in the *Hom. Hy. to Apollo* [305-55]; Stesikhoros fr. 56 [239 *PMG*]) or as the nurse-maid for his children by Ekhidna (*Theogony* 314-5, 328-9); **[5]** occurs when Zeus grants Dionysos his *geras* among the immortals; given Here's hostility to Dionysos over this liaison, and with Zeus over his others (a prominent and amusingly deployed theme in Zeus' catalogue of lovers during the *Dios Apate*, which mentions Dionysos at 14.323-5),[236] there seems at the least an intimation here of Here's involvement in the disturbance running through these examples; **[6]** on Athene's birth from Zeus' head, she shakes her spear and Olympos is then shaken by her presence. In the current example, it is quite clear that Here must necessarily fail in her attempt to go against Zeus in any permanent way, and the fact that this is one of the few occasions on which Olympos is made to move by a god other than Zeus, and the only occasion where this action is directed against Zeus' hegemony, would make this point even more pointedly.[237]

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relationship to Mycenaean and Archaic religious belief, with varying beliefs as to how far such pre-Homeric mythographgy is important to our understanding of the *Iliad*, cf., e.g., Kullmann 1956; Hirvonen 1968, esp. pp. 60-1; Kerényi 1972, esp. ch. 6; Burkert 1985, pp. 131-5; Simon 1985, pp. 35-65, esp. p. 50f.; Bonnafé 1985, p. 88f.; Erbse 1986, pp. 193-208, esp. pp. 193-4; Pötscher 1987, pp. 2f., 95-103; Clay 1989, pp. 68-71; Schäfer 1990, pp. 59-73; Lindberg 1990; O'Brien 1993; Mayer 1996. Erbse 1986, p. 194, is right to point out her inevitable failure to subvert Zeus, but it is overly restrictive of him to deny any extra-Homeric reference at all. Strangely, O'Brien 1993, despite the highly interesting links she draws between the *Iliad* and pre-homeric traditions, feels it necessary, esp. p. 103f., to remove consideration of the Homeric contexts ('comic' and 'ironic') in order to discover the true nature of Here. On the contrary, it is suggested here that Here's behaviour is heavily influenced by her position within the Succession Myth as the failed consort, and that through her the poet intimates the importance of the current narrative to the continuation of Zeus' regime, as Slatkin 1991 suggests with regard to Zeus' relationship with Thetis. Here's efforts are not constructed simply for comic value, for her failures are important illustrations of Zeus' primacy.

[236] cf. Janko [1992] ad 14.323-5, p. 204; Dodds [1960] ad Euripides *Bacchai* 9, p. 64.

[237] cf. O'Brien 1993, pp. 88 n. 37, 180 n. 15. She argues that the image is in fact original to Here; cf. above n. 235.

200-8 The futility of her opposition continues, as the poet heralds her speech with an expression (ἀντίον ηὔδα [200]) connoting the character's perturbation at a prior action or speech, and a troubled justification in making what will turn out to be an eventually unsuccessful determination. She begins her complaint with an exclamation of surprise or dissatisfaction (ὤ πόποι [201]) to mark the speaker's awareness of a disjunction between his perspective or expectations and the narrative, in order to introduce a comment or determination with regard to that provocative context. Moreover, a determination in such contexts is usually effected, the few contrary examples falling at moments where such an expectation increases the tension in the conflict envisaged, for they are concerned with the maintenance of divine peace. Thus, Here's outburst represents the poet's first explicit statement of her opposition to the *Dios Boule*, and suggests to the audience both an immediate operation but eventual failure.

ἀντίον ἠυδα: **[79]** 17 examples: **[1]** 3.203, **[2]** 4.265, **[3]** 5.170, **[4]** 5.217, **[5]** 5.647, **[6]** *8.200*, **[7]** 11.822, **[8]** 13.221, **[9]** 13.254, **[10]** 13.259, **[11]** 13.266, **[12]** 13.274, **[13]** 13.311, **[14]** 16.619, **[15]** 23.482, **[16]** 23.586, **[17]** 24.333.[238] The justification for that determination or action reveals

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[238] The characters of whom one most frequently finds this expression used (Meriones, Idomeneus, Antilokhos and Aineias) do not have regular formula systems in the latter half of the line in other answering expressions. One might argue that ἀντίον ηὔδα is employed for metrical reasons for those people who are unable to reply in any other way. However, [79/17] belies such a conclusion, for the poet could easily have generated αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Ἑρμείαν ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα (indeed, after pitying reactions, ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα is a common expression where the speaker is attempting to do something about it; cf. above on 8.101-11 (101), pp. 56-60). Moreover, several of these characters can be located in the second half of the line with an assortment of answering expressions, most easily by altering the main verb: e.g. τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσεφώνεε Νεστορος υἱος (cf., e.g., 10.196, 10.229); cf. below on 8.292-9 (292), pp. 151-5. Instead, on the few occasions when the poet needs to use one of these intractable names with the expression τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος [προσέφη], he will alter the main verb and its position in order to preserve the participle modifier: τὸν δ' αὖτ' Αἰνείας ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέειπε (20.86) [109/33]; cf. Appendix 1, p. 254 n. 8. This could easily be extended (τὸν δ' αὖτ' Ἰδομενεὺς / Μηριόνης ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέειπε[ν]) but it isn't. The failure of assorted metrical or syntagmatic methodologies to account for these phenomena leads one to suggest that connotative potential is to be linked with characters as well, in that they are cast in traditional roles which can explain the range of formulaic diction employed for them; cf. further Janko [1992] ad 13.219-20, p. 75, for a closely related example.

much of the character, for the poet often has him utter a *gnome* which provides a broader parameter for the proposition itself: **[2]** in line with many other such episodes during the *Epipolesis*, Idomeneus' response to Agamemnon's qualified exhortation affirms his continued and unwavering support before suggesting that he move on to others who, he implies, require it. He strengthens the generalisation - and so his intimation that he does not need encouragement (which is seen as something of a desideratum; cf., e g., 4.283-91) - by appealing to the Trojans' oath-breaking as finally determinative of their destruction. This reaction to exhortation is also seen in the series of episodes in Book 13 **[8]** - **[13]**: **[8]** after Poseidon's πῆι question[239] as to the situation in general and Idomeneus' position in the rear, the Kretan once again responds by bidding the disguised deity urge on others, this time after placing the general blame for the reversal upon the gods. This brief exchange thus prepares the audience for the humorous encounter with Meriones, in which each of the speakers feels the need to justify their absence from the field and their heroic status: **[9]** after Idomeneus gets in first, questioning his companion in a typical manner about his absence from the field, Meriones explains his need for a new spear, being careful to mention that the spear was broken in an enemy's shield. Thus the tension, or perhaps embarassment, between them is established.[240] Idomeneus then **[10]** offers him one of his, before speaking of his own custom to fight close to the enemy, a fact which has earned him many spears and trophies; **[11]** Meriones is stung by this into recounting his own hoard of treasure, and his skill in the battle which he feels Idomeneus should know; **[12]** Idomeneus denies the need to know this, and then issues an extended *gnome* about the qualities of the good and bad fighting men, before cutting short their encounter and suggesting that they return to the battle. In each case, the poet is signalling that the speaker is deeply concerned to provide an example of his own heroic worth with every speech. This is continued in **[13]**, where Idomeneus (again in response to a πῆι question)[241] decides to fight on the left of the battle. Hektor, as he acknowledges, is in the centre and faced by the Aiantes, and he declines joining them on the grounds of their worthiness, into which he goes at some length. When he joins the battle and enjoys an *aristeia*, it is noticeable that there are no fighters of note opposing him until Deiphobos summons Aineias (13.455f.), whereupon Idomeneus' greater age and infirimty lead him to call for aid. His *aristeia* ends shortly

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239 cf. below on 8.228-35 (229), pp. 124-5 [91/5].
240 cf. Janko [1992] ad 13.246-97, pp. 77-8 et ff.
241 cf. above on 8.91-6 (94), pp. 50-3 [37/6].

thereafter with a whimper. In the preparation to this series of encounters (just as in its resolution), the poet constantly undermines the military effectiveness of Idomeneus.

The other examples all show this troubled justification, in a variety of specific permutations: [1] Helen's reminder of Odysseus' intellectual skills leads Antenor to comment on the exhibition of those skills in the embassy which preceded and could have avoided the war. The host on that occasion, Antenor is the most vociferous opponent of continuing the fight in the *agore* in Book 7, and will be spared at the sack.[242] His position on the war is an ambiguous one, and his reminiscence of Odysseus' excellent qualities as a speaker imply his opposition towards, and criticism of, the course represented by Helen's presence; [3] Aineias is troubled by Diomedes' victorious progress across the field, and encourages (with another πῆι question)[243] Pandaros to shoot at him. This is an unusual request, given the negative qualities of bowfighting in the poem,[244] and when Pandaros avows the uselessness of that weapon, Aineias is now forced to suggest a combined attack [4]. In the first speech, Aineias expresses his uncertainty about the identity of Diomedes, who may even be a god. In the second, after Pandaros has revealed that he has already engaged the hero in question, Aineias focuses on his horses' skill and so, by extension, his own heroic prowess (though with qualifications; cf. 5.224-5) as they prepare to attack. The poet thus summons the hero's natural hesitation to face such an overwhelming figure (also expressed by Sthenelos in the same episode), his eventual refusal to bow to which being the quintessential heroic quality; [5] Sarpedon refuses Tlepolemos' application of the Laomedon / Herakles paradigm,[245] referring to the previous king's error as justification for his punishment and thus implying the lack of such motivation for the current situation, before expressing his prediction that Tlepolemos will die at his hands (a threat also seen e.g. at [14]). The importance of the past as a guide to the present requires Sarpedon's refutation, and he knows it; [15] Idomeneus replies with vehemence to Aias *minor*'s abuse, and then seeks to refute him by making a bet which is to depend upon Agamemnon as ἴστωρ. Aias' rather unmotivated abuse had focused upon his great age, which we have already seen was used by the poet to qualify his heroic quality during Book 13.[246] Thus, Idomeneus' painful awareness of this quality motivates his reply; [16] in reply to Menelaos' demand for recompense, Antilokhos willingly gives in, excusing himself by

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242 cf. above on 8.5-6 (5), pp. 8-10 [7/6]; also on 8.397-9, pp. 185-93 [130/8].
243 cf. below on 8.228-35 (229), pp. 124-5 [91/2].
244 cf. below on 8.269-71, pp. 139-41.
245 cf. below on 8.362-9, pp. 178-81 [126/4].
246 cf. above on 8.172-4, pp. 92-5.

his youth and foolishness before expressing an abhorrence not to be held dear by Menelaos. In an obvious contrast to the situation between Akhilleus and Agamemnon (in which Menelaos behaves with the restraint foreign to his brother earlier in the poem), Antilokhos dances the fine line between guarding / asserting his right to material reward and respect due for those with greater authority, and the situation is just as difficult for him as it was for Akhilleus; [**17**] pitying Priam (τὸν δὲ ἐλέησε[ν]),[247] Zeus sends Hermes down to assist him. Whilst one should not use the term justification too heavily, he constantly affirms his regret at the destruction of Troy, and here uses Hermes because of that figure's close connection with humankind. It is almost as though Zeus is trying herein to overcome his necessary distance from the emotional involvement of the human characters and their suffering, but the way in which he does so inevitably points out that distance even more.

The qualification of the determination's eventual success is notable: [**1**] Antenor's story, or at least its implications, are simply ignored by Priam when he comes to ask his next question; [**2**] the following exhortations urged upon Agamemnon have mixed success, to say the least, and the Trojans are not immediately doomed because of the oath-breaking, as Idomeneus predicts; [**3**] & [**4**] Pandaros and Aineias are roundly defeated; [**5**] Sarpedon does indeed kill Tlepolemos, but his denial of the Laomedon paradigm is eventually unsuccessful, and his wound so great that he requires rescue; [**7**] Eurypylos' is unable to return to the battle despite Patroklos' assistance, and it is while he is tending him that the situation becomes so precarious; [**8**] - [**13**] Idomeneus' *aristeia* ends in his withdrawal and has no lasting effect upon the battle; [**14**] Meriones fails of course to kill Aineias, and Patroklos' following rebuke suggests the uselessness of such agonistic speeches; [**15**] there is no need to invoke Agamemnon, for Akhilleus is the ἴστωρ at these games, and he calms the quarrel by distributing the blame on both of them; [**16**] Antilokhos does not succeed in returning the horse, for Menelaos gives in. The reversal of the usual detriment is significant precisely because of the connotation, as indeed (though more strongly) in [**17**], where Zeus' despatch of Hermes is successful. Notice, however, that this intervention and indeed motivation does not guarantee the success of the mission, at least in Akhilleus' eyes, when he threatens Priam at 24.559 and ff. These last examples show once again that the exceptional nature of Akhilleus is highlighted by the poet's unique manipulation of traditional associations.

ὥ πόποι: **[80]** 29 examples: [**1**] 1.254, [**2**] 2.157, [**3**] 2.272, [**4**] 2.337, [**5**] 5.714, [**6**] 7.124, [**7**] 7.455, [**8**] *8.201*, [**9**] 8.352, [**10**] 8.427, [**11**] 13.99, [**12**] {14.49}, [**13**] 15.185, [**14**] 15.286, [**15**]

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[247] cf. below on 8.350-6, pp. 170-3 [122/7].

15.467, [**16**] 16.745, [**17**] 17.171, [**18**] 17.629, [**19**] 18.324, [**20**] 20.293, [**21**] 20.344, [**22**] 21.54, [**23**] 21.229, [**24**] 21.420, [**25**] 22.168, [**26**] 22.297, [**27**] 22.373, [**28**] 23.103, [**29**] 23.782.[248] Determinations can be expressed by the speaker, whether directed towards himself or another (as in, e.g., [**1**], [**2**], [**4**], [**5**], [**7**], [**14**], [**19**] & [**22**]), or they can be expressed by the addressee in response to the speaker's comments (as in [**9**], [**15**] & [**20**]), and can include rebukes (as in, e.g., [**6**] & [**23**]) as well as specific instructions or suggestions (as in, e.g., [**1**] and the majority of cases). In other words, the contents of the speech following the exclamation are greatly varied and not determined by the presence of ὦ πόποι. This is to be observed most clearly in those examples where no determination is made at all (as in [**3**], [**12**], [**16**] & [**27**] - [**29**]), in which the character's exclamations set out their surprise at the turn of events.

This disjunctive denotation is, in fact, the universal feature of this figure, giving rise to a range of emotional reactions, which are related to the situation at hand and a current of expectation or hope with which that realisation is in conflict: [**3**] Thersites is clearly a character whose misbehaviour is of a long duration, and his belittling signals a departure from the tone of retreat and pessimism set in the *Diapeira*.[249] Odysseus' immediately following speech realigns the group to its mission; [**6**] Nestor's disapproval of the Greeks' reluctance to face Hektor is immediately set against his own experience of a past generation of great(er) heroes in order to shame his audience into action; [**9**] Here's dissatisfaction at Hektor's victory is a personal slight upon her power and influence (as in [**8**]), and she returns to this theme again and again;[250] [**14**] Thoas, after seeing Hektor wounded, now observes his return with surprise and an awareness of the need to counteract it; [**18**] after the Greek revival under Patroklos's leadership, Aias now complains of Zeus' clear favour to the enemy and essays a prayer to him about being allowed to die in the light; [**20**] Poseidon, aware of the future of Aineias, is surprised to see him urged on by Apollo to fight Akhilleus, representing a serious challenge to the course of that future; [**21**] Hektor realises that death is near and that Zeus and Apollo have left him to it. His determination in the face of this realisation is one of the most stirring moments in the poem; [**25**] Zeus can hardly view Hektor's death as a surprise, and so the disjunction in perspective is rather to be located in the honour due to Hektor for his pious behaviour. Thus he suggests saving the hero, although one need not assert the seriousness in the suggestion to acknowledge Zeus' regret; [**28**]

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[248] cf. Janko [1992] ad 13.99, p. 56; Latacz [2000]b ad 1.254, p. 105.

[249] cf. Martin 1989, pp. 109-13; Kirk [1985] ad 2.225-42, pp. 140-1; cf. also above on 8.10-22 (22), pp. 10-13 [10/2].

[250] cf., e.g., 4.23-9, 18.360-7.

Akhilleus' knowledge of life in Hades is increased, against his expectation, by the appearance of Patroklos' shade, making clear the existence of *phrenes* in such creatures. In all these cases, the figure expresses the character's realisation of a situation which is at variance with their expectation, experience or hopes.

Divine peace is a common context in which negative reactions to this emotion are found: **[8]** Here is refuted by Poseidon (8.208-11), **[13]** Poseidon by Iris (15.200-4), **[25]** Zeus by Athene (177-81). In each case, the contradiction invokes a greater power: **[8]** Poseidon argues that Zeus is too strong (8.211),[251] **[13]** Iris reminds him οἶσθ' ὡς πρεσβυτέροισιν Ἐριννύες αἰὲν ἕπονται (15.204),[252] **[25]** Athene hints at the disapproval of fate and predicts open dissent from the other gods (22.179 & 181).

208-11 Poseidon's refusal to participate (208-11) is signalled by an hemistich (τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη [208]) used when the speaker is required to react to a situation or participate in a course of action felt to be inappropriate. That feeling is powerful and central to the character's self-image, in that divinities are concerned with the expression and acknowledgment of their power, and mortals with preventing a detraction from their *time*. In this current example, then, the poet seeks to inform the audience that Poseidon's reply is to be governed by his concern for what is right and proper within the divine community, an impression swiftly reinforced as he begins his speech with a specifically divine interrogative (ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες [209]) designed to reject the implication or suggestion of a prior speech, but to do so with a sense of outraged propriety. This culminates in Poseidon's refusal to participate, based upon another might is right expression (ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερος ἐστὶν [211]).[253]

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[251] cf. below on 8.208-11, pp. 110-12.
[252] cf. Appendix 1; also below on 8.409-25, pp. 189-92 [132/6].

τ[ὴν] δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας [προσέφη]: **[81]** 10 examples: [1] 1.517, [2] 4.30, [3] 7.454, [4] *8.208*, [5] 15.184, [6] 16.48, [7] 17.18, [8] 18.97, [9] 19.419, [10] 22.14.[254] There is no association of automatic compliance or refusal with the prior speech. Instead, the introduction keys the audience to the fundamental ethical concerns of the speaker in any given situation. Immortals speak in [1] - [5]: [1] Zeus's reluctance is expressly linked to the strife it will cause with the other gods (specifically Here), coupled with his need to repay his debt to Thetis and enforce his will in the face of confrontation; [2] strife is a source of his concern, although this time his displeasure is directed at Here, for he feels that her anger is unreasonable (cf. esp. 4.31-6); [3] Zeus gently reproaches Poseidon for worrying about his repute over the construction of the wall. Such a concern is more suitable for a god who has not Poseidon's power or fame; [5] Poseidon claims that Zeus' peremptory treatment of his wishes is unjustified, given their equal allotment of *time* (cf. esp. 15.186-95). Mortals use the figure in [6] - [10]: [6] Akhilleus refuses to participate personally, as Agamemnon's insult still rankles him so as to make his return unpalatable;[255] [7] Menelaos feels it a transgression to retreat from combat (as suggested by Euphorbos) in the face of the latter's vainglory;[256] [8] Akhilleus refuses to retreat from fighting Hektor though he now knows his own destiny is soon fixed, because he has failed in his duty to protect Patroklos et al. To continue to remain isolated would amount to a denial of his nature; [9] Akhilleus tells Xanthos that he knows his death is near, and the introduction asserts the irrelevance of the warning given him. His course is already set, and caution against the time of death is no longer a consideration; [10] Akhilleus vigorously reproaches Apollo for damaging his *kudos* by saving Trojans, a deed done poorly as the god feared no consequence therein. Akhilleus seeks to apply to the gods a mortal set of reciprocities, whose impossibility he immediately acknowledges, in that such personal intervention represents a mismatch of abilities.[257] It is, therefore, no surprise that most of these human examples are applied to speeches delivered by Akhilleus, whose self-concern dominates the course of the poem.

ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες: **[82]** 7 examples: [1] 1.552, [2] 4.25, [3] *8.209*, [4] 8.462, [5] 14.330, [6] 16.440, [7] 18.361.[258] Restricted to divine interchanges, and most commonly used by Here (as in

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253 cf. above on 8.143-4 (144), pp. 75-6 [56/9]. Reichel 1994, p. 305 & n. 8, feels that this episode is a deliberate preparation for what Poseidon will do in Books 13-15, thus downplaying its narrative function in Book 8; cf. Fenik 1968, p. 214.

254 cf. Adkins 1969b, esp. p. 17; Scully 1984; also Latacz [2000]b ad 1.517, p. 166.

255 cf. above on 8.147-50 (147), pp. 80-1 [59/3].

256 cf. below on 8.236-41, pp. 126-7 [92/5]; also on 8.336-42 (337), pp. 164-7 [120/4].

257 cf. below on 8.292-9 (294), pp. 151-5 [110/3].

258 cf. Kirk [1985] ad 1.552, p. 111; Latacz [2000]b ad 1.552, p. 173.

[1], [2], [4] - [7]) when wrangling with Zeus, the response generally focuses upon the prior speaker's factual or conceptual error, but in a number of ways and with no fixed determination about the new statement or proposal's success or even immediate fulfilment. Instead, the expression seems to carry with it a sense of outraged and specifically divine denial, augmenting in this case the sense of appropriateness heralded by the speech introduction: [1] expressing her surprise at his negative characterisation of her, Here manages also to get across her concern for the Greeks and her fear that Thetis has wheedled some promise from him. Thus, she manages to confirm his impression; [2] (and [7]) she complains that he cannot frustrate her designs now by sparing Troy; [4] Here acknowledges, not necessarily disingenuously, that she cannot achieve anything in open defiance; [5] intending to remove Zeus from Ide (cf. 337f.), Here asserts the unseemliness of love in the open air; [6] Here remarks upon the inappropriateness of Zeus' releasing of Sarpedon from death.

212 The exchange is closed by a summary verse (ὣς οἳ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον [212]) marking a return to the action which formed the immediate pretext of the group of speeches thereby summarised, and which reaches its climax shortly thereafter. This resumptive transition foreshadows the irruption of a new course in the narrative as that action continues to its end. But the digressional speeches are predictive of its culmination in terms of content as well, for the characters / issues discussed are then involved or reflected in that process. In this case, therefore, the digression predicts the imminent end of Hektor's first period of domination and the Greek *Fluchtphase*,[259] but in such a way as to hint that this reversal will be engineered by Here; the assent of the divine community to Zeus's plans may not be either immediate or total.

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[259] cf. above on 8.66-74, pp. 33-6 [22/6].

ὣς οἳ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον: **[83]** 8 examples: **[1]** 5.274, **[2]** 5.431, **[3]** 7.464, **[4]** *8.212*, **[5]** 13.81, **[6]** 16.101, **[7]** 18.368, **[8]** 21.514.[260] The action to which the poet returns is usually exactly that which opened or motivated the discussion: **[1]** is framed by the advance of Aineias and Pandaros (5.240p. | 275ff.), **[2]** by Diomedes' aggressive actions directed at deities (5.351p. | 432ff.), **[3]** by the construction of the wall (441p. | 465ff.), **[5]** by Poseidon's exhortations (13.65p. | 83ff.), **[6]** by Aias' difficulties, final retreat and the firing of the ship (16.1p. | 102ff.), **[8]** by the *theomakhia* (21.496/503p. | 515ff.). Only in **[7]** does the transition return the focus to an action other than that which precedes, for the poet moves from the night vigil and lamentation over Patroklos (18.355p.) to the commentary between Zeus and Here (356-68), and then after the transitional verse (368) to Thetis' arrival at Hephaistos' house (369ff.), thus resuming a narrative thread begun at 18.148 and showing again the narrative pre-eminence of Akhilleus.

The end of the action is achieved shortly thereafter: **[1]** the advance of Aineias and Pandaros comes swiftly to its *telos* as combat is joined shortly after the transition (5.276ff.); **[2]** Diomedes' continued aggression towards the gods requires a warning from Apollo (439f.); **[3]** the construction of the wall is finished immediately (465f.); **[5]** Poseidon's exhortations are continued and applied to the army as a whole (13.82-125), before we find another reactivation sequence and the battle is rejoined (126ff.); **[6]** Aias' retreat and the firing follow immediately (16.102-24), whereupon Patroklos enters battle (125ff.); **[8]** the *theomakhia* finishes and the gods disperse (21.515-20) before we return to Akhilleus (221ff.). Once again, only in **[7]** is this not the case. The episode in Hephaistos' house is extended into the *ekphrasis* before Thetis finally returns with the armour to Akhilleus at the start of Book 19. The point of the transitional marker in this example is to make the audience think in terms of the *telos* of the armour, and thus the meticulous and measured description of the exchanges between Hephaistos and Thetis, and then of the shield, augment the episode as a preparation for Akhilleus' return to battle, and so that return itself.

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[260] cf. de Jong 1987, p. 206. We might also include 24.141-2, where the poet chooses to replace the usual expression with a distich: ὣς οἵ γ' ἐν νηῶν ἀγύρι μήτηρ τε καὶ υἱὸς | πολλὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπεα πτερόεντα ἀγόρευον; cf. above on 8.101-11 (101), pp. 56-60 [41/59]. This episode is also slightly divergent, in that the poet moves from a description of Akhilleus' maltreatment of Hektor's corpse (- 24.22) to a divine *agore* in which the ending of that action is determined. The process for ending is in itself exceptional, with Thetis being summoned and then despatched to earth to prepare Akhilleus for the ransom. This is another indication of his remarkable status, in that the transitional verse thus links him with the determination on Olympos, before returning to the action - the ransom itself.

The 'digressional' speeches reveal the characters and / or issues to be employed: [1] Sthenelos and Diomedes discuss Diomedes' determination to fight it out, and to claim Aineias' horses, which is what happens; [2] Dione's speech detailed some stories of mortals who had attacked gods, and warns Diomedes for it, which is precisely what Apollo does after the focus has been returned to the attack on Aineias;[261] [3] Zeus' consolation of Poseidon rests on the understanding that Poseidon will be free to destroy the wall *after* the Greeks have gone. Thus his speech actually demands Poseidon's acceptance of Zeus' control over the battle, which is what his brother then foreshadows for both sides (7.478-9) and then acts upon in the *agore* at the start of Book 8; [5] the reactivation of the battle is achieved when the Greeks have been steadied, and the Aiantes (who are the speakers in the digressive group) are vital agents therein; [6] the speeches between Patroklos and Akhilleus are self-evidently preparatory for Patroklos' advance; [7] Zeus' rebuke of Here focuses on the fact that Akhilleus has now arisen, for which the armour is the ultimate preparation and end-point; [8] the exchange between Artemis and Zeus towards the end of the *theomakhia* foregrounds the role of Here in the generation of strife, and the Greek ascendancy with which she has always been identified now reaches its penultimate stage.

In sum, the exchange between Here and Poseidon exemplifies and foreshadows the former's constant attempts to undermine the *Dios Boule*, and states the central issue in this process, i.e., that Zeus' power is simply too great for open opposition. If there is to be such resistance, it will have to be covert, which Here has not as yet understood.[262] Structurally, the episode provides both poet and audience with a doublet which will be greatly expanded at the end of the next major period of battle (350ff.), in order to close that period and the fighting on the day.[263] The exchange as a whole is a vital introduction not only to immediate actions but long term developments as well.[264]

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261 cf. above on 8.177-9 (177), pp. 95-7 [71/3]; also on 8.160-7 (160), pp. 84-6 [63/3].
262 cf. Schäfer 1990, p. 66.
263 cf. Fenik 1968, p. 223; also below, Conclusion, esp. pp. 240-2.

213-6 The poet now returns his focus to the battlefield, and Hektor penning the Greeks into the camp (213-6). To underline the divine tension in this penultimate moment of the Trojans' first period of dominance, this success is attributed to Zeus in terms (ὅτε οἱ Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκεν [216]) which bestow an apparent inevitability which is nonetheless (and more or less immediately) undermined or challenged. The audience is directed here again to an imminent reversal but, in the light of Here's predicted opposition, the poet seems also to be insinuating short term conflict with regard to that resolution, and also a longer process of the sort heralded in the *agore* at the beginning of the Book. This theme resonates once more beyond its immediate context to the general divine resistance which the *Dios Boule* is to encounter in the rest of the poem.

κῦδος | [ἔ]δωκε[ν]: **[84]** 8 examples: **[1]** 1.279, **[2]** *8.216*, **[3]** 11.300, **[4]** 12.437, **[5]** 13.303, **[6]** 18.456, **[7]** 19.204, **[8]** 19.414.[265] The expression falls at moments when the period of honouring, or the action made possible by it, is in the process of being undermined or overturned: **[1]** the prior granting of κῦδος to the *basileus* is Nestor's explanation to Akhilleus of the imbalance in τιμή, which the latter does not accept; **[3]** κῦδος is linked with the catalogue of Hektor's victims as the final act during his *aristeia* before his incapacitation by Diomedes; **[4]** the Trojan breaking into the camp is now reversed by the intervention of Poseidon; **[6]** & **[8]** the victory granted by Apollo to Hektor over Patroklos is recalled as the arms are made, which is obviously the preparation for Hektor's eventual death; **[7]** Akhilleus invokes Hektor's prior success, and the image of the dead Greeks which was its result, as an incentive to the coming battle which will end it; **[2]** seems at first sight an exception, but the granting of κῦδος to either the Ephuroi or Phleguai is to be seen in a traditional and longstanding enmity in which the victory has been alternating from one side to the other.[266]

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[264] cf., Kirk [1990] ad loc., p. 314, who feels that the episode is typically weakly motivated; cf., *contra*, Fenik 1968, pp. 214, 202-3; Edwards 1987b, p. 50; Schäfer 1990, p. 65f.

[265] cf. above on 8.141-3 (141), pp. 72-5.

[266] cf. Janko [1992] ad loc., p. 85.

217-334 Greek counterattack; Agamemnon's exhortation / prayer (217-44), omen from Zeus (245-52), Greek attack (253-65), Teukros'* aristeia *and wounding (266-334).

217-20 The resolution itself comes in a familiar form - another negative contrafactual (217-8).[267] Given Hektor's previous statement on the wall's efficacy and his orders about the bringing of fire, the apodosis acknowledges the tension inherent in the situation (i.e. Hektor's intent and their knowledge of eventual Greek victory) before introducing Here's intercession, in this case causing Agamemnon to exhort his troops. Direct impulsion in this form (ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκ' [218]) fulfils the expectation created by the divine interlude, viz that Hektor's period of dominance is to come to an end shortly, and that Here is to play a role therein.[268] The audience is once again directed to the success of her intervention, this time through the combination of the interlude and the contrafactual. Intention spurred, Agamemnon sets out in terms which link firmly his action and Here's impulsion (βῆ δ' ἰέναι [220]), for such movement is always strongly connected to and motivated by the preceding narrative, whether by direct request or situational exigency. Moreover, its locational end-point is usually stressed or at least mentioned, and so the description of Agamemnon's stance on Odysseus' ship (222f.) is an expected item in the impulsion-exhortation process.

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[267] cf. above on 8.87-91 (90-2), pp. 46-8 [32/12]. Π 7 (s. iii a.C.) ad 8.216-7, adds 8.130 (ἔνθα κε λοιγὸς ἔην καὶ ἀμήχαν]α ἔργ' ἐγένοντο) as 8.216a before 8.217 (καί νύ κ' ἐνέπρησεν πυρὶ κηλέῳι νῆας ἐίσας), giving a similar doubling of apodoses as that earlier passage; cf. di Luzio 1969, pp. 110-1; also above, p. 68 n. 138.

[268] The relationship between human and divine motivation (and various formal gradations therein) is an issue in which I have no wish to become entangled, and so I confine myself to stating my agreement with the notion of 'double motivation'; cf. Lesky 1961; Fenik 1968, p. 68; Sharples 1983; Erbse 1986; Schmitt 1990; Pelliccia 1995; Cairns 2001, pp. 12-24; Gaskin 2001; cf. Latacz

Divine impulsion (ἐν[ὶ] / ἐπὶ φρεσὶ[ν] [ἐ]θῆκε[ν]): **[85]** 3 examples (8): **[1]** 1.55, **[2]** *8.218*, **[3]** 21.145, **[4]** *Od.* 3.77, **[5]** *Od.* 5.427, **[6]** *Od.* 6.140, **[7]** *Od.* 14.227, **[8]** *Od.* 15.234, **[9]** *Od.* 16.291, **[10]** *Od.* 18.158, **[11]** *Od.* 21.1.[269] The impelled action is expressed either with a finite verb in a separate clause (as in, e.g., **[1]**) or a dependent infinitive (as in, e.g., **[2]**), or is equated with a quality like θάρσος (as in, e.g., **[6]**) or μένος (as in, e.g., **[3]**), and is usually successful with regard to the purpose of the motivating god: **[1]** the *agore* does succeed in uncovering and removing the cause of Apollo's wrath, thus effecting Here's care for the Greeks; **[3]** Xanthos places μένος into the heart of Asteropaios in order that he face Akhilleus and prevent the continued slaughter in the river. He does indeed do so, though unsuccessfully, yet this was not Xanthos' purpose as the poet frames it (21.146); **[4]** Athene puts θάρσος into Telemakhos to question Nestor and prove himself an adequate member of the heroic community, as he does; **[5]** Odysseus is saved by clambering onto the rock, though more efforts are required for him to reach safety, fulfilling Athene's avowed purpose; **[6]** Nausikaa alone remains to face Odysseus and begin his reception amongst the Phaiakians; **[7]** the success and otherwise of the lifestyle which Odysseus purports in his disguise is attributed to the gods, though the deceptive context of the speech necessarily affects the interpretation; **[8]** in the story of Theklymenos, Melampos is imprisoned εἵνεκα Νηλῆος κούρης ἄτης τε βαρείης (233) which the Erinyes placed upon him;[270] **[9]** Odysseus instructs his son to tell the suitors that Zeus impelled him to hide the weapons; **[10]** Penelope, after a divine sleep and augmentation, does appear to the suitors as Athene envisaged;[271] **[11]** Penelope sets up the contest, as Athene intended, and through it Odysseus wreaks the vengeance she has been working towards for the entire poem. In most of these cases, a further action is required for the implementation of the action's purpose, the outcome of which the character is often unable to see at the time. This would enable us to see further into the delusion of Agamemnon, in the sense of

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[2000]b ad 1.55 [85/1], p. 49; cf., *contra*, Kirk [1990] ad 8.218, p. 317; also Wilson [1996] ad loc., p. 191.

269 We also find the expression used for the conveying of information; cf. *Il.* 19.121, *Od.* 11.146, *Hom. Hy. to Ap.* 257 & 534; also *Il.* 13.121 and *Od.* 4.729.

270 cf. Hoekstra [1989] ad *Od.* 15.231-6, pp. 246-7, for a reconstruction of the tales concerning the seer. The *ate* of which the poet speaks here is, frankly, difficult to explain, but may be related to details from the story which were familiar to the audience; cf. also *Od.* 11.292-3: χαλεπὴ δὲ θεοῦ κατὰ μοῖρ' ἐπέδησε | δεσμοί τ' ἀργαλέοι καὶ βουκόλοι ἀγροιῶται. It seems quite possible that some malign intent led Melampos to attempt the theft of Iphikles' (or Phylakos'; cf. *Od.* 15.231) cows with the purpose that he be confined by the herdsmen.

271 cf. Russo [1992] ad loc., pp. 58-9.

the incomplete and dependent nature of his knowledge, as well as the fact that the following resurgence will also be incomplete.

βῆ δ' ἰέναι / ἴμεν: **[86]** 29 examples: **[1]** 4.199, **[2]** 4.209 (βὰν), **[3]** 5.167, **[4]** 6.296, **[5]** *8.220*, **[6]** 9.596, **[7]** 10.32, **[8]** 10.136, **[9]** 10.179, **[10]** 10.273 (βὰν), **[11]** 10.297, **[12]** 10.336, **[13]** 12.299, **[14]** 13.167, **[15]** 13.208, **[16]** 13.242, **[17]** 13.789, **[18]** 14.134, **[19]** 14.166, **[20]** 14.188, **[21]** 14.384, **[22]** 15.483, **[23]** 16.221, **[24]** 17.657, **[25]** 19.241, **[26]** 20.32 (βὰν δ' ἴμεναι), **[27]** 20.319, **[28]** 24.95, **[29]** 24.347. Requests or suggestions motivate **[1]**, **[2]**, **[4]**, **[6]**, **[8]** - **[13]**, **[15]** - **[18]**, **[21]**, **[22]**, **[24]** - **[29]**, whilst the death of some Trojans at the hands of Diomedes precedes Aineias' intervention at **[3]**, Here's impulsion precedes **[5]**, Menelaos' concern for the army and inability to sleep (paired closely with the previous episode where Agamemnon was of course unable to sleep) informs **[7]**, the loss of Meriones' spear precedes **[14]**, Here's determination to deceive Zeus precedes **[19]** & **[20]**, and the typical need to libate before departure informs **[23]**. In every case, the character's aim is therefore clear to the audience.

The action or journey itself is usually successful, in the sense either that the character arrives at the place aimed at or finds the character he is looking for, but the longer term ramifications of the action may be ignored: **[1]** Talthybios finds Makhaon and summons him; **[2]** Makhaon responds, finds the wounded man, and treats him; **[6]** Meleagros succeeds in averting the κακὸν ἦμαρ from the Aitolians; **[8]** Nestor begins to rouse the Greek leaders, coming across Odysseus first of all; **[13]** Sarpedon's attack, magnified by a simile, does lead to the breaking of the wall (12.397-9); **[16]** Idomeneus does return to the battle, but after his encounter with Meriones; **[18]** the Greek leaders' advance, qualified though it is, does coincide with a Greek resurgence which continues after the *Dios Apate* (14.379f.); **[22]** Teukros returns to Aias' side, rearmed after his bow was broken. We find a Trojan resurgence, but the honours are even in the subsequent encounters; **[24]** Menelaos succeeds in finding Antilokhos and sending him to inform Akhilleus; **[26]** the gods reach the battlefield, and play a prominent role in the fighting until they retire after the *theomakhia*; **[29]** Hermes not only finds Priam, but guides him to and from the Greek camp. Whilst the mission may not be immediately successful, the complete failure of the character's purpose is unusual; **[4]** Hekabe leads the Trojan women in their unsuccessful attempt to enlist Athene's aid;[272] **[12]** Dolon sets out but the poet tells us immediately that he was not to return (10.336f.).

221 As he moves, Agamemnon is carrying a red cloak (πορφύρεον μέγα φᾶρος ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ παχείηι [221]). Disquisition upon an item in this way (ἔχων) often suggests or foreshadows a certain aspect of the participant's character and attitude, and that he holds the cloak ἐν χειρὶ παχείηι is similarly significant, for this expression connotes an undetermined action within a accompanying larger sequence involving the item so carried, suggesting a contextual ramification of which the current action is only one part. Thus the poet carries forward the Greek resurgence by placing Agamemnon at the centre of that action, and the cloak is to be interpreted as expressing the exhorter's strikingness and authority in the situation.[273]

ἔχων: **[87]** 55 examples: **[1]** 1.14, **[2]** 1.45, **[3]** 1.168, **[4]** 1.373, **[5]** 2.101, **[6]** 2.279, **[7]** 2.447, **[8]** 2.872, **[9]** 3.17, **[10]** 4.533, **[11]** 5.624, **[12]** 6.44, **[13]** 6.400, **[14]** 7.137, **[15]** *8.221*, **[16]** 8.248, **[17]** 9.86, **[18]** 10.440, **[19]** 11.4, **[20]** 11.256, **[21]** 12.27, **[22]** 12.422, **[23]** 12.444, **[24]** 14.385, **[25]** 15.311, **[26]** 15.361, **[27]** 15.443, **[28]** 15.717, **[29]** 16.107, **[30]** 16.734, **[31]** 17.412, **[32]** 17.473, **[33]** 17.520, **[34]** 17.604, **[35]** 18.132, **[36]** 18.551, **[37]** 18.557, **[38]** 19.18, **[39]** 19.251, **[40]** 20.68, **[41]** 21.19, **[42]** 21.139, **[43]** 21.145, **[44]** 21.259, **[45]** 21.393, **[46]** 23.114, **[47]** 23.481, **[48]** 23.780, **[49]** 23.892, **[50]** 24.63, **[51]** 24.284, **[52]** 24.304, **[53]** 24.345, **[54]** 24.647, **[55]** 24.724.[274]

The object need not be further mentioned or used during the course of the coming action. Many of these expressions occur during combat, denoting the weapon with which the strike or other action is made (as in **[9]** - **[12]**, **[17]**, **[20]**, **[22]**, **[23]**, **[27]**, **[29]** - **[31]**, **[33]**, **[34]**, **[36]**, **[40]** - **[43]**, **[45]** & **[46]**), but the objects range from Agamemnon's sceptre (in **[5]** & **[6]**; cf. **[37]**),

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[272] cf. below on 8.242-6, pp. 127-30 [93/8].

[273] The obscurity surrounding the exact form and function of the cloak has led to some scholarly flutters; cf. Leaf [1904] ad loc., p. 348; Wilamowitz 1916, p. 47 n. 2; Theiler 1962, p. 12; Ramersdorfer 1981, pp. 92-3; Stanley 1993, p. 349 n. 10. However, the referential combination of ἔχων and ἐν χειρὶ παχείηι makes that purpose sufficiently clear, the first also removing the need for any further mention of the object itself. Moreover, the cloak may also prepare the audience for Agamemnon's prayer, for prayers often include an item or action which makes the speaker striking or brings him to the attention of the gods; cf. below on 8.242-6, pp. 127-30; also Adkins 1969a, p. 23f.

[274] We confine this list to physical objects.

Astyanax in the grasp of an attendant [**13**], the *aigis* (as in [**7**], [**25**] & [**26**]), wine for libation [**51**], a fawn [**16**], the τέρας πολέμοιο held by Eris [**19**], or Hektor's head held by his wife at the start of her lamentation [**55**].

Lack of further mention or emphasis is often because the item is assumed to be an essential ingredient in the process (e.g., torches carried in order to work at night [**54**], and spears or shields in combat or its preparation), although such items may play a significant role in the subsequent narrative: [**27**] the bow is the weapon requested by Aias (15.440-1)[275] and then used in a series of kills for Teukros before Zeus breaks it (461-5) and the hero re-arms in more conventional manner (478f.). There are, however, occasions when the item is superseded by another, as in [**30**], where Patroklos takes up a stone (16.734f.).

The person holding the item will usually play a prominent role in the coming narrative, but the item itself may be more important: [**13**] Astyanax is borne by an attendant who plays no further part in the *Homilia*. Significance may be implicit or explicit: [**1**] Khryses' role as Apollo's priest is encapsulated in his paraphernalia, and Agamemnon hints that even this may not be enough to save him a second time (1.28); [**7**] the *aigis* which Athene waves about in her encouragement of the Greeks is of course commonly used in such situations (as in [**25**] & [**26**]), but on this first day it represents the neutrality of the *Dios Boule*; [**13**] the presence of Astyanax is vital in the *Homilia* (esp. from 6.466 but even directly after the poet mentions him at 400); [**16**] the fawn is then dropped by the eagle as a sign of encouragement to the Greeks - a direct result of the request made of Zeus in the speech following [**15**]; [**29**] the constant use of the shield has sapped Aias' strength and symbolises his retreat; [**38**] the armour itself, no less than the joy Akhilleus feels in it, is the practical beginning of the final battle day; [**50**] Here's charge against Apollo is not only that he attended the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, but that he attended with his *phorminx*; [**53**] Hermes will use his caduceus to maze the minds of the guards when they come to Akhilleus' camp; [**55**] Andromakhe holds Hektor's head in her hands as she begins the lamentation addressed to him (24.725f.).

ἐν χειρὶ παχείηι: [**88**] 13 examples: [**1**] 3.376, [**2**] 5.309, [**3**] 7.264, [**4**] *8.221*, [**5**] 10.31, [**6**] 10.454, [**7**] 11.355, [**8**] 14.385, [**9**] 17.296, [**10**] 20.261, [**11**] 21.175, [**12**] 21.403, [**13**] 21.424.[276] The process may be of several types: [**1**] after the helmet strap is broken, leaving Menelaos

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[275] cf. below on 8.228-35 (229), pp. 124-5 [91/6].

[276] cf., e.g., Austin 1975, p. 73f.; Lowenstam 1981, p. 10f., Lowenstam 1993, pp. 26-30; Fernández-Galiano [1992] ad *Od.* 21.6, pp. 148-9; Roller & Roller 1994; Foley 1999a, pp. 218-20 (with bibliography).

holding it in his hand, the poet uses Alexandros' rescue by Aphrodite as the means to return him to Troy and construct the episode with Helen, as well as to end the duel and the challenge it poses to the destruction of the city; **[2]** Aineias is wounded, but his rescue is then begun, partially reversed and finally achieved over the course of the coming narrative, as episodes in their own right; **[3]** Hektor's grabbing of the stone is to be matched by Aias' more successful use of the same weapon, and the combat itself comes to an inconclusive end with the exchange of the gifts (7.303-5);[277] **[5]** Menelaos' equipage is generally suggestive of preparation, though the action of the *Doloneia* is to be dominated by others. This is important, because the early stages of Book 10 foreground the ambiguous position Menelaos enjoys with the other Greek leaders;[278] **[6]** Dolon's failed attempt to initiate a supplication adds to the irony of his act; **[7]** after his wounding, Hektor's collapse is followed by the covering of night (356), recovery and further retreat, as well as some abuse from Diomedes; **[8]** Poseidon's possession of the sword, and indeed his advance, is not only part of a major reactivation, but this sequence is itself interrupted by the *Dios Apate*; **[9]** the breaking of the crest of Hippothoon precedes his death and the reciprocal combats over his corpse, but more importantly it hints at the confrontation between Aias and Hektor as the two dominant figures on either side, which then follows (17.304ff.); **[10]** the cast of Aineias, and Akhilleus' attempted evasion, is far from the last volley or event in this combat, in fact ended by divine intervention; **[11]** Asteropaios' action, or rather its failure, dooms him to death in the very next event in their combat, and represents the failure (*ante* and *post*) of other prominent Trojans; **[12]** & **[13]** Athene's strikes at Ares looks forward to her similar success against Aphrodite, which is then overshadowed by her vaunting speech. This speech in turn relates the contests to the larger Trojan war, and the episode is as a whole followed by further confrontations within the *Theomakhia*.

Strikingness is of course a quality which may be increased by the gods (cf., e.g., 2.482), and our definition does not exclude more concrete interpretations, i.e. that the cloak would gain the army's attention in these confused circumstances. We should also remember that there are other situations in which items are mentioned without being used, specifically the τέρας πολέμοιο held by Eris at the start of Book 11, and the *aigis* held by Athene and Apollo at various stages in the

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[277] cf. below on 8.320-9 (321-9), pp. 158-61 [114/4] & [114/5].
[278] cf. above on 8.145-7 (145), pp. 76-80 [57/17] - [57/20]; also Appendix 1.

battle.[279] On these occasions, the practical virtue or effect of the symbol seems very oblique, and generally connotative of the success it implies.[280]

222-7 Thus equipped, Agamemnon positions himself on Odysseus' ship in the centre of the line (222-6). Though obviously connected with a similar passage of exhortation at the start of Book 11,[281] the current scene is typologically indebted both to the 'close-motivation' action (βῆ δ' ἰέναι [220]) and to the speech introduction (ἤυσεν δὲ διαπρύσιον | γεγωνώς [227]), for exhortations so introduced are employed when an individual is calling out to the largest possible group for assistance in counteracting an immediately preceding failure or setback. The poet is emphasising the position taken by Agamemnon, therefore, because the centrality of the ship allows the appeal to be directed to the entire army (γεγωνέμεν ἀμφοτέρωσε [223]), neatly summarising the desperation of the situation. Further, Agamemnon is performing an appropriate function and taking upon himself the responsibility to redress it, for such exhortations are delivered by the character at the center of the setback necessitating the encouragement. Secondly, the verse informs the audience yet again that the Greeks will respond positively to Agamemnon's words. In sum, this complex of association brings to a head the tensions between Here's intervention and Zeus' exercise of power, and leads the audience uncertainly towards its resolution.

ἤυσεν δὲ διαπρύσιον | γεγωνώς: **[89]** 6 examples: **[1]** *8.227*, **[2]** 11.275, **[3]** 11.586, **[4]** 12.439, **[5]** 13.149, **[6]** 17.247. In each case, the speech is directed towards rallying a group after a momentary setback in their purpose: **[2]** Agamemnon leaps onto his chariot after being wounded

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[279] cf. above on 8.221, pp. 119-20 [87/7], [87/19] & [87/26].
[280] Note, however, that in [87/25] the *aigis* is shortly used explicitly (15.320f.).
[281] 11.5-9 = 8.222-6.

(11.273-4), and he exhorts his men to fight on without him; [**3**] after being wounded in his own attempt to do so, Eurypylos sinks back into the crowd before encouraging the others to protect Aias; [**4**] Hektor leaps inside the wall (12.437-8) and exhorts the Trojans to follow him there, after Sarpedon's previous charge was halted (415f.); [**5**] Hektor cannot break through the massed Greeks and is forced to give way a little (13.143-8), calling the Trojans to his aid; [**6**] Menelaos summons aid from the rest of the army because Aias feels the need for reinforcement, without which they might perish (17.238-45).

The centrality of the character is usually, but not always, a result of his prominence in the narrative: [**2**] Agamemnon has been the driving Greek hero hitherto in this battle; [**3**] Eurypylos sought and failed to assist Aias as he bore the brunt of the Trojan advance; [**5**] Hektor's attack has, until this moment, failed to achieve its objective; [**6**] Menelaos (and Aias) have been the prominent figures in the defence of Patroklos' body. However, more general prominence can suggest the character; [**4**] though the immediate pretext of this exhortation is the failure of the Lykians under Sarpedon to break through the line, Hektor becomes the next prominent Trojan to advance upon the wall. As the most powerful leader, his is naturally the responsibility for the heaviest attack.

The group always responds positively and successfully to these exhortations: [**2**] the expectation of Greek action after Agamemnon's wounding is countered immediately by an [ε]κέκλετο μακρὸν ἀύσας exhortation[282] from Hektor and his *aristeia* (11.284ff.); [**3**] Eurypylos' request is answered and Aias is permitted to return safely to the body of the army (11.592-4); [**4**] Hektor thereupon breaks the gates and leaps into the camp; [**5**] Deiphobos makes an attack (13.156-7), which the poet then uses as an excuse to remove Meriones from the battle (in preparation for his meeting in the camp with Idomeneus at 246f.) before devolving the narrative into specific encounters. In other words, the reaction and the exhortation itself are part of a battle reactivation; [**6**] the Greeks respond to Menelaos' summons at 17.256-61, drawing out the *Leichenkampf*.

228-35 As the exhortation opens, the poet will have to reconcile the conflict he has constructed, and he combines herein three rhetorical structures, an αἰδώς rebuke (228-35), a complaint to Zeus (236-41) and then a request / prayer (242-44). Though there is no fixed

introduction or conclusion to αἰδώς speeches, these appeals are always directed at a defensive group, but are not generally aimed at a specific action, instead making broad entreaties for strength and resolve *before* a period of specific combat. The source of the αἰδώς is generally found in the present actions or fortunes of the group, which is unfavourably contrasted either with their past behaviour or their current duty, and the poet here employs a rhetorical question about previous boasts to do so.[283] Questions are a common trope of reproach, but those which request present evidence of a past quality or claim (ποῦ / πῆι [δή] τοι [229]) insinuate the addressee's failure in its absence, being a strong incentive to response.[284] All these features combine to produce a powerful expectation of Greek resurgence, and yet the poet has still failed to address the fact that it was Zeus' direct intervention which placed them in this situation.

αἰδώς rebuke: **[90]** 5 examples: **[1]** 5.787, **[2]** *8.228*, **[3]** 13.95, **[4]** 15.502, **[5]** 16.422.[285] These speeches are typically found in reactivations: **[1]** is part of the reactivation of Diomedes' *aristeia* by Here and Athene, and is followed by an individual encounter between the hero and Ares (5.841ff.); **[3]** is also part of Poseidon's emergence into the battle, which has its effect from 13.125-35 as the Greeks strengthen their lines. Hektor then attacks (136-145), retreats momentarily (146-8) and then delivers an ἤυσεν δὲ διαπρύσιον ι γεγωνώς exhortation (149-55),[286] before specific combats follow at 156f.; **[4]** is followed immediately by reciprocal *androktasiai* (15.515ff.); **[5]** by the encounter between Sarpedon and Patroklos (16.426ff.).

Past behaviour / present (νῦν δέ) contrasts are explicitly employed in **[1]** - **[3]**: **[1]** 5.788-90 / 791; **[2]** 8.228-34 / 234-5; **[3]** 13.95-6 / 97-8; 101-6 / 107-110. **[3]** is rather complex, in that it uses both types of source for its rhetorical effect, for at 111-14 Poseidon grants that, even if

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282 cf. above on 8.172-4 (172), pp. 92-5 [70/5].

283 The motif of prior boasting as a spur to current action is a typical one in itself, though not confined to rebukes; cf., e.g., 1.396-7, 13.219-20, 20.83-5, 21.475-6.

284 cf. also above on 8.91-6 (94), pp. 50-3; cf. Fenik 1968, pp. 167-8.

285 cf. Fenik 1968, p. 129; also Cairns 1993, pp. 68-9.

286 cf. above on 8.222-7 (227), pp. 122-3 [89/5].

Agamemnon is to blame, there is no reason for them μεθιέμεναι πολέμοιο (114). In the other examples, we find more oblique references to a temporal disjunction: [**4**] Aias starts with ἄρκιον (15.502) as implicit comparison and instruction for the present state of affairs, before returning to the unstated fact which is the source of the shame at 512-3: δηθὰ στρεύγεσθαι ἐν αἰνῇι δηιοτῆτι | ὧδ' αὖτως παρὰ νηυσὶν ὑπ' ἀνδράσι χειροτέροισιν; [**5**] Sarpedon simply asks the Lykians πόσε φεύγετε (422) before instructing them to stand fast.

πῆι / ποῦ questions (II): **[91]** 8 examples: [**1**] 2.339, [**2**] 5.171-2, [**3**] 5.472, [**4**] *8.229*, [**5**] 13.219-20, [**6**] 15.440-1, [**7**] 20.83, [**8**] 24.201.[287] In each case, the speaker attempts to persuade his interlocutor to reveal in the current circumstance the quality: [**1**] Nestor reminds the assembled Greeks of their previous oaths and promises, which are hardly in evidence at the moment; [**2**] Aineias asks Pandaros for his arrows and his κλέος in that regard in order to attack Diomedes;[288] [**3**] Sarpedon rebukes Hektor for proving rather ineffective in the face of their current misfortune; [**5**] Poseidon asks Idomeneus for the threats which the Greeks used to utter; [**6**] Aias requests from Teukros information about his bowcraft; [**7**] Apollo asks Aineias for evidence of his drunken promises to fight Akhilleus; [**8**] Hekabe questions the current location of Priam's wisdom, given his decision to go to the Greek camp.

The reaction of the addressee is varied, but in every case the question has an immediate impact: [**1**] Agamemnon approves highly of Nestor's speech (2.369-93), and the Greeks do in fact prepare themselves for the battle (394ff.); [**2**] Pandaros denies that his arrows are of any use, as he has just used them unsuccessfully, but he and Aineias together decide to attack in the chariot; [**3**] Hektor is annoyed (5.493), leaps to the ground and strengthens the Trojan ranks (494-6); [**5**] though replying that οὔ τις ἀνὴρ νῦν αἴτιος (13.222), Idomeneus re-arms and, after an interlude with Meriones, returns to the battle (298ff.);[289] [**6**] Teukros brings his weaponry to bear (15.442f.); [**7**] Aineias, despite an initial reluctance, nonetheless goes to meet Akhilleus (20.110-1); [**8**] Priam invokes Zeus' impulsion in order to answer Hekabe's charge (24.220f.).

236-41 This difficulty is acknowledged openly by the way in which Agamemnon continues, as he complains to Zeus (236-41). Frustrated heroes often address Zeus in this way (Ζεῦ πάτερ [236]), expressing a mistaken understanding or hope for the situation at hand,

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[287] cf. above on 8.91-6 (94), pp. 50-3 for that first group of πῆι / ποῦ questions.
[288] cf. above on 8.184-90, pp. 97-9 [74/5].

though the speaker need not make any request for actual intervention.[290] Central is the suggestion that Zeus has not behaved in an explicable manner, and hereby the character reveals his lack of knowledge in and about a situation which is entirely clear to the audience. In other words, these complaints reveal the character's (understandable) delusion at difficult moments; that Agamemnon is the complainant here is important, for it sets before the audience at this early stage his inability to comprehend the *Dios Boule* and the honouring of Akhilleus. Just as we focused earlier on the (mis)understanding of Diomedes and Hektor, now the audience is presented with another character struggling to come to terms with this unexpected turn of events.

Ζεῦ πάτερ complaints: **[92]** 7 examples: [1] 3.365, [2] *8.236*, [3] 12.164, [4] 13.631, [5] 17.19, [6] 19.270, [7] 21.273.[291] One of the above examples is combined with a request / prayer [2], and one falls after a post-kill vaunt [4]. The mistaken thought may be that of the speaker or another party: [1] ἐφάμην (366) I would be revenged on Paris, yet my weapons are breaking (Menelaos); [2] οὐ μὲν δή ποτέ φημι (238) that I have neglected any of my duties, yet I'm losing (Agamemnon); [3] οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἐφάμην (165) the Greeks would hold my attack, yet they're doing it (Asios); [4] men say (φασὶ [631]) that you (i.e. Zeus) are the most sensible of all gods and men, yet the Trojans' actions and the current situation (τάδε) are caused by you (Menelaos); [5] Euphorbos μ' ἔφατ' (26) a weakling (yet οὐ μὲν καλὸν ὑπέρβιον εὐχετάασθαι [19]), οὐδέ ἔ φημὶ he will escape (Menelaos); [7] Thetis ἔφατο that I would die beneath the wall, yet I'm going to die at the hands of the river (Akhilleus). In [2] the contrasted action is not directly narrated, because the expectation is linked

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289 cf. above on 8.200-8 (200), pp. 105-10 [79/8] - [79/13].

290 It is slightly unreal to separate complaints addressed to gods from requests addressed to gods, as the poet often combines them, as e.g. 17.628-48 (compare also 12.162-73), and often uses features associated with a prayer / request, as e.g., 12.173 (ὣς ἔφατ'· οὐδὲ Διὸς πεῖθε φρένα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύων), as though the poet intended some persuasive intention on Asios' part. Indeed, Lohmann 1970, p. 24, n. 30, links Aias' speech in Book 17 with the current complaint and examples [92/4] & [92/6]. Nonetheless, such complaints appear by themselves often enough to warrant separate treatment.

291 There are also three occasions when divine figures complain to Zeus: 5.756-63 (Here *de* Ares), 5.871-87 (Ares *de* Athene & Diomedes), 7.445-53 (Poseidon *de* the wall); cf. also below on 8.497-541 (498), pp. 218-20 [150/1] & [150/4] for [92/1] and [92/3].

to the prayer which the character goes on to make. Only in [**6**] is even the expectation entirely lacking, for Akhilleus ascribes to Zeus directly the ἄτη inflicted upon Agamemnon.

The speaker's delusion about the course of the war or even the immediate battle is hereby underlined: [**1**] Paris is destined to be killed later in the war, and Menelaos is not to have direct revenge upon him; [**2**] Agamemnon's performance of rites has nothing to do with this current manifestation of the *Dios Boule*; [**3**] Zeus and the poet had made it clear that Asios' attack would be unsuccessful;[292] [**4**] Menelaos cannot understand how Zeus can be permitting this situation, given the clear (to him) Trojan transgressions of fundamental customs of human behaviour; [**5**] similarly, Euphorbos's behaviour is inexplicable to Menelaos, who focuses on his adversary's vaunt as unwise and unjustified from both the divine and the mortal perspectives;[293] [**7**] Akhilleus does not know that the river will not subdue him. Once again, only in [**6**] is there no such mistake. Akhilleus attributes the problem to Zeus directly and definitely, though he is more concerned with arming and getting back to the war. Nonetheless, his speech in this *agore* (as, indeed, with many of his speeches) serves much the same self-exculpatory purpose as Agamemnon's. No mention is made of his earlier refusal of the gifts during the Embassy, and so his acceptance of the role of Ate in this series of circumstances reveals little or nothing of his own delusion, and certainly no conception of responsibility for those events.

242-6 To redress the situation, Agamemnon turns finally to a brief prayer (242-6). Generated only at the end of the speech, this request lacks the usual formal introductory signals, and is actually *preceded* by the reminder of a previous relationship with the god (238-41), a common persuasive element within prayers. The poet here uses that passage in order to bridge the gap between the complaint and this truncated request, initiated by a brief invocation (ἀλλὰ Ζεῦ [242]) and the usual transitional verse from *hypomnesis* to actual request (τόδε πέρ μοι ἐπικρήηνον ἐέλδωρ [242]). This predicts the success of the exhortation and subsequent Greek rally, because such requests are always successful so long as they

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[292] cf. above on 8.177-9 (177), p. 96 n. 210; also Lowenstam 1981, p. 77f.
[293] cf. above on 8.208-11 (208), pp. 110-12 [81/7]; also below on 8.336-42 (337), pp. 164-6 [120/4].

are not traditionally impossible, and the poet usually takes advantage of this in order to foreshadow the action before the character speaks.

Prayer: **[93]** 20 examples: **[1]** 1.35-43, **[2]** 1.450-7, **[3]** 2.411-20, **[4]** 3.295-302, **[5]** 3.318-24, **[6]** 3.349-55, **[7]** 5.144-121, **[8]** 6.301-11, **[9]** 6.475-82, **[10]** 7.177-81, **[11]** 7.200-6, **[12]** *8.242-6*, **[13]** 10.277-82/283-92, **[14]** 10.460-5, **[15]** 15.370-8, **[16]** 16.231-52, **[17]** 16.513-27, **[18]** 17.645-8, **[19]** 23.768-71, **[20]** 24.306-14.[294] The usual introductory elements consist basically of drawing the god's attention, and calling on him or her with a form either of εὔχομαι or ἀράομαι, though the introductory verb is lacking in the current example and in **[18]**, which opens with an ὦ πόποι expression.[295]

Drawing attention is most commonly achieved by the raising of one's hands (as in **[2]**, **[5]**, **[8]**, **[10]**, & **[15]**), but Hektor raises his child in (semi-)dedication before **[9]**, as Odysseus does with spoils taken from Dolon before **[14]** and the Troiades with the dress before **[8]** (cf. also **[6]** where Menelaos ὤρνυτο χαλκῷι in his combat), and the poet mentions that Glaukos was unable to raise his wounded arm before **[17]**. Other attention-getting actions are looking into the sky (as in **[10]** & **[11]**), standing in the middle of the yard (as in **[16]** & **[20]**), or going apart from others **[1]**. There are several occasions on which the poet omits the feature (as in **[3]**, **[4]**, **[7]**, **[12]**, **[13]**, **[18]** & **[19]**); of these, the prayers in **[12]** and **[18]** close rather than open the speech, **[13]** falls after a favourable omen sent from the addressed god (and so they have already been noticed), **[3]** & **[4]** occur during a ritual action which has been engineered by the very god to whom the prayers are addressed, and in **[7]** and **[9]** the character is distracted when the prayer is made (in the former by a wound, in the latter by being in a race). If this interpretation has any virtue, one might suggest that a major part of the poet's purpose in getting Agamemnon up on the ship with a red cloak was to inform the audience of an intention to attract divine attention.[296]

The deity is always invoked at the very opening of the prayer (usually by name, in **[14]** & **[19]** Athene is invoked by a simple θεά), and whilst epithets and local information may be

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[294] Morrison 1991, p. 147, nn. 5 & 8, considers the entire passage from 8.236 to be the prayer, and yet he has earlier (at p. 147, n. 3) explicitly excluded from his discussion "reproaches (e.g. M 162-73, Φ 272-84)" which is what the passage from 8.236-41 undoubtedly is, even though it contains a statement which is usual within a prayer (cf. above); cf. also Fenik 1968, p. 21f.; Lateiner 1997, esp. pp. 259-60.

[295] cf. above on 8.200-8 (201), pp. 105-10 [80/18].

[296] cf. above on 8.221, p. 119 n. 273.

supplied at length (as in **[1]**, **[2]**, **[16]** & **[17]**), the poet prefers either a whole (as in **[3]** - **[5]**, **[7]**, **[8]**, **[11]**, **[13b]** & **[20]**) or part (as in **[6]**, **[9]**, **[10]**, **[12]**, **[13 a]**, **[14]**, **[15]**, **[18]** & **[19]**) line invocation. There is no link between the extent or detail of the invocation and the success or otherwise of the prayer.[297]

Therein usually follows a passage of *hypomnesis*, in which the speaker reminds the god of a past favour or existing relationship (i.e., *da ut dedi / dedisti*): **[1]** 1.39-41, **[2]** 1.453-4, **[7]** 5.116-20, **[12]** 8.238-41, **[13]** (a) 278-80 (b) 285-90, **[15]** 15.372-4, **[16]** 16.236-7. Other requests omit this justification passage (as in **[3]** - **[6]**, **[9]** - **[11]**, **[14]** & **[17]** - **[20]**): **[8]** promises the performance of a ritual, and **[13b]** is unique in combining the prior relationship (10.285-90) with this future ritual (292-4), separating them by the current request (291). The point of these various passages is to establish a reciprocal relationship, whether by reference to future, past or present actions.

An unsuccessful request is either (a) explicitly refused outright, (b) explicitly not granted yet, or (c) implicitly refused: **[3]** the sacking of Troy is not destined on that day (b); **[4]** the fulfilment of the oaths is not to happen on that day (b); **[5]** the duel is not to go to the death, and peace will therefore be impossible (c); **[6]** Menelaos is not destined to have direct revenge upon Paris (c); **[8]** Diomedes cannot be killed during the war, particularly not by Athene (a); **[9]** Astyanax is destined to perish before he reaches manhood (c); **[16]** Zeus has already made it clear that Patroklos is not to return safe (a). In other words, the audience always knows, without expression from the poet, that these requests will be denied.

The successful request is either (a) explicitly accepted or (b) implicitly accepted: **[1]** the wrath of Apollo has already been foreshadowed at 1.8-12 (a); **[2]** the end of the wrath is a necessary condition of Kalkhas' predictions at 1.92f., and indeed the story itself (a); **[7]** Pandaros' death was foreshadowed by the earlier (unsuccessful) prayer **[4]** (a); **[10]** the choice of Aias has not been foreshadowed (b); **[11]** the outcome is already intuited, in that Hektor cannot die now (7.52-3), and Aias is destined to die after Akhilleus (b); **[12]** total destruction is never in question, and so favourable response is expected (a); **[13]** is preceded by a favourable omen sent from Athene, whose favour is assured (a); **[14]** still under the impact of the previous sign of favour (b); **[15]** once again, total destruction is not possible (a) (with modifications, as Zeus thunders in response without any prior indication of acceptance);[298] **[16]** the repulse of Hektor from the ships

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[297] Pulleyn [2001] ad 1.37-42, pp. 132-3.

[298] cf. below on 8.242-6, pp. 127-30 [93/1]; also 252-4 (252), pp. 132-3 [95/3].

has long been foreshadowed, and the fight from thereon is not over the ships but the corpse of Patroklos (a); **[17]** the revival of Glaukos and his participation in the *Leichenkampf* over Sarpedon was foreshadowed in the latter's death speech at 16.491f. (a); **[18]** whilst not explicitly foreshadowed, the removal of the cloud is a prerequisite for the informing of Akhilleus which will resolve the battle on this day (a); **[19]** again not foreshadowed, but to be read against the background of general favour from Athene (esp. Aias *minor*'s plaint at 23.782-3) (a); **[20]** the journey of Priam to Akhilleus was suggested and so guaranteed by Zeus through Iris at 24.169ff. (a).[299]

Thus the function of prayer is as much analeptic as proleptic, for although the action is then immediately carried out, it calls the audience back to the prior event or occasion on which the action was predicted and resumes a narrative thread for which they are already prepared. This present request, then, is once again linked to all the features of the narrative up until this point which have suggested a Greek resurgence, and now it unites the purpose of Here with a momentary concession to the same effect from Zeus. In this way, the poet culminates the tension between those two sources of divine power, through a temporary reconciliation of their aims.

245-52 Zeus' assent is assured. Statements of reception / acceptance are generally quite simple (245-6), though the fulfilment of the request may be rather more complex. In this case, Zeus sends an animal omen (247-50), which supplies the audience with information to link the narrative preceding and following the omen, in terms of its source, direction and interpretation. This sign of encouragement, after Zeus' positive reception of the prayer, is taken as precisely that, the crowd reacting with its usual enthusiasm upon perceiving his favour (251-2). So the rapprochement between Here's intentions and Zeus' partiality

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[299] cf. also Muellner 1976, p. 18f. on these closing formulae.

towards the Trojans is finally achieved, but in such a way that the primacy of the *Dios Boule* remains unshaken.

Only once is it not a matter of immediate acceptance and action at the end of a prayer: **[15]** the poet reverses the order and uses a novel phrase for the reception of the prayer: ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος· μέγα δ' ἔκτυπε μητίετα Ζεύς | ἀράων ἀιὼν Νηληιάδαο γέροντος (15.377-8). This is the only time in the *Iliad* that a divine sign is interpreted incorrectly as a sign of favour by someone other than the person or group at whom it is directed, and I would suggest that there is a deliberate connotative link between the formal inversion and the Trojans' mistake.[300] The ways in which prayers were closed was dealt with, briefly, above.[301] The most common assent phrase is ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος· τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε, used in **[1]**, **[2]**, **[7]**, **[13]**, **[16]**, **[17]**, **[19]** & **[20]**; for **[12]** and **[18]**, both of which are preceded by complaints, the poet uses ὣς φάτο· τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρατο; **[16]** is unusual, in that Zeus grants one part of the request, but denies the other (ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος· τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε μητίετα Ζεύς | τῶι δ' ἕτερον μὲν ἔδωκε πατήρ, ἕτερον δ' ἀνένευσεν· | νηῶν μέν οἱ ἀπώσασθαι πόλεμόν τε μάχην τε | δῶκε, σόον δ' ἀνένευσε μάχης ἔξ ἀπονέεσθαι [16.249-52]). For the means of fulfilment, the deity may use indirect action, expressed either by fulfilling the request from afar (as in **[2]**, **[7]**, **[17]**, **[19]**, **[18]** & **[16]**) or sending an omen to indicate the divine will (as in **[12]**, and before **[13]**, **[15]** & **[20]**), or direct action, by appearing in person to the character (as in **[1]**, **[7]** {as well} & **[14]**).

Animal omens: **[94]** 6 examples: **[1]** 2.308-21, **[2]** *8.247-52*, **[3]** 10.274-7 (et ff.), **[4]** 12.200-9, **[5]** 13.821-3, **[6]** 24.316-21.[302] These citations include the reaction of the crowd: **[3]** the omen is followed, unusually, by two prayers **[93/13]**.[303] The basic pattern employed in these omens is (a) appearance, (b) source, (c) event, (d) perception, (e) reaction.[304] Not all of these elements appear in every example, nor is their order fixed. For example, **[3]**, **[5]** & **[6]** omit (c) altogether, whilst the source of the eagle in **[4]** is not made explicit until after (d) and (e). These omens are a not infrequent response to prayers: **[2]** answers **[93/12]**, **[3]** precedes **[93/13]**, **[6]** is an answer to **[93/20]**. Moreover, Nestor's prayer at 15.370-8 **[93/15]** is also followed by an omen.[305]

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300 This disjunction has given rise to doubts about authenticity; cf. Stockinger 1959, pp. 41-3; Janko [1992] ad 15.377-80, p. 269.

301 cf. above on 8.242-6, pp. 127-30, and on 8.148-9, pp. 102-3.

302 cf. Stockinger 1959, pp. 120-52, esp. p. 123f.; Janko [1992] ad 13.821-3, p. 146.

303 cf. above on 8.242-6, pp. 127-30.

304 cf. Stockinger 1959, p. 151, for a more complex scheme.

305 cf. above on 8.69-77 (75), pp. 38-40 [26/4]; cf. also on 8.130-3 et ff., pp. 67-8 et ff.

Despite formal variations, these patterns never leave the audience in doubt as to the direction of the omen's intention. Its source is often directly stated by the poet / speaker (as in **[1]**, **[3]**, **[4]** & **[6]**). This may also be deduced by the audience from the nature of the animal itself, the eagle in **[4]** & **[5]** being the bird of Zeus.[306] Moreover, in both **[1]** and **[2]** the event occurs at or involves an altar, in the latter case the altar of Zeus. The direction of the omen is always clear: before **[2]** and **[6]** a prayer with an explicitly positive answer, in **[3]** the phrase τοῖσι δὲ δεξιὸν ἦκεν (10.274), in **[4]** the pronoun σφίν (200), in **[5]** the phrase οἱ εἰπόντι ἐπέπταto δεξιὸς ὄρνις (821), and in **[1]** the statement of situation preceding the omen makes it clear that it could only have been directed at the Greeks. The interpretation of the omen is twofold, causing either confusion and requiring a somewhat inductive method of interpretation (as in **[1]** & **[4]**),[307] or joy (as in **[2]**, **[3]**, **[5]** & **[6]**). In the current scene, the narrative would seem to be directed at emphasising the link between the omen and Zeus (and so Zeus' favour in the situation), by dropping the faun onto the altar itself. Perhaps in this way the poet intimates favour in that the deity himself provides the suppliants with the sacrifical victim.[308]

252-4 The crowd react and return to the offensive, signalling the beginning of another *Fluchtphase*, this time Trojan.[309] Such reactions (μάλλον ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι θόρον, μνήσαντο δὲ χάρμης [252]) tend to come after an important indication of favour or good fortune, and it is somewhat fitting that Diomedes should be the first to re-emerge and kill a Trojan (253-60), for οὔ τις | πρότερος (253-4) expressions are being employed when the priority of action is depicted as a matter of great personal importance to the character. The poet is clearly suggesting his determination to play a further role in the conflict, continuing the ἀρετή theme which has fuelled much of the battle narrative.[310]

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306 cf. Stockinger 1959, p. 120.
307 cf. Kirk [1985] ad 1.328-9, p. 150.
308 cf. Σ bT ad loc.
309 cf. above on 8.66-74, pp. 33-6 [22/7].
310 cf. Σ bT ad loc.

μάλλον ἐπὶ [Τρωέσσι] θόρον, μνήσαντο δὲ χάρμης: **[95]** 3 examples: [1] *8.252*, [2] 14.441, [3] 15.380 (Ἀργείοισι).[311] On each occasion, the group has observed an action which it feels positively affects their fortunes: [1] the omen, [2] the wounding of Hektor and [3] another omen, which the Trojans misinterpret. It would be tempting to associate this reaction with an omen, and so in [2] as an expression of the esteem in which Hektor is to be held, but the *comparanda* are simply too few.

οὔ τις | πρότερος: **[96]** 3 examples: [1] 1.547-8, [2] *8.253*, [3] 17.14. [1] Zeus seeks to reassure Here that she will be the first of gods and men to learn his mind, when it is suitable, as reason for her to shut up now; [3] Euphorbos claims his priority in killing Patroklos as reason for Menelaos to retreat.[312] There could be an intimation of delusion on the part of the character to whom the πρότερος concern is ascribed, as Here is hardly satisfied by the concession to her honour granted by Zeus (and Zeus is wrong to believe that such a concession would suffice), and Euphorbos suffers immediately at the hands of Menelaos.

258-60 The *androktasia* itself intimates continued success for the Greeks, as μετάφρεν[ον] strikes (258) generally take place when the victim is in flight *in curru annon*, which action is emblematic of the group as a whole.[313] When his victim falls and his armour clatters around him (ἤριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων· ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῶι [260]),[314] the audience intuit from the first hemistich continued success for the victorious side,[315] whilst the second accompanies slayings where the claiming of the corpse and its armour (which need not be narrated) occupies the killer or the successful claimant(s), who is then immediately thereafter removed from the text's forefront. Through this complex of associations, the

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311 cf. above on 8.69-77 (75), pp. 38-40 [26/4]; also on 8.242-6, pp. 127-30 [93/15].

312 cf. above on 8.236-41, pp. 126-7 [92/5].

313 cf. above on 8.91-6 (95), pp. 50-3 [38/3].

314 MS A (s. x) reads ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι as a v.l. for ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῶι; cf. above on 8.122-5 (122), pp. 65-7 [47a]. This is inauthentic, for there is no narration of the chariot's claiming or of any opposition to the victor.

315 cf. above on 8.122-5 (122), pp. 65-7 [47/4].

poet is intimating that Diomedes is to recede in importance, and his place in this phase of battle to be taken up by another *Greek*.

ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῶι: **[97]** 9 examples: **[1]** {4.504}, **[2]** 5.58, **[3]** 5.294, **[4]** {5.540}, **[5]** *8.260*, **[6]** 13.187, **[7]** {15.578}, **[8]** 17.50, **[9]** 17.311.[316] Of these, the claiming of the armour (whether by the victor or the vanquished figure's side) is expressed in **[1]**, **[3]**, **[4]** & **[6]** - **[9]**, whilst in **[2]** & **[5]** there is no direct narration of the action. However, both occur when the victorious nature of the battle has already been emphasised: before **[2]** the poet tells us that the Greek leaders each claimed a victim as the Trojans were put to rout (5.37-8); in **[5]**, the Greek resurgence is assured from the shape of the preceding narrative (prayer, omen etc., cf. above). I would suggest that on these occasions the poet simply assumes that the bodies are claimed and stripped for, if the characters involved in the fight are concerned with that action, the poet is then free to remove the narrative focus elsewhere. That the claiming of the spoils is a normal action on the battlefield is illustrated, e.g., by special instructions not to do it at 6.66-71 (Nestor) and 15.346-51 (Hektor).[317]

That is not to say that the hero does not continue fighting on the battlefield, simply that the poet is now concerned with other characters. The referential purpose of the hemistich is to point the audience to the character's concern with the aftermath of the slaying - the claiming of the corpse and its armour (which need not actually be narrated) - as a pretext for removing that character (momentarily or more long term) from his narrative focus. Immediate removal occurs in **[1]**, **[2]**, **[4]** - **[7]** & **[9]**: **[1]** after the bodies are claimed, Odysseus is not mentioned again until 5.519; **[7]** Antilokhos, after his compelled retreat, does not re-emerge until 16.318; **[9]** Hektor is momentarily replaced as the leading Trojan by Aineias (17.323f.), to whom he plays second fiddle until 483 when they make a concerted but eventually unsuccessful attack on Automedon. Removal is postponed in **[3]** & **[8]**: **[3]** Diomedes wounds Aineias and then (after Sthenelos has claimed Aineias' horses) Aphrodite, over whom he vaunts, before the focus moves to Olympos (352-431); **[8]** the poet greatly expands the typical feature of retreat in the face of a superior figure(s) which prevents stripping (as in **[6]** & **[7]**) before he finally achieves Menelaos' retreat

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316 This hemistich is also found at 5.42, a concordance interpolation from 5.58 above; cf. M West [1998-2000] ad loc., p. 140.

317 cf. above on 8.172-4, pp. 92-5 [70/2] & [70/6]; cf. also Kirk [1990] ad 6.67-71, p. 162.

(17.113). After this point, Aias becomes the significant martial figure, even though Menelaos accompanies him back to Patroklos' corpse. In fact, his next significant action is an appeal for help at 246-55 (suggested to him by Aias at 237f.).

256-65 This replacement is achieved by treating Diomedes' advance and *androktasia* as an elaborated first item in a catalogue (πρῶτος [256]), figures so emphasised either receding into unimportance after the catalogue or unsuccessful in their pursuit of the action. Whatever Diomedes' motivation or intention, his positioning here finalises previous intimations of his departure from prominence. The catalogue is then used to introduce the other characters upon whom the continuation is to depend, and the audience's attention is hereby directed towards the final and elaborated item in the catalogue, Teukros, who is to be the prominent individual from hereonin.[318]

πρῶτ[ος] catalogues: **[98]** 27 examples: **[1]** 2.405, **[2]** 4.457, **[3]** 5.38, **[4]** 6.5, **[5]** 7.162, **[6]** *8.256*, **[7]** 9.168, **[8]** 11.92, **[9]** 11.219, **[10]** 11.420, **[11]** 11.738, **[12]** 12.191, **[13]** 12.378, **[14]** 13.170, **[15]** 13.502, **[16]** 14.402, **[17]** 14.442, **[18]** 14.509, **[19]** 16.284, **[20]** 16.307, **[21]** 16.399, **[22]** 16.593, **[23]** 17.257, **[24]** 17.597, **[25]** 20.382, **[26]** 21.392, **[27]** 23.288.[319]

Of these, **[5]**, **[6]**, **[7]**, **[10]**, **[12]** & **[23]** show first item elaboration before simple catalogues, whilst **[21]**, **[25]** & **[27]** show first and multiple item elaboration. These are the closest analogues to the current scene (and so we shall focus on them), although any strict differentiation between catalogue types is unwise, as is shown by **[21]**. It begins with a πρῶτος expression (399) denoting the first *androktasia* (399-401), then a second (401-10) and a third *androktasia* (411-414) before a straight catalogue of victims (415-7). This is an obvious juxtaposition of expansive and contractive techniques, and clearly *katalogisch*.

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[318] cf. above on 8.53-9, pp. 25-30, for the prominent individual at the start of the day's fighting; also on 8.80-2, pp. 44-5, for final item elaboration in catalogues.

[319] This list includes both victim and *androktasia* catalogues; cf. below on 8.267-77, pp. 137-43; also above on 8.78-9, pp. 40-3, 41 n. 82; cf. also Fenik 1968, p. 153; de Jong 1987, p. 259 n. 26.

The actions so initiated include killing and being killed (as in **[6]**, **[10]**, **[12]**, **[21]** & **[25]**; of the examples not immediately analogous, i.e. those where there is no first item elaboration before simple catalogues, this is the most common type of action: **[2]** - **[4]**, **[8]**, **[9]**, **[11]**, **[13]** - **[20]**, **[22]**, **[24]** & **[26]**), responding to a call for aid **[23]**, volunteering for a duel **[5]**, or the chariot race **[27]**, or leading the embassy **[7]**. The removal from the following narrative of the figure elaborated as the first item is obviously contingent on the type of catalogue, unsurprisingly after the victim catalogues (**[10]**, **[12]**, **[21]** & **[25]**). The other examples alternate from disappearance to failure: **[5]** Agamemnon, the first hero to stand up, does not get the lot; **[6]** Diomedes is not heard of after this victory; **[7]** Phoinix is the middle (and longest) speaker in the embassy, the lead in which has obviously been taken by Odysseus. He fails to persuade Akhilleus and even remains behind in his tent; **[23]** Aias Oileus recedes completely from the forefront of the narrative; **[27]** Eumelos, earlier emphasised as possessing the best horse team (2.763-7), comes last in the chariot race.

The current list is very close to that before the duel in Book 7 **[5]**, which also has a numerical marker (ἐννέα [161]) and first item πρῶτος elaboration (162), though here we add Menelaos and Teukros (8.266f.) for the subtraction of Thoas and Odysseus (7.168). Odysseus' exclusion from the list has been seen a pointed one, a tempting conclusion given the singular nature of his action at 8.96-8, and that other catalogues introduced with πρῶτος expressions have numerical markers, like εἶνατος here (266), which do seem to indicate the totality of the group.[320] On the other hand, nine seems to be a typical *katalogisch* number,[321] the poet does not always use such markers even when he is aiming at completeness[322] and, if we were to ascribe Odysseus' absence to deliberate exclusion, we would be assuming a more reliable relationship between the personnel of a catalogue and the narrative itself than that which is warranted by the evidence. Should, for instance, we ascribe any significance to the presence of Odysseus in that earlier catalogue, or to the absence of Thoas in the current location? Whilst Teukros is an important figure in **[6]**, neither Thoas nor Odysseus play any role in the earlier scene at all. More generally, one thinks of the exclusion of Ouranos from the catalogue at *Theogony* 11-21, and the inclusion in the same section

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[320] Σ bT ad 8.253-4 and ad 8.266 clearly thought in this way, and provided an excuse; cf. also Kirk [1990] ad loc., p. 321, and Wilson [1996] ad loc., p. 193; cf. also above on 8.97-8, pp. 53-4, 53 n. 102; cf. 2.405 [98/1], 7.162 [98/5], 23.288 [98/27]. On the first occasion, the initial expectation of completeness with the ordinal (ἕκτον) is underlined by the fact that the poet then narrates Menelaos' arrival or presence at the council before the sacrifice as αὐτόματος (408-9).

[321] cf. 7.162 [98/5], 24.252. The ordinal is used in the same position in the verse as here at 2.295; cf. Fenik 1968, p. 120; also Germain 1954, pp. 13-17, 17 n. 4, 42-7.

[322] cf., e.g., 23.836-8.

of Dione at 17, who is only recalled again in a catalogue at 353. We might contend that mention of Ouranos is being reserved for 45, but why then does Gaia appear at 20 as well as 45?

267-77 Such periods are generally labelled *aristeiai*, a term applied in modern scholarship wherever a hero exhibits pre-eminent valour and success,[323] but used here to describe prominence centred around a series of consecutive slayings which confer a generic glory on the hero because of the facelessness of the victims. These passages are variously introduced, and in this case the poet briefly describes Teukros' fighting method (267-72) - not a common feature, because combat is usually conducted within the ordinary spear / sword parameters. This is, however, the only *aristeia* to be allotted to an archer, for whom some protection is required.

Victim catalogues: **[99]** 11 examples: **[1]** 5.677-8, **[2]** 5.703-10, **[3]** *8.273-7*, **[4]** 11.299-303, **[5]** 11.420-5, **[6]** 11.489-91, **[7]** 12.191-4, **[8]** 14.511-22, **[9]** 16.415-6, **[10]** 16.694-6, **[11]** 21.209-210.[324] All of these examples are allotted to single figures, with the exception of **[8]**, where a series of Greek figures kill a group of Trojans with minimal explanation and elaboration. Such a one-sided series is common in *androktasia* catalogues (cf. below). It is to be noted that **[7]** occurs at the end of a double *aristeia*, in which Leonteus fights together with Polypoites. Such structures frequently employ mixed victim and *androktasia* catalogues, as with **[9]**, which falls at the end of an *androktasia* catalogue.

Androktasia catalogues: **[100]** 12 examples: **[1]** 5.37-83, **[2]** 5.144-65, **[3]** 6.5-36, **[4]** 7.8-16, **[5]** 11.91-147, **[6]** 11.320-42, **[7]** 12.182-94 (99/7), **[8]** 15.329-42, **[9]** 16.306-50, **[10]** 16.394-418 (99/9), **[11]** 20.381-418, **[12]** 20.455-89. One can see that these catalogues are usually allotted to

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[323] The standard work on the *aristeia* is Krischer 1971, though he defines the structure somewhat differently; cf. esp. pp. 23, 75-6; cf. also Strasburger 1954, pp. 55-6, 97, on this current scene. The lists below also denote those examples which are allotted to a number of different victors in a series, which appear here for the sake of completeness.

[324] cf. de Jong 1987, p. 49f; also above on 8.78-9, p. 41 n. 82.

very prominent individuals (Diomedes, Agamemnon, Patroklos and Akhilleus [2x]) or denote a series of kills for a group of leaders from one side (as in **[1]**, **[3]**, **[4]**, **[8]** & **[9]**).

The introductory elements are the same we would find in any period of battle commencement or reactivation, e.g., arming the hero, granting him pre-eminence, a sign of divine favour, advance, exhortation, and so on. The shape of the introduction is obviously a result of the narrative's requirements when the poet begins to generate the structure, and is not predetermined by the simple fact that an *aristeia* is being prepared. For instance, we have noted above the presence of a catalogue in several reactivations, and at the start of a new day's battle.[325] Thus, it is not surprising to find catalogues appearing at the beginning of *aristeiai* (particularly when they coincide with such periods in battle), but they need not concern the leaders of the hero's side: before **[99/7 | 100/7]** the Trojans who advance to face Polypoites and Leonteus are enumerated (12.139-40); before **[100/5]** we find a catalogue of Trojan leaders at the start of the new day (11.56-60); before **[99/9 | 100/10]** we find the Myrmidons who are to march out with Patroklos (16.168-97). This should suffice to illustrate that the *aristeia* is an inherently labile structure which can be generated into any battle context.

Archers usually make one shot from a distance, and then recede from importance (e.g., 11.369-83, 11.505-7). This is not to say that they do not constantly fire when the focus is not on them, simply that the poet usually allows them a single shot before moving on: [15.442ff.] Teukros at Aias' instigation shoots one Trojan, and aims at Hektor for a second shot, only to have Zeus break the string (461f.). The closest parallel for the present action is the description of Pandaros' shot at Menelaos (4.104-26, esp. 113-5), where his companions use their shields to cover him as he prepares his shot (cf. esp. 4.106-8, where his shot at the goat from whose horn his current bow is made occurred δεδεγμένος ἐν προδοκῆισιν [107]). The description of Aias *minor*'s Lokrian contingent of archers (13.712-8) focuses on the fact that they did not fight at close quarters but stood off to use their bows, illustrating clearly the usual tactics of the bowman.[326]

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[325] cf. above on 8.53-9, pp. 25-30; and above on 8.78-9, pp. 40-3.

[326] cf. Leaf [1904] ad loc., p. 351; Janko [1992] ad 13.712-8, pp. 136-7; also Hellmann 2000, p. 106; cf. Page 1959, p. 278f.; also Lorimer 1950, p. 276f., esp. 289f.; Erbse 1961, p. 173-7, esp. p. 173 n. 23; Snodgrass 1964, pp. 141-56, 174-5; Edgeworth 1985; van Wees 1994, pp. 134, 144, 150 n. 63; also Fernández-Galiano [1992], p. 137f.; Mackie 1996, p. 53. Similarities between this current scene and the co-operation between the Aiantes in Book 13 leads Fenik 1968, p. 225f., to posit a relationship with this current scene; Schadewaldt 1966, p. 103f. (esp. n. 1) rejects a similar passage dependence with Teukros' next period of pre-eminence in Book 15 (he was aiming particularly at the analytic efforts of Wilamowitz 1916, p. 49f. & von der Mühll 1952, pp. 151-2), though he sees the reminiscence as a deliberate structural parallel; cf. also di Benedetto 1994, pp. 201-4. No such dependence is necessary to make sense of the image in the current context, for the

The only other *aristeia* which employs this kind of passage at its outset is the double *aristeia* of Polypoites and Leonteus [**99/7** | **100/7**], who are fighting a defensive battle at the chariot gates of the Greek camp. This is a similarly unusual context for such a period of dominance, for they are everywhere else linked with offensive movements. Of course the largest *aristeiai* (of Diomedes, Agamemnon, Patroklos and Akhilleus) often have a description of the hero's victorious advance and methods, but they are not as a rule connected closely with the slaying catalogue.

This in itself must be significant, particularly given the somewhat negative reputation of archery in the *Iliad*, and the fact that the driving figure hitherto has been Diomedes, twice wounded by archers in the poem and openly scornful of the art.[327] The uncertainty produced by this style of fighting will be applied to the hopes and progress of the army as whole, and is explicitly set forth initially by the participle παπτήνας (269), which connotes the hero's awareness of a difficult or defensive situation. Similes are typical in the introduction to an *aristeia*, but this simile is uniquely defensive (πάις ὡς ὑπὸ μητέρα δύσκεν [271]), a child being one of the typically unwarlike *comparanda*, its reference another of the unsettling features in this passage.[328]

παπτ[ήνας]: **[101]** 17 examples: **[1]** 4.200, **[2]** 4.497, **[3]** *8.269*, **[4]** 11.546, **[5]** 12.333, **[6]** 13.551, **[7]** 13.649, **[8]** 14.507, **[9]** 15.574, **[10]** 16.283, **[11]** 17.84, **[12]** 17.115, **[13]** 17.603, **[14]** 17.674, **[15]** 22.463, **[16]** 23.464, **[17]** 23.690.[329] On each occasion, the subject of the verb is reacting to an immediately preceding setback of various sorts as the cause of his or her distress, or is at the

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underhand qualities of the weapon are uppermost in the audience's mind, especially when this is combined with the other ambiguous intimations surrounding this action; cf. also Krischer 1971, pp. 75-6.

327 cf. his speech at 11.384-95, esp. 386-7; Hainsworth [1993] ad loc., pp. 268-9; also previous note.

328 cf. below on 8.282-6, pp. 149-51, for other such intimations. Indeed, the poet would seem to be going out of his way to undercut the importance or potential of Teukros' dominance; cf. Strasburger 1954, p. 55-6; Friedrich 1956, p. 31; cf. above, n. 326.

329 cf. Kirk [1985] ad 4.200, p. 352; Hainsworth [1993] ad 12.333, p. 355; also Edwards [1991] ad 17.674, p. 128; Lonsdale 1989.

very least depicted in an immediately difficult situation which has forced him onto the back foot: **[1]** Talthybios looks around for Makahon to assist the stricken Menelaos; **[4]** Aias, after he is forced to retreat by Zeus, casts his glance like a hunted animal; **[8]** (& **[10]**) the Trojans in response to a slaying / boast and the appearance of Patroklos look around for some way to avoid destruction; **[12]** Menelaos, forced back from Patroklos' body by the onset of Hektor, retreats and looks for Aias; **[13]** the wounded Leitos, no longer thinking he can fight, looks around (in fear); **[16]** Idomeneus, concerned for the safety of Eumelos, says that though his eyes look they cannot see the reason for his failure to be in the front. This defensive situation does not preclude the hero then counteracting: **[2]** Odysseus, in response to the death of one of his comrades, steps forward to make a cast, as Antilokhos in **[6]** after Zeus rouses the Trojans again; **[11]** upon being told of Euphorbos' death at the hands of Menelaos, Hektor casts his eye over the ranks and sees the situation confirmed. He then goes to meet him. However, it is noticeable that the situation is either one of loss or one where the figure is in some considerable difficulty or danger (as in **[6]**). Thus, the type of glance connoted here falls in a defensive and reactive context, and tells of the speaker's awareness of that context.

The simile in these situations may also be found after the catalogue or indeed during it, and it may be some distance from the catalogue: **[99/3]** *8.271*, **[99/4]** 11.292-4 (boar) / 297-8 (stormwind), **[99/5]** 11.414-20 (hunters around wounded boar), **[99/6]** 11.473-84 (jackals around wounded stag) / 485 (shield like a tower), **[99/7 | 100/7]** 12.131-5 (oaks) / 145-51 (hunted boars), **[99/9 | 100/10]** 16.384-93 (earth beneath a whirlwind), **[99/10]** 16.705 (*daimon*); **[100/2]** 5.136-43 (lion); **[100/5]** 11.113-20 (lion), **[100/6]** 11.324-6 (boars), **[100/12]** 20.490-4 (fire) / 495-502 (corpses like barley beneath). Of all the *aristeia* catalogues, only **[99/1]**, **[99/2]**, **[99/11]** & **[100/11]** are unaccompanied by similes. The offensive nature of these comparisons is immediately obvious, comparing the hero's physical prowess and effect upon the battle in such a way as to emphasise his might and power.[330] Even those *aristeiai* which fall at defensive moments (**[99/5]** the wounded Odysseus, who is referred to again in the introduction to **[99/6]**; **[99/7]** Polypoites and Leonteus as they are attacked) are nonetheless graced with similes which manage to emphasise their strength and courage.

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[330] Bibliography on the Homeric simile is vast, as the range of opinions about its relationship to the narrative; cf., e.g., Fränkel 1921; Coffey 1957; Lee 1964; Krischer 1971, pp. 36-75; Porter 1972; Scott 1974; Moulton 1977; Tsagarakis 1982, pp. 134-46; Nimis 1987; Edwards 1987a, pp. 102-10; Lonsdale 1990; Edwards [1991], pp. 24-41; Clarke 1995; Martin 1997; Minchin 2001b.

Child similes: **[102]** 19 examples: [1] 2.289, [2] 2.337-8, [3] 2.872, [4] 4.130-1, [5] 7.235-6, [6] *8.271*, [7] 9.481-2, [8] 11.389, [9] 11.558-62, [10] 13.292, [11] 13.470, [12] 15.362, [13] 16.7-10, [14] 16.259-65, [15] 20.200-1, [16] 20.244, [17] 20.431, [18] 21.282-3, [19] 23.222-3.[331] The unwarlike nature of the image is emphasised particularly in those examples where the speaker attempts to underline the unmartial nature of the compared group or individual: [1] Odysseus compares the Greeks to a crowd of women and children weeping to go home;[332] [2] Nestor does the same, and adds the phrase οἷς οὔ τι μέλει πολεμήια ἔργα; [5] Hektor tells Aias not to try to scare him as though he were a woman or child; [8] Diomedes claims not to reck of Paris' action, as though a woman or child had struck him; [9] Aias is compared to an ass forced from the field by children, but only when he has sated his desire for food; [10] Idomeneus cuts short the interlude with Meriones by labelling further speech as childish in the face of the current need (similarly in [15] - [17]); [14] Akhilleus denies the efficacy of Patroklos' tears (for they are not in themselves unheroic) by making the comparison to a κουρή, thus undermining his coming appeal as unwarlike and ill-suited to the occasion.

The reference of this image is well employed with regard to the gods: [12] the child knocking down the sand-castle emphasises the ease with which Apollo kicks down the Greek wall, and that his participation in the war is without risk; [4] Athene easily deflects Pandaros' shot at Menelaos. It should also be noted that an unwarlike quality is not necessarily a bad thing, for the relationship between parent and child may also express tenderness (as, for that matter, in [4]): [7] Phoinix tells the story of Peleus receiving him and loving him as a father for a son; [19] Akhilleus weeping over Patroklos is compared to an old man mourning his son.

273-7 A brief rhetorical question (ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον Τρώων ἕλε Τεῦκρος ἀμύμων; [273]) precedes the rather unremarkable victim catalogue, composed of stock names and closed by a typical verse which seems to have little purpose (πάντας ἐπασσύτερους πέλασε χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρηι {277}) beyond separating the catalogue from the following narrative.[333] The

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331 cf. Fränkel 1921, p. 89f.; Scott 1974, ch. 3, esp. pp. 73-4, pp. 110-1; Edgeworth 1985, pp. 29-30; Kirk [1990] ad loc., p. 322; cf. also Ingalls 1998 on the imagery of childhood in the *Iliad*.

332 Femininity is also used as a trope of rebuke to make much the same point; cf. above on 8.160-7 (163), pp. 84-6 [64/2].

333 The line is also found at 12.194 [99/7] & 16.418 [99/9]. Kirk [1990] ad 8.277, p. 322, calls the line 'inorganic', since on the other occasions it supplies a main verb to a simple list of names in the

question itself, however, is used in *aristeiai* when the hero is to meet with opposition and reversal as a direct result of these slayings. There are several ways to conclude an *aristeia*, but on this occasion the audience are prepared for a direct, more or less immediate, and unsuccessful confrontation with an opposing figure.

The stock nature of the names is obvious: another Orsilokhos (this time a Greek) is killed by Aineias at 5.541f., another Trojan Ormenos is killed by Polypoites at 12.187 [**99/9** | **100/10**], another Ophelestes is killed by Akhilleus at 21.210 [**99/11**], whilst Melanippos is a prominent Trojan addressed by Hektor at 15.545f. (and killed by Antilokhos at 575f.), a victim of Patroklos at 16.695 [**99/10**], and finally one of the Greeks entrusted with the conveying of the gifts at 19.240. Daitor and Lykophontes do not reappear (though a Lykophontes is mentioned by Agamemnon at 4.395), and Khromios is a battlefield pedestrian.[334]

Rhetorical questions about the victims have been often studied as part of the wider question of the poet's relationship to the Muses, with which we are not directly concerned here.[335] The reversal they signal may follow immediately upon the catalogue, but may also be considerably delayed: [**99/2**] Hektor's actions incur the notice and wrath of Here, who intervenes and, when she and Athene finally reach the field, Diomedes wounds Ares (who is firmly associated with Hektor in the question preceding the catalogue); [**99/4**] Hektor, noticed by Odysseus, is struck by Diomedes and removed from the field; [**99/10**] Patroklos, whom the poet says θεοὶ θάνατόνδ' ἐκάλεσσαν (16.693), is then opposed physically by Apollo, before he is killed. Other *aristeiai* are also resolved by someone else's action, but not in the same way: [**99/1**] Hektor notices Odysseus' victories and moves to intervene. Odysseus simply disappears from the action, and there is no confrontation between the heroes - hence no question. In a slightly different way, the large

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accusative, and M West [1998-2000] omits it altogether. We should ask, however, given that it is not overwhelmingly common in other slaying catalogues and there is no other obvious temptation, how this interpolation came to appear at this point. In this connection, it is important to notice that its absence would make this the only slaying catalogue which does not have a transition of some sort joining it to - or more accurately separating it from - the next action; [99/1] & [99/11] are closed by a contrafactual, [99/2] by anecdotal information about the last (expanded) item in the catalogue, [99/4], [99/5] & [99/10] by summary expressions (τοὺς μέν | δέ *aut sim.*), [99/6] by a simile, [99/8] by a summary of the Greek advance represented by the catalogue.

334 cf. Kirk [1985] ad 4.295-6, p. 360; also Fenik 1968, pp. 147-8.

335 cf., e.g., Calhoun 1938, Minton 1960, Murray 1981, Thalmann 1984, pp. 78-56; Finkelberg 1990a; Minchin 1995b; Finkelberg 1998b, ch. 3.

aristeia of Agamemnon (the first phase of which is based around **[100/5]**) is ended by two combats (2 brothers, second of whom wounds him) straight after another question (this time explicitly asked of the Muses) at 11.218-9. This is not an invariable rule: in the second *aristeia* of Odysseus **[99/5]** we find similarly more combats (once again 2 brothers, second of whom wounds him) after the catalogue. In those last two cases, the catalogic eminence is concluded and a new round of action entered before the hero is wounded. In every case, therefore, the catalogue is itself the signal that the next chain of action is to be concerned with the wounding and withdrawal of the principal. The import of the question is that this is to happen without further slaying.

In addition to actual opposition and reversal as a means of resolution, the poet may shift focus (as in **[99/6]**, **[99/7 | 100/7]**) or he may allow the hero a victorious encounter with a major figure (as in **[99/9 | 100/10]** **[99/11]**, **[100/2]**, **[100/6]**, **[100/11]**). In **[100/12]** Akhilleus is simply allowed to continue his winning ways, this time in the river, before his encounter with the god.

278-91 Agamemnon's advent is thus a surprise (278f.), the disjunction focusing attention on this unexpected action.[336] This is important, for its depiction of Agamemnon resumes previous indications and provides an invaluable and intermediate character portrait before the utter despair he exhibits in Book 9. His initial reaction here (γήθησεν [278]) indicates that he views Teukros' success as a personal boon, the poet once again emphasising his awareness of responsibility in the current situation.[337]

γήθησ[εν] reactions: **[103]** 17 examples: **[1]** 1.255, **[2]** 1.330, **[3]** 4.255, **[4]** 4.283, **[5]** 4.311, **[6]** 6.212, **[7]** 7.189, **[8]** *8.278*, **[9]** 8.378, **[10]** 9.77, **[11]** 10.190, **[12]** 13.344, **[13]** 13.416, **[14]** 16.530, **[15]** 17.567, **[16]** 24.321, **[17]** 24.424.[338] The types of action resulting in the emotion vary

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[336] cf. Fenik 1968, p. 68, n. 59.

[337] cf. above on 8.222-7 (227), pp. 122-3. This does not mean that the poet's opinion of Agamemnon is entirely laudatory, but many of his actions during the battle are driven (for ill or good) by a concern for the army as whole. That this attitude does not control his relationship with Akhilleus makes the contrast stronger, and deepens the picture of Agamemnon's earlier mistake. In this light, the importance of his appearance in this portion of the narrative should not be underestimated, as is done e.g. by van Thiel 1982, p. 283; cf. also below on 8.282-6 (286), pp. 149-51 [107/3], for another such indication.

[338] cf. Latacz [2000]b ad 1.255-6, p. 105.

widely, and its intimacy for the subject is rarely stated explicitly, but implied from the context: **[16]** the Trojans see an omen which confirms the gods' favour for, and the safety of, their king; **[7]** Aias recognises his marker in the lot, and thus his chance to duel (and, he feels, defeat) the greatest Trojan warrior; **[14]** Glaukos understands that this prayer to Apollo has received a favourable response, and so that he will be able to defend Sarpedon's body; **[15]** Athene rejoices that Menelaos prays to her first, and so grants him strength; **[3]**, **[4]** & **[5]** Agamemnon recognises the eagerness for battle of Idomeneus, the Aiantes and Nestor, which is his general responsibility. He even says to the Aiantes that if everyone had the same spirit as they, then Troy would be easily taken (4.288-91); **[17]** on being told that Hektor's corpse is still preserved, Priam rejoices - for obvious reasons. The word is used negatively only in **[2]**, where he states that Akhilleus is not glad to see the heralds, for he understands that their action is to be detrimental to his honour and sense of self.

Moreover, the poet frequently makes his characters employ the emotion in their speeches with the same rhetorical purpose: **[13]** Deiphobos, as he vaunts over a victim, says that Asios will be glad since he has an attendant (a Greek killed in revenge) on his way to Hades; **[9]** Athene ponders aloud to Here whether Hektor will be glad as they appear on the battlefield to spoil his victory; **[1]** Nestor posits that the quarrel between the best of the Greeks would gladden the Trojans, probably given the respite it would offer them; **[10]** Nestor underlines the difficulty of the Greeks' situation by asking who would be happy seeing the Trojans' fires on the plain, since their presence there is not only dangerous but also an indication of their success and the Greeks' failure.

The exhortation itself is a typical one in several respects. Firstly, these reactions introduce encouragement along lines which are already clearly necessary to the characters, as becomes clear in the reply.[339] Secondly, the speech introduction (πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε[ν] 280) often prefaces successful persuasion by reference to an inherent quality in the action or situation. Finally, the promise of future material reward (286-91) is usually employed in order to initiate an activity, not to persuade someone to keep doing that upon

which he has already determined. Thus, though Agamemnon is taking the correct level of responsibility and employing a typical hortatory figure, he is misjudging the motivations of his prominent warriors.[340]

[103/3] - **[8]**, **[11]** & **[17]** are all followed immediately by an exhortation, while **[14]** is followed, after some intervention, by a rebuke directed at Hektor focusing on the need to fight for Sarpedon's body (16.538-47). The obviety of the action itself (when practical instruction is given, and apart from any inducement or reason offerred) is either asserted in the reply (when given), is to be understood from the typicalities of the situation, or is acknowledged by the speaker: **[3]** the honour granted to Idomeneus is sufficient reason for his action in the present, which he states in his reply as effective upon his motivation; **[4]** the eagerness of the Aiantes (in this case Aias and Teukros)[341] is admitted by Agamemnon and a given in the poem, and so the King grants them the honour of approving their action without any encouragement; **[5]** when Agamemnon approves of Nestor, he wishes that the Pylian were young and that other, presumably less useful, figures were as handicapped by old age. This is of course impossible, and Nestor in his reply redirects Agamemnon to the present, his understanding of his duties as an older man, and their worth in the situation. Thus Nestor addresses what he sees as the King's partial denigration of his current capabilities (cf. his speech to Akhilleus at 23.626-50);[342] **[6]** Diomedes' offer to recognise and honour guest-friendship with Glaukos is almost unparalleled in the *Iliad*, but the importance of that custom is paramount in the *Odyssey*;[343] **[7]** Aias' speech exhorting the Greeks to prayer should be read in light of the generic prayers offerred before the duel between Menelaos and Paris (3.319-23); such a request for victory was obviously standard procedure before a formal duel (and perhaps within it, given 3.349-54); **[11]** Nestor simply instructs the guards to keep on doing what they have been doing since he told them to do it (9.66-8); **[17]** given his purported identity, Hermes cannot accept a gift, but will guide Priam as he has been commanded by Zeus.

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339 cf. Kirk [1990] ad 8.278, p. 322; cf. also below on 8.286-91, and on 8.292-9 (292), pp. 149-51; cf. Schadewaldt 1966, p. 103.

340 cf. Martin 1989, p. 116; also Taplin 1990.

341 cf. Kirk [1985] ad loc., p. 359; also Page 1959, pp. 235-8 (with earlier literature); Edgeworth 1985; *contra*, cf. Stagakis 1975, pp. 24-40.

342 cf. below on 8.535-41 (538-41), pp. 224-9 [156/2].

343 cf., in general, Reece 1993.

Replies express a commitment towards alignment: **[3]** Idomeneus affirms that he will continue to act as he had already promised, and encourages Agamemnon to exhort others (4.265-71); **[5]** Nestor acknowledges that Agamemnon's wish is his own, but that it is impossible and he plays an important and suitable role nonetheless (4.317-25); **[17]** Hermes refuses the gift from Priam because of his respect for Akhilleus, and affirms that his commitment to serve as a guide remains unaffected (24.432-39). In fact, these speeches give an excellent insight into a range of heroic customs and values: **[3]** Agamemnon invokes previous honour paid to Idomeneus; **[4]** Agamemnon mentions Aias' and Teukros' previous record in battle as cause for his current compliments; **[5]** Agamemnon's wish is not only caused by Nestor's current spirit, but also his heroic past, which he calls upon several times in the poem; **[6]** Diomedes summons an ancient guest-friendship, and proposes friendship and the exchange of gifts on that traditional basis; **[7]** Aias invokes his upbringing as reason for joy in the circumstance of facing Hektor; **[8]** Teukros' statement of eagerness draws tacitly upon the reputation evinced in **[4]** above, i.e. he is always eager; **[11]** Nestor's repetition of instruction reflects his earlier command (οὕτω) and also the need not to be χάρμα for one's enemies, a common heroic concern; **[17]** Priam (perhaps suspecting that his interlocutor is a god?) offers a *gnome* on the necessity to give gifts to the gods, as Hektor did, before he offers Hermes the cup.

πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε[ν]: **[104]** 18 examples: **[1]** 2.59, **[2]** 2.156, **[3]** 5.632, **[4]** 6.381, **[5]** 7.46, **[6]** *8.280*, **[7]** 8.426, **[8]** 10.140, **[9]** 11.429, **[10]** 11.440, **[11]** 11.522, **[12]** 13.306, **[13]** 14.189, **[14]** 15.13, **[15]** 23.68, **[16]** 23.235, **[17]** 24.485, **[18]** 24.682.[344] The speech is directed either towards getting the addressee to do something or convincing him of the truth of the speaker's opinion. There is often also a sense of rebuke of the addressee's failure to have performed the action, or inherent in the situation itself, and the addressee usually either obeys the instruction or acknowledges the force of the statement: **[1]** in Agamemnon's recounting of the Dream's instructions, we find the Dream's typical rebuke (as in **[15]** & **[18]**) so introduced. The speaker wants the addressee to get up and finds his continued rest unreasonable given his duties and the situation, and this happens on every occasion; **[2]** Here despatches Athene to prevent the premature return of the Greeks from Troy, for such a departure would be a rebuke to them in the scheme of the *Parisurteil*; **[3]** Tlepolemos abuses Sarpedon in their pre-combat flyting, as does Sokos Odysseus in **[9]** and Odysseus in return in **[10]**. In these situations, the self-assertion of the speaker is sought at the expense of the addressee. Tlepolemos' paradigm is indeed so powerful

[344] cf., in general, Martin 1989, p. 22f.

that Sarpedon is forced to differentiate its operation,[345] while Sokos' threat is answered by Odysseus' and confirmed by the result of the combat; **[4]** Hektor's ταμίη replies to his semi-indignant πῆι question[346] by telling him of her journey to the tower with Astyanax. In this situation, Hektor's self-conception depends upon the subordination of his wife (and so his family duties) to his duties to the city as its protector and indeed to himself as a hero.[347] The ταμίη reminds him, in preparation for the *Homilia*, of his identity as father, and the poet foreshadows for us the fact that Andromakhe is not the entirely submissive wife he seems - at least initially in this scene - to expect;[348] **[5]** in persuading Hektor to propose single combat, Helenos introduces his request in such a way as to suggest that the proposal is not entirely straightforward (ἦ ῥά νύ μοί τι πίθοιο),[349] while his reference to things mantic could an allusion to Hektor's later rather hasty attitude towards such matters. Certainly Helenos seems to be suggesting that Hektor is difficult to persuade, hence the insistence on their familial relationship and the fact that he heard the voice of the gods;[350] **[8]** Odysseus' swift arising and τίφθ' οὕτως question focuses on the unusualness of the situation and demands an explanation - indeed, an excuse - for it, which Nestor rapidly supplies;[351] **[11]** Kebriones, noting Aias' victorious rampage, rebukes Hektor for their current position and insists that they go to counteract him. Hektor does indeed respond, but studiously avoids confrontation with Aias (11.542), something for which he is elsewhere rebuked;[352] **[12]** as we have observed elsewhere,[353] the scene between Meriones and Idomeneus is coloured by heroic self-justification, and this theme is continued into the *aristeia* of the latter. Meriones here demands evidence from his leader of his heroic worth, though the answer, it seems, is not that straightforward; **[17]** Priam requests that Akhilleus respect his supplication, keeping in mind his own father and the precepts of the gods, and Akhilleus accepts both the parallel and the

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345 cf. above on 8.200-8 (200), pp. 105-10 [79/5].

346 cf. above on 8.91-6 (94), pp. 50-3 [37/1].

347 cf. above on 8.184-90 (190), pp. 97-9 [73/4].

348 cf. above on 8.184-90, pp. 97-8 n. 215.

349 cf. 4.93, 7.28 (ἀλλ' εἴ μοί τί πίθοιο), 14.190. On all three occasons, the speakers (Athene, Apollo, Here) entice the addressee (Pandaros, Athene, Aphrodite) to acquiesce, but without stating the full ramifications or true purpose of the action. In this case, Hektor is indeed fated not to die, but Apollo and Athene's intent is to put an end to the general battle. Perhaps we should assume that Helenos has deliberately failed to mention this fact in his relay; cf. below on 8.397-9, pp. 185-93 [130/7].

350 cf. Poulydamas' speech at 12.210f., esp. 211-14, and Hektor's reply at 12.230-50.

351 cf. below on 8.444-7 (447), pp 199-201 [138/4].

352 cf. esp. 17.166-8, and of course the duel in Book 7.

353 cf. above on 8.91-6 (94), p. 50-3 [37/6]; also above on 8.200-8 (200), pp. 105-10 [79/9] - [79/13].

supplication. The very unusualness of the situation, in that the father should be supplicating his son's killer, adds a tone of deep suffering and potential hostility to the entire encounter.

Offers of material reward: **[105]** 16 examples: [**1**] 1.127-9, [**2**] 1.213-4, [**3**] 4.97-9, [**4**] 7.172-4, [**5**] 7.363-4, [**6**] *8.289-91*, [**7**] 9.119-61, [**8**] 9.574-80, [**9**] 10.212-7, [**10**] 10.304-7, [**11**] 13.364-9, [**12**] 14.238-41, [**13**] 14.267-9, [**14**] 19.140-4, [**15**] 20.184-6, [**16**] 24.429-31.[354] Material reward is a common heroic consideration, as we have already observed above with regard to Hektor's desire to take Nestor and Diomedes' weaponry as an index of his honour,[355] and heroes often refer to previous gifts or favours (particularly in prayers) as an incentive for present action (e.g., 4.257-64). The current type of offer, where a specific item is proposed for an action, may of course be accepted: [**2**] Akhilleus is persuaded by Athene's prediction of three times the number of gifts should he restrain himself; [**3**] Pandaros is persuaded by Athene's suggestion of remuneration from Paris should he kill Menelaos; [**4**] Nestor's suggestion of rather indistinct benefit (ὀνήσεται [173]) for the one who faces Hektor leads into the casting of lots, for the volunteering has already taken place; [**9**] Nestor's offer of an ewe from each of the leaders induces volunteers for the *Doloneia* (as does Hektor's promise of a chariot and team in [**10**]); [**11**] Othruoneus' motivation in coming to the war was to gain Priam's Kassandra in marriage; [**13**] after an unsuccessful offer [**12**], Here proposes Pasiphae as a bride to Hypnos should he do what she wants; [**15**] Akhilleus assumes that Aineias has been persuaded to stand against him by the promise of hegemony in Troy or an allotment of land. Nor is the gift generally isolated, for κλέος is also frequently coupled with it, unsurprisingly given that material is an essential constituent of heroic status.

Equally, however, the gift may be refused, particularly because another inducement militates against its acceptance: [**1**] Agamemnon angrily refuses to be stripped of his prize in the hope of future remuneration, for he feels that this would place his honour below that of the other chiefs; [**5**] the Greeks refuse Paris' offer of partial and compensatory restitution, because Diomedes persuades them that, as oath-breakers, the Trojans are doomed; [**7**] Akhilleus of course refuses the gifts listed by Agamemnon and then Odysseus, because for him the issue is not simply one of gifts anymore; [**8**] Meleagros likewise refuses gifts to lay aside his wrath, whilst the gifts are on offer. The curse his mother has laid upon him understandably puts the issue beyond material

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354 cf. Strasburger 1954, p. 72f.; Fenik 1968, p. 131; Ulf 1990, p. 183; van Wees 1992, App. 4; also Hellmann 2000, pp. 161-4.

355 cf. above on 8.191-7, pp. 100-2.

compensation; **[12]** Here initially fails in her attempt to move Hypnos with the offer of an Hephaistian stool, for he remembers all too well what almost happened to him the last time Here had her way; **[16]** Hermes refuses to take the cup from Priam, who had offered it in order to secure safe passage to the Greek camp. Still in character, Hermes cites the wrath of Akhilleus should he accept the gift, and the audience already knows that this is his mission.[356]

Almost all of these examples are trying to initiate an action, and in fact only the current example and **[16]** break this rule. The audience, therefore, will infer the unsuitability of the offer in the circumstance of Book 8, and this example is in fact the only such offer made during the middle of the fighting itself.

282-6 His exhortation to Teukros τι φόως Δαναοῖσι γένηαι (282) is employed to rescue an obviously desperate situation, with perhaps an intimation of the harm the exhorted figure will thus incur. Agamemnon now reveals much of himself, for he introduces the promise with a forceful - and justified - belief in his authority to make that statement (σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἐξερέω, ὡς καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται [286]). In this case, the King again assumes an entirely appropriate authority and activity, but this renders all the more noticeable his earlier failure to respect or observe *precisely* this type of relationship with his greatest hero and, secondly, it shows him to be just as mistakenly concerned with the system of heroic honour and reward as Diomedes and Hektor.[357] Moreover, that he refers to Teukros' νοθεία (284)[358] here is another of the unsettling features about this *aristeia* (and his own

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356 cf. above on 8.145-7 (145), pp. 76-80, 77 n. 161 [57/44] - [57/46]; also Appendix 1.

357 cf. above on 8.236-41, pp. 126-7. Nor is his speech entirely successful, as we have seen and will see again in Teukros' reply; cf. Martin 1989, p. 116; also Taplin 1990; Rabel 1991, and above on 8.191-7 (195), pp. 100-2, 100 n. 220.

358 Zenodotos' text did not have the verse, and it was athetised by Aristophanes and Aristarkhos, because it was felt to be unflattering; cf. Σ A ad loc.; also Leeuwen [1912] ad loc., p. 287, and ad 12.371, p. 445; *contra*, Leaf [1904] ad loc., p. 352; van Thiel 1982, p. 283. That the mention of νοθεία may be out of place has a particular point, as we argue above. Wilamowitz 1916, p. 49, n. 1 (approved by Bolling 1925, p. 108) adds the objection that "mindestens würde das Pronomen σε [in 283 & 284] nicht wiederholt sein"; cf., however, 2.33-4, 9.679-70, 10.370-1, 13.463-5 (where it is used three times in successive verses), 19.288-9, 20.186-8 (also three times), 24.370-1 (with σείο also in 371), 24.542-3.

hortatory skill) for this fact is usually mentioned by poet in *propria persona* for a character at the moment of his death.

τι φόως Δαναοῖσι γέν[ηαι]: **[106]** 3 examples: [1] *8.282*, [2] 11.797, [3] 16.39.[359] [2] & [3] concern the sending out of Patroklos, the first spoken by Nestor, the second by Patroklos himself. The figure, had it some more examples, could be held to indicate a reversal to be suffered by the hero as he tries to bring that salvation to the Greeks - an analysis which would well concord with the current passage's such indications.

τετελεσμένον ἔσται: **[107]** 7 examples: [1] 1.212, [2] 2.257, [3] *8.286*, [4] 8.401, [5] 9.310, [6] 23.410, [7] 23.672.[360] These frames are frequently associated with threats (as in [2], [4], [6] & [7]), because the implicit expression of power is particularly appropriate. They are especially impressive when deities are speaking to humans or, in the case of Zeus, to other deities, for it is in these situations that their authority and knowledge are pre-eminent: [1] Athene predicts Akhilleus' honouring if he restrains himself; [4] Zeus expresses to Iris his threat towards Athene and Here. The prediction itself reveals much about the speaker's impression of his authority; [6] Antilokhos' threats to his horse-team are all predicated on the treatment *Nestor* will give them should they fail to perform; [7] Epeios, in making his challenge, acknowledges inferiority in battle whilst asserting his supremacy at boxing; [5] Akhilleus' response to Odysseus' speech is particularly important, for he expresses his desire to speak in order that they not waste their time talking on and on. His knowledge about the situation far exceeds theirs, and consequently his expression of self-determination is one of the most powerful in the poem. In effect, a speaker who makes this type of prediction is confident in the eventuality itself, and thus in the statement's persuasive power. The centrality of authority in this expression's connotative scheme is to be observed from the related expression εἰ δύναμαι τελέσαι γε καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔστιν, employed as a sign of conditional agreement to an unspecific request from a figure who has a position of influence over the speaker (14.196, {18.427}). In the first case Aphrodite responds positively, but with caution, to Here's introductory request (which in Here's next speech leads into the request for her

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[359] cf. Janko [1992] ad 16.297-300, pp. 355-6; also Lossau 1994, p. 87. We may also compare 15.741 and 18.202.

[360] cf. Latacz [2000]b ad 1.212, p. 94; cf. Richardson [1993] ad 23.410, p. 217. τετελεσμένον ἔσται is also found at 9.314, in Π 209 (s. ii), Π 762 (Byz.), as a v.l. in MS A, and indeed in most of the rest of the paradosis; cf. M West [1998-2000] ad loc., p. 266; on 8.454 (τετελεσμένον ἦεν), cf. below on 8.450-6, pp. 201-4, 202 n. 499; cf. also 1.388, 18.4; also below on 8.399-408, pp. 187-8.

girdle),[361] whilst in the latter Hephaistos affirms his debt to Thetis as reason for him granting any request. In each example, the action so specified is seen as a matter of personal power and divine licence.

νόθοι: **[108]** 10 examples: **[1]** 2.727, **[2]** 4.499, **[3]** 5.70, **[4]** *8.284*, **[5]** 11.102, **[6]** 11.490, **[7]** 13.173, **[8]** 13.694, **[9]** 15.333, **[10]** 16.738.[362] Whilst they are not explicily condemned or spurned in the poem, νόθοι are hardly conspicuous, and in fact Teukros is the *only* such figure not killed during the course of the battle, which is usually the context in which the parental comment is made (as in **[2]**, **[3]**, **[5]**, **[6]**, **[7]**, **[9]**). Only Medon is specifically labelled a νόθος more than once (in **[1]**, **[8]** and then **[9]** when he is killed), but others are mentioned without being so labelled: Kebriones **[10]** appears a number of times, as Antiphos **[5]** (4.489) and of course Teukros. Several of these names are found applied to more than one figure: Antiphos **[5]** is a Greek at 2.678, and a leader of the Maionians at 2.864 (not the same figure as the son of Priam in **[5]**), Medon **[1]** is also the name of a Trojan in a catalogue roused by Hektor at 17.216, whilst Pedaios **[3]** is the name of the place where Imbrios **[7]** lives. Priam is quite often the father of these characters (as in **[1]**, **[5]**, **[6]** & **[10]**; he is the father of Imbrios' νόθη bride **[7]**), as are other Trojan nobles (Antenor **[2]**); Medon is the son of Oileus, and Teukros of Telamon.

292-9 Teukros' reply (292-9) typically questions the need for encouragement with a reminder of previous behaviour to this end.[363] This dissatisfaction is signalled initially by the form of the speech introduction (τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη [292]), differentiated from the responsory τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα by expressing an increased determination to assert intention and / or status in the situation.[364] The synoptic summary (ἐξ οὗ | ἐκ τοῦ [295-6]) provides the character's perspective of his action since a pivotal moment, which unit is then contrasted with a present or future determination to comprise the next action in the

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361 cf. also above on 8.145-7 (145), p. 77 n. 161 [57/28]; also Appendix 1.

362 cf. Σ bT ad 8.284; cf. van Leeuwen [1912] ad 8.284, p. 286; also Strasburger 1954, pp. 23-4; also Ogden 1996, esp. pp. 21-6.

363 cf. above on 8.278-91, pp. 143-9.

364 cf. above on 8.145-7 (145), pp. 76-80. For detailed exemplification of that difference, cf. Appendix 1. As a part of his determination to fight on, and indeed to assert the needlessness of the exhortation, the τ[ο]ν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη introduction could well be resuming the potential character

narrative line. Given that the resolution of this *aristeia* has already been postponed, the introduction of Hektor (τοῦτον [299]) here foreshadows a direct and immediate confrontation between the two figures. It is, therefore, significant that Teukros has already asserted his willingness to fight in a form (δύναμίς γε πάρεστι [294]) used when the speaker is acknowledging the limit of his power in the face of a difficult or indeed impossible situation. In other words, he suspects that it is beyond his power to wound or even strike Hektor, illustrating an understanding far greater than any other character, but even so a determination reminiscent of Diomedes. The response as a whole provides the audience with an excellent portrait of the warrior, as well as more than an intimation of his departure from prominence.

τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος [προσέφη]: **[109]** 39 examples: **[1]** 1.84, **[2]** 1.130, **[3]** 1.215, **[4]** 1.285, **[5]** 1.560, **[6]** 2.369, **[7]** 4.188, **[8]** 5.764, **[9]** 5.814, **[10]** 6.520, **[11]** 7.283, **[12]** *8.292*, **[13]** 8.469, **[14]** 9.307, **[15]** 9.606, **[16]** 9.643, **[17]** 10.42, **[18]** 10.382, **[19]** 10.423, **[20]** 10.554, **[21]** 11.316, **[22]** 11.607, **[23]** 13.76, **[24]** 14.242, **[25]** 14.312, **[26]** 14.341, **[27]** 18.187, **[28]** 19.145, **[29]** 19.154, **[30]** 19.198, **[31]** 19.215, **[32]** 20.19, **[33]** 20.86,[365] **[34]** 21.222, **[35]** 22.182, **[36]** 23.93, **[37]** 24.64, **[38]** 24.138, **[39]** 24.299.[366]

Dissatisfaction need not stem from actual disagreement (as in **[2]**, **[5]**, **[9]**, **[14]**, **[15]**, **[16]**, **[19]**, **[24]**, **[28]** - **[31]** & **[33]**), and the speaker may only feel that the statement is inappropriate or reveals an inappropriate attitude (as in **[12]**), perhaps requiring modification or extension (as in **[4]**, **[8]**, **[11]**, **[20]**, **[23]**, **[25]**, **[26]**, **[27]**, **[34]**, **[35]**, **[36]**, **[38]** & **[39]**). These categories are not intended to be mutually exclusive but, in every case, the speaker views the previous statement in some way as inadequate and then sets forth his own opinion or intention as a response: **[1]** Akhilleus' promise to protect Kalkhas is intended to overcome the objections raised by the seer in the preceding speech, but could also be a clue to tension between himself and Agamemnon (cf.

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taint represented by Agamemnon's reference to his parentage. In other words, Teukros feels the need to counter what he sees as an undervaluation.

[365] cf. Appendix 1, p. 254 n. 8.

[366] cf. Edwards 1970, Riggsby 1994, Machacek 1994.

esp. 90-1; also below on **[22]** & **[32]**); **[7]** Agamemnon, though happy enough with Menelaos' report of his injury, does not deem that enough of a guarantee and summons the doctor to look at his brother; **[10]** Hektor, in reply to a fairly non-committal speech from Paris as they are about to rejoin battle, expresses his consternation at his brother's martial inconsistency;[367] **[14]** (and **[15]** & **[16]**) Akhilleus replies to Odysseus in terms which make clear his refusal to be swayed; **[20]** Odysseus' reply points out to Nestor that the capture of the horses was not the result of direct divine provision (Nestor's preferred explanation). Odysseus is particularly concerned in this episode with observing the measure of praise and blame, as he makes clear to Diomedes: μήτ' ἄρ με μάλ' αἴνεε μήτέ τι νείκει (10.249);[368] **[25]** upon being told by Here of her purpose, Zeus demands she put it off until another moment (also **[26]**, where her objections are directly overcome); **[28]** & **[30]** are Akhilleus' negative replies to gift offers made by Agamemnon, and are refuted both times by Odysseus in **[29]** & **[31]**;[369] **[34]** Skamandros' suggestion of leaving off killing the Trojans in his streams leaves Akhilleus untroubled and he simply leaps into the middle of the stream to continue the slaughter after stating his intention to keep on killing until he meets Hektor; **[37]** Here's anger at Apollo focuses on the greater honour due to Akhilleus for his divine parentage and extraordinary rearing, and whilst Zeus' reply concedes his greater status, yet he recognises the need for Hektor to receive his share of honour, as Apollo had demanded.

On several occasions, the hemistich is a clue to a tension between the speakers on the issue at hand which is evident in other passages but not explicitly mentioned within the exchange itself: **[32]** Poseidon's question to Zeus, whose reply is introduced by the hemistich, is a reversal of the usual practice that the summoner of an *agore* is the first speaker,[370] and is to be read in the light of their confrontation at 15.157ff. There is a strong hint of tension between these two, and Zeus' instructions in this case assert his superiority by ordering Poseidon and the other gods to the battlefield whilst he remains at his leisure.

δύναμίς γε πάρεστι: **[110]** 3 examples (2): **[1]** *8.294*, **[2]** 13.786, **[3]** 22.20,[371] **[4]** *Od.* 2.62, **[5]** *Od.* 23.128. In each case, the speaker acknowledges the limitations placed upon his actions by the presence or absence of δύναμις: **[2]** Paris, in reply to Hektor's abuse about his qualities, defends

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[367] cf. below on 8.483-4 (484), pp. 210-13 [148/4].

[368] Indeed, when Odysseus momentarily forgets himself and ascribes his punishment of Polyphemos to Zeus and the other gods in the *Odyssey* (9.479), R Friedrich 1991 argues that the toils to come are a direct result. Thus, abrogating the divine or asserting the certainty of divine aid is potentially hybristic; cf. also above on 8.143-4 (144), pp. 75-6 [56/10]; also Clay 1999.

[369] cf. Appendix 1.

[370] cf. above on 8.2-40, pp. 6-7.

[371] cf. above on 8.208-11 (208), pp. 110-12 [81/10].

himself on the grounds that ever since the battle was begun around the ships, he has been fighting as best he could. Beyond these limits, no man can fight. The situation itself is desperate, or depicted as so, since the leaders for whom Hektor has been searching are now either dead or wounded; [3] after Apollo has revealed himself and denied the possibility of revenge, Akhilleus counters that he would have had his revenge were the power in him. The glory of which the god has deprived him cannot be replaced, and the tension between the figures is enormous; [4] Telemakhos complains of the suitors' behaviour, which he would seek to counter, if he had the strength. It is of course the purpose of the scene as a whole to underline his impotence;[372] [5] in reply to Odysseus' urging to take thought of the situation now facing them, Telemakhos abjures his right to counsel and entrusts it all in his father, because of his famed μήτις. He nonetheless declares his readiness to follow as far as his inferior skills and qualities allow. Thus, his declaration of ὅση δύναμίς γε πάρεστι is to be read in the light of his earlier self-deprecation.

ἐξ οὗ | [ἐκ τοῦ] synopses: **[111]** 4 examples: [1] *8.295 (295-6)*, [2] 13.778 (778-9), [3] 24.638 (637-40), [4] 24.766 (765-7). The correlative clause of variable form, as the manner in which the unit is contrasted with a determination: [2] ἐξ οὗ fixes Hektor's attack on the ships as its pivot, the correlative (779) denotes their continuous efforts since that moment, and the unit as a whole is contrasted with his willingness that Hektor lead them on (νῦν δ' [784 et ff.]).[373] The final two examples are more complex; [3] ἐξ οὗ, which fixes the death of Hektor as its pivot, is preceded by a correlative which tells the audience that Priam has not closed his eyes (637), and followed by another such clause at 639-40. The contrast to his mourning period is provided by the fact that he has now tasted food and is ready for sleep (νῦν δή [641 et f.]). This request (for bedding preparations) had of course opened the speech, and now leads in ring-form back to its starting point. Priam's decision is an acceptance of his son's death and his own reintegration into society through the ritual of hospitality; it also leads naturally into the appearance of Hermes and their departure from the Greek camp; [4] ἐξ οὗ, after setting Helen's departure from her homeland as its pivot, is preceded by the statement that now is the twentieth year (765) since she left, but that during that time (767-72) Hektor has been kind to her (ἀλλ' οὔ πω [767]); this period is now finished, as she admits, since οὐ γάρ τίς μοι ἔτ' ἄλλος ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εὐρείῃ | ἤπιος οὐδὲ φίλος, πάντες δέ με πεφρίκασιν (774-5). Her point is that she is now without Hektor's protection, and the comment is almost certainly a reference to a stage when she will in fact lack this - i.e. the death of Paris.

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372 cf., e.g., S West [1988], p. 51 (also 128f., and ad loc.).
373 cf. above on 8.91-6 (94), pp. 50-3 [37/7].

300-15 The poet now returns Teukros to combat with two *androktasiai* of the *alienum vulnus* variety (300-8 / 309-15).[374] These successes are strongly connected with Diomedes' earlier slaying of this type (8.117-29), representing an increased doublet of that episode. Thus the earlier resolution of Diomedes' counterattack is summoned to the audience's mind, prepared as it is for the coming resolution of the *aristeia*.[375] The idea of reversal, which was achieved in the earlier sequence by Zeus and which has been slowly building up in the previous scenes, is now brought to bear by a more general structural association, and this type of information will in fact come to play an increasing role as the Book progresses.

300-8 The first *alienum vulnus* (300-8) is therefore highly significant, for it gives a clear indication that there is to be a reaction to this slaying from someone on the Trojan side.[376] The audience is led to expect Hektor's reaction, which is further fed by the almost unique simile applied to the victim (306-8), generally intimating a continuation of the killing-run, though it is left undetermined as to whether the next victory will be accorded to the Trojans or Greeks; the audience simply infers further *androktasiai* around the same theme or hero.

Similes with victim's fall in *androktasiai*: **[112]** 22 examples: **[1]** 4.462, **[2]** 4.482-9, **[3]** 5.161-4, **[4a]** 5.554-60, **[4b]** 5.560, **[5a]** 5.860-3, **[5b]** 5.864-6, **[6]** *8.306-8*, **[7]** 11.113-21, **[8]** 12.385-6, **[9]** 13.178-81, **[10]** 13.389-92, **[11]** 13.437-8, **[12]** 13.571-3, **[13]** 13.654-5, **[14a]** 14.413, **[14b]**

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[374] cf. above on 8.119-21 (119), pp. 63-5 [46/3] & [46/4].
[375] cf. above on 8.273-7, pp. 137-43.
[376] cf. above on 8.119-21 (119), pp. 63-5 [46/3].

14.414-8, **[15]** 16.406-10, **[16a]** 16.482-5 **[16b]** 16.487-91, **[17]** 16.742-3, **[18]** 16.823-8, **[19a]** 17.53-60, **[19b]** 17.61-9, **[20]** 17.520-3, **[21]** 20.403-6, **[22]** 21.493-6.[377] It should be noted that deities are the victims in **[5]** and **[22]**, and so the action described varies; **[5a]** the yell made by the wounded Ares, **[5b]** the image he gives as he flees, **[22]** Artemis' flight.

One of the most common image groups for these cases is the tree simile (as in **[2]**, **[4b]**, **[9]**, **[10]**, **[14b]**, **[16]** & **[19]**:[378] **[11]** is unusual, in that the poet describes the victim standing still as a pillar or a tree *before* he is struck),[379] but another common source is the violent interaction of lion, bull and man (as in **[3]**, **[4]**, **[7]**, **[12]**, **[16b]**, **[18]**, **[19b]**, **[20]** & **[21]**). These two groups express the qualities of youth, strength and the individual's death, but we also find images of the diver (as in **[8]** & **[17]**), and a number of unusual or unique similes as well - a tower **[1]**, worm **[13]**, spinning top **[14a]**, and the fisherman dragging out a fish **[15]**. In fact, there is no single dominant group for these similes.

The matter of their placement is, however, interesting, for it is noticeable that the simile occurs in these situations where the poet seeks variation within a run of *androktasiai*, following the encounter with either reciprocal *androktasiai* (where the victim's side reacts, as in **[1]**, **[2]**, **[4]**, **[6]**, **[9]**, **[12]**, **[13]**, **[19]** & **[20]**) or continuous *androktasiai* (where we find continued success for the victor and his side (as in **[3]**, **[5]**, **[7]**, **[8]**, **[10]**, **[15]** & **[21]**). Variation is obviously the poet's primary concern, e.g., in the fighting in Book 13, where we find no less than five examples. Nonetheless, the expectation of further combat is an important one, for the poet sometimes relies upon it on order to begin a reactivation (frequently through *Leichenkampf*), rather than simply following the encounter with more *androktasiai* immediately: **[11]** Deiphobos then goes to fetch Aineias and the battle is reactivated around the body of the victim (Alkathoos); **[14]** Hektor's fall signals further victory for the Greeks, which ensues shortly after his rescue; **[16]** Sarpedon's fall similarly is followed by a reactivation, but this time a Trojan rally in order to fight over his body; **[17]** Kebriones' death is followed by Patroklos' death **[18]**, and the consequences of it are the long *Leichenkampf* in Book 17. In other words, similes at these junctures are a sign of the poet's desire to vary the run of killing, but also to intimate to the audience that the killing-run, of which the

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[377] cf. Scott 1974, pp. 81-2; Janko [1992] ad 13.178-81, p. 69, ad 14.499, p. 222; Griffin 1976; Herzhoff 1999. We include only those similes employed *after* the victim has been struck (thus excluding similes of attack; e.g., 13.531), to describe either his fall or death. On several occasions, however, the poet constructs the simile in such a way as to connect the victim and the slayer within the image (as in, e.g., [112/20]) and/or through the continuation (as in, e.g., [112/19]), and so we include those double reference examples in our list.

[378] cf. Scott 1974, pp. 70-1; Morrison 1999, p. 133.

[379] cf. Janko [1992] ad loc., pp. 101-2.

simile-augmented *androktasia* is a part, is to continue on the basis either of reciprocity or continuation. It is surely significant that, though both Sarpedon and Patroklos are allotted one of these victim similes, Hektor is not.

309-19 In the second *androktasia*, Teukros kills the charioteer Hektor appointed after the parallel episode earlier in the book.[380] This causes the audience to focus upon him as the continuative figure, and interrupts the course of the battle whilst Hektor finds a replacement.[381] Despite the injunction during the *agore* at the start of day, Apollo's rather unheralded intervention (311) underlines the importance of Hektor's protection within the *Dios Boule*, something of which Teukros was himself suspicious.[382] Moreover, this briefly described intercession draws the audience back once again to the doublet association, as another deity negates nascent Greek challenges to the battle's direction. Combined with the charioteer's fall (ἤριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων· ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι [314]) and the consequent dependence of the coming narrative on this death, this translates in practical terms into some actual opposition either from the remaining member of the team or the gods.[383] Furthermore, the new charioteer's obedience (οὐδ' ἀπιθήσεν [319]) connotes the fulfilment of Hektor's ambitions or intentions.[384] Again the poet intimates the end of the *aristeia*, but he creates an important difference within the doublet, fulfilling the audience's expectation of divine opposition by placing it within the *androktasia*. Thus the responsibility for the actual reversal will not lie with gods, but with Hektor.

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380 cf. above on 8.119-21 (119), pp. 63-5 [46/4]. Reinhardt 1961, p. 167, & Willcock [1978] ad loc., p. 266 (and 1995, p. 119) believe that this double charioteer slaying also serves to focus the audience's attention on Kebriones in order to foreshadow his death in a similar manner in Book 16; cf. above on 8.122-5, p. 65 n. 128 on Bannert's theory in this regard. The constituents of this scene need no specific external reference; cf., e.g., Strasburger 1954, p. 77.

381 cf. above on 8.122-5 (122), pp. 65-7 [47/5].

382 cf. Fenik 1968, p. 67.

383 cf. above on 8.122-5 (122), pp. 65-7 [47/5].

Divine protection of a warrior: **[113]** 10 examples: [1] 4.127-33, [2] 5.662, [3] 7.272, [4] *8.311*, [5] 11.437-8, [6] 12.402-3, [7] 13.554-5 (and 562-3), [8] 15.461-4, [9] 15.521-2, [10] 20.438-41.[385] The god acts either from a special connection with the individual (as in [2], [5], [6], [9][386] & [10]) or his side (as in [1], [3], [4], [7] & [8]) - as far as such differentiation can or should be made - and may also have caused the individual to be in danger in the first place or initiated the action (as in [1], [3], [6] - [8] & [10]), though Zeus' actions may all be ascribed to his personal responsibility for the general state of affairs. In every case the divine protection emphasises the importance of the frustration and the figure so favoured or frustrated, for heroes are the type of people for whom the gods will routinely intervene. The figures are either destined to play a role beyond the *Iliad* (Poulydamas [9], Odysseus [5], Antilokhos [7] & Menelaos [1]) or are reserved to be killed at a later stage in the poem (Sarpedon [2] & [6]; Hektor [3], [4], [8] & [10]). Apollo is an appropriate deity in the current circumstances not only because of his continued favour to the Trojans, but also as the god of archery, in which role he deprives Teukros of the prize during the contest at 23.863.

320-9 He leaps down from his chariot, his cry (σμερδαλέα ἰάχων [321]) connoting an aggressive action / intention demanding a response or counteraction,[387] and in this case feeding upon the intimations of resolution with which the poet has hitherto festooned the narrative. Success is inevitable when he lifts a stone (ὃ δὲ χερμάδιον λάβε χειρὶ [321]), for a stone is typically the victor's weapon. Such casts need not be fatal, and the rescue of the incapacitated figure is then a common consequence, and here the only possible eventuality. Unsurprisingly, Teukros falls in a form predicting that rescue (στῆ δὲ γνὺξ ἐριπών [329]), and the fall of the bow from his hands in the same verse (ἔκπεσε χειρός

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384 cf. above on 8.112-7 (112), pp. 60-2 [43/12].

385 This list does not of course include those occasions when a god removes an endangered individual from battle; cf. above on 8.91-100, pp. 48-50 and 48 n. 92, and below on 8.330-4, p. 161 n. 397. There is no necessary disjunction between Apollo's action and 'Zeusverbot' at the opening of the day's play, as van Thiel 1982, p. 285, believes. Sudden protection from absent deities is very common; cf. Fenik 1968, p. 67; Schadewaldt 1966, p. 99f. (and 99 n. 2), Erbse 1986, p. 196f.

[329]) symbolises not only the failure of the activity[388] but the period of Greek ascendancy in itself.

The success of the action accompanied by σμερδαλέα ἰάχων is not guaranteed. The response (lacking only in **[35/3]** & **[35/7]**) is also variable in both nature and effectiveness (where that is a consideration). The libations poured by the Greeks after **[35/2]** are noticeably ineffectual, whilst Aineias' lifting of a stone after **[35/6]** is interrupted by Poseidon (cf. below). Thus the mere fact of reply, particularly in a martial context, does not guarantee the success of the counteraction: after **[35/1]** Aineias is defeated and then rescued, whilst in **[35/4]** Patroklos is effectively stymied by Apollo. Where there is no reply, however, the aggressor is simply allowed to continue on his winning way (as in **[35/3]** & **[35/7]**). Thus the importance of this figure is that it requires a response.

The airesis of the stone in this form makes a bond between **[35/1]**, **[35/3]** & **[35/6]**, with the lifting of a stone (ὃ δὲ χέρμαδιον λάβε χειρὶ) completing the second half of the line; in **[35/1]** and **[35/6]** the δέ is disjunctive, whilst in **[35/3]** it is connective. Each case relies upon the connotative power of the stone as the next action, on which cf. below, but the precise nature of that relationship is configured by the context.[389] This particular sequence seems to be typical when one of the participants (whether the aggressor or not) is to be rescued after the conflict, and in **[35/1]** & **[35/6]** the rescuing figure is a deity. This would play well with our analysis of Apollo's action within the last *androktasia*, which we thought on the doublet level replaced Zeus' earlier intercession on the Trojans' behalf, the poet this time highlighting the impact Hektor has on the course of events by introducing a sequence which would usually have a divinely performed conclusion. However, the examples are simply too few to be more certain.[390]

Stone as weapon: **[114]** 14 examples: **[1]** 4.517-26, **[2]** 5.302-10, **[3]** 5.580-3, **[4]** 7.263-7, **[5]** 7.268-72, **[6]** *8.321-9*, **[7]** 12.445-62, **[8]** 14.409-13, **[9]** 16.411-14, **[10]** 16.577-80, **[11]** 16.586-7, **[12]** 16.733-44, **[13]** 20.285-6, **[14]** 21.403-8.[391] There are two occasions where the poet

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386 cf. Janko [1992] ad loc., p. 285.
387 cf. above on 8.91-6, pp. 50-3 [35/3].
388 cf. above on 8.136-8 (137), pp. 68-70 [51/3].
389 cf. further Kirk [1990] ad 5.302, p. 91; Fenik 1968, pp. 33-5.
390 cf. above on 8.122-5, p. 65 n. 128; also on 8.169-71, p. 89 n. 194 for similar cases of caution when dealing with subdivisions of larger referential or structural entities.
391 cf. above for the close similarities between [114/2], [114/6] & [114/13].

departs from his practice, but these examples are purposeful and effective only because of the associations of the weapon. The first occasion is the duel between Hektor and Aias in Book 7 [**4**] & [**5**]: Hektor's cast [**4**] is unsuccessful and met by Aias' [**5**], which is the decisive moment in the duel (but for Apollo's intervention). This sequence is dictated by the basically tripartite patterning of the duel. In the first exchange, Hektor's cast of a spear (245-8) is balanced by Aias' own responsory cast (248-54); in the second, Hektor's lunge with his spear (258-9) is once again balanced by Aias' own lunge (260-2); in the third, Hektor's cast of a stone (263-7) is matched by Aias' more successful cast (268-71).[392] In each exchange, Hektor's first attack is always countered by a more powerful, more successful attack by Aias (notice that the poet generally spends more time in describing Aias' replies, and that he explicitly favours them, in that they tend to inflict more damage and be of greater threat). Thus, Hektor's stone cast would generate a certain amount of expectation of his victory in the audience, but the fact that his first two attacks were ineffective and countered by Aias' greater physical strength (and the poet does stress the relative imbalance in physical power between the two; cf. πολὺ μέζονα λᾶαν [268]) would lead to a conflicting expectation that his cast would fail to be decisive, and that Aias would in reply hurl a stone and be victorious.

A similar factor is at work in [**13**]. Aineias picks up a stone in response to Akhilleus' charge, but is prevented from throwing it by Poseidon's intercession. The point of this combat would seem to be to create an associative conflict between Akhilleus' interminable victories and Aineias' chance of winning in order to create excitement in the audience. This conflict is then quickly resolved by a negative contrafactual[393] which actually states the impossibility of Aineias' victory, thus returning the audience to more familiar contextual ground. Conflicting expectations seem once again to be a decisive factor in the poet's construction of these episodes.[394]

In [**7**], [**9**] - [**12**] the casts are immediately fatal, whilst the other examples are not; in [**1**] & [**3**] the incapacitated victim is despatched with a sword thrust, whilst non-fatal wounds leading to rescue are to be found in [**2**], [**4**] - [**6**], [**8**] & [**14**]. Only in [**13**] is the cast not made, where Poseidon prevents the cast by rescuing Aineias before he can do so (cf. above).

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392 cf. also Kirk 1978.
393 cf. above on 8.87-91 (90-1), pp. 46-8 [32/29].
394 cf. above, Introduction § II, pp. xix-xx.

[ἐ]στῆ [δὲ] γνὺξ ἐριπών: **[115]** 4 examples: **[1]** 5.309, **[2]** 5.357, **[3]** 8.329, **[4]** 11.355.[395] In every case, a wounded individual is rescued or reaches safety: **[1]** Aineias by Aphrodite; **[2]** Aphrodite by Ares and Iris; **[3]** Teukros by Aias; **[4]** Hektor by his own retreat.

330-4 Aias duly moves up to protect his half-brother (330-4). The rescue (i.e. removal from the field) of a wounded or endangered character is a common sequence, and always successful. Divine rescuers whisk the individual up and out of the battle, as is their wont, but mortally effected rescues usually require protection and then removal. Teukros is carried from the field groaning, and with him go Akhaian fortunes.[396]

Rescue by a third party: **[116]** 11 examples: **[1]** 3.374-82, **[2]** 5.311-8, **[3]** 5.344-6 | 432-48, **[4]** 5.353-66, **[5]** 5.663-7 | 692-8, **[6]** *8.330-4*, **[7]** 11.462-88, **[8]** 11.510-20, **[9]** 13.533-9, **[10]** 14.424-32, **[11]** 21.416-7.[397] On two occasions, both of them concerned with divine characters, the success of the rescue is qualified: **[11]** Athene prevents Aphrodite from leading Ares out of the battle, and the episode is hardly subject to the serious consequences of mortal battle; **[2]** is connected with **[3]** and **[4]**, and is the culmination of the divine support enjoyed by Diomedes since 5.124-32. The unusual (i.e., mortally caused) failure of a god to rescue a favourite augments (or indeed forms an important part of the audience's understanding of) the individuality of the hero's success. Aphrodite is herself rescued by Iris and then Ares **[4]**, after Apollo has caught up Aineias **[3]**. In sum, the figure is eventually rescued, and the poet uses the interruption and combination of three separate such sequences in order to emphasise the brilliance of Diomedes in Book 5.[398]

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[395] cf. Kirk [1990] ad 5.309-10, p. 92. The poet also uses γνὺξ ἔριπ' οἰμώξας twice (5.68, 20.417) of a fatally wounded figure.

[396] cf. Reinhardt 1961, pp. 188-9, esp. p. 189, n. 30.

[397] Rescue by a third party is closely related to the sequence in which the poet dispatches a character to the aid of an unwounded but endangered figure, and which generally does not end with the removal of the character from the field of battle (though cf. below); cf. above on 8.91-100, pp. 48-50; also Fenik 1968, pp. 33, 128, 160. We should also note the case of 13.418-23, which shows many phraseological and formulaic parallels with this current circumstance (8.331-4 = 13.420-3), but is the adaptation of that third party rescue to the protection of a corpse (despite 423; cf. Janko [1992] ad loc., pp. 99-100; Fenik 1968, p. 132) which is in itself a typical action: cf. 5.297-302, 17.4-8, 17.132-9.

[398] cf. above on 8.87-91 (90-1), pp. 46-8 [32/4].

The divine rescues are **[1]** - **[3]** & **[4]** (with a chariot journey for the wounded Aphrodite) & **[11]**. The figure is enclosed in a cloud (as in **[1]** and **[3]**) or protected by a piece of divine garment **[2]**; **[11]** is a parody of the sequence, and Aphrodite leads Ares by the hand (a feature also found in **[7]**). We should also remember here the three divine rescues which were classed earlier as examples of the sequence in which the poet sends a character to the assistance of an unwounded but endangered mortal:[399] **[33/8]** 20.291-340 (Poseidon / Aineias); **[33/9]** 20.443-54 (Apollo / Hektor); **[33/10]** 21.596-8 (Apollo / Agenor). We find the cloud in **[9]** & **[10]**, whilst in **[8]** Poseidon whirls Aineias over everyone's head after putting a mist before Akhilleus' eyes (20.321-2).

Mortal rescues comprise **[5]** - **[10]**. Protection is effected by the shield in **[6]**, **[7]** & **[10]**, and in **[9]** Polites uses his arms around Deiphobos' chest; **[5]** and **[8]** move immediately to the next stage, actual removal. This is accomplished by carrying the victim off the field (as in **[5]** & **[6]**) or carrying / leading him to a chariot and thence to safety (as in **[7]** - **[10]**).

335-49 Second and final Fluchtphase (Greek)

335 Following the wounding and withdrawal of the representative Greek warrior, the reversal of the entire army's fortunes is again ascribed to Zeus, who Τρωέσσιν / ἐν μένος ὦρσεν (335). Gods often intervene to begin a *Fluchtphase*,[400] and his action reminds the audience once again of Zeus' primary role in the conflict, connecting the passage firmly with the *Dios Boule*. So does the manner of the intervention, for an increase in μένος is rarely caused by Zeus. It is more usual for the other gods to play such an intimate and direct role in the vicissitudes of battle, and the effect of that intervention is of a similarly direct or indeed specific nature.

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[399] cf. above on 8.91-100, pp. 48-50.
[400] cf. above on 8.66-74, pp. 33-6 [22/8].

However, the text does not give us merely a one-sided perspective on the conduct or causation of the battle's course during this phase, for [ἐν]όρνυμι and μένος are not so coupled elsewhere in the poem, though the verb is often used in closely analogous situations. In short, the poet's choice of expression stresses the *Trojan* effort in this section of the fighting.[401] The resulting combination - that the fulfilment of the *Dios Boule* does not preclude mortal agency or achievement (in this case Trojan) - is a fundamental theme for the rest of the poem, and to be emphasised throughout this movement.

Divine aid (μένος): **[117]** 22 examples: **[1]** 5.2 (22/2), **[2]** 5.125 (22/2), **[3]** 5.513 (22/3), **[4]** 5.563 (22/2), **[5]** 7.38, **[6]** *8.335* (22/8), **[7]** 10.366, **[8]** 10.482 (ibid.), **[9]** 15.60, 232 & 262 (22/17), **[10]** 15.594 (22/18), **[11]** 16.529, **[12]** 17.451 & 456, **[13]** 19.37, **[14]** 19.159, **[15]** 20.80, **[16]** 20.93, **[17]** 20.110, **[18]** 21.145, **[19]** 22.204, **[20]** 23.390, **[21]** 23.400 (ibid.), **[22]** 24.442.

This list includes occasions where a god tells a mortal or a god that s/he will increase *menos*, whether that subsequent action is actually narrated (as in **[9]** & **[12]**) or not (as in **[2]** & **[5]**), as well as those where a mortal recalls such an occasion (as in **[14]** & **[16]**). The assistance may not be well-intentioned: **[4]** Ares' actions were designed to lead to Menelaos' death. On only one occasion does a mortal try to effect an increase in *menos*: [23.177] Akhilleus seeks to light the fire of Patroklos' pyre, and it would seem to be no coincidence that he fails to do so.

The action in each case is either explicitly directed, whether with a poetic statement of purpose or a contextual understanding (i.e., when the action is a response to a prayer), towards a specified purpose or (immediate) period of action (as in **[1]**, **[2]**, **[4]**, **[5]** & **[7]** - **[22]**), or simply manifested immediately by the individual(s) (as in **[3]** & **[6]**). The only occasion where the action seems to have more than this delimited efficacy is **[10]**, once again where Zeus is urging the Trojans on. This passage occurs before the final Greek retreat to the ships **[22/18]**, in which Zeus plays a very close role in the course of the battle (as in that Book generally; cf. esp. 15.637-8).

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[401] It is obviously significant that the poet chooses to tell the audience that Zeus roused the Trojans' μένος, for he was perfectly at liberty to say ἆψ δ' αὖτις Δαναοῖσιν Ὀλύμπιος ἐν φόβον ὦρσεν; cf. 11.544, 13.362, 14.522.

Whilst the poet summarises (αἰὲν [592]) Zeus' actions, he is also directing them to this final movement.

Rout (ὤρσε[ν]): **[118]** 7 examples: [1] *8.335*, [2] 11.52-3, [3] 11.544, [4] 13.362, [5] 14.522, [6] 15.62, [7] 15.366, [8] 18.218.[402] In each case, the poet introduces a victorious period of fighting for the individual: [3] begins Aias' retreat and the inexorable Greek retreat which closes the book; [4] begins Idomeneus' *aristeia*; [5] describes Aias *minor*'s skill at killing people in rout, as the Greek leaders each enjoy an *androktasia*;[403] [6] Zeus is predicting Apollo's rout of the Greeks (realised in [7]); [8] it is unclear as to whether Akhilleus or Athene is to be regarded as the subject of ὤρσε[ν].[404] It makes little difference to the current argument, but it is surely another example of Akhilleus' exceptional nature in an episode which relies upon that quality.

336-42 To begin with, the Trojans incline the battle and force the Greeks back (336), before a simile denotes Hektor's rampage across the field (337-42). Frequently used in pursuit situations, similes express the hero's effect on the opposing mass and emphasise the individual's excellence in dominating and driving the narrative.[405] However, the chosen image (dog) is somewhat ambiguous, the poet combining the heroic potential of the pursuit and a very subtle qualification of its efficacy and nature, and implying in effect a mismatch between his ambitions and abilities. This impression is then reinforced by the application to Hektor of the phrase σθένει βλεμεαίνων (337) expressing the overwhelming might of the agent to whom or which it is applied, but often in contexts where the action itself is imprudent or otherwise questionable.

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402 [ἐν]όρνυμι is not confined to these contexts (another is lamentation: cf. 6.499, 23.14, 23.108, 23.153, 24.507), nor is the preposition inevitably found with the verb. When, however, the phrase expresses the flight of one side, the poet always uses the preposition (in tmesis or not) with φόβον, φύζαν or κυδοιμόν (once used to denote the entirety of the battle [118/1]) and a dative noun to denote the individual or group.

403 cf. above on 8.267-77, pp. 137-43 [100/8].

404 cf. Edwards [1991] ad loc., p. 171; also Scott 1974, pp. 72-3.

405 cf., e.g., 5.87-94, 11.155-9, 13.137-42 etc.; also Krischer 1971, pp. 52-8; Lonsdale 1990.

Dog similes: **[119]** 24 examples: [1] 3.23-8, [2] 5.476, [3] *8.338-42*, [4] 10.183-8, [5] 10.360-4, [6] 11.292-5, [7] 11.324-7, [8] 11.414-20, [9] 11.548-57, [10] 12.41-9, [11] 12.145-52, [12] 12.299-306, [13] 13.198-202, [14] 13.471-6, [15] 15.271-80, [16] 15.579-83, [17] 15.586-9, [18] 17.61-9, [19] 17.109-13, [20] 17.281-5, [21] 17.657-66, [22] 17.725-34, [23] 18.577-89,[406] [24] 22.189-93.[407]

Often the identification of one of the parties in the simile narrative is difficult: [1] on seeing Paris, Menelaos rejoices as a lion in spite of the dogs and hunters. Is Paris to be equated with the latter group? [13] the equation of the dogs with the Trojans is very oblique; [14] Aineias is apparently the dogs and hunters for whom Idomeneues (boar) awaits; [17] is Hektor the crowd of men and dogs whose onset causes Antilokhos to retreat? [21] though pressured by the Trojans, the simile really focuses on Menelaos' movement to find Antilokhos. Thus, the idea of connotation rather than comparison or identification between simile and narrative becomes a suggestive way of moving forward.

Dogs are only used in pursuit similes and are usually portrayed as working in a pack, whether with men (as in [1], [4], [6], [8] - [12], [14], [15], [17] - [23]) or not (as in [2], [7] & [13]). Hence the dogs generally represent the group against whom the emphasised individual is (re)acting, and they may or may not be in the ascendant: [4] the guards remain awake waiting for the Trojans as dogs for a beast; [6] Hektor (hunter) sets the Trojans (dogs) on a lion or boar (Greeks); [9] Aias (lion) put to flight by Zeus and the Greeks (dogs and hunters); [13] the Aiantes take Imbrios as lions take the prey from dogs; [15] Hektor (lion) puts Greeks to flight (dogs and hunters); [19] Menelaos (lion) retreats from Patroklos' body under Trojan pressure (dogs and hunters); [20] Aias (boar) charges forward and puts the Trojans (hunters and dogs) to flight; [23] the dogs shrink from facing the lion. When the dog acts in co-ordination with humans, success is indeterminate, and the power or strength of the animal against which their efforts are directed is still emphasised.

However, it is noticeable that, when there is no such link, the dogs are uniformly unsuccessful: [2] Sarpedon's abuse is directed at the fact that Hektor and his family have scattered as dogs around a lion; [7] Odysseus and Diomedes scatter the Trojans (hunting dogs); [13] the Aiantes easily take possession of Imbrios, as lions take their prey from dogs. Moreover, it is only in [3], [5], [16] & [24] that the dog image is applied to an emphasised and aggressive

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[406] This is a scene from the shield of Akhilleus, included because it is obviously related to the animal narratives such as we find in similes.

[407] cf. Fränkel 1921, pp. 68-9; Faust 1970; Krischer 1971, pp. 52-8, esp p. 55; Lilja 1976, pp. 13-36, esp. pp. 22-3; Lonsdale 1990, p. 77f.; also Graver 1995.

individual(s): **[5]** Diomedes and Odysseus chase Dolon (hare or doe); **[16]** Antilokhos attacks Melanippos (fawn); **[24]** Akhilleus chases after Hektor (fawn). In all those cases, the warrior is facing a single enemy, and the dog attacks a clearly weaker animal. Thus, the connotation represented by the current simile is an ambiguous one, intended to reinforce previous intimations about the delusion under which Hektor labours.

σθένει βλεμεαίν[ων]: **[120]** 6 examples: **[1]** *8.337*, **[2]** 9.237, **[3]** 12.42, **[4]** 17.22, **[5]** 17.135, **[6]** 20.36.[408] The expression has an uncertain status, representing characters involved in actions which are, or will turn out to be, imprudent or inappropriate: **[3]** Hektor is unable to cross the ditch, and requires the rally suggested by Poulydamas to achieve any further gain.[409] We might of course reflect that all of Hektor's military activity will bring him to his doom; **[5]** Aias strides to protect Patroklos, a role which will place him in considerable danger, as he says at 17.237ff., when the battle is rejoined. This does not mean that he had any other choice, of course, merely that such action necessarily exposes him to great risk;[410] **[6]** Hephaistos limps to the *theomakhia*, during which his only action will be to blast the waters of Skamandros in favour of Akhilleus - an action questioned, after a certain point, even by Here. On two occasions, speakers utilise the figure for a rhetorical purpose: **[2]** in attempting to persuade Akhilleus to rejoin battle, Odysseus paints the darkest picture possible of Hektor's victorious progress across the field, and applies the phrase to him to underline an uncautious belief in his great prowess; **[4]** in his plaint to Zeus about Euphorbos' excessive boasting, Menelaos reckons his adversary's estimation of *menos* as above that of a leopard, lion or boar, οὔ τε μέγιστος | θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι περὶ σθένει βλεμεαίνει (21-2). Both of these passages imply of course that the subject is misguided in this confidence, for he is not the invincible force he seems to think he is.[411]

Hektor's advance here helps to fill out the preliminary depiction of his character before his greatest triumph on the next day. Just as Agamemnon's behaviour during this Book has shown a tension between his responsibilities as King and a failure to fulfil that duty adequately, so Hektor has exhibited an overconfidence and misunderstanding about the

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[408] cf. Ameis-Hentze [1907] ad loc., p. 63; Kirk [1990] ad loc., pp. 325-6; also Patzer 1996, pp. 122-3; Clarke 1995, p. 138.

[409] Indeed, Poulydamas suggests that the Trojans are in danger at this point in the fighting (12.60f.).

situation which will drive him to his death. What has been missing is an illustration of his heroic fighting ability, provided now by this typical but uncertain description of his pursuit of the Greeks back into their camp.[412]

343-9 This phase of the battle is now ended with a conjunction unit (αὐτὰρ ἐπεί [343]) marking the closure of the preceding action before the succeeding clause introduces its climax or next stage. These are progressions, not transitions, and so the agent(s) and / or issues prominent before the pairing continue to be prominent after it. The audience are thus keyed to the end of the pursuit, and begin to anticipate the action or intervention which will not only conclude the retreat but signal a counterattack. This is confirmed by the halting itself (345-7), which describes the retreating side reaching an established topographical position, one of several methods for constructing the end of a *Fluchtphase*.[413] However, halting alone is never a sufficient cause for the rally, each example requiring another parainetic intervention before a counterattack.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεί: **[121]** 70 examples: **[1]** 1.458, **[2]** 1.464, **[3]** 1.467, **[4]** 1.469, **[5]** 1.484, **[6]** 1.605, **[7]** 2.317, **[8]** 2.421, **[9]** 2.427, **[10]** 2.430, **[11]** 2.432, **[12]** 3.1, **[13]** 4.124, **[14]** 4.217, **[15]** 6.83, **[16]** 6.178, **[17]** 6.349, **[18]** 7.148, **[19]** 7.207, **[20]** 7.319, **[21]** 7.323, **[22]** *8.343*, **[23]** 9.92, **[24]** 9.177, **[25]** 9.212, **[26]** 9.215, **[27]** 9.222, **[28]** 9.707, **[29]** 10.574, **[30]** 11.191, **[31]** 11.206, **[32]** 11.225, **[33]** 11.267, **[34]** 11.478, **[35]** 11.780, **[36]** 12.13, **[37]** 12.143, **[38]** 13.174, **[39]** 14.187, **[40]** 14.280, **[41]** 14.383, **[42]** 15.1, **[43]** 15.279, **[44]** 15.320, **[45]** 15.395, **[46]** 15.549, **[47]** 16.187, **[48]** 16.198, **[49]** 16.246, **[50]** 18.349, **[51]** 18.609, **[52]** 18.614, **[53]** 19.19, **[54]** 19.54, **[55]** 20.47, **[56]** 20.318, **[57]** 20.337, **[58]** 21.377, **[59]** 21.383, **[60]** 21.534, **[61]** 22.462, **[62]**

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[410] There may be a reference here to the death of Aias after the contest for the arms of Akhilleus, for it was precisely in this role that Aias rescued the corpse from the Trojans.

[411] cf. Clarke 1995, p. 150.

[412] cf. also Fenik 1968, p. 90f.

[413] cf. above on 8.66-74, pp. 33-6.

23.10, [**63**] 23.57, [**64**] 23.127, [**65**] 23.161, [**66**] 24.513, [**67**] 24.547, [**68**] 24.628, [**69**] 24.633, [**70**] 24.790. The conjunction pairing signals a progression from the action which it summarises to a new action, whose relationship to the previous may be of several types: [**12**] at the end of the catalogue in Book 2, the progression denotes the marshalling represented by the catalogue and introduces the final advance of the armies (3.2-7 [Trojans], 3.8-9 [Greeks]; similarly [**48**]); [**21**] after the meal which begins the council (7.320-2), the progression denotes the end of the meal and introduces the speeches (324f.). The same progression verse is used also in [**4**], [**11**], [**23**], [**27**], [**62**] & [**68**] (cf. also [**35**]), followed by a variety of post prandial actions: [**34**] during the pursuit simile applied to Odysseus, the prior narrative concerns the pursuit of the wounded stag which flees the jackals as long as the blood is warm (11.476-7), before the progression denoting the end of that activity when the arrow δάμασσε him and he is no longer able to flee, whereon the jackals feed. A similar progression is employed in [**33**]; [**42**] the pursuit of the Trojans is the prior period, and the progressive clause (15.1-2) denotes the end of that pursuit, as they halt at their chariots (3-4) and Zeus wakes up (4-5);[414] [**51**] the construction of the shield is the prior act, the progressive clause denoting the end of that activity and introducing the construction of the other items (18.610-13). Then another progression [**52**] summarises the entire activity before Hephaistos gives the arms to Thetis, who promptly delivers them to Akhilleus (18.615ff.). Progressions may also be linked together as the parts of a multiple stage process, e.g. the preparation of a meal / sacrifice (as in [**1**] - [**3**], [**8**] - [**10**] & [**25**] - [**26**]), though we also find meals composed of only one progression [**23**].

The continuation of agent(s) and/or issues is universal: [**5**] the journey home of the ship (prior) and the packing away of the ship (subsequent); [**25**] the preparation for the fire (prior) proceeds into the cooking of the meat (subsequent); [**36**] the wall remained whilst Hektor was alive (prior), but when he was dead Apollo and Poseidon destroyed it (subsequent); [**43**] Greeks in advance (prior) is followed by their slow retreat (subsequent). Transitions of character and action can occur after subsequent action is denoted, but will usually be expressed within a μέν | δέ progression which extends the thematic umbrella of the prior issue or action; [**42**] the open rout of the Trojans (prior) proceeds into their halting (οἱ μέν [15.3-4]), and Zeus wakes up (ἔγρετο δὲ Ζεύς [4]) as the first step before their counterattack; [**15**] Helenos instructs Hektor to steady the Trojan ranks (prior), after which they will stand and resist (ἡμεῖς μέν [6.84-5]) whilst Hektor (Ἕκτορ ἀτὰρ

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[414] cf. below; [22/16].

σύ [86]) proceeds into the city. In these and other cases the μέν | δέ progression connects the two agents around the fulcrum of the continuation.

We often find a rally at a prominent point to resolve a 'Fluchtphase': **[22/6]** Greeks in the camp (8.213-6), **[22/8]** Greeks in the fortifications (8.345-7), **[22/16]** Trojans to their chariots beyond the trench (15.3-4), **[22/17]** Greeks at the ships (15.367-9), **[22/18]** Greeks at the huts and the rear ships (15.655-8), **[22/27]** Trojans in the city (22.1-3). We also find this prominent topographical mark in **[22/9]** in a doublet:[415] as the Trojans reach Σκαιάς τε πύλας καὶ φηγὸν (11.170) there is a partial halting (171), before we turn to back to those still on the plain (172), being chased by Agamemnon. The halting of this group does not begin until they too reach the city (11.181-2), at which point Zeus intervenes by encouraging Hektor to make the requisite exhortation (211f.). Notice also that the pursuit of Hektor in Book 22 begins its resolution ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπὶ κρουνοὺς ἀφίκοντο (208), when Zeus weighs the fates and dispatches Athene to the field.[416] The closest parallels for this current situation are **[22/16]** & **[22/17]**, with a range of phraseological parallels (8.343-5 ~ 15.1-3, 8.345-7 ~ 15.367-9).[417]

These topographically centred rallies are supported by further parainesis: **[22/6]** Here puts it into Agamemnon's mind to exhort his men, and the resulting omen from Zeus encourages them to the point that they make a counterattack; **[22/9]** the halting becomes a rally because of Zeus' intervention and instructions to Hektor, but the counteraction therein foreshadowed does not begin until Agamemnon is wounded; **[22/16]** Zeus wakes and then removes Poseidon from the field and gets Hektor back into gear; **[22/17]** is rather more complex, making Nestor utter a successful prayer which leads, paradoxically, to greater Trojan efforts. This is the state of affairs noticed by Patroklos (at 15.390f.), and the battle remains even until later in the Book. The reversal is thus delayed but foreshadowed in the character of Patroklos: **[22/8]** Nestor offers another exhortation, after which Aias advances to carry on a lone delay of the inevitable firing; **[22/27]** there is no further counteraction offerred by the Trojan side.

348-9 Before this occurs, we return to Hektor wheeling around outside the camp (348-9). This passage is designed to delay the intervention and recall the earlier pattern of battle, specifically the description of halting as the Greeks were penned into the camp (213-5),

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[415] *pace* Hainsworth [1993] ad loc., pp. 231-2.
[416] cf. above on 8.169-71, pp. 88-90 [67/11]; also on 8.69-77, pp. 38-40 [25/4].

and penned there by Hektor (215-6), before a contrafactual leading into Here's indirect intervention (217f.).[418] Moving a little further back into that last Trojan advance (198f.), we found the delayed resolution was begun by Here's suggestion to Poseidon that they intervene, an interlude designed to foreshadow the conclusion of Hektor's advance.[419] The common intercessionary factor in these previous events was the figure of Here, whose role in the doublet suggests another imminent attempt on the narrative.

350-437 Here and Athene attempt to intervene; preparations for journey to the battlefield (350-96), Zeus sends Iris to stop them (397-425), and they return (426-37).

350-6 The audience is not to be kept waiting, for Here's reaction (τοὺς δ' ἰδοῦσ' ἐλέησε [350]) typically introduces divine interventions of which the prior stage is a speech expressing that emotion and a counteractive intention.[420] The success of the resulting action is not guaranteed, but the same cannot be said of the character's desire, reinforced now by the speech introduction (ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα [351]), signalling the implementation of that pity, or at least its assertion through speech on another character.[421] Given Here's

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417 cf. Kirk [1990] ad 8.343-7, p. 326, for arguments about priority.

418 cf. above on 8.213-6 et ff., pp. 115-16ff.

419 cf. above on 8.198-212f., pp. 100-115ff.

420 Diller 1965, p. 147, believes that "die Here-Athene Szene von einem späteren Rhapsoden dem Buch Θ hinzugefügt wurde" and so everything from this point until 8.485f. is an interpolation; cf. Willcock 1995; Myres 1932, p. 275; Stanley 1993, pp. 104-5. O'Brien 1993 does not deal with this joint attempt by Here and Athene to counteract the *Dios Boule* here in Book 8, though she describes much of what Here does in the *Iliad* as a somewhat comic reduction of her primordial powers; cf. above on 8.199, p. 104 n. 235. We suggest that these references are a subtle reminder of Here's potential for trouble; cf. also below on 8.357, pp. 173-4 n. 127. The net result, of course, is the illustration of Zeus' dominance, but that this has not always been the case adds considerably to the importance of the current tale and its configuration of the *Dios Boule*.

421 cf. above on 8.101-11 (101), pp. 56-60 [41/17].

earlier recalcitrance, the postponed conflict with Zeus seems now somewhat inevitable. This retrospective attitude is more generally significant, for it is typical of these reactions that the theme discussed by the speaker has already been mentioned or emphasised, and the intervention marks the resumption and completion of that earlier theme at a critical moment. The audience thus look to Here's reaction and her exchange with Athene as the climactic manifestation of their previous statements and attitudes, furthered by another ὤ πόποι exclamation (351), a typical introduction to speeches expressing an awareness that all is not as it should be and, usually, a determination to intervene.[422]

[ἰδὼν] | ἐλέησε[ν]: **[122]** 7 examples: **[1]** *8.350*, **[2]** 15.12, **[3]** 15.44, **[4]** 16.431, **[5]** 17.441, **[6]** 19.340 (41/42), **[7]** 24.332.[423] **[3]** is a partial exception, falling within Here's self-exculpation and detailing her understanding about the cause of Poseidon's intervention. The speech is not of fixed form, and may be either a statement of intention to intervene (as in **[5]**) or an instruction / suggestion to another character to that end (as in **[1]**, **[2]**, **[4]**, **[6]** & **[7]**), and there may be a reply (as in **[1]**, **[2]** & **[4]**). In other words, though the use of direct speech to elucidate the emotion is common enough to be a constant, there is considerable flexibility in its nature and extent.

There is no predetermination of success: in **[1]** Athene and Here fail to intervene, while in **[4]** Zeus's suggestion is immediately refuted, though on every other occasion the instruction / suggestion is acted upon and successfully: **[2]** Zeus immediately sends Here on her way; **[3]** Here explains Poseidon's intervention in the battle as the result of his own pitying of them; **[5]** Zeus indirectly removes the horses of Akhilleus from the battle; **[7]** Zeus despatches Hermes to Priam's aid. This does not allow us to be certain that success is part of this expression's associative range,

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[422] cf. above on 8.200-8 (201), pp. 105-10 [80/9]. It is interesting, therefore, that she depicts the Greek plight in somewhat the same terms as Athene had in the *agore* and as she herself will later in this book (οἵ κεν δὴ κακὸν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες ὄλωνται [354]): 8.354 = 8.34 & 8.465, and 8.32-7 = 8.463-8. This verse is found only in Book 8 and links these three examples of concern for the Greeks, which together amount to a continuous source of associative meaning which seems to be derived solely and specifically from this section of the narrative. Though we are concerned in this thesis with generic referentiality, the audience is being directed through these speeches towards the progression in Here's understanding of the *Dios Boule*.

[423] cf. Kirk [1990] ad 8.350, p. 327; τὸν δὲ πέσοντ' ἐλέησε[ν] is also used when the character responds to the death of a comrade with an advance and retaliatory cast (5.561, 5.610, 17.346, 17.352).

although it would certainly make this current episode far more exciting.[424] Nonetheless, the desire of the character to intervene even in [1] & [4] is not to be doubted: [4] Zeus' expression of regret for Sarpedon's impending doom and implicit suggestion of rescue is contradicted by Here. Far from undermining our associative link, Zeus' emotional reaction (and the subsequent interchange) is heightened by the intimation that he could well intervene. This in turn emphasises the importance of his restraint, as Here outlines in no uncertain terms (439-57; notice particularly her exclamation at 440 [ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες]).[425]

These speeches represent the culmination or resumption of prominent themes hitherto in the narrative: [1] Here and Athene's concern mirrors almost exactly those expressed by Athene in the *agore* at the opening of Book 8, and resumes the suggestions made by Here at 8.198-211; [2] the sight of Hektor on the plain resumes the description of his retreat made at 14.414-32, was the very purpose of the *Dios Apate* itself, and Hypnos was dismayed at the thought of Zeus' reaction (14.242f.); the exceptional nature of [3] has already been mentioned, but it draws on the same type of associations as the previous example, in this case Poseidon's surreptitious intervention from 13.10f., which becomes overt once Zeus is otherwise occupied during the *Dios Apate*; [4] that Zeus should pity his own son is understandable, but recalls his earlier prediction (15.67) that the dead Sarpedon will be the focus of the battle, at the very moment at which he is to die; [5] Zeus pities the immortal nature of Peleus' horses as they weep for Patroklos, which has been emphasised by itself at 16.387 & 867 (not to mention 10.321-3 & esp. 401-4) and is surely part of the wider range of symbols indicating Patroklos' mortality during his *aristeia* (the failure to take Akhilleus' spear etc.), and by extension that of Akhilleus as well; [6] Zeus moves to counteract Akhilleus' earlier refusal (esp. 19.209-14 & 319-21) to take food before erupting into battle; [7] Zeus' pity of Priam's mission has everything to do with the fact that he sent him on it (cf. 24.143-58, esp. 152-3, where the very action is predicted)! We do not pretend that the resumption is of a regular type or determined in a fixed pattern, merely that the audience is directed back to those earlier suggestions as a means of interpreting the present divine intervention and its place within the action's progress.

The progression in the action is ubiquitous: [1] Here and Athene now attempt to act upon their earlier statements; [2] Zeus initiates the final Trojan advance to the burning of the ships; [3] is a partial exception, in that the intervention has already taken place, but is intimately bound up

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[424] cf. below on 8.382-96, pp. 182-4.
[425] cf. above on 8.208-11 (209), pp. 110-12 [82/6].

with his surreptitious aid and the course of the *Dios Apate*; [**4**] the refuted suggestion to save Sarpedon is the hero's last chance, as the two protagonists leap at one another; [**5**] the removal of the divine prize of the horses is a symbol of the limits of honour which Zeus will grant to Hektor and which he details at 17.453-5; [**6**] the sustenance of Akhilleus with divine food serves the double purpose of showing the gods' favour to him as he is about to fulfil the *Dios Boule* (and such favourable actions are common at the start of *aristeiai*; cf. e.g., 5.1-8, 11.45-6), and underlining the necessity for food in these circumstances (pointed out at length by Odysseus during the *agore* in Book 19), and so, inexorably, his mortality, at the very moment at which he seals his own fate (cf. 18.97f.); [**7**] the necessity for Hermes' presence as a guide reinforces the awesome nature of the journey undertaken by Priam here, and is set in train precisely when he is needed, as night falls (24.351).

357 Here does not actually suggest that they intervene in the battle, she simply summarises the Greek position and makes clear her dissatisfaction with it. It is left to Athene to go that further step,[426] her predisposition to which being indicated by the responsory formula (τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν [357]), for this expression is a signal that the responder will, or wants to, align him or herself in a co-operative relationship with the prior speaker. Whatever Athene will say, it will preserve and assert their anti-Trojan solidarity. Coupled with earlier intimations, both in this book and the rest of the poem, the potential conflict with Zeus comes closer.[427]

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[426] Lohmann 1970, pp. 149-50; cf. next note and below on 8.423-5 (423), p. 192-3, 193 n. 478.

[427] Athene's participation runs somewhat against the depiction of her elsewhere, for she is particularly closely connected with her father, as e.g., in the myth of her birth from Zeus' head in Hesiod (*Theogony* 924-6; cf. also *Hom. Hy. to Athene* [28]). In fact, her relationship with Zeus is far more complicated, and she is intimately bound up with the continuation and very existence of Zeus' power; cf. esp. *Theogony* 886f., in which she represents the child born after his assumption and consumption of Metis, thus breaking the generational change in the Succession Myth; cf. Bonnafé 1985, esp. ch. 5, on the importance for his reign of Zeus' sexual control over the other gods, and p. 84 with regard to his consequently close relationship with Athene; also M West 1997b, pp. 276-305 for Near Eastern parallels. Hence, Athene is the embodiment of Zeus' success and power, and Hesiod links her birth with Here's wrathful parthenogenesis of Hephaistos (*Theogony* 927-9), though this eventuates in the *Hom. Hy. to Apollo* (350f.) in the birth of Typhaon. Furthermore, the natural association of Athene wth Zeus' hegemony is reflected also in the admittedly much later *Hom. Hy. to Athene* [28], 9ff., which narrates her birth and specifically its effect on Olympos

τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν]: **[123]** 42 examples: **[1]** 1.206, **[2]** 3.58, **[3]** 5.179, **[4]** 5.229, **[5]** 6.332, **[6]** 6.440, **[7]** 7.33, **[8]** 7.37, **[9]** 7.233, **[10]** 7.287, **[11]** *8.357*, **[12]** 9.114, **[13]** 9.676, **[14]** 10.64, **[15]** 10.119, **[16]** 10.168, **[17]** 10.248, **[18]** 10.412, **[19]** 11.837, **[20]** 13.774, **[21]** 14.64, **[22]** 14.211, **[23]** 14.263, **[24]** 15.205, **[25]** 15.253, **[26]** 17.560, **[27]** 18.94, **[28]** 18.183, **[29]** 18.196, **[30]** 19.184, **[31]** 20.103, **[32]** 21.461, **[33]** 21.511, **[34]** 22.177, **[35]** 22.232, **[36]** 22.238, **[37]** 24.217, **[38]** 24.378, **[39]** 24.389, **[40]** 24.410, **[41]** 24.432, **[42]** 24.668.[428]

The range of situations in which we find these responses is great, and the categories below should not be considered mutually exclusive. There are agreements with requests for information or instruction (as in **[1]**, **[7]**, **[13]**, **[14]**, **[18]**, **[21]**, **[25]**, **[28]**, **[29]**, **[33]**, **[39]** & **[40]**), with rebukes which may directly or indirectly suggest action (as in **[2]**, **[3]**, **[5]**, **[12]**, **[15]**, **[16]**, **[20]**, **[26]** & **[32]**), and with direct or indirect requests for assistance or action (as in **[19]** & **[22]**); we also find agreement with and modifications of proposals or statements of opinion/intention (as in **[4]**, **[17]**, **[23]**, **[27]**, **[30]**, **[31]**, **[34]**, **[36]** & **[38]**), and even situations in which the responder disagrees with the prior speaker but still expresses the need for a co-operative relationship between them (as in **[6]**, **[9]**, **[34]**, **[37]** & **[41]**).

It is, moreover, noticeable that these responses are often used in clusters to refer to the same event, and even more often in conjunction with the responsory formula τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα:[429] **[3]** & **[4]** occur during Pandaros and Aineias' preparation to attack Diomedes, **[7]** & **[8]** between Apollo and Athene before the truce, **[9]** & **[10]** frame the duel between Hektor and Aias, **[28]** &

(μέγας δ' ἐλελίζετ' Ὄλυμπος) in a manner traditionally reserved for suggestions of divine stasis; cf. above on 8.199, pp. 102-5, 102 n. 230, 104 n. 235.

Thus, the poet's depiction of Athene here in Book 8 suggests the particularly serious challenge to Zeus' hegemony represented by the rebellion of a figure who is so closely associated with the very things which guaranteed his power in the first place; cf., *contra*, Zervou 1988. As Schäfer 1990, p. 70, says: "Athenes Auflehnung besonders gefährlich wäre, da sie - im wörtlichen wie im übertragene Sinne - des Vaters Waffen eventuell gegen ihn selbst richten könnte. Da Athene nicht bloß (irgend)eine Tochter des Zeus ist, sondern 'die Zeustochter par excellence', wirkt ihr Ungehorsam besonders spektakulär." For general discussions of Athene, which generally downplay her potential to disrupt the Olympian order, cf., e.g., Focke 1953; Hirvonen 1968, esp. p. 63; Burkert 1985, pp. 139-43; Clay 1983; Simon 1985, pp. 179-212; as Pötscher 1987, pp. 160-77; Erbse 1986, pp. 116-55, esp. 129f.; Zervou 1988; Schäfer 1990, p. 69f.; Murnaghan 1995, esp. pp. 61-3; Wathelet 1995.

428 cf. above on 8.145-7 (145), pp. 76-80, 77 n. 161, and Appendix 1, for discussion of the scenes in which the poet combines speeches introduced by τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] and τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα; cf. Appendix 1, on 20.86 (τὸν δ' αὖτε Αἰνείας ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέειπε[ν]), where the poet appparently combines τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] and τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος [προσέφη]. The addressing formula τ[ὸν] πρότερος προσέειπε[ν] has a similar aligning function; cf. Appendix 2.

429 cf. above on 8.145-7 (145), p. 77 n. 161 and Appendix 1.

[29] between Iris and Akhilleus as he prepares to show himself at the trench; [35] & [36] between Athene (as Deiphobos) and Hektor; [38] - [41] during the meeting on the plain between Hermes and Priam.[430] Such clustering tends to occur before significant episodes when the alignment between the characters is of profound import for the narrative: Pandaros will be killed and Aineias wounded in defending his body, and his horses claimed by Diomedes; the neutrality of Athene and Apollo make the duel an exciting episode, in which Hektor strives to assert his heroic status against the clearly superior strength of Aias; Akhilleus' assurance in the favour of the gods and his appearance at the trench allow the Greeks to claim Patroklos; the deception of Hektor is vital in making him stop to face Akhilleus; and Hermes' protection of Priam sees him safely to and from the camp.

The 'sympathy' must be understood as a connection of broad agreement between the two speakers which is to become manifest in or is a precondition of the ensuing narrative, and is the essential element in these interchanges: [2] Paris acknowledges the rightness of Hektor's rebuke (similarly [5] and [20]; cf. [15]) and asserts his desire to act accordingly; [21] after Nestor's catalogue of woe and request for instruction, Agamemnon suggests flight as the only proper response to the situation and attempts to have the *boule* agree on this course of action; [31] after Aineias has refused to respond to the exhortation of 'Lykaon' to face Akhilleus, Phoibos successfully tries to make the Trojan appeal to the gods (i.e., himself) and eager to face the Greek by an appeal to his superior heritage. The alignment between them is simply one of stopping Akhilleus in order to delay his inevitable encounter with Hektor;[431] [40] in response to Priam's question about Hektor's corpse, Hermes constantly evinces an intention to assist the old man.[432]

When the responder disagrees with the prior speech, the response employs the assumed necessity of the relationship as the reason for disagreement: [6] Hektor concedes that his thoughts on his safety are much the same as Andromkahe's (6.441), but he denies that he has any choice in the matter (441-6), and is attempting to persuade her of the need to accept her lot as he has accepted his (447-65); [9] Hektor's reply to Aias' invitation to begin the contest aims to set himself on the same level as Aias as a worthy foe, something he feels has been questioned by the latter's peremptory tone and rather dismissive invitation ἀλλ' ἄρχε μάχης ἠδὲ πτολέμοιο.[433] It also

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[430] ibid.

[431] cf. above on 8.145-7 (145), p. 77 n. 161 [57/44] - [57/46]; also Appendix 1.

[432] ibid.

[433] cf. Kirk [1990] ad 7.232, p. 266; also Poseidon's similar invitation to Apollo on the grounds of his superior age and knowledge (21.439-40); cf. also above on 8.160-7 (163), pp. 84-6 [64/4].

prepares us for the peaceful conclusion of the duel, where there is another such responsory formula **[10]**, and where Hektor and Aias are connected as excellent warriors each loved by the gods (7.280-1);[434] **[34]** Athene does not wish Hektor to be saved, but she points out that it is vital for Zeus not to go against the will of the gods in this matter. She is in effect requesting that Zeus regard the divine *homophrosune* whilst simultaneously acknowledging his power to act as he will;[435] **[37]** Priam demands from his wife a more propitious send-off (24.218-9), given that he had received in person the instruction to go to the camp (223-4) and is prepared to accept his fate; **[41]** Hermes refuses the gift proferred by Priam, but asserts that it has nothing to do with his willingness to guide the old man; their relationship is settled in his eyes without any recourse to the reciprocity suggested in the prior speech.[436]

361-2 Athene begins in indignant tone, labelling Zeus σχέτλιος (361) for exhibiting an obstinacy which she finds unsupportable in the present situation. Past events are frequently employed by Homeric characters as a paradigm with which to understand, and act in, the present, whether they are drawn from personal experience or not.[437] References may range from fully expanded and elaborated stories to the briefest of allusions, but in either case they induce the audience to summon that previous episode to mind as a key to the intentions or actions of the protagonists in the present. This is particularly the case where a failure to remember a past event, and so to draw the appropriate behavioural conclusions from it, is sufficient reason for rebuke, and one which is usually followed by the object's immediate concession (οὐδέ | μέμνηται [362]). Zeus' concession is not connoted here, for this is the only case where the rebuke is not addressed to its object, and so his absence is again underlined, as is the prolepsis towards the ultimate realignment between Athene and her father in engineering the death of Hektor. In this

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[434] cf. Appendix 1.
[435] cf. Appendix 1.
[436] cf. above on 8.145-7 (145), p. 77 n. 161; also above on 8.278-91 (289-91), pp. 143-9.

immediate circumstance, the 'Zeustochter' clearly views her disagreement with him as sufficient reason for her to risk intervention in the battle.

σχέτλι[ος]: **[124]** 13 examples: **[1]** 2.112, **[2]** 3.414, **[3]** 5.403, **[4]** *8.361*, **[5]** 9.19, **[6]** 9.630, **[7]** 10.164, **[8]** 16.203, **[9]** 17.150, **[10]** 18.13, **[11]** 22.41, **[12]** 22.86, **[13]** 24.33.[438] The speaker always elucidates the situation with which the current action is to be unfavourably compared: **[1]** Agamemnon uses the term of Zeus because his past promise that Troy would be sacked seems now to have come to nought (though this of course has a rhetorical purpose, cf. also **[5]**); **[3]** Dione condemns Herakles for his wounding of Here and Hades, for this is not what mortals ought to do;[439] **[6]** Aias labels Akhilleus in this way because he pays no heed to the φιλότης of his comrades who used to honour him; **[7]** Nestor is σχέτλιος to Diomedes because, despite his age and the presence of many others to perform the onerous task of rousing the leaders, the old man continues to do his bit. The younger man is comparing his own need for sleep with the older man's energy, and in a humourous way; **[10]** Akhilleus speaks thus of Patroklos because he has clearly gone against the instructions he was so careful to give; **[13]** Apollo finds the other gods' attitude towards Hektor's corpse incomprehensible given his previous observance. There is one problematic example: **[11]** Priam applies the term to Akhilleus because he is too strong to be opposed (40) and not as dear to the gods as to himself (41-2f.); he goes on to rebuke Akhilleus for relieving him of so many sons. The figure is employed in a novel way here because it uses the speaker's hostility towards Akhilleus (itself produced by his past actions) as its touchstone. It is not enough that he has done awful things, he continues to thrive even in the face of Priam's feelings. It is only natural that the poet should be concerned to illuminate the old man's perturbation at this penultimate moment (compare the rather philosophical attitude he shows towards the war during the *Teikhoskopia*), and this figure does so in a striking manner.[440]

οὐ | μέμν[ηται]: **[125]** 5 examples (1): **[1]** *8.362*, **[2]** 15.18, **[3]** 20.188, **[4]** 21.396, **[5]** 21.441-2, **[6]** *Od.* 24.115. In each case, the speaker expresses his or her dissatisfaction with the subject's failure to act in accordance with, or with due regard for, that prior occasion. If there is agreement

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[437] This is a very well known feature of Homeric narrative technique: cf., e.g., Austin 1966; Gaisser 1969; Andersen 1990; Alden 2000.

[438] cf. Vanséveren 1998; also Kirk [1985] ad 2.112, p. 130; Hainsworth [1993] ad 9.19, p. 62.

[439] cf. above on 8.177-9 (177), pp. 95-7 [71/3].

[440] Moreover, if we follow M West's punctuation of [124/12] (cf. Richardson [1993] ad 22.41, p. 110; ad 22.86, p. 115), then the same interpretation holds for Hekabe's following speech.

over the probative direction of the paradigm, the addressee then complies: [**2**] Zeus calls to Here's mind previous punishment for a similar transgression. She immediately disavows participation; [**3**] Akhilleus reminds Aineias of the last time they fought (cf. also 20.89-93) as reason enough for the Trojan to avoid a second encounter. Aineias had already drawn Apollo's attention to this event, who had nevertheless impelled him into the combat, and he ends up being rescued by Poseidon; [**4**] the point of Ares' reminiscence is that Athene has already (τίπτ' αὖτ' [394]) roused strife among the gods and come off unscathed when she aided Diomedes. She should therefore have left it at that, as he now expresses his intention ἀποτεισέμεν (399). Athene does not of course comply, because she has drawn another lesson from that past event, as she goes on to point out (410f.); [**5**] Poseidon rebukes Apollo for his participation on the Trojan side, given his previous treatment at Laomedon's hands. Apollo and Poseidon do not of course come to blows, but Apollo continues to protect Troy; [**6**] Agamemnon anticipates Amphimedon's reply, or perhaps more accurately a potential unwillingness to reply to his question, by reminding his interlocutor of the guest-friendship relationship exhibited when Agamemnon came to Ithaka to fetch Odysseus. The dissatisfaction stems not from Agamemnon's perspective on the level of the supposed reluctance to provide the information, but from the audience's perspective on the irony inherent in the situation, for Odysseus was a chieftain worthy of Agamemnon's wooing - a fact which, as the latter's guest-friend, Amphimedon should have known. The latter then complies and readily supplies the requisite information.

362-9 The Herakles reference is vitally important, for the poet frequently uses past figures and events to provide a continuous current or background to his narrative.[441] Herakles is a particularly suggestive figure for comparison, as his career is characterised by a complex of intertwined themes so important for the current story, including divine hostility and discord associated with his servitude and previous sack of Troy, as well as a general reputation for violence and destruction of cities. Indeed, his achievements were as marked by heavenly conflict as the current course of the *Dios Boule*, and so the parallels do not simply augment our appreciation of Akhilleus' worth or predict the second

destruction of the city. They recall previous instances of divine insurrection against Zeus' will as prolepsis for the present and future, and lead the audience to infer again that he will be opposed.[442]

References to Herakles: **[126]** 13 examples: **[1]** 2.653-70, **[2]** 2.679, **[3]** 5.392-404, **[4]** 5.628-54, **[5]** *8.362-9*, **[6]** 11.689-93, **[7]** 14.249-66, **[8]** 14.323-5, **[9]** 15.18-30, **[10]** 15.638-40, **[11]** 18.117-9, **[12]** 19.95-133, **[13]** 20.144-8.[443] Both gods and mortals are fond of relating Herakles' tales (as in **[3]** - **[9]**, **[11]** & **[12]**), and usually with an explicit rhetorical purpose: **[3]** Dione invokes the wounding of Here and Hades by Herakles as examples of gods who had to endure suffering at the hands of mortals, as she tries to soothe the outraged Aphrodite; **[4]** Tlepolemos reminds Sarpedon of (his own father) Herakles' previous sack of Troy as part of the pre-combat flyting. Sarpedon acknowledges that event but seeks to differentiate its efficacy on the basis of Laomedon's transgression; **[6]** Nestor explains the contemptuous treatment afforded his people by the Eleoi on the basis that they had been rendered weak by Herakles;[444] **[8]** in an interesting catalogue of his lovers, Zeus makes pointed reference to Herakles as the offspring of his union with Alkmene. The fact of Here's constant hostility towards Herakles (prominent in **[3]**, **[7]**, **[9]**, **[11]** & **[12]**) is an obvious referent for an ongoing sexual and personal struggle between these two;[445] **[9]** Zeus reminds Here of her previous attempt to thwart his will with regard to Herakles after the last sack of Troy (referred to also by Hypnos in **[7]** and probably Hephaistos at 1.590-4)[446] in order to make the point that she risks great harm by so acting. Hypnos of course refers to the story in order to avoid acceding to her request, whilst Hephaistos' point is obviously to persuade her to avoid the anger of Zeus; **[12]** to excuse his own *ate*, Agamemnon invokes that which overcame even Zeus himself with regard to his son.

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441 cf., e.g., Taplin 1984 on the complex of references to Eetion.

442 Lohmann 1970, pp. 149-50, places the paradigm story at the heart of his schema covering the exchange between the two goddesses, underlining even more its importance to the narrative at this juncture.

443 cf. Nilsson 1932, ch. 3; Kullmann 1956, pp. 25-35; Lang 1983; Alden 2000, pp. 38-42.

444 This episode is to be connected with [126/3]; cf. Kirk [1990] ad 5.396-7, pp. 101-2.

445 The entire episode draws heavily upon these associations, and to generate its significance from the suggestions of divine discord with which Here is so often associated; cf. O'Brien 1993, p. 99f., also ch. 6; cf. also above on 8.199, pp. 102-5, 102 n. 230, 104 n. 235. Zeus' point in the exchange is not simply to persuade her to have sex with him, but to do so in a way which emphasises her powerlessness over him. That she is trying to deceive him does not greatly undermine his position, given his ultimate and repeated success in their continuing conflict.

446 cf., e.g., Janko [1992] ad 15.18-31, p. 229.

In these cases, the speaker is often relying upon Herakles' paradigmatic status in order to make his rhetorical point, but the references may also form an intertwined complex, connecting themes and scenes in a more oblique way: **[2]** the leaders of the contingent from Kos are called υἷε δύω Ἡρακλείδαο ἄνακτος (679), an apparently innocuous reference. However, we learn in **[7]** & **[9]** that Here drove Herakles to Kos after his previous sack of Troy, and so we find this small mention at an early stage in the poem already summoning Herakles' career to the performative present. A similarly indirect example is **[10]**, where Periphetes is located within the toils myth through his father Kopreus, who used to serve as Eurustheus' herald. The link with the hostility of Here, because of her responsibility for the position of Herakles, is made explicit in **[12]**, and so the poet seems to be at pains never to allow the image of Herakles to be far from the audience's mind. The point in that context would be to contrast Hektor's qualified success over the clumsy Periphetes with that of Herakles.[447]

This complex (Here's hostility and the sack) becomes explicit in **[4]**, **[7]**, **[9]**, **[10]** & **[13]**, and this last example particularly (though cf. **[4]** also) extends the referential umbrella to Poseidon and Apollo's service and dishonouring at Laomedon's hands (7.452-3, 20.146-8, 21.441-57),[448] which in turn resonates with the more general idea of divine *stasis* (πὰρ Διὸς [21.444]. Herakles is related to violence and the sacking of other cities as well (cf., e.g., **[1]** & **[6]**), but the almost ubiquitous reference is to the divine discord, particularly figuring Here, resulting from his actions; in **[3]** Here and Hades are wounded by him, in **[7]**, **[9]** & **[10]** reference is made to previous punishments inflicted upon Here for interfering in Herakles' career, in **[12]** Agamemnon reminds his audience that Here had made Herakles the slave of Eurustheus, in **[5]** Athene reminds Here of all the troubles she undertook on his behalf during that period, and so on. The reminiscence of Herakles' shelter in **[13]** is called to mind because the gods are setting themselves aside from the conflict which is shortly to erupt by placing themselves on opposite sides of the field.

Moreover, it is noticeable that Here's present and prior resistance to the *Dios Boule* is opposed here to Athene's earlier compliance with it - and, what's more, in favour of

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[447] cf. Janko [1992] ad loc., pp. 298-9.
[448] cf. Richardson [1993] ad 21.441-57, pp. 91-2.

Here's particular enemy.[449] This highlights the supremacy of Zeus and the delusion of his opponents, for he will always eventually have his way, despite whatever momentary and transitory alliances may spring up in order to frustrate him. His eventual control over events is constant between the traditions of Herakles and the Iliadic Akhilleus, the lesson uppermost in the audience's mind. Mortal and divine delusion is again drawn out, now placing Athene on the same level of understanding as Here (and Agamemnon).

374-81 Thus, her determination is clear well before she instructs Here to prepare the chariot for their journey to the battlefield (374-80). There are a number of significant references summoned by this instruction. The first is a prediction of success, the poet seeming to imply that conflict with Zeus could eventuate successfully for Here and Athene.[450] The second expresses her confidence (ὄφρα ἴδωμαι [376]) in the truth of the clause's contents (i.e., that Hektor will not be pleased to see them).[451] This expectation is continued by Here's obedience (οὐδ' ἀπίθησε [381]), for commands so obeyed are usually fulfilled in the manner envisaged by the speaker.[452] These references are, however, countered *e silentio*, because of the parallel with the earlier interchange between Poseidon and Here (8.198-211), where Poseidon invoked Zeus' greater power as sufficient reason not to attempt anything.[453] Neither of the current pair mentions that fact, but the comparison perfectly indicates their delusion. A rather momentous episode is being forecast here, and the

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449 cf. Wilson [1996] ad 8.358-80, p. 198.

450 cf. above on 8.41-52, pp. 21-5 [17/1] & [17/2]; more on this below. The impact of such a prediction, given the references to previous episodes of divine conflict, not only magnifies the importance of the clash between the gods but emphasises the importance of the events to which they are reacting; cf. above on 8.199, pp. 102-5, 104 n. 235; also 8.357, pp. 173-6, 173-4 n. 127.

451 cf. above on 8.101-11 (105 / 110), pp. 56-60 [42/13]; cf. also below on 8.531-4 (532-4), pp. 222-4 [153/1] for the alternatives expressed at 8.377-80.

452 cf. above on 8.112-7 (112), pp. 60-2 [43/13].

453 cf. above on 8.198-212 et ff., pp. 102-15ff.

audience are kept in suspense about its outcome through the combination of conflicting referential associations.

382-96 Now they begin their preparations for the trip to the battlefield, as Here harnesses the team (382-3) and Athene equips herself (384-91). Itemised personal preparations of this type signal the importance of the character for the succeeding narrative, by directing the audience towards that character as a focal point in the action for which he or she is being prepared. Though it does not guarantee success, the current emphasis is itself unsettling because it continues putting Athene's relationship with Zeus under the microscope, and suggests participation of the sort represented by the equipment.

Itemised personal preparation: **[127]** 25 examples: [1] 2.42-6, [2] 2.183-6, [3] 3.141, [4] 3.328-38, [5] 5.733-47, [6] *8.384-91*, [7] 10.21-4, [8] 10.29-31, [9] 10.131-5, [10] 10.177-8, [11] 10.254-72, [12] 10.333-5, [13] 11.15-45, [14] 13.240-1, [15] 13.295-6, [16] 14.9-12, [17] 14.170-86 (223), [18] 15.478-82, [19] 16.130-44, [20] 18.203-14, [21] 18.416, [22] 19.364-91, [23] 23.683-4, [24] 24.93-4, [25] 24.340-4.[454] Items so enumerated may not actually be mentioned or even used in the succeeding narrative (e.g., the spear taken by Agamemnon as he sets out to find Nestor [7]), although that can certainly happen (e.g., Hermes uses his wand to assist their journey [25]), but they will often have a symbolic importance for the type of action (in this case, spears are the kinds of things heroes routinely carry around with them; cf. also the sceptre picked up by Hephaistos as he receives Thetis [21]). Thus, Odysseus' possession of the sceptre in [2] represents his authority (and Agamemnon's lack of it), and does not simply foreshadow the beating he hands out with it to Thersites. When Helen covers herself with a shining veil, it is the natural

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[454] The arming scene is a sub-group of this category, with [127/4], [127/13], [127/19] & [127/22] being the most famous; cf. Arend 1933, pp. 92-7; Armstrong 1958; Nagler 1974, pp. 117-8; Danek 1988, pp. 203-29; Lord 1991. We exclude from this list single verse summary descriptions of this process (e.g., 3.339) primarily for reasons of space. It is, however, to be noted that two of these single line summaries represent two examples of the equipment typical element in the Return Journey (Divine) sequence (8.43, 13.25); cf. above on 8.41-52, pp. 21-5 [17/2].

compliment to her extreme beauty, which is the aspect of her person most emphasised in that scene and its successors [**3**]. The poet may use the opportunity to describe, whether at great length or not, an item's qualities and/or provenance: Agamemnon's breastplate in [**13**], the *aigis* in [**5**], the helmet given Odysseus in [**11**], and the spear carried by Akhilleus in [**22**] but left behind by Patroklos in [**19**]. This information is frequently significant; the breastplate's description reflects the savagery of the fighting in Agamemnon's *aristeia*, the *aigis* summons the importance of Athene's connection with Zeus and foreshadows his permission for their intervention, the helmet's unusual nature emphasises the unusuality of the slaughter in the *Doloneia*, not to mention the story of its theft by Autolukos (10.266f.), whilst the spear is another sign of the difference between Akhilleus and his comrade.

Preparation generally halts the narrative and encourages the audience to pause on a figure as a preliminary for the action about to occur. The focus on Paris' preparations before his duel [**4**] reflects not only that he made the easily frightened challenge, but prepares the audience for his eminence in the following scenes wherein his relationship with Helen, Aphrodite and the rest of the Trojans is illumined, a nexus of attitudes surrounding Paris and his role in the war; [**13**] Agamemnon is the first Greek leader to be seriously wounded on that second day, and his fortunes are intertwined with that of the army as a whole on that day, with initial success always followed by serious sebtack; [**17**] Here's following attempt to divert Zeus' purpose recalls almost every one of her actions within the poem and quite a few outside it as well. Most immediately, the consequence of her current action is previewed by Hypnos (14.243f.) and then threatened by a parallel with the past made by Zeus (15.18f.). It is, in fact, her last hurrah; [**22**] the preparations of Akhilleus highlight his re-emergence, which has been the point of much of the poem.

Only once is the preparation followed by the complete disappearance of the character: [**16**] Teukros, after a brief period of success *as an archer*, is forced to re-equip and fight as a spearman. Although he is represented as being good at such fighting, his Iliadic prominence is derived from skill with the bow. When this is broken (15.461f.), it signals that he can no longer turn the fight, and he becomes submerged in the mass, in fact playing no further role in the battle. In this case the arming scene would strike the audience as highly unusual, being used here for closure.

This feeling is compounded by the fact that the entire scene is an obvious repetition of their earlier chariot journey (5.719-52),[455] and another example of the practice whereby episodes within the poem may become the source of referential significance. Comparison reveals both a diminution in scale characteristic of this book generally, but also a significant omission: whilst on both occasions Athene enters the δῶμα Διὸς to prepare herself and use his equipment, here she does not take the *aigis*,[456] corresponding well with the fact that in the earlier scene she operated with his cognisance and express permission, whereas here she will not. This is underlined by the fact that the poet in both cases tells us that Athene removes a robe which she herself had made (κάμε [8.386 = 5.735]), adding to the significance of the equipment and the process itself.[457] Beyond any specific reference, both the *locus* and the action are intended to recall her relationship with Zeus, thus imbuing her preparations even more with a foreboding significance.

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[455] cf. above on 8.41-52, pp. 21-5 [17/1]; the current example is [17/3]. As a response to Trojan success and after a short declaration of intent (5.711-19 ~ 8.350-81), Here harnesses the team (5.720-32 ~ 8.382-3) whilst Athene equips herself (5.733-45 ~ 8.384-91) before they drive off through the αὐτόμαται πύλαι of Olympos (5.748-52 = 8.392-6); on the earlier scene, cf. esp. Arend 1933, p. 95. The scene in Book 8 lacks the description of Hebe (and Here) fitting together the chariot (5.722-32) and the taking of the *aigis* (5.738-42). Aristarkhos' reasons for the athetesis of 8.385-7 (Σ A ad loc.: ὅτι ἐν τῇι τοῦ Διομήδους ἀριστείαι καλῶς ἐπεξείργασται· πράττεται γάρ τινα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν παντευχίαν; cf. also Σ A ad 5.734-6) and 390-1 (Σ A ad loc.: ὅτι ἀκαίρως ἐκεῖθεν μετηνέχθησαν) show that he well understood what is going on in this scene, but draws the wrong conclusion. We have already seen that the preparations hitherto have been designed to create a connotative uncertainty in the audience about the potential course of the encounter, and that the poet in this case will take them right up to the moment of conflict before resolving the narrative tension. In this context, the παντεύχια makes perfect sense, as recognised by Reinhardt 1961, pp. 142-50; Schadewaldt 1966, p. 100, n. 3; also di Benedetto 1994, pp. 197-9; cf., *contra*, Erbse 1961, pp. 181-4; Diller 1965, p. 144f.; Kirk [1990] ad 5.719-52, pp. 131-3. Priority is an impossible - or irrelevant - criterion for textual criticism, as noted ad loc. by Fenik 1968, p. 72 (and ff.), but these discussions generally fail to see that such itemised preparations do not necessarily require the use of any of the items so garnered. The device focuses the audience on that aspect of the character in question as he or she embarks upon the action.

[456] Her omission of the *aigis* would be analogous to Patroklos' failure to take Akhilleus' spear at 16.140-4 (cf. Armstrong 1958, pp. 346-9; Bannert 1988, p. 159f.) although the expectation there is created by the poet's explicit statement, whilst here it is generated by comparison with the earlier example; cf. Reinhardt 1961, p. 149f.

397-9 Zeus sees them before they get any further (397), interrupting the chariot journey (and its connotation of success), for departure is usually followed by a description of the vehicle's course to its destination.[458] Combined with this disjunction is an emphasis upon the intensity with which Zeus guards his privilege, for his immediate reaction (χώσατ' ἄρ' αἰνῶς [397]) is a typical response to a failed enterprise of intimate importance to the subject. In this case, he equates their behaviour with a challenge to an authority which *he* has failed to exert. Direct confrontation is still possible, but when he turns to Iris with an expression (βάσκ' ἴθι [399]) designed to introduce a relayed message, a common phenomenon in which instructions are delivered (almost) verbatim from one character to another through an intermediary, that moment is averted. Since these instructions are generally obeyed, the poet here resolves the uncertainty over that confrontation and its outcome which he has been constructing ever since the *agore* at the opening of the day.

[ἐ]χώσατ[ο]: **[128]** 6 examples (1): **[1]** 1.64, **[2]** *8.397*, **[3]** 13.165, **[4]** 14.406, **[5]** 16.616, **[6]** 22.291, **[7]** *Od.* 5.284.[459] The subject feels that the action is intimately connected with his role and status, its failure therefore being a cause for regret, anger and counteraction. Many of these cases decribe the hero's reaction to a failed spear cast, viz. by retreating and attempting to fetch another spear, except in **[4]** where Hektor is wounded as he retreats into the crowd and so before he can replace the weapon: **[3]** Meriones retreats and goes to fetch another spear, leading into the lengthy scene with Idomeneus (13.246f.); **[5]** Aineias seeks to make up for his cast with a taunt. Gods experience this emotion when their province has been infringed: **[1]** Akhilleus speaks of the need to find why Apollo has become angry. This was, of course, because of the dishonour shown his priest; **[7]** Poseidon, seeing Odysseus on the verge of getting to Skheria, reacts angrily and accuses the other gods of changing their minds ἐμεῖο μετ' Αἰθιόπεσσιν ἐόντος (287). Though he knows that he cannot kill him, he still sends a final storm to satisfy his own desire for vengeance.

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457 cf. above on 8.191-7 (195), pp. 100-2 [76/2] & [76/5].
458 cf. above on 8.41-52, pp. 21-5.
459 cf. Adkins 1969b, esp. p. 17f.

The same form of the περι- compound reveals much the same connection: [9.449] in Phoinix's tale, he speaks of his father's wrath because of his interference with the παλλάκις. The episode was so serious to Amuntor's authority as to warrant a violent reaction; [14.266] Here attempts to persuade Hypnos by distinguishing the likelihood of Zeus' wrath now as opposed to his earlier wrath when they conspired to harm Herakles, his own son. On both occasions, however, they infringe upon Zeus' province and hegemony. It is interesting that Hesiod also uses this form of the verb for similar examples of Zeus' wrath at actions which challenge his authority, viz. the deception of Prometheus (*Theogony* 554), and the killing of Asklepios (F 51.2 [Merkelbach-West 1967]).

βάσκ' ἴθι: **[129]** 6 examples: [1] 2.8, [2] *8.399*, [3] 11.186, [4] 15.158, [5] 24.144, [6] 24.336.[460] [2] - [5] are all addressed by Zeus to Iris, [1] to the dream and [6] to Hermes. On every occasion but the last, where Hermes is told simply to accompany Priam, not to relay any instructions, the substance of Zeus' mandates are relayed almost verbatim; cf. below.

Relayed instructions: **[130]** 22 examples: [1] (2.9-10) 11-15 | (2.26-7) 28-32 // 2.23-33 | 2.60-70; [2] 2.158-65 | 2.174-81; [3] (3.68) 69-73 | (3.88-9) 90-4; [4] (4.64-5) 66-7 | (4.70) 71-2; [5] (4.193-4) 195-7 | (4.204) 205-7; [6] (6.87-91) 92-7 | (6.269-72) 273-8; [7] (7.38-9) 40 | (7.50) 51; [8] 7.362-4 | 7.389-93 // (7.372-4) 375-81; [9] *(8.401) 402-8* | *(8.415) 416-22*; [10] (9.119-21) 122-57 (158-61) | (9.260-3) 264-99 (300-6); [11] 9.417-20 & 423-4 | 9.684-7 & 680-1 // 9.618-9 | 9.682-3; [12] (10.206-7) 208-10 | (10.405-8) 409-11; [13] (10.303-7) 308-12 | (10.391-4) 395-9; [14] (11.186) 187-94 | (11.201) 202-9; [15] (11.657-8) 658-64 & (792-4) 794-803 | (16.22) 23-9 & (30-5) 36-45; [16] (12.343) 344-50 | (12.354-6) 357-63; [17] (15.158-9) 160 & 165-7 | (15.174-5) 176-8 & 181-3; [18] 16.454-7 | 16.671-5; [19] (17.691-2) 692-3 | (18.18-19) 20-1; [20] (24.112) 113-5 (116) | (24.133) 134-6 (137); [21] (24.145) 146-58 | (24.171-4) 175-87 | 24.195-6; [22] (24.290-1) 292-5 | (24.308-9) 310-3.[461]

There are three sequences more complex than the rest, because the relay is derived from more than one speech (as in [1], [8] & [11]): [1] Zeus' instructions (2.11-15) are delivered by the dream with additions at the beginning (2.28-33) which are then quoted along with the instructions by Agamemon to the *boule* (2.60-70); [8] Paris' offer of restitution and more from his own stores (7.362-4) is repeated with amplification in Idaios' speech to the Greeks (7.389-93). After his son's

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460 cf. Kirk [1985] ad 2.8, p. 116; Hainsworth [1993] ad 11.186, pp. 245-6.

461 cf. de Jong 1987, pp. 179-85, 241-3; also Eide 1999. The citations in brackets denote modifications (usually before but sometimes after the repetition; cf. below on 8.409-25, pp. 189-92, 193-4 for additions to the message) made by the relaying speaker.

rather angry outburst, Priam then makes a speech in which he orders Idaios to the tell the Greeks Paris' decision (372-4, duly repeated by Idaios at 386-8 *before* the offer) followed by an instruction to deliver another offer (375-8) once again duly conveyed (394-7). The final relay speech (Idaios) thus combines elements of two different speeches from the *agore*, with the passage from the first (Paris) contained between those from the second (Priam); **[11]** is even more complex, with Odysseus' final relay to Agamemnon combining elements from two of Akhilleus' speeches. At 9.680-1 Odysseus repeats Akhilleus' statement to him (423-4), then at 682-3 a threat originally directed at Phoinix (618-9), then at 684-7 another statement from the first speech (417-20).

On occasion, there is a reluctance on the part of the final addressee to obey or undertake the action: **[3]** the Greeks receive Hektor's relay of Paris' offer with silence before Menelaos accepts (cf. also **[8]** & **[11]**);[462] **[17]** Poseidon briefly suggests his rejection of Zeus' command, before Iris persuades him to accede; **[10]** is a singular example, in that Akhilleus refuses outright the entreaty, but it is the point of this episode that whilst Agamemnon sees an element of compulsion in his first speech (i.e., tries to turn an offer into an instruction), neither Odysseus (by subtle rhetorical alterations to that speech) nor Akhilleus view the issue in the same way. The latter, particularly, denies Agamemnon's right to authority.

Notice also, in relief, that the poet deploys a different strategy when he wants to prevent Ares in a similar situation from coming to blows with Zeus at 15.119ff.; there, he has Athene remove his armour before he has a chance to depart and trigger the connotations of success which such a journey would entail. In this case, the poet wants to take the audience right to the very edge of expectation before bringing them back.

399-408 Zeus' orders exercise his authority, firstly but not only in the fact that he can issue such instructions, for these relay sequences are predicated upon the authority of the speaker to direct the actions of others.[463] The threat itself, which recollects his earlier similar offer

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[462] cf. above on 8.28-30, pp. 14-16 [11/1].

[463] This is obviously related to the sequence's connotation of obedience. In some situations, namely those where we find the relay of information rather than of specific instructions, there is still a strong element of the original speaker's authority: [130/11] Odysseus' report of Akhilleus' refusal represents that hero's exercised right of self-determination. Indeed, what has been at issue in both [130/10] & [130/11] is Agamemnon's authority to draw Akhilleus back into the army, and the latter's position is that no such effort can succeed.

(8.10-27), is strengthened by the authoritative way in which its minutiae are introduced (ὥδε γὰρ ἐξερέω τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται [401])[464] and then by his confident prediction of success (ὄφρ' εἴδηι [406]).[465] This focus on Athene reflects her importance and the threat which she specifically could represent to the stability of the Olympian order.[466] The poet picks this intimation up in the following qualification of his anger at Here (οὔ τι τόσον νεμεσίζομαι οὐδὲ χολοῦμαι [407]), for such dispreferred comparisons necessarily emphasise the other party. Not only, therefore, does this speech confirm the relay's success in turning back Here and (more significantly) Athene *before* the ultimate moment, it also enshrines the strength, power and self-confidence of Zeus - and so of the *Dios Boule* - at the very moment of potentially its most troubling test.

Dispreferred comparisons (οὐ τόσ[σον]- ⁞ ὅσ[σον]): **[131]** 18 examples: **[1]** 2.528-9, **[2]** 3.190, **[3]** 6.335-6, **[4]** 6.450-5, **[5]** *8.407*, **[6]** *8.421*, **[7]** 9.379-80, **[8]** 9.385, **[9]** 14.394-401, **[10]** 17.20-3, **[11]** 17.240-4, **[12]** 17.410-1, **[13]** 18.363, **[14]** 19.61, **[15]** 19.202, **[16]** 21.275-6, **[17]** 21.370-1, **[18]** 22.424-6.[467] It is an inevitable effect of these dispreferred comparisons that the subject of the ὅσ[σ]- clause is emphasised, whether in terms of greater size (though cf. **[7]** below), strength or importance: **[1]** Aias *minor* is identified by the disparity (οὐ τόσ[σ]-) in size with the *maior*. His characterisation in the *Iliad* constantly suffers from that and other comparisons;[468] **[2]** after relating the size of the Amazon army (οὐ τόσ[σ]-), Priam magnifies the size of the Greek army before Troy; **[3]** in answer to Hektor, Paris denies that he was angry with the Trojans (οὐ τόσ[σ]-) as his brother had implied. Instead, he was ἄχει προτραπέσθαι (636), which one can't help feeling

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[464] On every occasion the instruction is immediately complied with, since the prediction introduced by the verse functions as the persuasive reason for compliance; cf. above on 8.282-6 (286), pp. 149-51 [107/4].

[465] cf. above on 8.374-81, pp. 181-2 and on 8.101-11 (105 / 110), pp. 56-60 [42/14].

[466] and is developed in Iris' relay; cf. below on 8.423-5, pp. 192-3; also above on 8.357, pp. 173-4 n. 127 and references there.

[467] cf. Fenik 1968, p. 172; Edwards [1991] ad 17.240-4, p. 86.

[468] cf., e.g., his abusive encounter with Idomeneus during the chariot race (23.450-98; cf. Richardson [1991] ad 23.448-98, pp. 220-1, and ad 23.473-81, p. 222), his impious actions during the sack of Troy (Proklos *Ilioupersis ennaratio* 23-7; Davies [1988], p. 62; S West [1988] ad *Od.* 1.325-7, pp. 116-7) and his death after it (*Od.* 4.499-510); cf. also Kirk [1985] ad 2.527, p. 201.

amounts to a particularly unsatisfactory answer;[469] **[4]** Hektor emphasises his concern for his wife and child over the fate of the other Trojans (οὐ τόσ[σ]-); **[7]** Akhilleus denies that he would rejoin battle even if Agamemnon were to give ten or twenty times as much as he gives now. Though this is the only example where the dispreferred member of the comparison (οὐ τόσ[σ]-) is larger, the effect is to point to the *generic* inadequacy of the gifts; **[9]** the sound of the clash is greater than that of a wave or fire or wind (cf. also **[10]** for such an extended simile, this time in the mouth of Menelaos, where the vainglory of Euphorbos is so compared);[470] **[12]** despite Akhilleus' privileged knowledge, Thetis does not tell him the evil (ὅσ[σ]-) which has happened. The importance of Patroklos' death is thus emphasised against the irony of his friend's greater knowledge; **[14]** Akhilleus declares that the slaughter and strife must have been the will of Zeus, else οὐ τόσσοι Greeks would have been killed. The power of Zeus to cause such slaughter is thus underlined; **[16]** faced with the onslaught of the river, Akhilleus blames his mother (ἀλλά) over all the other gods (ἄλλος οὔ τίς μοι τόσον αἴτιος) for his delusion in embarking upon the battle. He believes that he will die in this way, and blames his mother for indicating otherwise; **[18]** Priam thus emphasises his grief over Hektor (οὐ τόσον ὀδύρομαι | ὡς ἑνός [424-5]).

The ὅσ[σ]- clause may be omitted, the comparison thus being understood from the context (as indeed in **[5]**), but in such cases contrast may also be expressed in a number of other ways: ἀλλά (as in **[16]** & **[6]**), ὡς (as in **[18]**), νῦν δέ (as in **[15]**), ἐγώ γε (as in **[13]**).

409-25 Iris responds as relaying characters usually do in these sequences, obeying immediately and departing to find the object of the instructions. She meets them where we left them (πρώτησιν πύλῃσι πολυπτύχου Οὐλύμποιο [411]), and begins with *her* summary of Zeus' opening remarks (413-4 ~ 399-400). Any relay undergoes some alteration, particularly in the introductory passage before the repetition itself, for these sections construct the relationship between the relaying speaker, the instructions and its object. As such, they may express important information about the speaker's opinion and perspective and,

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469 cf. below on 8.483-4 (484), pp. 210-13 [148/4].
470 cf. above on 8.336-42 (337), pp. 164-7 [120/4].

though it reflects Zeus' attitude, Iris' opening is very much her own.[471] She is a facilitating and invariably successful figure, and so, when her first question suggests the inappropriateness of their journey (πῆι μέματον; [413]),[472] her disapproval is imbued with a sense of the right order of things.

There is a delay between instruction and relay on several occasions, but never due to the relaying character's reluctance: **[130/6]** Hektor journeys into the city, and we find the episode between Glaukos and Diomedes (which removes Diomedes from prominence in order that Hektor's exit not seem utterly strange) before he finally delivers his instructions; **[130/12]** Odysseus poses to Dolon the question he was instructed to make by Nestor before the start of the mission; **[130/13]** with clear reference to the preceding scene, Dolon reveals the purpose of his mission as earlier stated by Hektor; **[130/15]** the poet delays Patroklos with Eurupulos (11.86f.) until 15.390-405 before he eventually relates Nestor's suggestion to Akhilleus at 16.2ff.; in all of these cases, the delay represents the projection of the instruction into the narrative. Unlike Iris' examples (i.e. those prefaced by βάσκ' ἴθι), there is no signal in the instruction speeches which would alert the audience to the existence of a relay sequence. Thus, when it eventually happens, the audience is drawn back to the original instruction, its author and the place of its delivery: e.g., **[130/15]** Patroklos' retelling has added weight given the intensity and desperation of the battle in the intervening period, and draws strength by its contrast with the earlier episode for that reason.

Passages between instruction and relay are brief, with a description of the departure, journey and meeting between the relaying character and the instruction's final object; cf., e.g., **[130/1]**, **[130/5]** & **[130/17]**. There are also occasions when there is no need for a journey: **[130/7]** Helenos simply hears the gods talking before relaying the information to Hektor.

The introductory passage gives the source of the original instruction where its authority is derived from the original speaker (as in **[130/1]**, **[130/3]**, **[130/5]**, **[130/7]** (*post* repetition) - **[130/11]**, **[130/13]**, **[130/14]**, **[130/16]**, **[130/17]**, **[130/20]** & **[130/21]**), though this information is obviously not conveyed when authority is derived from the relaying character (as in **[130/4]**, **[130/6]**, **[130/12]**, **[130/15]**, **[130/18]**, **[130/19]** & **[130/22]**; related is **[130/2]**, which omits an

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[471] cf. generally de Jong 1987, pp. 183-4; also Kakridis 1971, pp. 76-88.
[472] cf. above on 8.91-6 (94), pp. 50-3 [37/6].

introduction entirely). Change in person accounts for a number of introduction alterations, where the relaying figure adds nothing or very little before the instructions are repeated; cf., e.g., **[130/4]** Here's command to Zeus, σὺ δὲ θάσσον Ἀθηναίῃι ἐπιτεῖλαι | ἐλθεῖν ἐς Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν φύλοπιν αἰνήν (4.64-5), which he alters to αἶψα μάλ' ἐς στρατὸν ἐλθὲ μετὰ Τρῶας καὶ Ἀχαιούς (70). Even in brief introductions, however, this change may also give the speaker an opportunity to express a personal opinion: **[130/3]** Hektor manages to convey the source of the offer in terms to suggest that he disapproves of Paris τοῦ εἵνεκα νεῖκος ὄρωρεν (3.87).

Additions express to the audience important information about the context in which the message is relayed: **[130/1]** the Dream prefaces the relay with a rebuke of the sleeping man typical of such encounters (cf. 23.69, 24.683; also 10.116, 10.159);[473] **[130/15]** Patroklos adapts Nestor's rather general suggestion that he could bend the will of his friend (11.792-3) by focusing on the unbending nature of Akhilleus' will (16.30-5) before repeating the suggestions (16.26-45). His success is a sign of their special relationship, given that a similar appeal from Aias was unsuccessful (9.628f.);[474] **[130/13]** Dolon tells Odysseus that Hektor inveigled him into the mission, a rather individual retelling of the original offer prefacing the instruction (10.303-7).

Iris' rhetorical adaptability is evident elsewhere: **[130/17]** where she is sent to remove Poseidon from the battle (ἀγγελίην τινά τοι γαιήοχε κυανοχαῖτα | ἦλθον δεῦρο φέρουσα παραὶ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο [15.174-5]). This example is also individual in that Poseidon initially refuses to acquiesce, and Iris is forced to draw upon some rhetorical ability to persuade him (as he acknowledges at 15.206-7). Iris shows adaptive skill also in **[130/21]**, where she reassures Priam in a manner typical of gods revealing themselves to mortals (24.171-4; cf. 21.288) before relaying Zeus' instructions.

Iris' missions: **[132]** 10 examples: [1] 2.786-806, [2] 3.121-40, [3] 5.353-69, [4] *8.398-425*, [5] 11.185-210, [6] 15.157-219, [7] 18.166-202, [8] 23.198-212, [9] 24.87-99, [10] 24.143-88.[475] Her actions are either impelled by another figure (as in [1], [4] - [6], [9] & [10] by Zeus, [7] by Here), or she is simply on hand to participate (as in [2], [3] & [8]); only in [8] does she initiate an action off her own bat, when she hears Akhilleus' prayer to the winds and carries it to them - yet another example of the special status of the hero. Common to all these examples is her facilitation of the desires or instructions of others. Where there is no such explicit source, she seems to be the

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[473] cf. Richardson [1993] ad 23.69-92, p. 172.

[474] cf. above on 8.101-11 (101), p. 58 n. 113 [41/34] and further refs. there.

[475] cf., in general, Hentze 1903; Erbse 1986, pp. 54-65; Janko [1992] ad 15.201-4, p. 248: "[s]he is a perfect diplomat."

agent of the poet himself, though we should by no means assume that Zeus' ultimate agency is precluded: [**2**] Helen's presence on the wall is required, and it is a measure of her importance that she is so impelled. It is also possible that, given her frequent identification and connection with Zeus, her presence or participation in any action summons his pre-eminence to mind, as in [**3**], where Aphrodite's removal from battle is condoned by Zeus, even thought it involves the wounding of a god by a mortal. This might be indicated by the fact that, on every occasion, the mission with which she has been entrusted or on which she is engaged proves successful, with only a temporary question in [**6**] coming anywhere near undermining that.[476]

Iris closes the relay by directing a little rebuke of her own at Athene (423-4) before departing (425). Additions are another similarly informative type of alteration to relays, and here she repeats the dispreferred distinction between the two goddesses made in Zeus' speech (406/407-8),[477] before describing Athene with an unflattering phrase (κύον ἀδδεές [423]) connoting the utter inappropriateness of her insurrection. Thus the addition in this case naturally extends the comparison constructed by the poet in the original instruction (where it was seen that Athene was the emphasised figure), and directs the audience's unease over her participation to the importance of its aversion.[478]

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[476] cf. Hentze 1903, p. 325f.; Erbse 1986, p. 56.

[477] cf. above on 8.399-408 (407), pp. 187-8 [131/6].

[478] cf. above on 8.357, pp. 173-6, 173-4 n. 127. Aristarkhos athetised 8.420-4; cf. Σ bT ad loc: ἱκανὸν δὲ ἦν εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἐᾷ ὁ Ζεύς, καὶ ἀποσυνίσταται ἐπιεικὲς ὂν τὸ τῆς Ἴριδος πρόσωπον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰπεῖν κύον ἀδδεές (Σ bT def.); cf. Ameis-Hentze [1907] ad loc., p. 69. The first query regards the repetition at 8.421-2 of Zeus' dispreferred comparison regarding Here from 8.407-8. M West 2001a, p. 203, remarks that "[i]t does seem bathetic for her to add that Zeus is not so cross with Here because she is only behaving as she usually does. Those two lines in Zeus' speech could be taken as a comment for Iris' benefit rather than as an integral part of the message she is to deliver." However, the comparison expresses an important point about Athene and her decision to join in Here's rebellion within the mythological framework of challenges to Zeus' hegemony. His comment at 8.407-8 is not made for Iris' benefit; cf. on 8.199, pp. 102-5, 104 n. 235; also 8.357, pp. 173-6, 173-4 n. 127.

The second point concerns Iris' addition to the message (8.423-4). Such passages are common in relayed messages, adding depth to the messenger's characterisation and introducing themes or considerations not explicit in the original relay. Iris' expression of indignation here perfectly encapsulates Athene's transgression, and is entirely in keeping with the condemnatory tone of other messengers (cf. esp. Idaios in [130/8]); also Erbse 1986, p. 55; Eide 1999, p. 112-13. Diller

The poet often takes the opportunity, when constructing additions to the relays, to expand the character of the messenger, and to refer to events strictly outside the ambit of the relay itself: **[130/7]** Helenos adds οὐ γάρ πώ τοι μοῖρα θανεῖν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν (7.52) after the repetition as more reason to issue a challenge, though neither Athene nor Apollo make any such promise (this example is also unusual in that the information about the source of the instruction is not disclosed until well after the relay, the introductory section focusing instead upon Helenos' claim upon his brother's compliance [7.47-8]); **[130/8]** Idaios adds a number of little comments to the combined report of Paris and Priam's decisions, firstly a common wish about the former's health, and then a detail about his refusal to return Helen; **[130/10]** Odysseus cleverly replaces Agamemnon's closing demand for compliance (9.158-61) with an appeal to pity for his comrades and an attempt to rouse Akhilleus' ire at Hektor (9.300-6). He recognises, even if Agamemnon does not, that such a demand will have no impact at all and so he tactfully leaves it out. Of course, there are several occasions where additions have nothing to do with the relay itself but simply foreshadow the character's next action: e.g., **[130/6]** Hektor, compressing Helenos' extensive praise of Diomedes (278 ~ 97-100), expresses his intention to go after Paris (280-5), an episode to which the poet does not return until Hekabe and the other women have completed Hektor's instructions (313f.).

κύον ἀδδεές: **[133]** 2 examples (1): **[1]** *8.423*, **[2]** 21.481, **[3]** *Od.* 19.91.[479] The speaker reproaches the subject thus for acting in a manner inappropriate for the relationship between them: **[2]** Artemis has not the power to match herself with Here, whilst **[3]** Melantho's current behaviour belies the kind treatment she received as a child. On each occasion, the speaker emphasises that the erring individual has failed to understand her duty in the situation. Here, the term reinforces the fact that Athene's connection with Zeus makes her actions unsupportable, and with oblique reference to her potential to overthrow Zeus' rule.[480] Unfortunately, as the figure is only found these three times, we must be cautious in pushing the analysis, yet our examination would respond well with the currents of divine *stasis* we have found throughout this passage.

1965, p. 145, is hasty in determining that her words here are unfitting; cf. also van Leeuwen [1912] ad loc., p. 293; Leaf [1904] ad loc., p. 360.

[479] cf. above on 8.336-42 (338-42), pp. 164-7; also Rutherford [1992] ad *Od.* 19.91, p. 142.

[480] cf. above on 8.357, pp. 173-6, 173-4 n. 127.

426-31 Compliance always follows these messages, on this occasion being achieved through a conversation. Here's introduction intimates her perturbation (πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν [426])[481] and she suggests flight (426-31), using another ὤ πόποι exclamation to do so - a highly significant choice, in that it is the third such to pass the barrier of her teeth in this book (201-7; 352-6), each one a stage in her progressive understanding of Zeus' purpose.[482] The first two expressed her determination to resist him openly, but now she is forced to recognise the inevitability of his designs, which she does by declaring his absolute authority to be ἐπιεικές (431), and so an established fact which cannot be overturned. Her resignation is strengthened when we consider that deities only avow carelessness when they themselves are threatened with a serious beating.

ἐπιεικές: **[134]** 6 examples: **[1]** 1.547, **[2]** *8.431*, **[3]** 19.21, **[4]** 19.147, **[5]** 23.50, **[6]** 23.537. The term is applied to the restrictions upon Here's rights to disclosure **[1]**, the obviously divine (and specifically non-mortal) nature and workmanship of Hephaistos' arms **[3]**, Agamemnon's right to dispense the gifts **[4]**, and the arrangements proper for the dead **[5]**. The judgement is questioned only in **[6]**, where Antilokhos denies that it would be ἐπιεικές for Eumelos to be awarded his second prize. The episode is significant in several ways: it explores the ramifications of heroic achievement and reward (note that the Greeks all approve of the award [23.540]), and Antilokhos invokes the absence of divine aid for Eumelos in support of his victory. Besides dramatising these central themes, the episode also calls attention to Antilokhos' close relationship with Akhilleus (cf. 23.555-6) and, finally, is a reflection of the poem's plot, in that the younger man refuses to have his prize taken and given to someone else because of a value system which he questions. In other words, what Antilokhos asserts is that Akhilleus' proposal is not true to his nature, and his older friend agrees - as in fact he must (558-62).

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[481] cf. above on 8.278-81 (280), pp. 143-9 [104/7].

[482] cf. above on 8.200-8 (201), pp. 105-10; also 8.350-6, pp. 170-3; [80/8] - [80/10].

Divine carelessness for mortals: **[135]** 4 examples: **[1]** 1.573-5, **[2]** *8.427-30*, **[3]** 21.357-60 (369-80), **[4]** 21.462-6.[483] Characters invoke these considerations when the prospect of gods suffering at the hands of another god for the sake of mortals becomes a real one: **[1]** Hephaistos labels such an eventuality λοίγια οὐδ' ἔτ' ἀνεκτά (1.573), should Here and Zeus fall into strife ἕνεκα θνητῶν (574); **[3]** under Hephaistos' blazing fire, Skamandrios avows Τρῶας δὲ καὶ αὐτίκα δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς | ἄστεος ἐξελάσειε· τί μοι ἔριδος καὶ ἀρωγῆς (21.359-60). In response to a further request, Here then (379-80) tells her son to leave off, οὐ γὰρ ἔοικεν | ἀθάνατον θεὸν ὧδε βροτῶν ἕνεκα στυφελίζειν; **[4]** Apollo decries a confrontation with Poseidon, on the grounds that he would not be thought σαόφρονα if he were to fight βροτῶν ἕνεκα. In every case, the idea of divine strife over mortals is seen as undesirable, and invoked (by himself or others) as a salve for the retreating figure.

432-7 Their return journey and arrival (432-5) is atypical of these sequences in its detailed description,[484] partially a function of the fact that the characters were forced to turn back before arrival, the poet generating now the customary elements at the end of the outward leg. This is a little too mechanistic, neglecting the fact that such description prepares the character's following action, which is why the outward leg of return journeys are so fully described. By narrating the unharnessing and tethering of the team, and putting away the chariot, the poet insinuates that Athene and Here are to be further involved. Moreover, it is noticeable that the Horai tend to these duties (433), which are frequently the driver's province, so the participation of other figures tends to be noteworthy. The poet is here constructing a parallel with Zeus' return but, given the prominence of the Horai as the gate-keepers of Olympos, the inference is one of location, underlining the fact that their journey got no further than that point.[485] Athene and Here now take their seats amongst

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[483] cf. Richardson [1993] ad 21.468-9, p. 94.

[484] cf. above on 8.41-52, pp. 21-5 [17/3]; also on 8.382-96, pp. 182-4; also Fenik 1968, pp. 74-5.

[485] The presence of the Ὧραι may well be suggested by a traditional role at the gates of Olympos in both [17/1] & [17/2], but on this occasion the tendence of the chariot is sufficiently motivated by the

the other gods φίλον τετιημέναι ἦτορ (437), typical of characters upset by an action over which they have no control; their anger is compounded by their awareness that they are unable to confound the *Dios Boule*.

Every divine journey contains a description of the unharnessing process on its outward (or only) leg: **[17/1]** 5.755-7, **[17/2]** 8.49-50, **[17/3]** 8.433-5, **[17/4]** 13.35-8. Of the mortal journeys, only **[18/3]** is graced with this element (24.576), once again on the outward leg. The return leg, on the other hand, usually precedes the supercession of another character or theme in the narrative: **[17/1]** Here and Athene's specific task, to stop Ares, has been completed and so they return to Olympos without any further description. From now on, the mortals are left to themselves until the opening of Book 7; **[17/4]** Poseidon, representative of the final Greek resurgence, disappears from narrative prominence along with their fortunes, to reappear in Book 20; **[18/1]** Priam does not stay to watch the contest, and so there is no call to unharness his team; **[18/2]** Akhilleus' unharnessing is not specifically mentioned, but subsumed within the general disarming of the Myrmidons after they have paid their respects to Patroklos (23.27ff.); **[18/3]** Priam's wagon is not explicitly unhitched, because the focus now switches to the lament of the women over the dead Hektor. Thus there is a creative dialogue here between necessity, probability and intimation.

The tending of the team may comprise unique actions: **[17/1]** Here releases and pours a cloud over the team, and they are fed by Simoeis; **[17/2]** (outward) Zeus also releases and clouds his team; (return) Poseidon releases the team and then puts away the chariot; **[17/4]** Poseidon releases, feeds and hobbles the horses with golden clasps; **[18/3]** Akhilleus and his attendants perform the unharnessing; **[17/3]** the Horai release and feed the team. Such actions are also performed outside the chariot journey typical scene; e.g., 8.543-4, as the Trojans (instructed at 8.504-5) release their teams and lash them to the chariots, presumably because they are to camp outside in the plain (they do it again at 18.244); Sthenelos tends to the unharnessing of Diomedes' horses after the race at 23.515.[486]

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desire to create a parallel with Poseidon. O'Brien 1993, pp. 185-6, 204, makes the interesting suggestion that Here's connection with the Horai is an essential element of her mythography. Their comparison with Poseidon would then be even stronger, creating a male - female opposition reflected not only in the primary but also secondary figures of the relationship.

[486] cf. also above on 8.184-90, p. 98.

When any of these actions are undertaken by someone other than the driver, it tends to be noticeable: **[17/1]** the fact that Simoeis feeds the team underlines the divine nature of the horses and their location on the plain; **[18/3]** Priam's wagon is unharnessed by Akhilleus and his attendants as part of the hospitality he has offered to the old man. Priam had not reckoned on being asked to stay the night, and so unharnessing was not required until that point, when it comes as an extension of the hero's reception.

φίλον τετιημέν[αι] ἦτορ: **[136]** 2 examples (6): **[1]** *8.437*, **[2]** 11.555 (*sine* φίλον); **[3]** *Od.* 1.114, **[4]** *Od.* 2.298, **[5]** *Od.* 4.804, **[6]** *Od.* 7.287, **[7]** *Od.* 8.303, **[8]** *Od.* 18.153. The characters in these situations are forced to act in a certain way or are otherwise powerless to prevent the situation: **[2]** Aias is forced by Zeus to retreat; **[3]** & **[4]** Telemakhos is depicted as powerless in the face of the suitors because it is one of the key themes of the poem that by its end he is strong enough to act against them; **[5]** the phrase is used of Penelope because she cannot avert the (to her) imminent death of her son at the suitors' hands; **[6]** Odysseus sleeps in this state because Poseidon's wrath has fetched him up naked and alone on yet another foreign shore. There is intended irony here in that the poet describes him in this way at the very point at which he is to be rescued from Poseidon; **[7]** Hephaistos is of course powerless in the face of the mutual attraction between his wife and Ares, nor is he able to return Aphrodite to her father on the grounds of adultery; **[8]** Amphinomos senses an evil coming, but he knows not what it is nor can he escape. It should be remarked that the phrase is also employed of Demeter in the *Hom. Hy. to Dem.* (98, 181 & 198) to express her sorrow over the theft of Persephone as she is received by the daughters of Keleos. Her reception into his house is a step in the process of her withdrawal from divine intercourse, and connected by the poet with the gift of agriculture to mankind. Thus it represents her attempted counteraction to the rape of her daughter.[487]

438-84 Zeus returns to Olympos (438-41), divine assembly (442-84).

438-44 Now the poet concludes Zeus' successful journey (438-9), and Poseidon attends to his team and chariot (440-1) before he takes his place on his throne (442-3). The poet thus

completes the doublet with Athene and Here's return, contrasting his service to that of the Horai, and Zeus' triumphal entry to their sorrowful one. Poseidon's greater power, and so his earlier refusal to interfere when given the opportunity, adds much to the strength of Zeus' determination.[488] This attitude is to be important, for his arrival marks the opening of the second divine *agore* (442-84) of this book, during which Zeus' assertion of his primacy is once more to play a prominent role. This is heavily intimated by the shaking of Olympos (μέγας πελεμίζετ' Ὄλυμπος [443]) with its usual connotations of divine *stasis*.[489] The construction of the doublet has thus set the tone for that consultation, emphasising a disparity in the *status quo*.

444-84 The arrival of both Zeus and the rebels signals the beginning of another *agore*, this time of the transitional variety,[490] most examples of which are allotted to the gods, who seem to exist in a state of semi-permanent assembly. The transitional characters signal to the audience the subject matter of the consultation, for they bring with them the problem facing the group, in this case amounting to the fullest and most decisive statement of the *Dios Boule* in the poem so far. Thus, the assembly represents the apex of the exploration of Zeus' power in the previous scenes. Consultations falling at the end of the day tend to

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[487] *pace* Richardson [1974] ad loc.

[488] cf. Reinhardt 1961, p. 150; also Leaf [1904] ad loc., p. 361; Ameis-Hentze [1907] ad loc., p. 70; Willcock [1978] ad loc., p. 267; Kirk [1990] ad 8.440-1, p. 332; Schäfer 1990, p. 71f.

[489] cf. above on 8.198-9 (199), p. 104 n. 235 [78/3]. Ramersdorfer 1981, pp. 96-8, argues that 8.443 depends on *Theogony* 842 [78/4] (whilst approving the view of von der Mühll 1952, p. 154, that 8.199 [78/2] is already a trivialisation of the true use of the motif at 1.530 [78/1]) because the threat posed to Zeus by Typhaon in the *Theogony* is very real, whilst here in the *Iliad* it is not; cf. above, however, on 8.199, p. 104 n. 235; also 8.357, pp. 173-4 n. 427.

[490] cf. above on 8.2-40, pp. 3-21 [4/10].

foreshadow events on the next,[491] and so the continuation of his plan is projected well into the next day of battle and, indeed, the rest of the poem.

The assemblies of the transitional variety are assumed to have gathered already, and the poet moves the narrative focus to the scene usually by following the arrival of a transitional character: **[4/1]** Khryses, **[4/2]** Zeus, **[4/3]** Iris, **[4/5]** Iris and Aphrodite, **[4/6]** Ares, **[4/7]** & **[4/8]** Idaios, **[4/10]** Zeus, **[4/11]** Here. The other three examples are introduced with divine observation of an event down on earth; **[4/4]** the gods observe the stalemate after the duel and deal with its resolution; **[4/9]** the wall under construction, which causes Poseidon some pain; **[4/12]** the chase around the walls, which they resolve by despatching Athene to the scene. Of all these scenes, only **[4/3]**, **[4/7]** & **[4/8]** are not allotted to the gods.

The transitional character is either questioned by another (as in **[4/2]**, **[4/5]** & **[4/11]**), or simply issues a speech without provocation (as in **[4/1]**, **[4/3]**, **[4/6]** - **[4/8]** & **[4/10]**).

444-7 The scene opens with a description of Here and Athene sitting apart from the others in silence (444-5).[492] Zeus' attention (ἔγνω ἧισιν ἐνὶ φρεσί [446]) signals his realisation that their recalcitrance has reached a decisive point. He opens his following speech with an ironic question (τίφθ' οὕτω [447]) connoting rebuke of their behaviour, but at the same time inviting a deflective answer. Zeus' words (448-56) recall those of the first *agore* in this book, where his threats extended not only to individuals (esp. 8.10-17) but encompassed the entire group (18f.). Thus is closed the ring represented by these two

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[491] cf. above on 8.2-40, pp. 19-21.

[492] 8.445-6 (οὐδέ τί μιν προσεφώνεον οὐδ' ἐρέοντο | . . ἔγνω ἧισιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ φώνησέν τε) is also employed at 1.332-3, where the mission arrives at Akhilleus' tent to take Briseis. ἐρέοντο seems to be designed for the lack of an opening statement where a group of people comes within someone else's sphere of authority, particularly where there is some unease over the act of reception. προσεφώνεον ἔκ τ' ἐρέοντο is employed at *Od.* 10.109 to describe the initial questioning of the Laistrygonian Antiphates' daughter by Odysseus' men; at *Il.* 9.671 and *Od.* 10.63 ἔκ τ' ἐρέοντο is employed to denote the first question directed by the group to the arrivals about their journey, in the first case the return of the Embassy, in the second that of Odysseus coming back to Aiolos' island. The verb is clearly used without negation in a context of unhappy or inauspicious reception. However, as

consultations, where the first foreshadowed an open resistance, the failure of which is now confirmed by the second, but in both of which Zeus is faced with the other gods' reluctance simply to accede.[493] This speech and indeed scene in general reflects that closure, in that whereas his opening at the start of the book was confined to vague threats, Zeus now focuses retrospectively on the fact that Athene and Here were wise to avoid confrontation.

ἔγνω ἦισιν ἐνὶ φρεσί: **[137]** 4 examples (1): [1] 1.333, [2] *8.446*, [3] 16.530, [4] 22.296, [5] *Hom. Hy. to Apollo* 375.[494] In each case, the speaker notes the decisive moment of a process affecting his status or self-determination: [1] Akhilleus notes the arrival of the heralds to take Briseis. His following speech (1.334-44) focuses on Agamemnon's guilt. The issue of course is the one at the heart of the poem, in which one man's greater power initially triumphs over another's greater heroic status; [3] Glaukos realises that Apollo has answered his prayer, which had been directed to allowing him to save Sarpedon's body, and he approaches Hektor with a stinging rebuke for his failure to do so himself (16.537-47). As Sarpedon's retainer and comrade, Glaukos was the natural object of his friend's dying command to save his corpse (492-501); [4] after calling for another spear from Deiphobos/Athene, Hektor realises that his fate is upon him, and his following magnificent speech expresses his awareness of a long planned death, and his determination nonetheless to fight (22.297-305);[495] [5] in his quest for a temple location, and after he kills the dragon at Pytho, Apollo finally realises that he has been deceived by Telphouse and proceeds to punish her.

τίφθ' οὕτω[ς] questions: **[138]** 4 examples (2): [1] 4.243, [2] *8.447*, [3] 10.37, [4] 10.141, [5] *Od.* 10.378, [6] *Od.* 23.98.[496] These fall in rebuke contexts, describing an action which the speaker feels inappropriate in the circumstance. The response, whether it comes from the questioned character or not (as in [6]), seeks to deflect that implication: [1] during the *Epipolesis*,

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we have only two examples of the negatived expression at *Il.* 8.444 and 1.332, we do not attempt a referential definition.

493 cf. Fenik 1968, pp. 202-3.

494 cf. Latacz [2000]b ad 1.333, p. 123; also Richardson [1993] ad 22.295-305, p. 136.

495 cf. below on 8.497-541 (498), pp. 218-20 [150/7].

496 cf. van Leeuwen [1912] ad loc., p. 294.

Agamemnon's generic rebuke (οὔς τινας αὖ μεθιέντας ἴδοι [240]) demands to know why they stand off from the fighting like fauns. Because there is no specific addressee to this speech, there is no reply, but notice that all his following specific rebukes are answered with deflective purpose (4.265-7, 4.349ff., 4.403ff.); [3] Menelaos' question about his brother's preparations seems an exception to the first connotation, but we have already seen how this episode and its consequences explore the former's deficiencies in the eyes of some of the other Greek *basileis*, and this question I believe reveals a certain sensitivity about his own failure to influence events (as Agamemnon acknowledges to Nestor at 10.121-3).[497] It also refers to the need to take some action during the night, which Menelaos perhaps feels will devolve upon them because of the unwillingness of the other chieftains (cf. 10.38-41). Agamemnon's reply focuses on this latter issue, the need for them to come up with some good counsel, and their reliance on other *basileis*, particularly Nestor; [4] Odysseus' question implies that a journey through the night alone is a suspicious action,[498] and Nestor replies μὴ νεμέσα (10.145) on the grounds that his action is required by the army's dire straits; [5] Kirke demands to know the reason for Odysseus' unhappiness, now that he has just bedded her and received her hospitality. His reply cautiously denies the implication of ingratitude, and relates his demeanour to a concern for his men.

450-6 Individual expressions and ideas reinforce Zeus' certainty. χεῖρες are only ἄαπτοι (450) when they belong to ascendant figures, the τρόμος gripping Here and Athene (452) is an emotion caused by a much stronger phenomenon which prevents its subject from counteraction, and doubled πρίν sentences (452-3) are employed for predictions or other expressions of futurity which are expressed from a negative perspective and usually correct. This example is one of the few applied to past time and lacking a negative particle. Consequently, there is no overt proleptic function, and it is simply an assertion about the past. Interestingly, this alteration of futurity is repeated when Zeus adapts a τετελεσμένον prediction (454) in order to apply it to a past unreality (κε[ν] + imperf. indic.)

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497 cf. above on 8.145-7 (145), pp. 76-80 [57/18] - [57/20].

498 A theme evinced elsewhere; cf. above on 8.91-6 (94), pp. 50-3.

of actual confrontation.[499] In both cases, the poet allows Zeus to manipulate the usually future temporal reference of these proleptic units, and thus confirms both the strength of his earlier predictions and his own unique narrative authority, in that he exhibits a knowledge and understanding commensurate in these cases with the poet's own.[500]

χεῖρες ἄαπτοι: **[139]** 11 examples: **[1]** 1.567, **[2]** 7.309, **[3]** *8.450*, **[4]** 11.169, **[5]** 12.166, **[6]** 13.49, **[7]** 13.77, **[8]** 13.318, **[9]** 16.244, **[10]** 17.638, **[11]** 20.503.[501] The expression is used both by the poet and by his characters: **[1]** Zeus threatens Here once again with laying his hands on her; **[2]** Hektor's comrades are overjoyed to see Hektor escaping from the hands of Aias; **[4]** & **[11]** Agamemnon and Akhilleus in their *aristeiai* are so described; **[5]** Asios underlines his expectation of victory (earlier undercut by the poet) with the statement that he thought the Greeks would not hold back his hands, stressing his mistake;[502] **[6]** Poseidon says that he fears not for the hands of the Trojans (definitely in the ascendant) elsewhere, only where they accompany Hektor; **[7]** Aias comments on his increased strength after revitalisation from Poseidon; **[10]** Aias wants to be victorious in rescuing Patroklos' body in order to reassure the others who think that the victorious Hektor (and his hands) will not be restrained.

τρόμος: **[140]** 12 examples: **[1]** 3.34, **[2]** 5.862, **[3]** 6.137, **[4]** 7.215, **[5]** *8.452*, **[6]** 10.25, **[7]** 11.117, **[8]** 18.247, **[9]** 19.14, **[10]** 20.44, **[11]** 22.136, **[12]** 24.170. Only once does the object actually attempt to do something about it: **[6]** Menelaos' τρόμος is caused by the army's fortunes (and connected to the perturbation felt by Agamemnon), he gets up to look for his brother. In this case, there is something of a cloud about Menelaos' general eagerness and participation,[503] although the emotion is intended here to stress more the difficulties facing the army at the beginning of the episode. Unsurprisingly, τρόμος is sometimes caused to mortals by divine phenomena (and once *vice versa*: **[3]** Glaukos' story of Lykourgos and his attack on Dionysos):

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499 cf. above on 8.401, pp. 399-408 (401); and 8.282-6 (286), pp. 149-51. A part of the paradosis actually reads ἔσται for ἦεν here; cf. M West [1998-2000] ad loc., p. 246. This is certainly an interpolation from 8.401, confirmed by the other occasions in this passage where the poet manipulates the temporal reference of traditional elements in order to underline Zeus' exceptional narrative authority; cf. next note.

500 cf. below on 8.473-7 (475), pp. 206-9 [144/6] for similar equations.

501 cf. Eide 1986; Latacz [2000]b ad 1.567, p. 175.

502 cf. above on 8.177-9 (177), pp. 95-7, 96 n. 210.

503 cf. above on 8.145-7 (145), pp. 76-80, 77 n. 161; [57/18] - [57/20]; also on 8.444-7 (447), pp. 199-201 [138/3].

[2] the wounded Ares' shout, [9] the arms of Akhilleus, [12] the presence of Iris. It is also caused by the appearance of a stronger figure: [1] Menelaos, [4] Aias, [7] Agamemnon, [8], [10] & [11] Akhilleus.

Doubled πρίν sentence: **[141]** 19 examples: [1] 1.97-8, [2] 2.348, [3] 2.354-5, [4] 2.413-4, [5] 4.114-5, [6] 5.288, [7] 7.481, [8] *8.452-3*, [9] 8.473-4, [10] 9.650-1, [11] 14.46-7, [12] 15.72-4, [13] 16.839-40, [14] 18.189-90, [15] 18.334, [16] 19.170, [17] 21.224, [18] 21.294-5, [19] 24.781.[504] The negative (i.e., this won't be the case before etc.) falls in the main clause, and the subordinate πρίν clause is depicted as a necessary precursor to the first: [1] (Kalkhas) Apollo won't stop his anger; [3] (Nestor) let no-one depart; [6] (Diomedes) I will not stop; [10] (Akhilleus) I will not think of war; [12] (Zeus) I will not cease from my wrath or allow any interference; [16] (Odysseus) a refreshed man's limbs do not weary; [19] (Priam) Akhilleus said he would do no harm. There are only two examples lacking a negative ([8] & [2]): [2] before the first πρίν clause (348) Nestor denies its success (ἄνυσις δ' οὐκ ἔσσεται αὐτῶν [347]), supplying at least a negative context. The point of the prediction is that it is not to be fulfilled, under pain of death.

The success of the action so described is almost universal: [1] Apollo does give up his anger when Kalkhas' measures are adopted; [3] no-one departs before the city is sacked; [5] Pandaros is allowed to complete his shot without interference; [6] Diomedes does kill Pandaros; [9] Hektor does not cease until he causes Akhilleus to rise; [12] Zeus does indeed keep the other gods out for as long as he wishes; [15] Akhilleus buries Patroklos after he has killed Hektor and brought his spoils to the camp; [17] Akhilleus does not cease until he kills Hektor; [19] Akhilleus' promise of a truce holds good. The exceptions, once again, draw great significance from this connotation of success: [2] Nestor's prediction is that those who intend to leave, before they find out if Zeus promised them truthfully or not, should perish. They do not leave, and the point of the sentence is to underline the force of the threat; [4] Agamemnon's prayer is of course denied, as the audience knows, but that he employs the sentence emphasises his delusion; [11] (Agamemnon's report of) Hektor's deluded threat similarly stresses both his delusion, and the unwarranted fear of the Greek; [13] Hektor's version of Akhilleus' instructions to Patroklos also emphasises his lack of understanding, attributing success in this case to his victim's (and Akhilleus') delusion.

The only examples to lack any sense of futurity are [7] & [8]: in the former, the poet tells us that no-one dared drink before they had made libation to Zeus, whilst in the latter, Zeus recounts

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[504] cf. Wilson 1991; Latacz [2000]b ad 1.97-100, p. 63.

Athene and Here's retreat from conflict. It is obviously significant that his authority is being stressed in this way, i.e. so as to differentiate it from every other character, at the very moment at which it is challenged.

457-68 The reaction of the two goddesses (457-68) is another almost verbatim reminiscence of an earlier consultation involving these same characters (4.7-29).[505] Athene's anger (χόλος δέ μιν ἄγριος ἥιρει [460]) is reserved for those situations when the deity feels him or herself particularly damaged by Zeus' attitude or inaction, and Here's speech (461-8) serves the general purpose of indicating the progression in her tactical approach to the *Dios Boule*, as well as the deflection of his anger which the audience expects after τίφθ' οὕτω questions (447).[506] Her opening (ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες [462]) shows that she has returned to the indirect methods of negation or opposition,[507] and this is augmented by her repetition of sections from Athene's redirective speech in the *agore* at the beginning of the book (8.32-7), particularly the combination of εὖ νυ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν (463) and οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν (463), both of which connote qualifications of her intention.[508] Given that both speeches are directed at an opening threat from Zeus, the repetition allows the poet again to call the audience back to that earlier moment, and thus highlight the significant

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505 cf. above on 8.2-40, pp. 3-21 [4/4] & [4/10]. In both situations, a provocative (and explicitly pro-Trojan) opening from Zeus (4.7-19; 8.447-56) causes the two most fervently pro-Akhaian deities to sit in dudgeon (4.20-1 = 8.457-8). Athene's anger prevents her from speaking (4.22-3 = 8.459-60), but Here cannot restrain herself (4.24 = 8.461) from questioning his intentions with a ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες speech (4.25-9 ~ 8.462-8 [463-8 = 8.32-7]); cf. below. cf. Reinhardt 1961, pp. 150-1, who decides for priority in favour (again) of Book 8; *contra*, Diller 1965, p. 141f. Our discussion of the following scene will indicate, however, that individual referential currents bestow sufficient meaning on the narrative for it not to require that specific reference.

506 cf. above on 8.444-7 (447), pp. 199-201 [138/2].

507 cf. above on 8.208-11 (209), pp. 110-12 [82/4]; cf. Erbse 1986, p. 198.

508 cf. above on 8.28-37 (32), pp. 14-16 [12/2] & [13/3]; 8.32-7 = 8.463-8. Here also repeats 8.34 (= 8.465) at 8.354; cf. above n. 505 for a similar example of specific intratextual referentiality; Ameis-Hentze [1907] ad loc., p. 72; M West [1998-2000] follows van Leeuwen [1912] ad loc., p. 295, in deleting 8.466-8; cf., *contra*, Reinhardt 1961, pp. 150-2; van der Valk 1964, p. 428; Lohmann 1970, pp. 120-1. The individual referential features of the repetition do not occur within

changes in circumstance, as well as the continuity of Here's opposition which, to judge from Zeus' reply, is not lost on him either.

χόλος δέ μιν ἄγριος ἤιρει: **[142]** 2 examples (1): **[1]** 4.23, **[2]** *8.460*, **[3]** *Od.* 8.304. These expressions are all directed at a failing on Zeus' part, but the fact that the god is angry does not of itself seriously challenge either his hegemony or indeed force any action at all upon him: **[1]** despite Athene's wrath and Here's demand that he concede the destruction of Troy, we know that this event is inevitable, and his words were not seriously intended to suggest that Troy might be saved (cf. esp. 4.6); **[2]** again, for all her anger, Athene will be unable to prevent the fulfilment of Zeus' promise to Thetis and the current direction of the *Dios Boule*; **[3]** Hephaistos threatens the dissolution of his marriage, along with a rebuke of Aphrodite's parents (8.311-2; 317-20). The ability of Zeus to control the sexual or marital activites of the other gods has been mentioned elsewhere,[509] and here Poseidon is rather concerned that a repudiation of this *status quo* should not occur (344-59).

469-72 The introduction to Zeus' response (τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη [469]) signals to the audience a dissatisfaction with Here's statement and a firm determination to impose upon the narrative.[510] Firstly, his prediction of the morrow's events (ὄψεαι [471]) connotes a powerful desire to assert himself and counteract Here's subtle suggestion of involvement. This is resumed once again by another third person reference (470-2)[511] and, when that is combined with a 'guaranteed protasis' (αἴ κ' ἐθέλησθα (471)] on Here's observation of his power,[512] the prediction itself represents in the strongest terms and from several sources

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the most doubted section (8.466-8), and they again make perfect sense in their context without this intratextuality; cf., *contra*, Diller 1965, p. 141.

509 cf. above on 8.199, pp. 102-5, 104 n. 235.

510 cf. above on 8.292-9 (292), pp. 151-5 [109/13] and Appendix 1.

511 cf. above on 8.10-22 (22), pp. 10-13 [10/6].

512 cf. above on 8.141-3 (141), pp. 72-5 [55/3] forms a thematically related group with [55/1] & [55/5] (also examples of the ὄψεαι prediction: [143/1] & [143/3]). Here is forced to do as Zeus wishes, just as he knew she would.

the power of Zeus' determination, the intimate connection between his conception of his status and the *Dios Boule*, and the ineluctibility of his actions.

ὄψεαι predictions: **[143]** 4 examples (2): [1] 4.353 (353-5), [2] *8.470 (470-2)*, [3] 9.359 (359-61), [4] 24.601 (600-1), [5] *Od.* 24.511, [6] *Hom. Hy. to Herm.* 181.[513] The speaker predicts a certain course of action which represents his disagreement with the previous speech or speaker ([1], [2], [3] & [5] fall within a speech introduced by ἀπαμειβόμενος) in the form of an assertion about how his opinion or intention is to be justified or proven. The prediction's eventuality is not guaranteed, because this symbol is more concerned with connoting a powerful assertion of the character in the face of a challenge to his authority or identity: [1] Odysseus' reply to Agamemnon's accusation denies it totally, and asserts that he will fight among the foremost; [3] after Odysseus' long and complex request for his re-involvement, Akhilleus refuses and offers his departure as the ultimate proof of his intention; [4] after Priam had intimated that reception was not his desire and that he wanted to take Hektor and leave (24.552-8), and Akhilleus had threatened him (559-71), the latter's prediction is a guarantee of his desire to show the old man the full exent of his hospitality in due order; [5] Telemakhos, after being told not to dishonour his family, asserts that he will not. It is another step in his accession to manhood and full membership of his community; [6] after Maia's challenge to him and warning about Apollo's wrath over his cattle, Hermes replies that he will steal his tripod from Pytho, amongst other things, and she will witness it.[514]

473-7 This foundation then leads into the poem's first explicit plot exposition, the inevitability of which is guaranteed by another doubled πρίν sentence (473-4)[515] and an expression (ἤματι τῷι ὅτε [475]) employed to refer to an episode in the past from which to glean a paradigmatic lesson.[516] With its reference transferred here to the future, the past

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513 cf. Kirk [1985] ad 4.353, p. 366.

514 Notice that in her preceding speech (154-61), Maia had used the expression ἔρρε; cf. above on 8.160-7 (164), pp. 84-6.

515 cf. above on 8.450-6 (452-3), pp. 201-4 [141/9].

516 Difficulties have been discerned in the prediction's specifics; cf. Σ A ad 8.475-6; Ameis-Hentze [1907] ad loc., p. 73; Leaf [1904] ad loc., p. 363; van der Valk 1964, p. 417; Diller 1965, p. 142; van Thiel 1982, p. 289; Kirk [1990] ad loc., p. 334; Reinhardt 1961, pp. 167-8. The apparent contradictions between the speech and the later narrative are usually considered to have been

association confers an analogous inevitability on the prediction itself, which is confirmed in Zeus' definitive conclusion (ὡς γὰρ θέσφατον ἐστι [477]), for knowledge of τὰ θέσφατα is reserved for those with particular mantic skill and, when specific predictions are so described, they are inevitably fulfilled.

ἤματι [τῷι] ὅτε: **[144]** 22 examples: **[1]** 2.351, **[2]** 2.743, **[3]** 3.189, **[4]** 5.210, **[5]** 6.345, **[6]** *8.475*, **[7]** 9.253, **[8]** 9.439, **[9]** 11.766, **[10]** 12.279, **[11]** 13.335, **[12]** 14.250, **[13]** 15.76, **[14]** 16.385, **[15]** 18.85, **[16]** 19.60, **[17]** 19.89, **[18]** 19.98, **[19]** 21.77, **[20]** 22.359, **[21]** 22.471, **[22]** 23.87.[517] This device occurs usually in character's speeches, but is also found in the poet's *persona propria* (as in **[2]**, **[10]**, **[11]**, **[14]** & **[21]**; **[10]**, **[11]** & **[14]** in similes where the reference is to generalised time). Overwhelmingly the phrase expresses a past event: **[2]** the poet gives anecdotal information about Polypoites based around his mother's marriage; **[5]** Helen wishes that she had died on the day she was born; **[7]** (similarly **[8]** & **[9]**) Odysseus reminds Akhilleus of his father's instructions on the day he had set out; **[12]** Hypnos initially refuses Here's request on the grounds that he did grant a similar request on the day that Herakles was sailing home from Troy, and was

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explained by the 'Ungenauigkeitsprinzip' of Schadewaldt 1966, p. 110, n. 3, but there are no inaccuracies in Zeus' words. When Akhilleus ὄρθαι (8.474) and appears at the trench, the fight is indeed ἐπὶ πρύμνησι: the Greeks have been moving back to the ships with Patroklos since Aias' suggestion (7.715-21); cf. esp. 18.6-7. Further, the poet does not have Zeus say that Patroklos will die at the ships, merely that they will fight around his corpse at the ships; cf. di Benedetto 1994, pp. 275-6 n. 10. Σ A nonetheless objects that they are not fighting στείνει ἐν αἰνοτάτωι. στείνος itself is a singularly labile term, referring "to the narrow gap between either the ships and the chariots or the ships and the rampart . . (or) that between the rampart and the ditch": Janko [1992] ad 15.426, p. 275. At the moment of Akhilleus' appearance, the Trojans are pressing or close to the wall and the ships, as we have seen, and so I would suggest that the reference of στείνος is not too precise. Indeed, Erbse 1986, p. 199f., follows Σ T ad loc., and opts for a metaphorical interpretation. Finally, Diller 1965, p. 142, argues that "in Wahrheit hat Hektor erst 'mit dem Kriege aufgehörte' (473), als er fiel, und das war am Tag nach dem Tod des Patroklos." di Benedetto 1994, p. 276 n. 10, feels that Zeus' anger against Here is sufficient excuse, but our analysis of the doubled πρίν sentence reveals that the subordinated πρίν clause is intended to happen *at some point* before the main πρίν clause as its necessary precursor. For example, Nestor's instruction to the Greeks at 2.354-5 (τὼ μή τις πρὶν ἐπειγέσθω οἶκόνδε νέεσθαι | πρίν τινα πὰρ Τρώων ἀλόχωι κατακοιμηθῆναι [141/3]) urges that the sexual violence (sub. πρίν) should take place before their departure (main πρίν). In the same way, the reappearance of Akhilleus (sub. πρίν) is the necessary precursor to Hektor's ceasing from battle (main πρίν), and the syntax allows for a passage of time between the actions. Therefore, the following ἤματι τῷι ὅτε prediction, which comes right after the subordinate πρίν clause, refers to that action - the rise of Akhilleus - alone. There is no difficulty here.

[517] cf. de Jong 1987, pp. 234-6.

endangered because of it; **[15]** Akhilleus tells his mother that Hektor has his armour, which was given to Peleus the day she was married to him; **[18]** Agamemnon recounts the story about the deception of Zeus on the day when Herakles was about to be born; **[21]** Andromakhe casts off the veil given her by Aphrodite on the day she was wed.

There are only two examples where the expression refers to future time: **[6]** the current prediction of the *Dios Boule* by Zeus; **[20]** Hektor *moriens* predicts Akhilleus' eventual death. These are striking occasions concerning the plot of the poem and the fate of its central character, and the fact that the prediction in both cases is correct is signalled in no small way because this device is usually associated with known and established events *in the past*. These episodes are expressed from the character's personal history: **[1]** Nestor mentions the grant of victory on the day they arrived, in order to convince the Greeks to stay and endure; **[3]** Priam mentions the army he was a part of the day the Amazons came in order to compare it unfavourably with the size of Agamemnon's current host; **[4]** Pandaros condemns for its lack of success the fact that he took his bow on the day he left; **[5]** Helen denigrates herself (as often) by wishing for a lack of existence which would have obviated her current shame; **[7]** (similarly **[8]** & **[9]**) instructions of his father are invoked in order to persuade Akhilleus to act in accordance; **[12]** Hypnos invokes the consequences of his previous acquiescence as reason for refusal now; **[13]** Zeus refers to his promise to Thetis in order to underline the strength of his current resolve, and to persuade Here not to interfere any more; **[16]** Akhilleus wishes that Briseis had died and never become a cause of conflict; **[17]** Agamemnon deflects blame by invoking the idea of Ate when he took away Akhilleus' prize (and uses **[18]** the same figure when recounting the story of how Zeus was also deceived); **[22]** Patroklos' shade invokes their childhood (and his dependence on Akhilleus through mention of his exilic status) in order to argue for burial together.

The two future time examples also use the device in situations where the prediction has a persuasive value: **[6]** Zeus is asserting his power and Here's impotence when he makes the prediction; **[20]** Hektor is reminding Akhilleus of his own mortality as reason for him to be merciful towards his conquered foe.

θέσφατ[ον]: **[145]** 2 examples (7): **[1]** 5.64, **[2]** *8.477*; **[3]** *Od.* 4.561, **[4]** *Od.* 9.507, **[5]** *Od.* 10.473, **[6]** *Od.* 11.151, **[7]** *Od.* 11.297, **[8]** *Od.* 13.172; **[9]** *Hom. Hy. to Hermes* 534. τὰ θέσφατα are uttered by or connected with a figure of mantic authority, usually a seer (as in **[3]**, **[4]**, **[6]**, **[7]**, **[8]** & **[9]**), and with regard to a specific prediction. When this is not the case (as in **[1]** & **[2]**), τὰ θέσφατα are still deemed as the course of things decreed by a higher order and unknowable to

ordinary men: **[1]** the poet opines that Tekton never would have fashioned Paris' ships had he known the θέσφατα; **[5]** Odysseus' men do not pretend to know whether they are ordained to return home (εἴ τοι θέσφατόν ἐστι σαωθῆναι καὶ ἱκέσθαι etc. [10.473]).

Specific predictions are also made, or referred to after fulfilment (as in **[2]**, **[3]**, **[4]**, **[6]** & **[8]**): **[3]** Menelaos does go Elusion; **[4]** Polyphemos has been undone by Odysseus; **[6]** Odysseus' men do eat Helios' cattle, thus losing their *nostos*, and he finds the situation at home as Teiresias describes it; **[8]** the Phaiakians have been punished by Poseidon, though we are not told that he goes as far as Alkinoos' father predicted, only that the Phaiakians attempt to avert it.

477-83 Zeus now expresses an utter lack of concern for her wrath with an expression (οὐκ ἀλεγίζω [477]) characteristic of those who suffer consequences for failing to take due consideration before acting. The text here intimates Zeus underestimation of his wife's potential for disruption, although his following statement - that he would not care even if she were to travel to τὰ νείατα πείραθ' (478) - summons the important theme of Withdrawal or Separation, a typical manifestation of heavenly and heroic dissatisfaction.[518] The usual consequence is a subsequent devastation, so Zeus openly challenges his wife to oppose him whilst at the same time denying her ability to do so. This is an obvious and powerful contrast stemming from Zeus' capacity to fulfil his designs despite Here's constant opposition, and divine conflict is continued.

οὐ | ἀλεγ[ίζω]: **[146]** 9 examples: **[1]** 1.160, **[2]** 1.180, **[3]** *8.477*, **[4]** 8.483, **[5]** 11.80, **[6]** 11.389, **[7]** 12.238, **[8]** 15.106, **[9]** 16.388.[519] The closest parallel to the current example is **[2]**, where

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[518] There are several interpretations of this reference, drawing on previous examples of heavenly discord or the cultic power of the participants and so on; cf., e.g., Ameis-Hentze [1907] ad 8.13, p. 39, and ad 8.479, p. 73; van Leeuwen [1912] ad loc., p. 296; Leaf [1904] ad loc., p. 364; Kerényi 1972, p. 100f.; Willcock [1978] ad loc., p. 268; Pötscher 1987, pp. 68-9; cf. Kirk [1990] ad 8.477-83, p. 334; Schäfer 1990, p. 72 n. 185; O'Brien 1993, p. 106, and n. 51. However, the wrathful withdrawal of a character is a very common epic theme; cf. esp. Lord 1960, pp. 186-97; Nagler 1974, pp. 131-66; also M Lord 1967; Sowa 1984, ch. 4.

[519] cf. Latacz [2000]b ad 1.180, p. 85.

Agamemnon abuses Akhilleus in almost the same terms, as well as voicing his lack of concern about his return home; [**1**] Akhilleus claims that Agamemnon has not properly considered his obligations to the army, and his withdrawal is a direct result of this heedlessness (confirmed by Agamemnon himself in [**2**]); [**6**] Diomedes, despite his claims of indifference towards Paris' martial skill, has in fact been sidelined by the Trojan for the rest of the fight. His claim sounds a trifle hollow; [**7**] in the light of Poulydamas' correct interpretation, Hektor states his lack of consideration for ornithomancy, an obvious symbol of his delusion and coming doom; [**9**] the storms raised by Zeus are directed towards men who drive out justice and do not consider the ὄπιν of the gods - a constant theme, for example, in Hesiod.[520] The expression is used of Zeus' relationship with the other gods in terms of his determination to act without regard for their opinions in [**3**], [**4**], [**5**] & [**8**], and in the last two is linked with the theme of his physical separation.

483-4 He justifies his attitude with a comparison (ἐπεὶ οὐ σέο κύντερον ἄλλο [483]) linking the negative quality with the speaker's personal detriment. Again Zeus invests much of himself and his position in the fulfilment of the *Dios Boule* and, similarly, Here's deliberate silence (τὸν δ' οὔ τι προσέφη [484]) acknowledges his greater power and her own unwillingness or inability to concede. Moreover, the temporary resolution of the problem which usually accompanies such deliberate silence is singularly lacking in this case, as the poet turns straight to the setting of the sun (485f.).[521] There is simply no response to be made to such a statement, and so the 'Götterstreit' will run through the next day's play.

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[520] cf., e.g., Gagarin 1992; S Nelson 1999; also Janko [1992] ad 16.386-8, p. 366.

[521] Diller 1965, p. 140f., finds the lack of resolution very disquieting, but this is emphasised here quite deliberately, indeed far more strongly than Diller recognised, because Here is not yet to be reconciled with Zeus' explicit purpose.

οὐ | comparative adj. | ἄλλ[ο]: **[147]** 8 examples: **[1]** 2.248, **[2]** 3.365, **[3]** *8.483*, **[4]** 10.165, **[5]** 15.569, **[6]** 19.321, **[7]** 22.106, **[8]** 23.439.[522] The imprecation is of various sorts: **[1]** Odysseus links Thersites' low character and status with his own determination to prevent such a man from interfering in the business of the *basileis* ever again;[523] **[2]** Menelaos complains of Zeus' support for a group of people who have so obviously broken the bounds of decency and right behaviour, at the very moment when his personal vengeance was about to be satisfied; **[4]** Diomedes uses the expression as a question, humorously, in order to underline Nestor's hardihood which, given his greater age, makes the others seem less diligent in their duty simply by taking their rest after a hard day's battle and a harder evening's embassy; **[6]** Akhilleus so names the death of Patroklos as the greatest possible evil he could suffer, greater even than the death of his father; **[7]** the insult from such a figure would be detrimental not only for its truth but more importantly its source; **[8]** Menelaos feels that the youth's reckless driving has cost him his prize and share of honour. Only in **[5]**, where Menelaos is attempting to get Antilokhos to jump out and make a cast at someone, does this not seem to be the case. However, we need to remember their conflict in Book 23 **[8]**, as well as their general friendship.[524] The current reference to Antilokhos' speed and audacity is a constant part of his characterisation, and could also allude to his later death at the hands of Memnon. This may, but need not, imply the configuration of his death as we find it in Pindar *Pythian* 6,[525] but could also simply have been the result of his recklessness and desire always to be in the forefront of the fighting. This quality is emphasised on several occasions throughout the poem as a generic danger to the hero's life (cf., e.g., 6.407, 22.405f.), heroes are elsewhere warned not to rage through the front ranks (cf., e.g., 5.249-50), and Antilokhos' daring leads him deliberately to ignore a cautionary shout from the older man during the chariot race (23.430), giving rise to **[8]**. Thus, I think that Menelaos in **[5]** is alluding to the risks inherent in Antilokhos' bravery / daring at the same time as exhorting him to indulge in it. The loss of Antilokhos to the mission would be a cause for great personal sadness on Menelaos' part (cf. esp. 23.607-8, where he acknowledges his debt to the Nestoridai), but there is a necessity in the current situation overriding that consideration.

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522 cf. Kirk [1985] ad 3.365-8, p. 319; Janko [1992] ad 15.568-71, p. 290.
523 cf. above on 8.10-22 (22), pp. 10-13 [10/2].
524 cf. Willcock 1983.
525 cf. above on 8.91-6, p. 50 n. 93.

τ[ὸν] δ' οὔ τι προσέφη: **[148]** 6 examples: **[1]** 1.511, **[2]** 4.401, **[3]** 5.689, **[4]** 6.342, **[5]** *8.484*, **[6]** 21.478.[526] On each occasion, silence falls in the context of a rebuke situation, reflecting the inappropriateness of reply because the character is unwilling or unable to concede the speaker's opinion or perspective. The issue at hand, however, needs at least temporary resolution, which the poet achieves with further speech(es) or action, though this is at best a delay of the problem: **[1]** Zeus is initially silent to Thetis' request because to reply favourably, as he knows, will necessitate divine conflict. Nonetheless, because she continues with what amounts almost to a threat (ὅσ[σ]ον personal comparison),[527] he is then forced to concede to her second supplication; **[2]** Diomedes, though he disagrees with Agamemnon, cannot tell him he is wrong given the taunt about his great rhetorical skill,[528] but must prove his worth during the coming fighting, and much of his characterisation in the poem reflects that need. Sthenelos then rebukes Agamemnon before being brought back into line by Diomedes. Refutation will come only through deeds;[529] **[3]** Hektor fails to reply to Sarpedon's request for aid because it would halt his advance. There seems to have been some tension between the leading allies and the head Trojan on this matter (cf., e.g., 16.537f.), but it comes down basically to the relative importance of Hektor's heroic *kudos* and military prudence, which choice is hardly a happy one for him elsewhere in the poem. Sarpedon's companions then rescue him; **[4]** Hektor does not reply when Paris answers his just charge, for Hektor's initial rebuke had assumed that Paris' withdrawal from the battle was caused by resentment towards the Trojans, and Paris in his reply had simply denied it, saying that he was given over to sorrow before his wife turned him to thoughts of war μαλακοῖς ἐπέεσσιν (337). Helen's centrality to his reply and motivation is clearly a source of concern to a proper hero like Hektor, whose own marital relationship is not allowed to interfere with his heroic duties in any way (cf. esp. 6.441, 6.485-93), and so he is far from convinced by his brother's explanation. The problem is then acknowledged in Helen's following speech (343-58), in which she details her husband's failings and her own shame at being the cause of the trouble;[530] **[6]** Apollo cannot reply to Artemis' rather apt reminder of his past promises, because to do so would necessitate a conflict

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526 cf. Kirk [1990] ad 6.342, p. 204; Latacz [2000]b ad 1.511, p. 165.

527 cf. above on 8.10-22 (17), pp. 10-12 [9/2].

528 cf. above on 8.151-6, pp. 81-2.

529 cf. also above on 8.101-11 (101), pp. 56-60 [41/10].

530 cf. also Collins 1988, esp. p. 27f., on this scene. He suggests that the wrath of Paris may refer to the withdrawal story in order to underline the differences between Paris and Akhilleus or Meleagros, whose withdrawal would have suitable heroic justification. In such a circumstance, where the hero refuses to identify himself with an honourable heroic paradigm, there is little response to be given; cf. also Cairns 1993, p. 77.

with Poseidon which he has just forsworn. Here's following rebuke of Artemis amounts to an absolutist, if somewhat humorous, statement and exemplification of precisely why Apollo should not have joined the fight.[531]

Thus closes this divine *agore*, with no specific determination or instruction beyond Zeus' prediction, but a transition back to the battlefield.[532] As with all *agorai* located at the end of the day, the audience is directed towards the actions or resolutions of the group for the next day and, given the poet's penchant for consultation clusters, will expect other patterns for the Greeks and Trojans as well.[533]

485-565 The end of the day; sunset (485-8), Trojan assembly (489-542) and preparations for the night (543-65)

485-8 That these consultations will occur during the coming night and not on the next morning becomes clear through the poet's decision to denote sunset (ἐν δ' ἔπεσ' Ὠκεανῷι λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο | ἕλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν [8.485-6]), for thus the audience expect the events of the coming night to be important and proleptic of the coming day.

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531 cf. above on 8.423-5 (423), pp. 192-3 [133/2].

532 cf. above on 8.2-40, pp. 18-21; [4/2], [4/5], [4/6], [4/9] & [4/10] end in this way.

533 cf. above on 8.2-40, pp. 19-21. This tells strongly against Diller's opinion that everything from 8.350-484 is an interpolation. Without a divine *agore*, the next battle day would be the only one lacking a complete complex of consultation; cf. above on 8.2-40, pp. 19-21. Reinhardt 1961, p. 142, argues that the separation between the books should fall after 488, and this has indeed some sense in terms of the structural affinities between the two assembly scenes. The continuity between Book 8 and 9 on this point will be stressed in other ways in the following scenes; cf. below on 8.553-9, p. 234 n. 579.

Of all the days in the *Iliad*, only **[1/2]**, **[1/4]**, **[1/7]**, **[1/8]**, **[1/9]** & **[1/13]** have any description of sunset at all (cf. below), and there is no repeated expression. Of the rest, **[1/5]** & **[1/11]** have instead intimations of sunset: **[1/5]** Idaios and Talthybios approach and urge the end of the duel, saying νὺξ δ' ἤδη τελέθει· ἀγαθὸν καὶ νυκτὶ πίθεσθαι (7.282); **[1/11]** the poet tells us καί νύ κ' ὀδυρομένοισιν ἔδυ φάος ἠελίοιο | εἰ μὴ Ἀχιλλεὺς αἶψ' Ἀγαμέμνονα εἶπε παραστάς (23.154-5). One of the commonest expressions for sunset in the *Odyssey*, ἦμος δ' ἠέλιος κατέδυ καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθεν (*Od.* 9.168, 9.558, 10.185, 10.478, 12.31, 19.426), is only found in the *Iliad* at 1.475 **[1/2]**, where it is obviously linked with the following ἦμος | τῆμος dawn of **[1/3]** (as it is in the *Odyssey*).[534]

Sunset: **[149]** 5 examples: **[1]** 1.605 (1/4), **[2]** 7.465 (1/7), **[3]** *8.485-6* (1/8), **[4]** 18.239-41 (1/9), **[5]** 24.351 (1/13). **[1]** is followed by the sending of the dream which sets up the Greek assault; **[2]** is followed by the extended meal and thundering of Zeus which foreshadows his hostility towards the Greeks (particularly) on the next day; **[3]** the following Trojan *agore* sets up the Trojan attitude not only for the next day but also their continued aggression even after Akhilleus' appearance; **[4]** another Trojan *agore* seals Hektor's doom, and is followed on the Greek side by the mourning for Patroklos, the fashioning of the arms and is obviously building up to the most terrible day of battle; **[5]** this expression is testament to the importance of the reception of Priam by Akhilleus, and predicates the mourning and burial of Hektor which begins on the next day.

489-92 These episodes begin immediately, in the form of the first of the human consultations before the next day, a Trojan *ab initio agore* opening with Hektor summoning the people (ἀγορὴν ποιήσατο [489]), a description of the place where it is held (489-91) and the gathering of the group (492).[535] These are all common introductory elements, expressing an important item of information. From the general equation of summoner = first speaker, we expect the opening speech to be from Hektor, and his proposal to dominate the course of the pattern.[536] Secondly, because these gatherings are usually held in a fixed place for each group, the unusual *locus* of this *agore* is an obvious symbol of the final positions of

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[534] cf. above on 8.1, pp. 1-3; also on 8.66-9 (68-9), pp. 36-8 [24/1]. It is not included in our example pool, as it is an example of the ritual-continuative progression represented by dawns of that variety.

[535] cf. above on 8.2-40, pp. 3-7 [3/7].

the sides and the situation, as is the fact that the group assembles straight from the chariots (ἐξ ἵππων ἀποβάντες ἐπὶ χθόνα [492]). The introduction embodies the narrative situation to which the consultation is directed, and links that with the pattern's determination which, inevitably, will concern the conduct of the group on the next day.[537]

The *locus* for the consultation pattern is specified for the Trojans in **[3/5]** as ἐν πόλει ἄκρῃ . . παρὰ Πριάμοιο θύρῃσιν (7.345-6; cf. also **[4/3]** 2.788), for the Greeks in **[4/7]** as νηὶ πάρα πρυμνῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος (7.383)[538] and for the gods in **[3/2]** as the house of Zeus (1.533; cf. also **[3/11]**, **[4/4]**, **[4/6]**, **[4/9]** & **[4/11]**). The tent of Agamemnon also serves as a recurrent *locus* for *boulai*: **[5/2]**, **[5/3]**, **[5/8]** & **[6/1]**. There is, therefore, obviously a correlation between *locus* and authority, but frequently the poet omits to give locational specifics beyond a simple phrase like ἐν ἀγορῇ *aut sim.*: **[3/1]**, **[3/2]**, **[3/8]**, **[3/9]**, **[3/10]** & **[4/8]**. There are also other assorted expressions not necessarily contradictory with the specific *loci*; cf. **[3/6]** ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμποιο (8.3), **[4/5]** θεῶν ἕδος αἰπὺν Ὄλυμπον (5.367).

Unusual *loci*, therefore, are noticeable to the audience, nor is this the only such example. In these cases, the alteration is usually caused by an unusual narrative context: **[3/3]** & **[3/4]** come as halting points in the battle, and so occur on the battlefield; **[5/1]** Nestor's ship is chosen because Agamemnon requires a separate area whilst the army gathers, presumably near his ship (and the old man plays an important role in the *boule*); **[5/6]** Nestor meets the other Kings in the space behind the wall among the ships, where they have been penned. However, in **[5/4]** it is hard to see why Nestor requires an area away from the army and the guards he has set for the proposal of the mission. The point in this case would seem to be that by locating the consultation in this way, the poet summons the unusualness of the situation where the Greeks are in effect under siege and very much on the back foot.

The gathering of the assembly is obviously a function of the narrative context, in that *agorai* or *boulai* held in the usual place require very little explanation as to the source of the group or the

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536 ibid.

537 ibid.; also Griffin 1980, p. 13.

538 cf. Janko [1992] ad 13.681, pp. 131-2, who mentions that at 11.806-8 it is specified by the ship of Odysseus which was next to Agamemnon's; cf. also, however, Hainsworth [1993] ad 11.5-9, pp. 214-5.

process of its gathering (as in **[3/1]**, **[3/5]**, **[3/6]** & **[3/12]**). In cases like **[3/3]** & **[3/4]**, however, as these consultations are held in the middle of the battlefield, the poet will express the process of gathering (cf. **[3/3]** 3.77-8, 113-4; **[3/4]** 7.55-6, 57, 61-6). Narrative exigency does not seem to be the governing principle all the time, for in **[3/2]** the poet tells us that the army gathered νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιάων (2.91), which is not required from a strictly informative point of view. Once again, it seems to be the case that emphasis is a signal to the audience to pay particular attention to the following pattern: **[3/10]** the poet expends a great deal of information on the group as it gathers, and the fact that Akhilleus' cry can summon even those from the rear echelon οἵ περ τὸ πάρος γε νεῶν ἐν ἀγῶνι μένεσκον (19.42) obviously represents the importance of the assembly and the figure calling it, as well as the narrative juncture. Moreover, the poet extends this to the description of the arrival of the walking wounded, affording a powerful reminder of the Greek need at this point. In **[3/11]** the same point about the universality of the assembly can be made: οὔτέ τις οὖν ποταμῶν ἀπέην . . . | οὔτ' ἄρα νυμφάων (20.7-8).

493-6 The *contio* section opens with a description of Hektor, specifically of the spear on which he leans as he begins to speak (493-6).[539] A portrait of the first speaker at this stage is a commonplace in *agorai*, focusing the audience on the character's demeanour or appearance as a means of illustrating his mood or purpose. Hektor's spear speaks here of its master as a figure of martial authority, whose concern is for the battle and whose mood is aggressive.[540] Confidence in his prowess, which proves to be one of the most

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[539] Zenodotos athetised 8.493-6 on the grounds of repetition from 6.318-20, though Aristarkhos thought 8.493-6 οἰκειότερον, and Bolling 1925, p. 111, argues that the description of the spear (8.493-6) was interpolated "to get an explicit *verbum dicendi* before the speech"; cf., *contra*, Römer 1912, p. 260; van der Valk 1964, pp. 37-8; Nickau 1977, p. 74 n. 21. The purpose is to provide an essential portrait, typical in both its content and placement, of Hektor as he leads the army to its eventual ruin; cf. next note.

[540] cf. Arend 1933, p. 119; Griffin 1980, pp. 13 & 7-8. Tsagarakis 1982, p. 101, strangely feels that the function of Hektor's spear should not be overemphasised, as it is the natural thing for him to be holding at that point in the day. Why, then, have him hold anything at all, if not to bring it to the audience's mind? Further, Bannert 1988, p. 163 n. 14, compares Agamemnon's sceptre (8.496 ~ 2.109) to show the discrepancy between the situations, and indeed the commanders. Again, the function of the element in this context is clear without this reminiscence.

disastrous and sympathetic aspects of his character, will thus in the short term dominate the direction of the consultation and, in turn, the Trojan attitude at least for the next day.

This depiction may concern, amongst other things, the character's physical appearance or equipment (as in **[3/2]** - **[3/4]**, **[3/7]**, **[4/1]** & **[4/3]**), actions (as in **[3/8]**, **[3/11]**, **[4/2]**, **[4/6]** & **[4/11]**) or mental state, but may include other significant aspects. For instance, in **[3/9]**, **[5/2]**, **[5/3]** & **[6/3]**, the first speaker's rhetorical credentials are described before the speech, a typical element before the verse ὅ σφιν ἔυ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπε[ν].[541] Some descriptions may also occur during the gathering or summoning of the assembly: **[5/4]** & **[5/6]** both have Nestor as an important character in that process, and describe his appearance well before he actually speaks; cf. 10.131-5 **[5/4]**, 14.9-12 **[5/6]**.

This description allows the audience to connect the character with the situation and the substance of his following speech: **[4/3]** Iris' choice of form, the scout Polites, foreshadows the nature of her message; **[3/2]** Agamemnon's sceptre is a symbol of his authority, with the testing and proving of which this *agore* is largely concerned; **[3/8]** Agamemnon's weeping symbolises his helplessness in the situation, which has to be rescued by Diomedes; **[4/6]** Ares shows his wounds to Zeus, about the outrageous nature of which he goes on to complain; **[3/9]** Poulydamas' credentials as a speaker, and the proleptic value of the speech introduction ὅ σφιν ἔυ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπε[ν], underline the importance of his advice and the calamity represented by their failure to heed;[542] **[5/6]** Nestor's description (14.9-12; cf. above) focuses on the fact that he takes the shield of his absent son, who is out fighting, and thus represents his helplessness to make material difference to the battle, in the same way that the wounded heroes he meets are unable to intervene. The desperation of the situation is palpable; **[3/3]** & **[3/4]** Hektor holds back the Trojans by grasping his spear in the middle, obviously a practical means (?) of stopping the armies from fighting but also representative of his desire for a halt in the battle so that his proposal can be put.

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[541] cf. also 1.73, 1.253, 2.78, 2.283, 7.367, 15.285.

[542] cf. above on 8.139-44, pp. 70-2, 72 n. 148.

497-541 The combination of delusion and authority, indeed, is established right at the outset of his speech in the opening appeal for attention (κέκλυτέ μοι [497]),[543] which is then continued by the frustration of his desire to burn the ships there and then in a form (ἐφάμην [498]) predicting an eventually unsuccessful attempt to counteract or circumvent that obstacle. The speech as a whole contrasts immediate practical considerations for the coming night with planning for the morrow, a typical juxtaposition in consultations at this juncture in the day, though Hektor's is a singular response to the unusual situation in which the Trojans find themselves.[544] Firstly, it consists of two night -> morning contrasts (502-28 | 529-41) instead of the usual one, and so it is by far the most extensive and complex example.[545] This is an obvious indication of the importance of Hektor's decision to remain on the plain, for this is the first time the Trojans have been able to do so. They will stay here until the disastrous final day of battle, and so this determination is a momentous occasion within the plot of the poem.[546]

ἐφάμην frustrations: **[150]** 7 examples: [1] 3.366, [2] 5.190, [3] *8.498*, [4] 12.165, [5] 15.251, [6] 17.171, [7] 22.298.[547] The intention or expectation is expressed with ἐφάμην and the negating situation introduced by νῦν δέ *aut sim.*: [1] Menelaos thought he would be avenged, but his sword is shattered; [2] Pandaros believed that he would kill Diomedes, but he did not conquer him; [4] Asios thought he would take the ships, but the Lapithai have stopped him; [6] Hektor claims that he felt Glaukos was clever, but he now realises that is not the case; [7] Hektor thought Deiphobos (and so assistance) was near, but now it is death.[548] Hektor's comment in [5] seems an exception, for he simply says that he thought he would die, with no answering negating situation (and it is

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543 cf. above on 8.5-6, pp. 8-10 [7/9].

544 cf., e.g., 7.370, 9.352-5, 18.287.

545 This has not always been considered a virtue; cf., e.g., Kirk [1990] ad 8.497-541, p. 336.

546 cf. esp. Schadewaldt 1966, pp. 103-9.

547 [150/1] & [150/4] are contained within Ζεῦ πάτερ complaints; cf. above on 8.236-41, pp. 126-7 [92/1] & [92/3].

548 cf. also above on 8.118, pp. 62-3 [44/5].

hardly a frustration in the usual sense of the word). However, that can be assumed from his present state, already summarised by Apollo (15.244-5), and the situation is one where the speaker's expectations have turned out to be false.

The counteraction is then expressed by the speaker (as in **[3]**, **[6]** & **[7]**), exhorted by the addressee (as in **[2]** & **[5]**), or simply acted upon without further ado (as in **[1]**): Asios' plaint in **[4]** is designed to persuade Zeus, in which it fails (cf. 12.173-4), but his contingent continues in its efforts around the gates until the poet returns his focus to Hektor from 194ff. Even though he is not mentioned after this point for quite some time, therefore, his attempt is ongoing. The character himself may require persuasion for the counteraction: **[2]** Pandaros' resolution is to break his weapons when he returns home, and Aineias redirects him to another attempt on Diomedes; **[5]** Apollo, after Hektor has explained his withdrawal from the battle, exhorts him back into the battle.

The failure of the attempt is ubiquitous: **[1]** Paris is rescued by Aphrodite, initially by breaking his helmet strap; **[2]** Pandaros and Aineias fail to kill Diomedes, and the latter only just escapes; **[3]** Hektor will not of course manage to burn the ships or return to Troy; **[4]** Asios will not get past the Lapithai; **[5]** though Hektor does manage to rejoin the battle and drive the Greeks back, he is finally unsuccessful; **[6]** Hektor does not even manage to face Aias in the ensuing battle (cf. below); **[7]** despite his courage, Hektor is doomed to failure and death at Akhilleus' hands. Nonetheless, his attempt is indeed τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι (305), and marks this example as singular, in that the character is aware that his counteraction is to fail. The magnificence of this speech in no small measure is due to the connotations of its ἐφάμην realisation.[549]

Moreover, it is intriguing to note that the character's mistaken intention is in itself often traditionally impossible, and so the failure of his intention is inevitable: **[1]** Menelaos' vengenace on Paris; **[2]** the death of Diomedes; **[3]** the destruction of the Greek ships; **[4]** the destruction of the ships by Asios; **[5]** Hektor's death at the hands of Aias; **[7]** the presence and assistance of Deiphobos. This is not obviously so in **[6]**, for the only indication that the thought was impossible (i.e. that Glaukos was not the cleverest of the Lykians) comes from the exchange of armour in Book 6. We must remember that Hektor has just received a stinging rebuke from Glaukos, similar in tone (and eventual purpose) to his earlier reproach (16.537-47) and along the same lines as that delivered by Sarpedon on the first battle day (5.471-92). Moreover, despite his rejection, he does not immediately challenge Aias, and indeed offers an equal share of honour to whomever should

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[549] cf. also above on 8.444-7 (444), pp. 200-1 [137/4].

make Aias yield (17.229-30f.). Thus, Hektor's ἐφάμην would in these circumstances be noticeable to an audience, and perhaps an indication of the speciousness of his reply.

Practical concern speeches: **[151]** 7 examples: **[1]** 7.370-1 / 372-8 (ἠώθεν) (3/5), **[2]** *8.502-22 / 523-8 (ἠούς)* || *529 / 530-41 (πρωί)* (3/7), **[3]** 9.65-8 / {68-78} (3/8), **[4]** 9.704-6 / 707-9 (αὐτὰρ ἐπει) (6/1), **[5]** 18.273-6 / 277-83 (πρωί) (3/9), **[6]** 18.298-9 / 303-9 (πρωί) (3/9), **[7]** 23.48 / 49-53 (ἠώθεν) (5/8).[550] **[1]** Priam's speech concerns not only the immediate practicalities for guarding the city, but also the sending of the double proposal to the Greeks on the morrow; **[3]** Nestor is not concerned yet with the next day, but the development of the *boule* and embassy which is to follow the assembly. The requisite information is contained in Diomedes' speech in the *boule* which closes those actions **[4]**, where he advises sleep and rest, before urging that they fight bravely in the morning. Every battle day is graced with a consultation in which this contrast is effected, and the night of the second day is graced with three such patterns ([2], [3] & [4]), all looking forward to the next great central day.

In **[6]**, Hektor's speech employs the dichotomy to refute the earlier offering made by Poulydamas in **[5]**, who had also used it. In the other cases, the appearance of the instructions identifies the determination speech and so, even though Poulydamas' suggestions were made in a more tentative way than normal for such commands (cf. 273), it is another symbol of the mistake made by Hektor and the Trojans in not acceding to his advice.[551]

502-28 The way in which these two contrast patterns are constructed is also interesting, for it is the poet's normal practice to pass swiftly from night practicalities to morning predictions, which is usually the larger section of the contrast. In the case of this first pattern, however, the instructions for the night (502-23) go well beyond the usual parameters, including untypical actions whose description is far more detailed than those of any other example. The projections (524-8) are briefly dealt with, Hektor promising further imperatives (524-5) before he expresses the hope that he will drive the Greeks away (526-8). Characters in this situation do at least attempt the proposed action, and so there

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550 cf. Lohmann 1970, pp. 20 n. 23, 31-2f., 40 n. 65, 119-20f.
551 cf. above on 8.139-44, p. 72 n. 148.

is a proleptic quality here, but the brevity and generality of the projection is striking. The resulting imbalance throws great weight on Hektor's immediate concerns, underlining again the uniqueness and novelty of the situation.

The usual instructions in these speeches concern the preparation of a meal, setting the guard and sleep. Only Poulydamas's speech in **[5]** is similarly different, outlining an individual course of action (retreating to the city that night) which is immediately rejected by Hektor.

A quick check of the citations will show the clearly expanded nature of the immediate practicalities: **[1]** 2 verses, **[3]** 4, **[4]** 3, **[5]** 2, **[6]** 4, **[7]** 1; the current example extends for 21 verses. The resulting emphasis is to be related to the individual requirements of the current episode, e.g., the need to stable the horses temporarily (8.503-4), and to bring enough wood to light the watch-fires (507-9). Hektor, moreover, bothers to explain his command to collect wood at some length (508-16), as well as the setting of the guard in the city (522). The usual commands as a rule are self-explanatory.

The actions proposed for the morrow are always fulfilled: **[1]** Idaios does go to the ships and repeat the message; **[3]** the council is immediately formed; **[4]** Agamemnon does indeed fight among the foremost at the start of the day; **[5]** though Poulydamas' suggestions are instantly denied by Hektor, his own determination to fight Akhilleus is eventually realised **[6]**; **[7]** Agamemnon does give the requisite orders. Here in Book 8, Hektor's determination to fight (530ff.) is obviously typical, but his earlier projection of further commands to the Trojans ἠούς (525f.) remains unfulfilled. This should not make us doubt the authenticity of this first projection, as the structural duplication throws as much emphasis on the first pattern's practicalities as it does on the second's projection. The neglected member of the dichotomy in each case is thus almost ignored, and its narration becomes as unimportant as that of the usual practical instructions.

529-41 The second contrast (529-41) is of the usual proportion, a summary of his immediate instructions of the expected scope (529) moving forthwith into a much larger projection (530-41). This emphasises the progression of Hektor's thoughts from the vagueness of the first projection to the second's noticeably direct focus upon Diomedes as the prominent

warrior on the Greek side.[552] Fixation on this figure, fated not to die in the *Iliad*, is emblematic of Hektor's misapprehension.[553] This projection, and the speech as a whole, represent the culmination of his dominant character traits in this book, and establishes his determinative and eventually fatal attitude.

531-4 It is therefore interesting, in the light of what we have seen about the uniqueness of the situation, that this second projection should open with an exhortation (ἐγείρομεν ὀξὺν ἄρηα [531]) suggesting an undercurrent of disagreement or dissatisfaction surrounding the decision. In this case, the poet highlights the individual nature of Hektor's personal influence upon the army's decisions by hinting that bold and aggressive actions are not entirely welcome to the other Trojans. The concern with Diomedes is immediately evident in the 'death or victory' intention (532-4) often uttered by heroes before combat as evidence of their determination to face the named opponent. Given their previous encounters in the poem, Hektor's confidence about the outcome seems misplaced (as often when he makes such statements), but an encounter is nonetheless forecast.

ἐγείρομεν ὀξὺν ἄρηα: **[152]** 5 examples: **[1]** 2.440, **[2]** 4.352, **[3]** *8.531*, **[4]** 18.304, **[5]** 19.237. **[1]** Nestor begins his exhortation with a suggestion that they delay no longer (2.435-6); **[2]** Odysseus denies Agamemnon's charge that they do not do their bit when ἐγείρομεν etc.; **[4]** Hektor makes

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552 This analysis, if it be accepted, thus guarantees at least the general structural integrity of the speech as a whole (8.497-8.501). Questions will remain on individual verses, but critics seem generally not to have noticed the existence of the night instructions -> morning projections pattern. For example, van Thiel 1982, pp. 291-2, ascribes 8.517-49 as a whole to the 'Spätilias', cutting across the very careful and deliberate construction. Further, Kirk [1990] ad 8.524-5, pp. 337-8, says that "the separation of today's | orders from tomorrow's suggests scholarly pedantry rather than military precision", and Ameis-Hentze [1907] ad loc., pp. 76-7, even bracket 8.524-9, thus obscuring the transition between the sections entirely; cf., *contra*, van der Valk 1964, pp. 427-8; also Schadewaldt 1966, p. 101, n. 3, who well understands that "auf den Gegensatz von 'heut' und 'morgen' ist die ganze Rede aufgebaut."

553 cf. Reichel 1994, p. 229.

the prediction after refuting Poulydamas' suggestion of retreat; **[5]** Odysseus concedes the beginning of the fighting, but only after he has successfully opposed Akhilleus' desire for immediate battle.

The Trojans' general willingness for the war is constantly questioned by the poet, and often manifest in their attitudes towards Paris and Helen; cf., e.g., 3.156-60, 4.451-4, 6.281-5, 7.248-53. Poulydamas, in particular, is a constant advocate of defensive and sensible actions: cf. 12.60-79, 12.210-29, 13.725-47, 18.249-83.[554] Perhaps the most revealing speech in this regard is Hektor's expression of dissatisfaction with previous tactics at 15.718-25, where he blames the elders for their previous defensive attitude.[555]

Death or victory alternative (ἠ / ἠ *aut sim.*): **[153]** 17 examples: **[1]** 8.376-80, **[2]** *8.532-4*, **[3]** 11.410, **[4]** 11.431-3, **[5]** 12.171-2, **[6]** 12.328, **[7]** 13.326-7, **[8]** 13.485-6, **[9]** 16.242-5, **[10]** 18.307-8, **[11]** 21.60-3, **[12]** 21.224-6, **[13]** 22.108-10, **[14]** 22.130, **[15]** 22.243-6, **[16]** 22.253, **[17]** 23.724. The poet *propria persona* also uses this theme at 12.305 (lion simile), 13.425 & 21.578 (leopard simile). In **[3]**, **[5]**, **[6]** & **[7]** the opponent is a generic figure (τις / ἄλλος etc.), in the other cases a named individual. It is usually the case that the preferred outcome is placed second, but there is an exception: **[6]** the second alternative, that Patroklos can only fight successfully when Akhilleus is there, is in some measure true, at least in terms of the coming battle. That this example comes at such an important moment leads one to suspect that the inversion is a deliberate signal of Patroklos' death.

The speaker need not succeed in the action proposed (as in **[1]**, **[2]**, **[4]**, **[5]**, **[8]**, **[10]**, **[13]**, **[14]**, **[16]** & **[17]**), for the expression simply represents the immediacy of the conflict and the speaker's conviction in his participation: **[1]** Athene speaks as she is about to prepare for the battle, and expresses the results of their intervention from Hektor's perspective;[556] **[4]** Sokos speaks as he is about to cast at Odysseus; **[10]** Hektor (in another consultation at the end of the day) refutes Poulydamas' suggestion with his determination to face Akhilleus; **[17]** Aias issues the phrase as a challenge to Odysseus before trying to lift him. This certainty is employed with great skill by the poet on a number of occasions: **[8]** Idomeneus uses the expression to excuse himself for reasons of age (a constant theme in his *aristeia*; cf., e.g., 13.512-5) from the contest with Aineias; **[15]** Athene's final disguised exhortation to Hektor uses the theme at the

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554 cf. Schofield 1986, Hainsworth [1993] ad 12.60, p. 325.
555 cf. Willcock 1977, p. 48; also Janko [1992] ad loc., p. 306.
556 cf. above on 8.374-81 (376), pp. 181-2, 181 n. 451.

penultimate point to recall his wavered determination to face Akhilleus. In fact, **[10]** - **[16]** are all concerned with the confrontation between Akhilleus (who is the speaker in **[11]** & **[12]**) and Hektor (*cet.* except **[15]**). One of the major themes in this confrontation is Hektor's final decision to face Akhilleus, and the poet uses the device as a series of markers along this progression; **[10]** he affirms his determination at the consultation which governs his actions on the next day, and reaffirms it twice in the same speech (**[13]** & **[14]**) as Akhilleus approaches. Thus, when he does run,[557] the greatness of his opponent is underscored by the associations of these previous statements. Then, when Athene tricks him into halting by using *inter al.* this figure **[15]** and he finally realises his fate, he nonetheless restates his determination in the same terms **[16]**. Thus he comes full circle, and this theme is employed at moments of decision in his march towards doom. His resolution to fight is magnified by its statement *after* he knows that death is at hand.

It is probably no coincidence, given his misapprehensions throughout the poem, that Hektor is mistaken whenever he uses the expression (**[2]**, **[13]**, **[14]** & **[16]**), coming off second best against both Diomedes (11.349-67) and Akhilleus.

535-41 Hektor then confidently amplifies his prediction about that combat (535-7).[558] Firstly, his depiction of Diomedes' defensive posture against his onset (μείνηι ἐπερχόμενον [536])

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[557] cf. also τρόμος (22.136); above on 8.450-6 (452), pp. 201-4 [140/11].

[558] Editors' suspicions with regard to this section of the speech were aroused by the existence of some critical signs in the margin of MS A (antisigma to 535-7, and stigmai to 538-40), and Σ ad 535: ὅτι ἢ τούτους δεῖ τοὺς τρεῖς στίχους μένειν, οἷς τὸ ἀντίσιγμα παράκειται, ἢ τοὺς ἑξῆς τρεῖς, οἷς αἱ στιγμαὶ παράκεινται· εἰς γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν γεγραμμένοι εἰσὶ διάνοιαν. ἐγκρίνει δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος τοὺς δευτέρους διὰ τὸ καυχηματικωτέρους εἶναι τοὺς λόγους. ὁ δὲ Ζηνόδοτος τοὺς πρώτους τρεῖς οὐδὲ ἔγραφεν. This note implies that Aristarkhos considered 535-7 a doublet to 538-40, and that he preferred (ἐγκρίνει δὲ μᾶλλον does not mean 'he condemns', as Kirk [1990], p. 338, thinks) the latter on the grounds that they were more boastful. It was early recognised that this is wrong (cf. Bolling 1925, p. 112-3), for 532-4 is a much more likely doublet to 535-7 but, as M West [1998-2000] notes ad loc., p. 249, "535sqq. non stare possunt Diomedis nomine remoto." Notwithstanding the various emendations which have been proposed, everyone agrees that 535-7 should be excised or bracketed; Ameis-Hentze [1907] ad loc., p. 78, bracket instead 538-41.

Kirk [1990] ad loc., pp. 338-9, argues that μείνηι ἐπερχόμενον always has a personal object elsewhere (1.535, 12.136, 22.252); cf., however, 13.472 (μένει κολοσυρτὸν ἐπερχόμενον πολὺν ἀνδρῶν), where the transfer from personal to impersonal objects for this finite verb + participle combination has thus already begun, if it is really such a great semantic barrier; cf. also 13.830 (μεῖναι ἐμὸν δόρυ μακρόν), which is preceded by a prayer (13.825-8) very similar to that following the current example. Kirk also feels that ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισιν, οἵω (8.536) is used in a 'different' sense in *Od.* 8.180. The case is not all that different, for Odysseus is arguing that he was amongst the foremost in athletics, whilst Hektor here contends that Diomedes will lie among the foremost dead. For the idea of fighting etc. ἐν πρώτοισι[ν], which is presumably Diomedes will be when he is struck, cf. 8.337, 9.705, 11.296, 11.674, 12.306, 12.324, 14.363, 17.506, 18.194, 19.424.

connotes the power or ascendancy, if not the success, of the attacking individual. Then he underlines his belief in victory with an ὀίω (536) prediction which, though once again not necessarily correct, represents the speaker's attempt to assert his intentions or beliefs as a corollary of his power or purpose in the situation. In other words, Hektor perceives victory over Diomedes and the Greeks as an exercise of deeply personal significance. His speech enshrines that attitude by his impossible wish (538-41), underlining the certainty of his feeling about the coming day's battle (ὡς νῦν ἡμέρη ἥδε κακὸν φέρει Ἀργείοισιν [541])[559] by associating it with perhaps the ultimate impracticality. The position he has been able to achieve, and its consequent possibilities, are tremendously significant for him.

μείν[ηι] ἐπερχόμεν[ον]: **[154]** 6 examples: **[1]** 1.535, **[2]** *8.536*, **[3]** 12.136, **[4]** 13.472, **[5]** 15.406, **[6]** 22.252.[560] The advancing figure or figures (subject of the participle) need not succeed in the attack, but the aggressive posture allows the other party only a defensive attitude in the face of the narrative, whether the action is negatived or not: **[1]** Zeus enters his house and all the other gods feel forced to stand in his honour. Indeed, this is seen as a concession to his entrance as they did not dare await his onset; **[3]** the Trojans under Asios, who are generally in the ascendant, are opposed at the gates by the Lapithoi alone. They succeed in holding back Asios and his men

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[559] Though he is convinced of the speech's authenticity, Schadewaldt 1966, p. 102, n. 2, finds the difficulty of ἡμέρη ἥδε φέρει (541) insurmountable, explaining it by reference to the parallel passage of 13.825ff. [156/4], and pointing to Nestor's similar use of the demonstrative at 9.78 (νὺξ . . ἥδε) to mean 'the current' night; cf. also Kirk [1990] ad 8.538-41, p. 339; di Benedetto 1994, pp. 71-2 and n. 3, argues that the resemblance between the scenes is deliberate and proof of a desire to link the actions of Hektor on the second and third days of battle. However, Nestor has acknowledged a few lines earlier that it is night (ἀλλ' ἤτοι νῦν μὲν πειθώμεθα νυκτὶ μελαίνηι [65]), whilst Hektor in Book 13 has no need to specify the time. Thus, Hektor's use of ἥδε at 8.541 refers back to his prediction at 538 (ἠελίου ἀνιόντος ἐς αὔριον), and so the temporal reference of the entire impossible wish is therefore located within that time frame, just as Nestor's use of the demonstrative has been already contextualised by the reference provided at 9.65. The demonstrative ὅδε may be used to refer to a previously mentioned substantive (cf., e.g., 5.228, 14.107) or to summarise, with a noun, a previously narrated action (cf., e.g., 13.121, where Poseidon has just been describing the τῆιδε μεθημοσύνηι to which he makes reference), while the present indicative φέρει (541) "s'employer en fonction de futur": Chantraine 1953, § 282, p. 191.

[560] cf. Pulleyn [2000] ad 1.535, p. 257.

because Zeus grants glory to Hektor (12.174), but they are unable to move on to the offensive at this stage of the battle; [**4**] Idomeneus, faced by the advancing Aineias, is said to await him as a boar awaits the onset of a throng of men. He, however, admits the need for reinforcement and goes on to do so in a manner which subverts the usual heroic decision to 'be killed or kill';[561] [**5**] the Trojans, thoroughly in the ascendant with the return of Hektor and the advent of Apollo with the *aigis*, renew their attack on the Greeks, who manage to prevent them breaking through, but cannot push them back, though greater in number (cf. 15.406-7); [**6**] Hektor speaks of his previous failure to face Akhilleus in these terms, now that he has determined to face him. It should be mentioned that the spear as subject picks up well on the description of Hektor's position and attitude at the beginning of the *agore*.[562]

ὀΐω predictions: **[155]** 43 examples: [**1**] 1.59, [**2**] 1.170, [**3**] 1.204, [**4**] 1.289, [**5**] 1.296, [**6**] 1.427, [**7**] 1.558, [**8**] 5.252, [**9**] 5.284, [**10**] 5.287, [**11**] 5.350, [**12**] 5.894, [**13**] 6.341, [**14**] 6.353, [**15**] *8.536*, [**16**] 9.315, [**17**] 9.655, [**18**] 10.105, [**19**] 10.551, [**20**] 11.609, [**21**] 11.763, [**22**] 12.66, [**23**] 12.73, [**24**] 13.153, [**25**] 13.262, [**26**] 13.273, [**27**] 13.747, [**28**] 14.454, [**29**] 14.456, [**30**] 15.298, [**31**] 17.503, [**32**] 17.709, [**33**] 19.64, [**34**] 19.71, [**35**] 20.141, [**36**] 20.362, [**37**] 21.92, [**38**] 21.399, [**39**] 21.533, [**40**] 23.310, [**41**] 23.467, [**42**] 24.355, [**43**] 24.727.[563]

This type of statement is in effect an assertion of the speaker's will, deployed in a number of situations (the categories below are not intended to be mutually exclusive). We find several examples in post-battle vaunts (as in [**11**], [**12**], [**28**] & [**29**]) where the character expresses his success in these terms; cf. also [**10**] where Diomedes negates a battle vaunt in the same terms. Intent or opinion with regard to combat commonly accompanies this device: cf. [**8**], [**16**], [**17**], [**24**], [**25**], [**26**], [**30**], [**34**], [**36**], [**37**], [**38**] & [**42**]. It is revealing that Akhilleus frequently makes such predictions (about his own or others' fortunes) when asserting his independence of action from Agamemnon (in [**1**], [**2**], [**3**], [**5**], [**16**], [**17**] & [**20**]), which he does in a range of situations and to a range of speakers, for this is the central issue in their disagreement; cf. also [**25**] & [**26**], where first Idomeneus and then Meriones assert their fighting skill and reputations during a moment when they are both absent from the battle, at its very height, and both are concerned not to appear unwilling to fight. Such statements are important to the heroic worth or self-conception of these characters. Advice, whose success often depends upon the character's rhetorical status,

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561 cf. above on 8.531-4 (532-4), pp. 222-4.
562 cf. above on 8.493-6, pp. 216-7.
563 cf. Latacz [2000]b ad 1.59, p. 51; Pulleyn [2000] ad 1.59, p. 142.

may also be prefaced in this way, as an expression of the likely outcome should the proposed course not be followed: cf., e.g., **[1]**, **[21]**, **[22]**, **[23]**, **[27]**, **[39]**, **[40]** & **[42]**. Similarly, speakers often use the device to underline the strength of a refusal of a request or a disagreement with a prior speech: cf., e.g., **[2]**, **[5]**, **[8]**, **[12]**, **[16]**, **[17]** & **[26]**.

Such a range of situations cannot obscure the importance to the speaker of the action so guaranteed: **[5]** Agamemnon believes that Akhilleus wishes to have greater power, and states his own determination not to obey; **[7]** Thetis tells her son that Zeus will accede to her request, which they both know is intricately bound up in their relationship; **[9]** Diomedes' vaunt over Aphrodite represents the hero's rejection of all that she represents, and his scorn for her participation is as evident as when he directs his abuse at her favourite Paris (11.384f.).[564] It is also a statement of his heroic worth, that he has claimed (with the appropriate help from Athene) a divine victim; **[12]** Zeus' refusal to do anything about Ares' complaint rests on the involvement of Here in his pains, which Zeus has found suitable to his own designs for once; **[14]** Helen so expresses the certainty that Paris will pay for his folly, for she has - it seems - tired of the relationship and wishes to return. Her dissatisfaction with him was most fully expressed at the beginning of their lovemaking (3.426-36); **[17]** Nestor proposes that the gods gave Odysseus and Diomedes the horses, which conjecture the former finds inappropriate. The importance of the horses to Nestor may be connected firstly with his constant interest in the poem in chariot warfare (cf., e.g., 4.301-9, 23.304-50) and perhaps also as an oblique reference to the Rhesos myth. These two considerations combine to make their presence of note to Nestor;[565] **[20]** Akhilleus, seeing the straits into which the Greeks have been driven, expresses the certainty that they will supplicate him for aid. This, of course, was his aim, despite the rejection of the embassy; **[22]** & **[23]** Poulydamas expresses a belief that things will turn out badly if they don't follow his advice - this is his role in the poem, to offer caution as a counterpoint to Hektor's headstrong impulses;[566] **[37]** Lykaon expresses the certainty of his capture in these terms, for he hopes by acknowledging the completeness of Akhilleus' power over him to be able to appeal to his mercy (a common, and commonly rejected, implicit aspect of supplication; cf. 6.45-50, 10.442-5); **[38]** Ares expresses his intention to pay back Athene for her earlier actions with Diomedes - a heavy insult to a god;

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564 As such, feminine unsuitability for warfare is a common theme; cf. above on 8.160-7 (163), pp. 84-6.
565 cf. on 8.292-9 (292), pp. 151-5 [109/20]; cf. also Fenik 1964.
566 cf. above on 8.531-4 (531), pp. 222-4 [152/4].

[43] Andromakhe so predicts that her son will not come to manhood. In his fate, to a great extent now that Hektor is dead, is hers.

Determinations as impossible wishes: **[156]** 11 examples: [1] 4.178-81, [2] 4.313-4, [3] 7.132-58, [4] *8.538-41*, [5] 11.670-1ff., [6] 13.825-9, [7] 16.722-3, [8] 18.464-7, [9] 22.41-2, [10] 22.346-8, [11] 23.629-30f.[567] The wish usually precedes the certain event, except in [2], where the certainty (ὡς θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν) intrudes after the conjunction εἴθε but before the substance of the wish (similarly with [7]). The certain event is frequently introduced by ὡς, though in [7] & [9] by ὅσ[σ]ον. The desire in fulfilment, though the situation may be beyond either the speaker's knowledge or the realms of possibility, is always deeply felt: [1] Agamemnon, concerned above all with the detriment to his reputation (for that is how he phrases his concern for Menelaos' health), fears that the hypothetical Trojan will focus upon his failure as the standard of his character;[568] [2] Agamemnon compliments Nestor's worth despite his physical inability;[569] [6] Hektor estimates the victory of this current day as an equivalent to divine status; [7] Apollo attempts to persuade Hektor by admitting the inferiority of his guise, whose exhortations thus have shame value; [8] Hephaistos' promise to provide armour is a certainty, augmented and indeed exalted by his regret that he cannot save him from death;[570] [9] Priam's expression of hatred about Akhilleus, which he then continues to elaborate, is deepened by the wish that he were so dear to the gods; [10] Akhilleus' certainty of Hektor's defilement is underlined by his ferocious regret that he cannot consume Hektor's corpse himself. The level of emphasis is directly related to the degree of impossibility inherent in the wish.

In [3], [5] & [11] the certain event is located in the past, as Nestor draws upon past evidence of prowess in order to underline his heroic, i.e. bouleutic, authority in the present: [3] (similarly [11]) he seeks to shame the addressee into action by reference to his own similar action in the past. The wish that he were able to act in that way now (very similarly phrased to [2]) serves to throw emphasis on the fact of that action, for only a statement of this sort can provide his words

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[567] cf. Leaf [1904] ad loc., p. 368; Nagy 1979, pp. 42-50; Combellack 1980; Willcock 1981; Nagy 1990, pp. 294-301. We include here only those cases where the impossiblity of the wish is explicitly contrasted with the certainty of an intention or action in past, present or future time, hence precluding the implicit contrasts at 2.371 & 4.288, though both these cases make the same point as those above. Hektor is not, as Nagy 1979 believes, considering becoming a god himself, for the expression simply represents his exultation in the situation; also Muellner 1976, pp. 50-1; Willcock [1978] ad loc., p. 269, speaks of his "dangerous presumption."

[568] cf. above on 8.147-50 (148-50), pp. 80-1 [60/1].

[569] cf. below for the discussion of [156/3], [156/5] & [156/11].

[570] cf. above on 8.38-40 (39), pp. 17-18 [15/5].

with the requisite persuasive power; [11] in this case, Nestor reminds Akhilleus of his heroic stature at a moment when the giving of the gift focused a little too much on his present incapacity. It is obviously important that the heroic worth of the elder man be acknowledged and given its due recognition.

Hektor's speech thus crystallises our image of him, confident but unaccustomed to the circumstances, hopeful and deluded. The offering as a whole represents the culmination of his characterisation, and powerfully links these ultimately self-destructive traits with the dreadful situation.[571]

542 The Trojans now cry out their approval (542), in effect fixing Hektor's as the only and so determinative speech in this consultation pattern. Acclaim as an expression of crowd approval is not a common element in *agorai*, but its point is explicitly to connect the whole group's opinion with that of the determinative speaker. This is important because the focus in this pattern has definitely been on Hektor, his motivations and desires. Now the poet ropes in the entire army, as he will do again in the corresponding *agore* in Book 18. The destruction to be visited upon them, though it will concern Hektor most immediately, is a tragedy for the Trojans as a whole, and partially of their own making.

Acclaim is employed in five *agorai*: [**4/2**] 2.394-7 (with simile), [**4/7**] *8.542*, [**4/9**] 18.310-3, [**5/1**] 1.22-3, [**5/7**] 7.403-4. The importance of the acclamation is often an important element in the link between will and suffering which is so important: [**4/2**] the Greek army acclaims the decision to fight. After its earlier readiness to flee and abandon the entire project, it is important that they are brought back into line with the aims of the expedition and its leaders; [**4/9**] the Trojans' folly in

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[571] cf. Redfield 1975, p. 138, 142; also Willcock [1978], ad 8.523-41, p. 269.

following Hektor's determinations involves them as well in the morrow's doom, for Hektor's death is a tragedy for the city as a whole.[572]

In the examples from transitional *agorai*, the acclaim occurs during and not at the end of the consultation: **[4/1]** the crowd is sympathetic to Khryses' appeal, underlining the indvidual nature of Agamemnon's refusal. He goes against not only a priest of Apollo, but the entire army; **[4/7]** after Idaios' relayed offer of peace on certain terms, Diomedes' rousing refusal concerns only that part of the herald's speech, and does not address the truce. The crowd acclaims Diomedes, and Agamemnon then gives the necessary approval for the truce.

543-52 The Trojans now begin to obey Hektor's practical commands (543-52). Immediate fulfilment of a determination is the norm but there is no obligation to narrate the enactment of every separate command, and by omitting the city preparations entirely, the poet highlights his concern with the army in the plain. The irony of the disjunction between their hopes and this fate, a constant Trojan characteristic in this book, is emphasised by the unheralded sacrifical accompaniment to the otherwise unmentioned meal (κνίσην [549] ± 548 & 550-2),[573] during which the poet makes clear the eventual

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[572] cf. above on 8.139-44, p. 72 n. 148.

[573] 8.548 & 550-2 are found only in [Plato] *Alcibiades* II 149D, and are generally rejected by moderns; cf., e.g., Leaf [1904] ad loc., p. 368; Ameis-Hentze [1907] ad loc., p. 78; Bolling 1925, p. 144; M West 2001a, p. 12. Wilamowitz 1916, p. 30, n. 1, believes that the poet of Book 8 used the *Little Iliad*; cf., *contra*, Erbse [1971] ad Σ 8.548-52, p. 387; van der Valk 1964, p. 527; Cantarella 1929, pp. 130-1; Willcock [1978] ad loc., p. 269, well remarks that "[t]he lines are not in themselves objectionable, except for the uncertainty of their attestation."

Kirk [1990] ad 8.548-53, p. 340, adduces two fields of argument against the quotation. Firstly, he feels that "these words are opposed to the whole Homeric notion of sacrifice; for Homer's gods do not feed on sacrifices, and even their absorption of the κνίση has been suppressed. . . δατέοντο 'divided up' is strange when applied to the savour, and probably presupposes a model in which the gods divided up the meat itself." The first assertion is an oversimplification, as feasting vocabulary is well attested in the sacrificial context: cf. 1.422-3, 9.535-6, and especially 23.206-7. Secondly, the usually unspecified absorption of the κνίση is a clearly attested element in the process: cf. 1.66 (ἀντιάσας) and 1.317. Furthermore, Kirk [1990], pp. 10-13, concludes that Homer suppresses more archaic conceptions of sacrifice, in which the gods actually eat the meat and other offerings. Thus, his final objection is also overturned, for δατέομαι (etymologically related to δαίομαι > δαίνυμι; cf. Chantraine 1968 s. vv., pp. 247-8, 254) recalls an ancient understanding of sacrifice still presented, though mostly in an oblique manner, in the *Iliad*, but reconfigures it to the dominant picture of sacrifical reception through κνίση.

destruction of Troy through divine refusal actively to intervene to save the city (σφίν ἀπήχθετο [551-2]). Not only does this place a limit upon the achievements of the Trojans' current efforts by reminding the audience of the fixed course of events (or the traditional parameters of the tale), but it also creates a suggestive parallel between Hektor's failure and death on the one hand, and the eventual sack of his city on the other, for both are doomed through ultimate divine inactivity on the part of their benefactors. Finally, the description of the sacrifice as a hekatomb (ἑκατόμβας [548]) resumes their awareness of the singularity and importance of their achievements on this day, since such offerings accompany significant events to guarantee powerful divine assistance or propitiation.

The practical instructions from these end-of-day speeches may be minimised and omitted: **[151/1]** Priam issues instructions for the taking of the meal and a setting of the guard (7.370-1), but only

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Kirk also believes that "the idea that the gods in general were hostile to Troy is of course absurd in view of the *Iliad*'s position on Here, Athene and Poseidon." Does 8.550-1 actually imply that *all* the gods were hostile to Troy? Characters often refer to the θεοί as a collective responsible for the actions so described, glossing over differences or divisions within that group: cf., e.g., 24.422, with Macleod [1982] ad loc., p. 121; cf. also, e.g., 4.127. The quotation text expresses the view that the gods are responsible as a whole for the destruction of Troy entailed by the refusal to accept the sacrifice, as our referential analysis of the figure would also indicate. Indeed, if the verses are interpreted otherwise - as a statement of unanimity amongst the divine community - it is hard to see from which part of the Trojan war they could have been taken, for there was still a division therein until the sack of the city, as indicated, e.g., by Apollo's part in the death of Akhilleus (cf. 22.359-60; *Aithiopis* [*Procli enarratio* 11-13; Davies [1988], p. 47) and Aineias' survival of the war (*Ilias parva* F 20; Davies [1988]).

So the internal objections to the verses are negligible. Furthermore, 549 must by itself denote sacrifice (cf. below, n. 574 on κνίση), which often assumes an accompanying meal (cf., e.g., 1.447-74, 2.399-401, 2.402-31, 9.201-21, 11.772-80, 18.558-60, 24.123-5), though this is not always automatic (e.g., 1.313-7, 2.305-6, 3.268-302, 19.250-88), and sacrifice at the end of the day is often linked with the final meal (e.g., 7.314-32, 11.727-32). The omission of the meal's description is well paralleled (cf. above), as is the omission of sacrifice in Hektor's orders (cf. 2.399-401). Furthermore, an explicit sacrifice at the end of the day as a guarantee for the action of the morrow is found at 11.727-32, during Nestor's story of the battle between the Pylians and Epeians. Indeed, hekatombs seem particularly associated with an explicit purpose (cf. 7.450, 12.6). Thus the sacrifice of 549 focuses the audience once again on the Trojans' hopes for the battle of the next day, and the expansion of that action into a small scene by the text reflected in [Plato] allows the rejection of the offerings at 8.550-1, which is an opportunity to relate this battle to the fortunes and course of the war as a whole. Such explicit denials of a sacrificial purpose, whilst more common with prayers (cf. above on 8.242-6, pp. 127-30) are not unknown; cf. 2.419-20 (refusal of prayer but acceptance of sacrifice), and *Od.* 9.553 (ὃδ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο ἱρῶν).

the meal is described (380); **[151/6]** similarly, the setting of the guard is also omitted; **[151/7]** there is no mention of the army's meal (finally conceded, after a long exchange with Odysseus on the matter, at 19.275), though the sustenance of Akhilleus becomes an important theme. Omission is not, however, the poet's inevitable practice: **[151/4]** the army does indeed libate (if that corresponds or is related to τεταρπόμενοι φίλον ἦτορ | σίτου καὶ οἴνοιο [9.705-6]) and then takes its rest, as Diomedes had suggested. The scheme is even more pronounced in **[151/3]**, where the setting of the guard (which mirrors the current scene) is narrated at quite some length (9.80-88). The practical instructions of **[151/5]** are, of course, denied by **[151/6]**.

κνίση: **[157]** 9 examples: [1] 1.66, [2] 1.317, [3] 1.460, [4] 2.423, [5] 4.49, [6] *8.549*, [7] 9.500, [8] 21.363, [9] 24.70.[574] Of these examples, only [8] is unconnected with a sacrificial rite of some sort; [2] clearly denotes the burnt 'savour' from the sacrificial offerring, [3] & [4] the 'fat' encasing the bones during the sacrifice (cf. also [8]), whilst, on several occasions, the κνίση is simply something due to gods from mortals (as in [1], [5], [7] & [9]). It is, accordingly, suggested that a reference to sacrifice is intended in [6].

ἀπήχθετο + dat.: **[158]** 6 examples: [1] 3.454, [2] 6.140, [3] 6.200, [4] *8.551*, [5] 9.300, [6] 24.27. The group or individual (dative noun) so angered manifests that emotion in an indirect manner, by not interfering or acting positively to save or assist the subject of the verb: [1] the Trojans οὐ μὲν φιλότητί γ' ἐκεύθανον, εἴ τις ἴδοιτο (3.453). The poet implies that, had they opportunity, they would not have saved him; [2] though blinded by Zeus, Lykourgos οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δήν | ἦν (6.139-40). Having aroused their wrath, Lykourgos' life is shortened because no god intervenes to save him; [3] Bellerophon removes himself from human contact and is οἷος (6.201), without assistance from the gods who had previously favoured him; [5] Akhilleus, as Odysseus posits, will not help Agamemnon by returning to battle; [6] Here, Athene and Poseidon refuse to assent to the theft of Hektor's corpse from Akhilleus by Hermes. In these cases, the poet stresses the indirect or negative manifestation of the emotion against the named individual or group, which may subsume within itself a more active individual: [2] Zeus blinds Lykourgos before the poet tells us of the general odium surrounding him.

Performance / offer of hekatomb sacrifice: **[159]** 12 examples: [1] 1.315, [2] 1.447, [3] 2.306, [4] 4.102 (120), [5] 6.115, [6] 7.450 (& {12.6}), [7] *8.548*, [8] 9.535, [9] 23.146, [10] 23.206,

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[574] cf. Arend 1933, p. 68: "[v]ers 549 ist ohne vorhergehende Erwähnung des Opfers unverständlich"; also Latacz [2000]b ad 1.447-65, p. 151.

[11] {23.864}, **[12]** 23.873.[575] Promises to offer sacrifice are not always a guarantee: failure occurs in **[4]**, **[5]** & **[9]**, and only **[12]** is successful. However, failure to make such an offer is invoked as a reason for Teukros' loss in the archery competition in **[11]**, and is immediately contrasted with Meriones' offer and subsequent victory in **[12]**. Performance of hekatombs is usually more successful: **[1]** & **[2]**, the latter coupled with Khryses' prayer, succeed in averting the plague, and **[3]** is eventually fulfilled with the destruction of Troy. Finally, a failure to perform the hekatomb is the reason for Poseidon's ire in **[6]**, and Artemis' in **[8]**. **[10]** is indeterminate, as we do not know the purpose of the hekatomb being offered by the Aithiopians.

What is clear is the importance of the actions which the participants seek to insure through this method, whether this is expressed positively or negatively (i.e. from the ramifications of its failure): **[1]** & **[3]** are designed to ward off Apollo's wrath from the army (further reinforced by several references to the action at 1.65, 93, 99, 142, 309, 431, 438 and 443 - by far the most times the the word is used for any single episode), **[2]** is aimed at the success of the entire expedition, **[4]** the death of Menelaos, **[5]** the death of Diomedes, **[6]** the construction of the wall around the Greek camp, **[7]** the success of the current phase of the fighting from the Trojan perspective, **[8]** divine blessing on the θαλύσια ἀλῶης (and its incompleteness brings the wrath of Artemis down on Oineus), **[9]** Akhilleus' homecoming, **[11]** & **[12]** victory in the archery competition. The divinities in question are particularly related to the action: Apollo is obviously concerned in **[1]** & **[3]**, but also in **[4]**, **[11]** & **[12]** because these efforts concern examples of archery; **[5]** Athene is the patroness of Diomedes and, indeed, the Greek army in general. She is also seen by the Trojans as being particularly responsible for the safety of their city which, in a very real sense, she is;[576] **[6]** Poseidon is concerned because of his role in the construction of the walls of Troy, whose fame is now threatened; **[8]** all the gods have their role within the harvest festivals, though presumably the distinction between 'all' of them and Artemis 'alone' is intended primarily to emphasise the size of the affront;[577] **[9]** Sperkheios is the local κουρότροφος and the sacrifice's natural object.[578]

553-9 In an offensive mood (μέγα φρονέοντες [553]) matching their leader's, the Trojans now settle down for the night (553-65) by their watch fires, παννύχιοι (554) setting these

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575 cf. above on 8.543-52 (549), p. 230-3, 230 n. 573.

576 cf. Burkert 1985, pp. 139-43; Erbse 1986, p. 129f.; Pötscher 1987, p. 160-77; also above on 8.357, pp. 173-6 n. 127.

577 also Burkert 1985, pp. 66-8.

actions as a continuing context for another corresponding episode. Before that responsion in the Greek camp (9.1f.),[579] the famous star simile (555-61 [± 557-8]) intimates the danger which these fires represent to those observing them, the identity of the group being deliberately ambiguous. This is done to make the point that the current story bodes ill not only for the Greeks, which the poet then makes explicit by specifying the observer as a shepherd (559), for this includes Hektor himself as the responsible figure within that foreboding. The irony is perfectly encapsulated by the shepherd's reaction (γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα [8.559]), for this emotion is exhibited upon the observance of an action intimately and positively affecting their interests.[580] Thus, Hektor's accountability for, and intense satisfaction at, the military situation is combined with great pessimism for his future, as well as that of the Greeks.[581]

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[578] cf. Richardson [1993] ad 23.127-53, pp. 182-3; Onians 1954, p. 229f.; Burkert 1985, pp. 174-5.

[579] cf., e.g., 9.76-7; also above on 8.483-4, p. 213 n. 533 for other indications and opinions about where the book division should fall at the end of the second battle day; cf. also Wilamowitz 1916, pp. 31-2f. That the poet is drawing the audience forward into the narrative of Book 9 (for those with Book 10, cf. Danek 1988, p. 12f., 63, 86, 108-9) suggests its very close link with Book 8, and has been invoked as an argument against the book-divisions, e.g., by Taplin 1992, p. 289. This commentary has shown that the narrative is constantly moving forward, drawing upon the interpretative possibilities of an anticipating audience in order to forecast events not only immediately subsequent but also many thousands of verses away. The division should not be allowed to obscure the essential continuity between the end of Book 8 and the following Akhaian assembly, but this need not have any further consequences for our judgement of the originality of those divisions.

[580] cf. also above on 8.278-91 (278), pp. 143-9 for the similar γήθησε[ν] reactions.

[581] The identity of the happy party has been considered something of a problem; cf. A Parry 1956, pp. 1-3; Reeve 1973; Schwabl 1970; de Jong 1987, pp. 131-2; cf. Stanley 1993, p. 350, n. 15, and Kirk [1990] ad loc., pp. 340-1, for overviews. Parry identified the happy shepherd with the Greeks, an example where the poet was unable to harmonise his tradition and the context, whilst Reeve denied that he had any desire to do so, and so on. The current analysis, on the other hand, asserts that there is no need to be exclusive about the identity of the group, for the poet deliberately combines the figures within the text for whom the stars are a threatening portent. Its negative intimation is initially and readily directed towards the Greeks, the natural observers of the fires, before the poet introduces into that feeling the figure of the shepherd (Hektor) who feels joy at the sight. In this case, as with so many others, the referential blurring fits perfectly the context, adding once again to the irony of Hektor's satisfaction at this chain of events.

μέγα φρονέ[οντες]: **[160]** 7 examples: **[1]** *8.553*, **[2]** 11.296, **[3]** 11.325, **[4]** 13.156, **[5]** 16.758, **[6]** 16.824, **[7]** 22.21. All these actions occur in the middle of the battle, and so its presence in the current locus is particularly powerful: **[2]** of Hektor in advance; **[3]** of Odysseus and Diomedes counterattacking (simile); **[4]** of Deiphobos in advance; **[5]** & **[6]** applied to the combat between Patroklos and Hektor (similes); **[7]** of Akhilleus in his final assault on the city.

παννυχ[ίοι]: **[161]** 17 examples: **[1]** 2.2 (1/4), **[2]** 2.24 (1/4), **[3]** 2.61 (1/4), **[4]** 7.476 (1/7), **[5]** 7.478 (1/7), **[6]** 8.508 (1/8), **[7]** *8.554* (1/8), **[8]** 10.2 (1/8), **[9]** 10.159 (1/8), **[10]** 11.551, **[11]** 17.660, **[12]** 18.315 (1/9), **[13]** 18.354 (1/9), **[14]** 23.105 (1/10), **[15]** 23.217 (1/11), **[16]** 23.218 (1/11), **[17]** 24.678 (1/13).[582] The continuity of the (π) action is well emphasised in those examples where a character rebukes the addressee for sleeping all night through: **[2]** & **[3]** the Dream rebukes Agamemnon and rouses him to battle; **[9]** Nestor wakes Diomedes for the council. When applied in the similes in **[10]** & **[11]**, the guardianship of the dogs and men who stay awake is contrasted with the lion's continued, if fruitless, activity. The figure often allows either a transition of group or a sharpening of focus within it: **[1]** the other gods sleep whilst Zeus plots the disinformation; **[8]** the other heroes sleep but Agamemnon is wide awake and thinking of the best course; **[12]** after the Trojan *agore*, the Greeks grieve for Patroklos (π), then Akhilleus leads off and details his lament, before we return once again to general picture of grief **[13]** and an immediate transition to Olympos. The poet thus combines focalisation and transition within the same action; **[17]** the other gods sleep, but Hermes goes to fetch Priam. Two such actions may also be contrasted: **[4]** the armies dine whilst Zeus thunders **[5]**; **[15]** the fire burns on Patroklos' pyre whilst Akhilleus grieves and libates **[16]**. In every case, the (π) action requires a corresponding or contrastive action, whether actual or exhorted (as in **[2]**, **[3]** & **[9]**), except in **[14]**, where Akhilleus speaks of Patroklos' visitation as παννυχίη. In this case, Akhilleus abrogates the narrative perspective to himself, where his own reaction to the visitation (and indeed the lamentation which precedes his sleep) becomes the contrastive, thus preserving the centrality of his grief in the nocturnal episode preceding the dawn.[583]

Star similes: **[162]** 9 examples: **[1]** 4.75-7, **[2]** 5.5-6, **[3]** 6.295, **[4]** 6.401, **[5]** *8.555-9*, **[6]** 11.62-3, **[7]** 19.381-2, **[8]** 22.26-31, **[9]** 22.317-8.[584] **[1]** Athene's flight condemns the Greeks and

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582 This continuative strategy between a previous nightly action and a following morning one allows the poet to accomplish the transition between his temporal barriers; cf. above on 8.1, p. 3 n. 8. Note also that every day graced with a description of sunset (cf. above on 8.485-8, p. 213 n. 533) is also bejewelled with a παννυχ[ίοι] action.

583 cf. above on 8.1, pp. 1-3 [1/11] & [2/5].

584 cf. Fränkel 1921, pp. 47-8.

Trojans looking on (θάμβος [4.79])[585] to renewed battle; [**2**] the flame issuing forth from Diomedes is directed obviously at his opponents; [**3**] the dress Hekabe chooses is one brought from Greece by Helen (and so destructive in itself) and will fail to persuade Athene to accede to its accompanying prayer; [**4**] Astyanax is likened to a fair star as his father looks on him for the last time, but the boy's fate looms large in this scene, as does his identity and association amongst the Trojans with the dominance of Hektor (cf. 6.402-3), whose inevitable death spells an early doom for his son;[586] [**6**] Hektor's activity in marshalling the Trojans is foreboding for the Greeks, for this will be the day of his greatest victory; [**7**] the gleam of Akhilleus' helmet is obviously a signal of doom for the Trojans, as it is again in [**8**]; the same may be said of [**9**], as Priam looks upon Akhilleus in his final advance on Troy.[587] Though my approach to [**8**], particularly, somewhat approximates that of de Jong, I feel that even in the examples where no observer is actually specified (as in [**2**], [**6**], [**7**] & [**9**]) the audience is directed towards a 'secondary focalizer' within the text, for whom the image is a destructive one. As de Jong points out, the poet focuses in [**9**] on the beauty (22.318) of the star, but the effect is not simply to "focus attention on Achilles and his supreme heroism, not on Hektor as its victim,"[588] but also to point out the terrible nature of heroic beauty and excellence, in that it always demands the death or sufferring of another heroic figure. A similar point can be made with regard to the dress chosen by Hekabe in [**3**]. Its origin and coming failure as an offerring likewise points to the superhuman beauty of Helen and its terrible consequences. In short, this image always presupposes an 'embedded focaliser', whose fate the audience is encouraged to imagine as the simile appears.

Shepherd similes: **[163]** 8 examples: [**1**] 3.10-12, [**2**] 4.452-5, [**3**] 5.136-52, [**4**] *8.555-9* (162/1), [**5**] 12.451-2, [**6**] 13.492-3 (162/3), [**7**] 16.352-5, [**8**] 18.161-2.[589] Identification of the shepherd with a figure prominent in the narrative is usually, though not always, obvious: [**1**] the dust raised by the Greek army is compared to a mist which is not dear to the shepherd, but to the robber better than night. The shepherd in this case is Hektor, as the most prominent Trojan who οἷος ἐρύετο Ἴλιον (6.403); [**2**] the shepherd listening far off to the noise of the clashing winter torrents refers to the absent Akhilleus, who is often depicted observing the battle with similar detachment (cf., e.g., 11.599-601); [**3**] the shepherd, who has wounded but not killed the lion, who in turn goes on to

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585 cf. above on 8.69-77, pp. 38-40.
586 cf. Taplin 1992, pp. 121-4.
587 cf. also de Jong 1987, p. 126 (on [162/8] & [162/9]).
588 de Jong 1987, loc. cit.
589 cf. Fränkel 1921, p. 75; cf. also Tsagarakis 1982, pp. 145-6.

put the flocks to rout whilst the former hides, is clearly Pandaros, for the now healed Diomedes goes on to kill several faceless figures before confronting Pandaros and Aineias and putting them to rout; [**5**] Hektor (shepherd) easily carries the stone (lamb); [**6**] Aineias (shepherd [& ram]) sees the λάος (flock following the ram) coming to his aid; [**7**] Hektor's rashness (ποιμένος ἀφραδίῃσι [16.354]) has now brought the Trojans to the situation where the Greek leaders (wolves) can run amok among them (flock); [**8**] the Aiantes (shepherds) are unable to force Hektor (lion) back from the corpse (Patroklos). In each case, the shepherd figure in the narrative has a position of authority or responsibility.

γέγηθ[ε] | φρένα: **[164]** 3 examples (3): [**1**] *8.559* (163/4), [**2**] 11.683, [**3**] 13.494 (θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι γεγηθει) (163/6),[590] [**4**] *Od.* 6.106, [**5**] *Hom. Hy. to Dem.* 232, [**6**] *Hom. Hy. to Aphr.* 216 (φρένας).[591] The interests concern safety, status, and parental (or pseduo-parental, as in [**3**]) pride: [**2**] Neleus (in Nestor's story) rejoices as Nestor returns not only victorious but gloriously remunerated for his efforts; [**3**] the shepherd sees the flock obedient in following its ram to water, a sign of the flock's harmony and so the success of his own office; [**4**] in the simile applied to Nausikaa, Leto rejoices at the pre-eminence of her daughter Artemis; [**5**] Metaneira reacts thus when Demeter in disguise agrees to be nurse to her son; [**6**] Aphrodite tells Aineias the story of Tros, who was gladdened when he heard of the honour to be apportioned to Ganymedes.

560-5 The resumption of the narrative concentrates upon the number of fires and relates this to the number of men tending them, a multiplication method (πὰρ δὲ ἑκάστωι [562]) commonly linked with the preparatory personnel catalogue and emphasising the action potential of the group, a prolepsis furthered by the poet's return to the horses feeding at their ease (564-5) and waiting for dawn (Ἠὼ μίμνον [565]). Both these themes are also proleptic, the former focusing upon the inactivity as a powerful contrast with the action expected or desired, the latter upon the aggressive intentions of the group for the next

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590 The inclusion of this example despite the modification of the expression may be excused on the grounds that at 13.493 the poet closes the shepherd simile there with γάνυται δ' ἄρα τε φρένα ποιμήν, thus separating the usual traditional unit over two verses because he needed a closing expression from the penthemimerus rather than the trochaic caesura.

591 cf. also above on 8.278-91 (278), pp. 143-9.

day. Thus, Book 8 ends with the Trojans firmly ensconced on the plain and eagerly awaiting the fight to come.

ἑκάστ[ωι] *cum numero*: **[165]** 7 examples: [1] 2.509, [2] 2.610, [3] 2.618, [4] 2.719, [5] *8.562*, [6] 9.85, [7] 16.169.[592] Examples [1] - [4] & [7] are all associated with the preparatory catalogue, leaving only the current example and [6], where the Greeks respond to the measure here represented, outside this context. There is obviously a connotation of preparation, and the emphasis - as often - is on the fantastically large numbers involved in the action; cf., e.g., the 120 youths in each ship [1]. We need not spend too much time trying to make these numbers consistent, as the ancients evidently did.[593]

Horses feeding at ease: **[166]** 4 examples: [1] 2.775-7, [2] 5.195-6, [3] *8.564-5*, [4] 10.474-5. The theme does not specify of itself when the action is to occur: [1] the inactivity of the Myrmidons' horses represents the inactivity of their army at the time the other units are preparing to fight; [2] Pandaros bemoans that he did not take his chariot teams with him, that they remain at home inactive, for his bow has failed to stop Diomedes; [4] the horses of Rhesos nibble away, suggesting (through the traditional stories of his role in the war) the danger he represents to the Greek expedition.[594]

Waiting for dawn: **[167]** 4 examples: [1] *8.565*, [2] 9.662, [3] 11.723-4, [4] 18.255.[595] The idea of waiting for dawn necessarily carries an aggressive or proactive connotation; one waits for dawn for a purpose: [2] after Akhilleus has stated his intention to depart in no uncertain terms, Phoinix lies down as instructed and awaits the dawn in Akhilleus' camp, on the apparent understanding that they are to leave; [3] the Pylian army move out to meet the invaders and await dawn before crossing the river to do so; [4] Poulydamas entreats the Trojans not to stay out on the plain and await dawn - and hence to act aggressively - but to return to the city that night.

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592 cf. Janko [1992] ad 16.168-72.

593 cf. Σ A ad 8.562.

594 cf. Hainsworth [1993] ad loc., p. 151f.

595 We might also include 9.240, where Odysseus tells Akhilleus that Hektor was praying for the appearance of dawn.

CONCLUSION

Book 8 has been subject to a wide variety of critical response, on its purpose, structure and indeed even its authenticity. Whether we ascribe it to a younger, post-Homeric poet with Wilamowitz or von der Mühll, point out its parallels with later and earlier sections of the poem as Schadewaldt, or join Reinhardt in calling it "das unentberhlichste Buch zwischen dem ersten und dem sechzehnten", it is clear that anyone who deals with this section of the *Iliad* must essay at least some comment on these matters.[1]

This commentary has focused upon the generic, referential elements in Book 8, of which there were over one hundred and fifty examples, ranging from individual phrases and actions all the way up to entire scenes and sequences of action. It has become clear through this examination that the poet of the κόλος μάχη, if he is not the poet of the *Iliad*, had so thoroughly interiorised the constituents of the traditional style of composition as to make the work utterly harmonised and worked into the fabric of the poem. The beginning of the narrative is firmly anchored in preceding events, and the ending brings forward in an unbroken way the action of Book 9. Given our uncertainties about the circumstances under which the *Iliad* came into being, perhaps this should be the limit of our observations. If there was a process of redaction and edition unrelated to poetic

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[1] cf. esp. Wilamowitz 1916, ch. 1; Myres 1932; von der Mühll 1952, pp. 144-58; Reinhardt 1961, pp. 138-207 (quote from p. 138); Diller 1965; Schadewaldt 1966, ch. 4, esp. pp. 95-126; van Thiel 1982, pp. 270-94; Kirk [1990] ad loc., pp. 293-342; Stanley 1993, pp. 105-8; Willcock 1995; Wilson [1996]. For our position with regard to the book-divisions, cf. above, pp. 3 n. 8, 234 n. 579.

generation, as the Analysts contended (and in the person of van Thiel, still do), then it has been achieved in such a masterly way that it is impossible to locate any certain indications. The Neoanalytical offspring of this school has also been found wanting, for the narrative's supposed dependencies on, or borrowings from, other stories or tales (again apparently necessitated by the inferior craftsmanship of *Iliad* VIII), have been found to be illusory.

The narrative of Book 8 functions and makes complete sense in its own context, drawing upon the generic referential features of the traditional style to illustrate the impact and effects of the *Dios Boule* on both human and divine characters. Diomedes, Agamemnon, Hektor and Teukros are all depicted as they come to grips with its ramifications, whilst Nestor (and Odysseus) respond with what seems to be great understanding and a due sense of awe. This division is mirrored on the divine plane, with Here and Athene corresponding to the first group, and Poseidon (and Iris) to the second.

The structure of the narrative, as many have noted, is pleasingly symmetrical and clear, consisting basically of two elements.[2] The first is the 'boundary rope' of divine assembly and Zeus' chariot journey ([dawn 1] 2-40 | 41-52 || 438-443 | 444-484 [night 485-8]), which frames the battle narrative and confirms the lesson drawn therefrom about the *Dios Boule*. The battle itself, the second major element, is constructed around the to and fro of Trojan success, with two periods of Greek counteraction (91-132 | 217-334) indicating an easy doublet structure, each introduced and closed by brief descriptions of Trojan

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[2] cf. above n. 1 for works dealing with the many other ways of separating the narrative of Book 8. The current schematisation has no pretension either to thoroughness or pre-eminence.

ascendancy (78-90; 132-97 | 213-7; 335-49), with then an unsuccessful attempt by Here to overturn that ascendancy (198-212 | 350-437).

Set out the diagrammatically (78-212 | 213-437), the doublet is even clearer:

	(a)	**(b)**
(**1**) Trojan advance	78-90	213-7
(**2**) Greek counteraction	91-132 (Nestor / Diomedes)	217-334 (Agamemnon / Teukros)
(**3**) Trojan advance	132-97	335-49
(**4**) Here's attempt	198-212	350-437

This should not obscure the remarkable continuity and interconnection of the narrative's elements for, e.g., Here's first attempt closes in such a way (ὣς οἳ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον [212]) as to connect her ambition very closely with Trojan reversal at 217f.,[3] and she is in fact instrumental in Agamemnon's exhortation and prayer initiating (2b). But the poet also constructs parallels between, within and outside these segments. For example, we note that (2a) comes to an end with Zeus' thundering (132-5), but also that this directly parallels his action at the beginning of the first period of Trojan advance (75-7). He thunders a third time (170-1), and Willcock has observed that this mirrors the three attempts made by Here - (4a) and (4b), but also her speech in the *agore* at the end of the book (461-8).[4] Furthermore, this very neat two-tiered narrative has ignored the Trojan *agore* on the plain, which of course looks forward into the Greek camp in Book 9 and the

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[3] cf. above on 8.212, pp. 112-15.
[4] cf. Willcock 1995.

embassy to Akhilleus, but which is apparently predicted by the poet's habit for consultation clusters.

Nonetheless, the divisions made above do seem to correspond to a poetic intention, particularly with regard to features (2) & (4), each of them representing the 'anticipatory' doublet whose existence Fenik demonstrated over thirty years ago, with the second element the larger and more complex.[5] Moreover, these parallels are also indicated by referential techniques, for example the *alienum vulnus* elements associated with Diomedes' and then Teukros' attempts on Hektor.[6] Hence, it is clear that a referentiality constructed around *specific* reminiscence is not only possible in the traditional style, but in some sense almost essential to the construction of the *Iliad.* Though we constantly found it unnecesssary to resort to specific references to other parts of the poem in order to understand the purpose of features in the narrative of Book 8, and so distanced our work from that of Schadewaldt, di Benedetto, Reichel and many others of this methodological inclination, it is clear that there is a dynamic between specific and generic referentiality and that the former must also be reckoned with in any reading of the *Iliad.*

Before this can be done, however, the generic referentiality with which we have been concerned should be properly understood and evaluated. In the light of the weighty demonstration which has preceded this conclusion, more than a brief summary would be an unnecessary burden on the reader's already strained patience. Traditional referentiality, we hope to have shown, is an essential element of the way in which the text of Homer

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5 Indeed, (4b) is so large and complex that Diller, as we saw, deemed it an interpolation.

6 cf. above on 8.119-21 (119), pp. 63-5; also on 8.300-15, p. 155f.

generates meaning for an audience. It surrounds the words and deeds of its characters with an associative colour which contextualises and deepens their motivations, expectations and chances of success. It tells us not only what these characters do, but why they do it and what it means for them. It creates tension and great depth of understanding in its audience, by predicting and intimating the future course of actions whose ramifications are rarely clear to any of the characters, even Zeus himself,[7] and then either fulfilling, postponing or frustrating those expectations.

It must, finally, be emphasised that this method of reading has only allowed us to see more clearly things which have already and often been noticed: the primacy and constancy of the *Dios Boule*, the narrative's relatively greater concern with the Greeks, the bravery of Diomedes, the wisdom of Nestor, the delusion of both Agamemnon and Hektor - all these are far from discoveries in the world of Homeric scholarship. What is new, however, is the dynamic way in which the poet realises these themes here in Book 8. To be able to hear this is to relive the progression of the action, thus to approach the abilities of an Archaic audience, and to leap the millennia separating the modern from the Homeric world.

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[7] cf. esp. on 8.5-6 (5), pp. 8-10 [7/8]; also 8.477-82, pp. 209-10 [146/3]. This limitation of Zeus' understanding, the eventual inevitability of his νόος notwithstanding, is also reflected in the Prometheus story in Hesiod; *Theogony* 533ff.,*Works and Days* 47-8.

Appendix 1: Some Homeric Response Introduction Formulae

τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα | τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] | τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη

This Appendix discusses all the cases in which the poet employs at least two of the speech introduction formulae τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα, τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] and τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη in a multiple speech exchange. The first expression is differentiated from the second, its metrical equivalent, by the greater emotional perturbation exhibited by the speaker and the fact that the second is used when the speaker will or wants to align himself in a co-operative relationship with the first speaker.[1] The third expression is to be differentiated from both of the first two (though particularly from the first, to which it is semantically similar) in that it represents a relatively greater determination on the part of the speaker to impose his or her will upon the narrative.[2]

1. Akhilleus & Agamemnon

[a] 1.121 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/1]** Akhilleus

[b] 1.130 τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη **[109/2]** Agamemnon

[c] 1.148 τ[ὸν] δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη Akhilleus

[d] 1.172 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/2]** Agamemnon

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1 cf. Appendix 2 for a discussion of the addressing formula τ[ὸν] πρότερος προσέειπε[ν] along these lines.

2 For discussion of τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα, cf. above on 8.145-7 (145), pp. 76-80; for τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν], cf. above on 8.357, pp. 173-6; for τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, cf. above on 8.292-9 (292), pp. 151-3.

Akhilleus [**a**] is clearly annoyed at Agamemnon's angry reply to Kalkhas and expresses his puzzlement over the request for immediate recompense given the lack of existing undivided booty. Agamemnon then [**b**] delivers his determination to deprive one of the other chiefs of their γέρας, before ordering the expedition to take Khryseis back to her father. After Akhilleus' angry retort [**c**], Agamemnon once again replies in a manner to suggest his own annoyance and determination to take Briseis [**d**], but the imposition of his will is introduced by τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα, which we have characterised as marking the speech as relatively less determined in that regard. This would intimate Agamemnon's crisis of authority, in that the issue in his speech is more a reaction to Akhilleus' character and pre-eminence than an assertion of his own will.

2. Athene & Akhilleus

[a] 1.206 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] [**123/1**] Athene

[b] 1.215 τ[ὴν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη [**109/3**] Akhilleus

Athene's first speech [**a**] obviously aligns her with Akhilleus in her attempt to persuade him to restrain himself. Akhilleus' reply [**b**] identifies himself with due observance of divine authority despite his considerable personal animus, and the poet chooses τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη over τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα in order to emphasise the greater level of self-control it takes for him to acquiesce, how intimately aggrieved he is by the situation, and the fact his action here, in giving in to what one must give in, is viewed by the character as a matter of his own determination - almost as though he were free to

disregard the advice.[3] τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] is not chosen because, despite the agreement between the characters, the poet's choice once again emphasises Akhilleus' belief in his determinative power in the situation.

3. Zeus & Here

[a] 1.544 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/4]** Zeus

[b] 1.551 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/5]** Here

[c] 1.560 τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη **[109/5]** Zeus

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Neither character is willing to compromise in this scene, accounting for the lack of τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] introductions. The final offering **[c]** is an open threat intimately related to Zeus' own determinative capacity - hence the choice of τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη in stark contrast to the two earlier speeches.

4. Diomedes & Athene

[a] 5.814 τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη **[109/9]** Diomedes

[b] 5.825 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/11]** Athene

After yet another character has impugned him with a comparison to Tydeus, Diomedes' initial reply **[a]** to Athene deals with his lack of freedom to oppose Ares by Athene's own instruction. The self-assertion of Diomedes under constant questioning is, as we have seen, an important element in his characterisation, and his reply is well within respectful bounds while at the same time being powerfully exculpatory. Athene's reply **[b]** aligns herself with Diomedes, but the poet chooses τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα instead of τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε

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[3] Perhaps in much the same way that Aigisthos is said to have disregarded the advice of Zeus as relayed

προσέειπε[ν] for this speech in order to highlight her annoyance with Ares, which has been the major motivating element in the journey of Here and Athene to the battle.

5. Aias & Hektor

[a] 7.283 τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη **[109/11]** Aias

[b] 7.287 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] **[123/10]** Hektor

In reply **[a]** to the heralds' suggestion to halt the battle, Aias places the final decision upon Hektor so as to underline his own determination to pursue the combat until the ultimate moment. In the light of his obvious success hitherto in the duel, Aias' continued control over the course of the narrative is herein powerfully emphasised. Hektor then **[b]** agrees with the heralds' suggestion and seals the deal with a gift.

6. Agamemnon & Menelaos

[a] 10.42 τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη **[109/17]** Agamemnon

[b] 10.60 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/17]** Menelaos

[c] 10.64 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] **[123/14]** Agamemnon

The issue at heart here is, as in the next set of exchanges, the position occupied by Menelaos in the Greek camp and the estimation of the other chieftains. The first speech **[a]** is a reply to a τίφθ' οὕτως question delivered by Menelaos concerning Agamemnon's preparations and intentions, and connoting an awareness on Menelaos' part of his shortcomings in that general regard.[4] Agamemnon sets out his understanding of the cause of their current troubles before expressing the decision to summon the other leaders -

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through Hermes at *Odyssey* 1.32f.

hence the determinative τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη. Replying with a necessary diminution in authority (τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα), Menelaos then **[b]** asks for specific instructions within that plan, beginning with the alternative αὖθι μένω (10.62); to this alternative Agamemnon agrees in his alignment reply **[c]**, and focuses on the need that they themselves toil in the foremost in such a situation.

7. Agamemnon & Nestor

[a] 10.86 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/18]** Agamemnon
[b] 10.102 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/19]** Nestor
[c] 10.119 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] **[123/15]** Agamemnon
[d] 10.128 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/20]** Nestor

This series of exchanges is introduced by the usual question, addressed on this occasion by Nestor to Agamemnon, about identity and purpose. Agamemnon's reply **[a]** focuses on the need facing the Greek army and suggests a journey to make sure the guards set earlier have not fallen asleep. The issue is not so much about Agamemnon's determinations as reassurance about the efficacy of earlier measures and his emotional despondency in the situation, so the poet chooses τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα over τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη; there is no substantive alignment expressed in the speech, and so τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] is not used. Nestor's reply **[b]** picks up on the emotional disturbance and magnifies it with a rebuke of Menelaos for his apparent laxity. This seems to have been felt to be one of Menelaos' character traits, as Agamemnon's alignment reply **[c]** initially agrees with the assessment's validity on other occasions before differentiating it with regard to the current one. Finally, Nestor acknowledges his error **[d]** but without expressing a further

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[4] cf. above on 8.444-7 (447), pp. 199-201 [138/3].

determination which would warrant τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη. The poet then prefers τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα to τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] because Nestor has in fact made an error of both judgement and diplomacy and, whilst his speech puts him in fact in agreement with Agamemnon, the poet chooses herein to emphasise the character's awareness of the former fact.

8. Odysseus & Dolon

[a] 10.382 τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη **[109/18]** Odysseus
[b] 10.390 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/22]** Dolon
[c] 10.400 τ[ὸν] δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη Odysseus
[d] 10.412 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] **[123/18]** Dolon
[e] 10.423 τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη **[109/19]** Odysseus
[f] 10.426 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/23]** Dolon

This long series of exchanges makes the point perfectly. Odysseus' first reply **[a]** reassures Dolon and sets out his desire to question the Trojan fully, and so the poet uses τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη to emphasise Odysseus' determinative role in the conversation. Dolon's initial reply **[b]** is a fearful one (as the rest of verse 390 shows) and blames Hektor for his current situation.[5] Thus, despite the alignment between the speakers, the poet employs τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα. Odysseus continues **[c]** with a deceptive speech (τ[ὸν] δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη) which serves its end, as Dolon **[d]** is now thoroughly encouraged and ready to participate. Odysseus' final speech **[e]** once again expresses his control over the narrative, and the question is to concern the aim of their mission once Dolon is dead. When Dolon answers the final question **[f]**, he closes with an

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[5] cf. above on 8.397-9 (401-8 / 416-22), pp. 185-93 [130/13].

act of supplication, which is never especially successful in the *Iliad* and so a source of considerable concern to the defeated party - so τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα.

9. Nestor, Agamemnon & Odysseus

[a] 14.52 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/26]** Nestor
[b] 14.64 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] **[123/21]** Agamemnon
[c] 14.82 τ[ὸν] δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη Odysseus
[d] 14.103 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/27]** Agamemnon

Coming at the start of what eventually proves to be a Greek renascence, this *boule* opens with Agamemnon's plaintive query to Nestor as to his reasons for leaving the battle. Nestor's reply **[a]** focuses initially on the failure of his expedient of the wall before suggesting the need for further counsel. His perturbation necessitates τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα over τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν], but he does not take enough control in the situation to warrant τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη.[6] Agamemnon's alignment **[b]** with Nestor fails to assert the required authority in the situation, and so the choice of τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] over τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη. In fact, his advice is so disastrous that Odysseus' reply **[c]** is a rebuke, and Agamemnon's next **[d]** troubled acquiescence and abdication of conciliar authority can only be introduced by τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα.

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[6] One might point to the fact that Nestor, when he is named in the latter half of the line, is always either Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ from the trochaic caesura, ἱππότα Νέστωρ from the bucolic diaresis or simply Νέστωρ from the fifth foot diaresis. Thus, the expression τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη would simply not fit with the existing formulae, for there is no phrase extending from the hephthemimerus. The problem, however, is illusory. Nestor is one of those spondaic names which the poet finds troublesome in general but, had he wished to use this expression, he could simply have altered προσέφη to προσεφώνεε[ν] in order to have the phrase extend to the bucolic diaresis, as he does with Teukros' similarly intractable name at 8.292.

10. Aphrodite & Here

[a] 14.193 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/28]** Aphrodite

[b] 14.197 τὴν δὲ δολοφρονέουσα προσηύδα Here

[c] 14.211 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] **[123/22]** Aphrodite

Aphrodite's first speech **[a]** comes in reply to Here's opening request for aid, which had made mention of their long-standing opposition over the Trojan war, and expresses cautious agreement with whatever request should be made (esp. 14.196). Here then uses open deception **[b]**, with which Aphrodite is only too happy to comply **[c]**. The difference between τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα and τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] is at its clearest here.

11. Hypnos & Here

[a] 14.242 τ[ὴν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη **[109/24]** Hypnos

[b] 14.263 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] **[123/23]** Here

Hypnos **[a]** refuses Here's initial request on the basis of his previous encounter with Zeus, and his determination not to be embroiled in the situation requires τ[ὴν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη over τ[ὴν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα. Here **[b]** begins her alignment by tacitly acknowledging the force of the paradigm invoked by Hypnos, at least as regards the past, and she tries to differentiate its current operation by reference to a comparison between the Trojans and Herakles. Her persuasion will be successful.

12. Poseidon & Iris

[a] 15.184 τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη Poseidon

[b] 15.200 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/30]** Iris

[c] 15.205 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] **[123/24]** Poseidon

At Iris' message from Zeus, Poseidon [**a**] expresses his indignation at Zeus' commands. Iris replies [**b**] in such a way as to stress, with due deference, the consequences of his continued attitude; though she aims at overcoming Poseidon, she does so in such a way as to efface her own opinion and position whilst at the same time stressing the necessity of doing what she says.[7] Thus τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα is more suitable than the more determinative τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, while the disagreement between them rules out τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν]. Poseidon then [**c**] agrees with her and leaves the battle, with a parting shot.

13. Thetis & Akhilleus

[a] 18.94 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] [**123/27**] Thetis
[b] 18.97 τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη Akhilleus
[c] 18.127 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα [**57/34**] Thetis

Thetis first reply [**a**] acknowledges the inevitability of her son's imminent death, after Akhilleus' complaint about the situation and his determination to kill Hektor. The poet could well have used τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα instead of τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν], but chooses the latter in order to stress the agreement between the characters, for her aid here is to be essential. Akhilleus' emotional reply [**b**] restates his determination to die, before Thetis [**c**] tells him not to rejoin the battle until she returns with armour from Hephaistos. One should not deny the alignment desire in the last speech (and indeed the exchange as a whole), but reflect on the fact that τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα now emphasises her emotional

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[7] cf. above on 8.409-25, pp. 189-92, for Iris' characterisation in the *Iliad*.

perturbation - at her participation in her son's progress towards death - over her decision to aid him.

14. Akhilleus & Iris

[a] 18.181 τ[ὴν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/35]** Akhilleus
[b] 18.183 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] **[123/28]** Iris
[c] 18.187 τ[ὴν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη **[109/27]** Akhilleus
[d] 18.196 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] **[123/29]** Iris

Akhilleus **[a]** queries Iris about which of the gods sent her, and her message about the imminent danger facing Patroklos' body is enough to induce great turmoil; moreover, his question reveals a caution about divine assistance which other characters tend not to show. Iris' reply **[b]** establishes her goodwill towards him by reference to Here's regard and the other gods' lack of knowledge about the mission. However, Akhilleus then **[c]** questions the advice in the light of his mother's information and his own lack of armour. He is, I think, unconvinced about the suggestion made by Iris, given that this event is outside the scope of the prediction and action guaranteed by his mother. In other words, he shows a progressively greater level of disbelief or scepticism when confronted by apparent divine aid, thus providing an instructive comparison with Hektor's ready belief and overconfidence. Then, Iris' final reply **[d]** is an easy alignment speech focusing on his lack of armour and her suggestion to appear at the trench.

15. Akhilleus, Odysseus & Agamemnon

[a] 19.145 τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη [**109/28**] Akhilleus

[b] 19.154 τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη [**109/29**] Odysseus

[c] 19.184 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] [**123/30**] Agamemnon

[d] 19.198 τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη [**109/30**] Akhilleus

[e] 19.215 τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη [**109/31**] Odysseus

This *agore* is as much a contest in the assertion of status as any other scene in the poem. Both Akhilleus and Odysseus attempt to determine the army's immediate action in the situation facing them, with Odysseus finally winning out. It is only Agamemnon, revealingly, who does not interfere in this contest, beyond agreeing **[c]** with Odysseus' suggestion to give the army a meal and get out the gifts. On each of the other occasions, Akhilleus attempts to have the army attack immediately **[a]** & **[d]** before Odysseus contradicts him **[b]** & **[e]**.

16. Aineias & Apollo

[a] 20.86 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτ' Αἰνείας ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέειπε[ν] [**109/33**] Aineias[8]

[b] 20.103 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] [**123/31**] Apollo

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[8] This verse seems to be a conflation of the participle modifier ἀπαμειβόεμνος and the τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε expression. I would suggest that this unique combination is called into being because the poet wants to employ the participle with Αἰνείας for which name he has no formula extending from the hephthemimerus. He could of course have employed the expression παις Ἀγχίσαο as at 2.819, 12.98, 17.491, though this is always preceded by the adjective ἐύς in order to fill the line from the trochaic caesura. If, on the other hand, he had wished to use τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν], the poet could easily have employed the (admittedly heavy) formula ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας (5.311). For this reason, I feel that the participle modifier is the essential semantic element, and that the poet altered the τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] unit because, fully intending Apollo to persuade Aineias in the next alignment speech, this was the answering expression immediately summoned to mind, and προσέειπε is frequently found at the end of the verse elsewhere (1.105, 1.320 etc.). Nonetheless, one could well believe that there is an element of alignment here, in that Aineias expresses his willingness to face Akhilleus were it not for the constant presence of a protecting deity (20.100-2).

The first speech [**a**] has Aineias refuse to face Akhilleus because of his previous experience and the constant presence of a divine protector, in response to Apollo's rather shaming reminder of Aineias' past bravado. His determination not to accede demands the ἀπαμειβόμενος expression over τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα. Apollo then [**b**] seeks alignment, by persuading Aineias to face Akhilleus, and to do so invokes his own exalted lineage as compared to Akhilleus'.

17. Athene & Zeus

[**a**] 22.177 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] [**123/34**] Athene

[**b**] 22.182 τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη [**109/35**] Zeus

This scene sees Zeus finally agree to Hektor's death and despatch Athene to the field to bring it about. Athene [**a**] here acts with a caution which she had earlier eschewed, in that her deference to Zeus compares well with Here's outspoken contradiction in the similar situation regarding Sarpedon's death (16.432ff.). Athene wishes to re-establish the relationship apparently so damaged in Book 8, and her circumspection in this scene speaks volumes about the power of the *Dios Boule* as it is about to be fulfilled. Zeus in turn [**b**] denies the sincerity of his previous assertion before speeding her to the battle. Now the poet could have used another τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] expression, but he wished to colour Zeus' level of enthusiasm for the death of Hektor by using τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, which moreover he favoured in this circumstance over τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα because he also was keen to assert Zeus' prominence and control over the narrative at this rather significant juncture.

18. Priam & Hermes

[a] 24.372 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/44]** Priam

[b] 24.378 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] **[123/38]** Hermes

[c] 24.386 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/45]** Priam

[d] 24.389 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] **[123/39]** Hermes

[e] 24.405 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/46]** Priam

[f] 24.410 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] **[123/40]** Hermes

[g] 24.424 ὣς φάτο· γήθησεν δ' ὁ γέρων καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθωι (Priam)

[h] 24.432 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] **[123/41]** Hermes

It is noticeable that all Hermes' replies in this set of speeches **[b]**, **[d]**, **[f]** & **[h]** are introduced in such a way as to connote his co-operative stance, whilst Priam's speeches **[a]**, **[c]** & **[e]** are all - until his final joyous reaction **[e]** - introduced so as to connote his relative lack of authority in this situation (hence τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα over τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη) and his emotional disturbance because of it and the reason for his mission as a whole. It is surely no coincidence that the poet is careful to reserve τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα for Priam's speeches and τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] for Hermes'.

19. Priam & Akhilleus

[a] 24.659 τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα **[57/48]** Priam

[b] 24.668 τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] **[123/42]** Akhilleus

Our final example is the promise of a truce until the burial of Hektor be completed. Priam's first reply **[a]** gives the conditions under which they will bury his son, and his disturbance at the thought is necessarily strong, the poet employing τ[ὸν] δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα over τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη to underline once again the King's lack of determinative ability in the situation. Akhilleus' reply is a straightforward alignment, the

poet preferring τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν] to τ[ὸν] δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη in order to stress the fact of the truce as a result of Akhilleus' better feelings than an expression of his power.

Appendix 2: An Homeric Speech Introduction Formula

τ[ὸν] πρότερος προσέειπε[ν]

This Appendix examines the speech introduction formula τ[ὸν] πρότερος προσέειπε[ν]. Related to the responsory formula τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν],[1] which is used when the speaker will or wants to align himself in a co-operative relationship with the first speaker, we find the expression used in similar contexts of alignment, although with important differences. 10 examples: [**1**] 5.276, [**2**] 6.122, [**3**] 6.517, [**4**] 7.23, [**5**] 10.36, [**6**] 11.605, [**7**] 20.177, [**8**] 21.149, [**9**] 22.249, [**10**] 24.634.

Examples [**1**], [**2**], [**7**], [**8**] & [**9**] are opening salvoes addressed by a combatant (victor or vanquished) before a duel which is usually fatal, except in [**2**], where a guest-friendship link between Diomedes and Glaukos is recognised. One might say that this is hardly evidence of an intention to align oneself with the speaker, but it is undeniable that the terms of the encounter, and the participants' agreement on its desirability and necessity, are precisely the same. The speaker may attempt to persuade the addressee to retreat (as in [**7**]), but there is no questioning the seriousness of the encounter and its ultimate aim - the death of one of the combatants.

The alignment function, and the current expression's connection with the responsory formula, is more directly evinced in [**4**], where (just as in the case of the combat preliminaries) Apollo advances to prevent Athene's advent and impact on the course of the battle. He wishes to get her to agree to a temporary truce, which he does achieve, and

so the speech expresses his desire for alignment in that manner. Similarly in [**3**], where Paris catches Hektor up on the way out of Troy back to battle, and engages in some military bravado which can only be read in light of the dubious nature of their encounter earlier in the book.[2] Paris attempts here to secure himself in Hektor's estimation, as does Menelaos in [**5**] during an encounter in which, as we saw earlier, the position of Menelaos and the other chieftains' regard for him becomes a very real theme.[3]

A more straightforward alignment is to be found in [**6**], where Patroklos answers Akhilleus' summons before being sent on his mission to find out about Makhaon. His question (τί δέ σε χρεὼ ἐμεῖο [606]), nonetheless, summons to Akhilleus' mind the χρεώ now pressing upon the Greeks, to which he had made reference in the Embassy (9.197) and which he now details in his speech (χρειώ [11.610]).[4] Similarly, Priam [**10**] desires a bed, in accordance with Akhilleus' violent insistence on the full hospitality which Priam's earlier impatience had brought about, to continue the reception ritual to its next stage.

Thus the expression τ[ὸν] πρότερος προσέειπε[ν] has a similar connotative potential to its brother τ[ὸν] δ' αὖτε προσέειπε[ν], in that in both cases the speaker wishes to evince a relationship of alignment with the attitudes or intentions of the addressee. With the former formula, the speaker attempts to do so pre-emptively (as it were), and with the latter reactively.

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1 cf. above on 8.357, pp. 173-6

2 cf. above on 8.483-4 (484), pp. 210-13 [148/4].

3 cf. Appendix 1, pp. 247-9.

4 His speech is introduced by τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη [109/22], denoting his perturbation at the current scene and his - limited - determination to act in the circumstances.

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