

derived from *πάλλω*, 'shake', and *παλάσσω*, 'sprinkle', the former being evidently preferable. The simplest solution is to alter it to *πεπάλεσθε*, imperative of a reduplicated second aorist middle of *πάλλω* (cf. *ἀμπεπαλῶν* 244). In any case, with *κλήρω*, it must mean 'cast lots'. *ὅς κε λάχρω*: rather loosely attached to the sentence; 'whoever is chosen'.

175 *κλήρων*: probably in fact a pebble, which each man marked with his own mark (*ἐσημήναντο*).

179 *ἢ Αἴαντα λαχεῖν*: Understand a word such as *ὅς*, meaning 'grant that'.

Notice the 'league order' of the leading Greeks in the absence of Achilles: first Aias son of Telamon, second Diomedes, third Agamemnon. It appears in the course of the later fighting that any one of these is at least a match for Hektor (XI 360 n.).

185 *ἀπηνήναντο*: ἀπαινώμαι.

186 *τόν*: object of *ἔκανε*; 'when he reached that man'.

188 Aias held out his hand underneath without a word; the herald threw the pebble in, and Aias recognised it. His immediate reaction was to throw it down on the ground at his feet, in a sort of grim satisfaction.

193-4 *ὄφρα . . . τόφρα*: relative and correlative; 'while . . . during that time'.

195-9 These five lines were considered spurious by all three of the Alexandrian scholars who dealt with the text of Homer—Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, Aristarchus. Their reasons seem simply subjective, based on the 'inconsistency' of Aias' words. It is more logical to claim that his words are perfectly natural as they stand. Aias first asks the Achaians to pray silently to Zeus, for fear that they may seem to the Trojans to be afraid of the outcome. He then changes his mind, in a perfectly human way, and claims that he does not care what the Trojans think.

197 *δίηται*: Subjunctive in a main

sentence is close to a future (cf. *εἴησι*, 87); 'is going to drive me back'.

199 *τραφέμεν* = *τραφεῖν*, second aorist infinitive of *τρέφω*, which is regularly intransitive (i.e. passive) in meaning in this tense; 'brought up'.

202 *Ἰδηθεν*: 'from Ida', the mountain south of Troy.

207 *ἔσσατο*: ἐννυμι.

208-9 The untranslatable *τε* used in generalised statements occurs three times in these two lines.

210 'Brings together (gnomic aorist) to fight, with the force of consuming anger.'

213 *μακρὰ βεβάς*: 'with long strides'. For *βεβάς*, see III 22.

217 *εἴχεν*: 'had the possibility', 'could'.

218 *χάρμη*: According to the most recent authority (J. Latacz, *Zum Wortfeld 'Freude' in der Sprache Homers* (1966) 26), *χάρμη* is to be taken as an instrumental dative; 'he issued the challenge by reason of his fighting spirit.' Traditionally, it has been interpreted as a sort of dative of aim, 'challenged to battle'. So also in 285.

219 *φέρων σάκος ἤτε πύργον*: This formula is used three times in the Iliad (XI 485, XVII 128, as well as here), always of Aias. The reference is to much older armour, and indeed an older style of fighting, than that described in the *Iliad*. Early Mycenaean representations (mostly on objects found in the shaft graves at Mycenae) show a huge 'body shield', of half-cylinder or figure-of-eight shape, which protected by itself the whole body of the fighter. With this equipment, no breast-plate or other defensive armour (except perhaps a helmet) would be worn. The warrior in effect carried a wall round with him, and fought from behind it. What is of particular interest is that the evidence suggests that the body shield went out of use some two hundred years before even the supposed date of the Trojan war. Somehow the memory of it survived in this phrase 'carrying his shield like a tower', associated

only with the Telamonian Aias. This suggests (a) the tenacity of the formulaic phraseology, (b) that Aias was not originally connected with the Trojan war, but was a hero of a previous age.

The body shield seems to be alluded to on three other occasions in the *Iliad*. In VI 117, Hektor's shield, slung round his back, hit his neck and ankles as he walked; in a scene in Book VIII (267-334), Teukros the archer operates from behind the protection of Aias' shield; and in XV 645, the unfortunate Periphetes trips up on the lower rim of his shield 'which reached down to his feet'.

In spite of the evidence of this line, the shield of Aias in the ensuing single combat with Hektor is given epithets (*μέσσον ἐπομφάλιον*, 267) which imply that it is an ordinary round shield. It seems that the poet is not always wholly clear about the exact meaning of the formulaic phraseology.

220 *χάλκεον ἐπαβόειον*: i.e. with seven layers of leather and a top layer of bronze, as explained in 223. *Τυχλος*: Such a famous shield seems to the poet to need the name of a particular maker. *Τυχλος*, however, is an invented name, simply meaning 'maker'. This is exactly parallel to *τέκτων Ἀρμονίδης* (Carpenter, son of Fitter) in V 59-60.

221 *Ἵλην*: cf. V 708.

226 *εἴσει*: future of *οἶδα*. *οἶδεν οἶος*: 39 n.

227 *μετέασιν*: μέτειω.

232 *πολέες πολλοί*. ἄρχε: In the previous single combat, between Paris and Menelaos, they cast lots to see who would have the advantage of throwing his spear first (III 324). Aias, by telling Hektor to begin, assumes superiority, as though he were playing with a child. This annoys Hektor, as he shows in his reply.

238 The strange rhythm and the exotic word *βῶν* combine to draw attention to this line. It refers to weapon-drill with a large shield, though not necessarily or even probably the Mycenaean body shield of 219. The word *βῶν* is a dialect variant of the common *βοῦν*, and describes the shield by its material, ox-hide. The rhythm is unusual, in that the breaks are at the end of the second and fourth feet, and all four first feet are dactyls, followed by two heavy spondee in the fifth and sixth.

239 *τό μοι ἔστι ταλαύρων πολεμίζειν*: In V 289 and twice elsewhere comes the phrase: *αἵματος ἄσαι Ἄρηα, ταλαύρων πολεμιστήν* 'to glut with blood Ares, the shield-carrying fighter'. From this formula we may assume that *ταλαύρων πολεμιστήν*

is a traditional term describing a heavily-armed warrior. Hektor here, having described the manoeuvres necessary with the shield, says 'and that is what *ταλαύρων πολεμίζειν* (in effect 'serious fighting') means to me'. *ταλαύρων* is probably adverbial, not accusative masculine.

240-1 Notice the fourth and fifth successive occurrences of the word *οἶδα*. These two lines mean that Hektor knows what is required in both mobile and static warfare. (Introduction, p. XIV).

241 *μέλπεσθαι Ἄρηι*: with grim humour, 'dance to the god of war'.

242 *ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ*: This involves the ellipse of an unexpressed thought—'but (defend yourself) because etc.'.

244 *ἀμπεπαλῶν*: participle of a reduplicated second aorist of *ἀναπάλλω*, with apocope of the preposition.

246 *ἀκρότατον*: i.e. the top layer of the shield (cf. 222-3).

248 *σχέτο*: aorist middle of *ἔχω*, 'stopped'.

250-4 = III 356-60, in the duel between Menelaos and Paris.

255 *ἐκπασσαμένω*: Each recovered his own spear, which was sticking in his adversary's shield.

256 *λέουσιν*: λένωσιν.

258 *οὐτασε*: This word is used of hand-to-hand conflict. The spears are no longer thrown.

260 *ἐπάλμενος*: aorist participle of *ἐφάλλωμαι*.

267 *μέσσω ἐπομφάλιον*: 'in the middle, on the boss'.

269 *ἐπέρεισε δὲ ἔν' ἀπέλεθρον*: 'he put all his weight behind it', as we should say.

270 *εἴσω*: 'inwards'.

272 *ἀσπίς ἐνιχυρομφθεις*: The force of the blow has knocked him over backwards with the shield on top of him. (It is rare for the iota of the dative to be elided.)

273 It was the normal procedure in a single combat to attack with swords after the spears have been thrown.

274 The heralds, who have been acting as umpires, bring the duel to an end before Hektor is seriously hurt. It is a chivalrous episode, and it is better that it ends in politeness, like the Glaukos-Diomedes meeting in Book VI.

276 Talthybios was Agamemnon's herald, Idaios Priam's.

It is the Trojan Idaios who actually proposes that they stop fighting. This is in accordance with Homer's Greek patriotism.

281 *αἰχητή*: understand *ἐστόν*.

284-6 Aias speaks correctly and

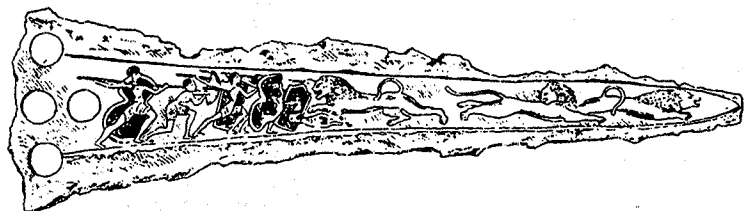


FIG. 4. The lion-hunt dagger-blade from Mycenae

honourably. Hektor had been the challenger, and so it is up to him to suggest an end to the bout. But Aias makes it easy for him to do so (286).

285 *χάρμη προκαλέσσατο*: 218 n.

286 *ἢ περ ἄν οὗτος*: understand *ἄρχη*.

289 *περὶ* adverb, 'very much', 'outstandingly'.

292 *ἐτέρωσι*: 'one side or the other'.

Hektor is not thinking so much of a future single combat with Aias as of the battle of the armies.

295 *οἳ τοι ἔασιν* = *σοῦς*.

298 *μοι εὐχόμεναι*: 'giving glory to me'; cf. XI 761 *πάντες δ' εὐχετόωντο θεῶν*

*Δι Νέστορι τ' ἀνδρῶν*. If this is the meaning, there is a dangerous presumption in Hektor's words (M. Van der Valk, *L'Antiquité Classique* 22 (1953) 7;

cf. VIII 540). *θεῶν δύονται ἀγῶνα*: 'will enter the sacred place of assembly', i.e. in a procession to honour the gods.

299 *ἄγε*: 'come'. *δώμεν*: subjunctive, 'let us give'.

302 *διέτμαγεν*: 'separated' (I 531).

306 *τῷ δὲ διακριθῆντε*: The dual is then divided into two separate sentences with *ὁ μὲν, ὁ δέ*.

312 *κεχαρηότα*: perfect participle of *χαίρω*. *νίκη*: Aias had certainly been superior, if not strictly victorious.

314 *δέ*: apodotic.

316 *ἅπαντα*: neuter plural used adverbially, 'completely' (Monro on *Odyssey* XVI 21).

319 *τετύκοντο*: reduplicated aorist middle of *τεύχω*.

320 *ἔδευετο δόμα*.

321 The continuous piece of meat from the backbone, the chine, was always considered the portion of honour at a feast.

323-482 From here to the end of the book, what has been a clear and straightforward narrative becomes at some points imprecise and obscure. Apart from certain awkwardnesses of expression and unpleasing repetitions, three major problems have been much discussed: (1) In 334-5 a unique proposal is made for the preservation of the ashes of the dead, and their eventual transportation back to Greece. (2) No very satisfactory reasons are given for the building of a defensive wall round the Greek camp at this time in the tenth year of the war (337-43). (3) The poet is untypically careless about chronology, in that a truce is made of uncertain duration, and the normally explicit sequence of days and nights is short-circuited in 432-3. These

difficulties are discussed in the notes on the relevant lines.

323 *ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο*: 'put away from themselves (*ἐξέμα*) their desire', i.e. had satisfied it.

328 *γάρ*: This introduces an advance reason for the following proposals; when they come, however, they are introduced by *τῷ* 'therefore' (331). Trans. 'seeing that'.

329 *ἐύρροον*: with *Σκάμανδρον* of course, not *ἄμα*.

330 *Ἀιδόσθε*: i.e. *εἰς Αἶδα δόμον*. The word for house has to be understood. Cf. *εἰς Αἶδα* VIII 367.

332-3 *κυκλήσομεν, κατακείμεν*: aorist subjunctives with short vowel; four more examples come in 336-41.

332 *κυκλήσομεν*: 'let us wheel', i.e. bring on wagons.

334-5 These two lines raise difficulties.

The pathetic preservation of the ashes of the dead in urns, so that they can eventually be transported back to their homes and families, is mentioned nowhere else in the *Iliad*, not even in the description later in this book of the carrying out by the Achaians of these proposals of Nestor (430-41). Patroklos' bones are collected, it is true, from his funeral pyre in XXIII 252; but that is so that they can be kept for later burial with the bones of Achilles after his death, not for transport home. Moreover, as the funeral pyre is obviously a common one (*ἕνα*, 336, whatever the meaning of *ἄκριτον*, 337), it would not be possible to distinguish each man's bones.

In view of these facts the lines were condemned by Aristarchus, who has been followed by many modern critics. The extreme position is that taken by those who see here one of the latest of the post-Homeric additions to the *Iliad*—making it in fact an allusion to a specifically Athenian practice, instituted probably in the year 464 BC, of bringing home for burial the ashes of those killed abroad. (PAGE 323, following an article by F. Jacoby.)

That the lines are illogical cannot be denied. The argument that they were composed under the influence of an Athenian custom instituted in the fifth century, however, is not convincing. To require a historical precedent is to deny any exercise of the poet's imagination.

There is some awkwardness of expression in the *ὡς* clause, in that Nestor appears to say that each man is to take home his own bones to his children. This, however, is a

question of careless use of language, and not a serious problem.

336 *τύμβου*: 'mound', i.e. a funeral barrow. *ἐξαγαγόντες ἄκριτον ἐκ πεδίου*: It is not easy to see what the poet means by these words. Three or four different interpretations have been offered, of which perhaps the most acceptable is that they are an expansion and clarification of *τύμβου ἕνα χεῖομεν*, and mean 'extending it in an unbroken line from the plain'. This makes *ἐξαγαγόντες* refer to the building of the mound, and treats *ἄκριτον* ('undifferentiated', 'continuous') as an adverb.

337 *ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν δειμομεν (δέμω)* etc.: Nestor now proposes the building of a defensive wall round the Greek camp, apparently making use of the burial mound as a starting-point. Outside the wall is to be a ditch (341).

Nestor gives no particular reason for building the wall at the present time, although it is true that he has mentioned the loss of many men in today's battle (328), and he foresees the possibility of Trojan attacks in the future (343). Critics have been worried by the logic of this, in that the time to build a defensive wall was on first landing at the beginning of the war; and in any case the fighting of Books IV to VII has been almost wholly favourable to the Greeks. More plausible reasons, though not mentioned by Nestor, are war-weariness on the part of the Greeks (shown clearly in their reaction to Agamemnon's tentative proposal in Book II that they should return home), and the great disadvantage that has come upon them with the withdrawal of Achilles from the fighting. Achilles himself says in IX 353 that so long as he was in action the Trojans would not leave their city.

But in reality these rational arguments and explanations are not the best way to answer a poetic question. The wall is going to play a large part in Book XII; Homer is preparing us for that battle by describing the wall's construction here. Moreover, in answer to the argument that Books IV to VII have shown an unbroken sequence of Greek success, that is simply Homer's patriotic manner; the Trojans have had their own successes in V and VII, and the Greek army at least is not too optimistic about the next day of battle (478 ff.).

It is inconvenient that Thucydides speaks of a wall having been built at the beginning of the war (I 11.1), and appears to ignore the building of one at this point in the

*Iliad*. All the same, it introduces a far graver problem to deduce from this that all mentions of the building of the wall in this and later books are interpolations in the *Iliad* dating from a time after Thucydides (as PAGE does, 315 ff.). In fact, if one pays close attention to the text, one may find that the wall referred to by Thucydides is mentioned in XIII 683 and XIV 32.

338 *πύργους*: 'ramparts'. In 437, where this line recurs, it is preceded by the mention of the *τείχος* itself in 436, and the *πύργοι* are added to the *τείχος* by *τε* (*πύργους θ' ὑψηλοῦς*). The explanation of a slight awkwardness in our present passage is the difference of tense; and when we consider it, it becomes obvious that 436-7 are the basic expression, 337-8 the variant, in which the *πύργοι* have to stand by themselves for the whole construction, wall and towers together. *αὐτῶν*: i.e. *ἡμῶν αὐτῶν*.

339 *πύλας*: Although the plural of this word is regularly used for a single gate, it probably means several gates here; cf. XII 175: *ἄλλοι δ' ἄμφ' ἄλλησι μάχην ἐμάχοντο πύλῃσιν* ('different attackers were fighting at different gates').

340 *εἴη*: The optative is difficult to explain grammatically, although similarly difficult examples occur at least in the MSS at I 344 and IX 245. Perhaps the explanation is simply that the optative is more remote than the subjunctive in this early Greek, and we are unduly worried by later rules of 'sequence of tenses'. Here, however, there is the interesting fact that this line is repeated when the wall is actually built, at 439, where the narrative is in the past tense, and the optative is clearly correct by normal rules. It is an interesting possibility (cf. 338 n.) that Nestor's speech is secondary to the actual description of 430-41; *εἴη* in that case could be an example of the inertia of the formulaic phraseology (Introduction, p. XXI), whereby a phrase has a tendency to remain the same even if it is not wholly harmonious in its new context.

342 *ἤχ' . . . ἐρυσάκοι*: 'which might hold back'. *ἀμφὶ εὐῶσα*: 'being around' the wall and the camp.

343 *ἀγερῶχων*: The meaning is not known. It is a formulaic epithet used of non-Greek peoples, particularly the Trojans.

346 *τερρηχῦα*: intransitive perfect active participle from *ταράσσω*: 'disturbed', 'confused'.