# ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Α

λοιμός                    μῆνις

μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος

οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί᾽ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε᾽ ἔθηκε,

πολλὰς δ᾽ ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν

ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν

οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι, Διὸς δ᾽ ἐτελείετο βουλή,                    5

ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε

Ἀτρεΐδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.

   τίς τ᾽ ἄρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;

Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός· ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθεὶς

νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὦρσε κακήν, ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί,                    10

οὕνεκα τὸν Χρύσην ἠτίμασεν ἀρητῆρα

Ἀτρεΐδης.  ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν

λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα φέρων τ᾽ ἀπερείσι᾽ ἄποινα,

στέμματ᾽ ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος

χρυσέωι ἀνὰ σκήπτρωι καὶ λίσσετο πάντας Ἀχαιούς,                    15


   1-7 **α**: Μούσας ἀείδω καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα κλυτότοξον Apellikon's 'Old Iliad', according
to Nik. and Krates        1-9 **α**: ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, Ὀλύμπια δώματ᾽ ἔχουσαι, |
ὅππως δὴ μῆνις τε χόλος θ᾽ ἕλε Πηλείωνα | Λητοῦς τ᾽ ἀγλαὸν υἱόν· ὁ γὰρ
βασιλῆι χολωθείς 'Old Iliad', according to Aristox.        3 ψυχὰς **α**; κεφαλὰς Ap.
Rhod.        4-5 rejected by Zen.        5 πᾶσι **α**: δαῖτα Zen. at Athen. 1.12.e-f
8 τ᾽ ἄρ **α**: τάρ Ap. D., Hdn., **β**        σφῶϊ Zen.        11 ἠτίμασεν **α**: ἠτίμησ᾽ **β**:
ἠτίμησεν **γ**        15 λίσσετο Ar., **α**: ἐλίσσετο **β**

Ἀτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιστα δύω, κοσμήτορε λαῶν·

"Ἀτρεΐδαι τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί,

ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ᾽ ἔχοντες

ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ᾽ οἴκαδ᾽ ἱκέσθαι·

παῖδα δ᾽ ἐμοὶ λύσαιτε φίλην, τὰ δ᾽ ἄποινα δέχεσθαι,          20

ἁζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν ἑκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα."

  ἔνθ᾽ ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἐπευφήμησαν Ἀχαιοὶ

αἰδεῖσθαί θ᾽ ἱερῆα καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα·

ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ Ἀτρεΐδηι Ἀγαμέμνονι ἥνδανε θυμῶι,

ἀλλὰ κακῶς ἀφίει, κρατερὸν δ᾽ ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε·          25

"μή σε, γέρον, κοίληισιν ἐγὼ παρὰ νηυσὶ κιχείω

ἢ νῦν δηθύνοντ᾽ ἢ ὕστερον αὖτις ἰόντα,

μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμηι σκῆπτρον καὶ στέμμα θεοῖο.

τὴν δ᾽ ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω·  πρίν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν

ἡμετέρωι ἐνὶ οἴκωι ἐν Ἄργεϊ, τηλόθι πάτρης,          30

ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένην καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν.

ἀλλ᾽ ἴθι, μή μ᾽ ἐρέθιζε, σαώτερος ὥς κε νέηαι."

  ὣς ἔφατ᾽, ἔδεισεν δ᾽ ὁ γέρων καὶ ἐπείθετο μύθωι·

βῆ δ᾽ ἀκέων παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.

πολλὰ δ᾽ ἔπειτ᾽ ἀπάνευθε κιὼν ἠρᾶθ᾽ ὁ γεραιὸς          35

Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι, τὸν ἠΰκομος τέκε Λητώ·

"κλῦθί μευ, ἀργυρότοξ᾽, ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας

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16 Ἀτρεΐδα Zen.      20 λῦσαί τε Apio, Hdn.          δέχεσθαι α: δέχεσθε β

24 Ἀτρεΐδεω Ἀγαμέμνονος Zen.        29-31 rejected by Ar        34 ἀχέων Zen

Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην, Τενέδοιό τε ἶφι ἀνάσσεις,

Σμινθεῦ, εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ᾽ ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα,

ἢ εἰ δή ποτέ τοι κατὰ πίονα μηρί᾽ ἔκηα                          40

ταύρων ἠδ᾽ αἰγῶν, τόδε μοι κρήηνον ἐέλδωρ·

τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν."

  ὣς ἔφατ᾽ εὐχόμενος· τοῦ δ᾽ ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

βῆ δὲ κατ᾽ Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων χωόμενος κῆρ,

τόξ᾽ ὤμοισιν ἔχων, ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρέτρην·                  45

ἔκλαγξαν δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὀϊστοὶ ἐπ᾽ ὤμων χωομένοιο,

αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος· ὁ δ᾽ ἤϊε νυκτὶ ἐοικώς.

ἕζετ᾽ ἔπειτ᾽ ἀπάνευθε νεῶν, μετὰ δ᾽ ἰὸν ἕηκεν·

δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγὴ γένετ᾽ ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο.

οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπώιχετο καὶ κύνας ἀργούς,              50

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ᾽ αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἐφιεὶς

βάλλ᾽· αἰεὶ δὲ πυραὶ νεκύων καίοντο θαμειαί.

  ἐννῆμαρ μὲν ἀνὰ στρατὸν ᾤχετο κῆλα θεοῖο,

τῇ δεκάτῃ δ᾽ ἀγορήνδε καλέσσατο λαὸν Ἀχιλλεύς·

τῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη·                55

κήδετο γὰρ Δαναῶν, ὅτι ῥα θνήισκοντας ὁρᾶτο.

οἱ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὖν ἤγερθεν ὁμηγερέες τε γένοντο,

τοῖσι δ᾽ ἀνιστάμενος μετέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·

"Ἀτρεΐδη, νῦν ἄμμε πάλιν πλαγχθέντας ὀΐω

ἂψ ἀπονοστήσειν, εἴ κεν θάνατόν γε φύγοιμεν,              60

  42 τίσειαν α: τίσαιεν Zen., β    46-47 rejected by Zen.    47 ἐοικώς Ar., α:
ἐλυσθείς Zen.    56 ὁρῆτο Zen.    59 παλιμπλ- Ar., α

εἰ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε δαμᾶι καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιούς.

ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε δή τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερῆα

ἢ καὶ ὀνειροπόλον, καὶ γάρ τ᾽ ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν,

ὅς κ᾽ εἴποι ὅ τι τόσσον ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,

εἴ τ᾽ ἄρ ὅ γ᾽ εὐχωλῆς ἐπιμέμφεται εἴ θ᾽ ἑκατόμβης·     65

αἴ κέν πως ἀρνῶν κνίσης αἰγῶν τε τελείων

βούλεται ἀντιάσας ἡμῖν ἀπὸ λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι.”

ἤτοι ὅ γ᾽ ὣς εἰπὼν κατ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἕζετο, τοῖσι δ᾽ ἀνέστη

Κάλχας Θεστορίδης, οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος,

ὃς ᾔδη τά τ᾽ ἐόντα τά τ᾽ ἐσσόμενα πρό τ᾽ ἐόντα,     70

καὶ νήεσσ᾽ ἡγήσατ᾽ Ἀχαιῶν Ἴλιον εἴσω

ἣν διὰ μαντοσύνην, τήν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·

ὅ σφιν ἐὺ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν·

“ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ, κέλεαί με, διίφιλε, μυθήσασθαι

μῆνιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκατηβελέταο ἄνακτος·     75

τοιγὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω, σὺ δὲ σύνθεο καί μοι ὄμοσσον

ἦ μέν μοι πρόφρων ἔπεσιν καὶ χερσὶν ἀρήξειν.

ἦ γὰρ ὀίομαι ἄνδρα χολωσέμεν, ὃς μέγα πάντων

Ἀργείων κρατέει καί οἱ πείθονται Ἀχαιοί.

κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεύς, ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρηϊ·     80

εἴ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψηι,

63 rejected by Zen.     65 τ᾽ ἄρ α: τάρ Hdn., β     εἴ θ᾽ α: ἠδ᾽ β     67 βούλητ᾽ Payne Knight     68 κατ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἕζετο α: ἐκαθέζετο Zen.     69 Κάλχας α: μάντις Zen.     73 ὅς μιν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα α     80 rejected by Zen.

ἀλλά τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον, ὄφρα τελέσσῃ,

ἐν στήθεσσιν ἑοῖσι.  σὺ δὲ φράσαι εἴ με σαώσεις.”

τὸν δ᾽ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·

“θαρσήσας μάλα εἰπὲ θεοπρόπιον ὅτι οἶσθα·                     85

οὐ μὰ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνα διΐφιλον, ᾦ τε σύ, Κάλχαν,

εὐχόμενος Δαναοῖσι θεοπροπίας ἀναφαίνεις,

οὔ τις ἐμεῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο

σοὶ κοίλῃς παρὰ νηυσὶ βαρείας χεῖρας ἐποίσει

συμπάντων Δαναῶν, οὐδ᾽ ἢν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἴπῃς,                 90

ὃς νῦν πολλὸν ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν εὔχεται εἶναι.”

  καὶ τότε δὴ θάρσησε καὶ ηὔδα μάντις ἀμύμων·

“οὔτ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὅ γ᾽ εὐχωλῆς ἐπιμέμφεται οὔθ᾽ ἑκατόμβης,

ἀλλ᾽ ἕνεκ᾽ ἀρητῆρος, ὃν ἠτίμησ᾽ Ἀγαμέμνων

οὐδ᾽ ἀπέλυσε θύγατρα καὶ οὐκ ἀπεδέξατ᾽ ἄποινα,             95

τούνεκ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἄλγε᾽ ἔδωκεν ἑκηβόλος ἠδ᾽ ἔτι δώσει.

οὐδ᾽ ὅ γε πρὶν Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσει,

πρίν γ᾽ ἀπὸ πατρὶ φίλῳ δόμεναι ἑλικώπιδα κούρην

ἀπριάτην ἀνάποινον, ἄγειν θ᾽ ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην

ἐς Χρύσην·  τότε κέν μιν ἱλασσάμενοι πεπίθοιμεν.”         100


 82 τε α: γε β    83 φράσον Zen    85 οἶσθας Zen.    86 Κάλχαν: Ar., α: Κάλχα

Zen., β        89 ἐφήσει α        91 Ἀχαιῶν Zen, Sosig., Aristoph., Ar.: ἐνὶ στρατῷ α

93 οὔτ᾽ ἄρ᾽ α: οὔ ταρ Hdn., β        οὔθ᾽ α: οὐδ᾽ β        96 rejected by Ar.

97 Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσει Rhi., Mass., Ar.: λοιμοῖο βαρείας χεῖρας

ἀφέξει Zen., α        100 τότε Ar., α: αἴ Zen..

COMMENTARY

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1-7: THE PROEM

The proem introduces the distinctive theme of the *Il.*, the wrath of Achilles, then progressively adds to an audience's or reader's understanding of the consequences and implications of this wrath, before returning to a starting point in line 6. The proem also indicates that the poem's narrative will take place on two mutually implicated planes, divine and human (cf. Finkelberg 1998: 131-3; Mirto 1997: 779). For the ancient variants of 1-7, see Introd., 00.

1 μῆνιν…Ἀχιλῆος: μῆνιν signals immediately that the plot of the poem will be emotional and psychological, not merely an account of the fighting and other events of the war (Willcock 185, 1976: 4). μῆνις is a special kind of sacral, vengeful, destructive anger in response to a fundamental violation of social or cosmic order (Watkins 1972, Redfield 1979: 97, Muellner 1996: 1-31). In early Greek epic poetry generally, μῆνις is used only of divine wrath. In the *Il.*, however, both the narrator and various characters use μῆνις and its cognates of Achilles' rage against Agamemnon, (e.g. μῆνις 9.517, 19.35; μηνιθμός 16.62, 282; μηνίω 422, 488). Achilles never calls his own emotional state μῆνις (Watkins 1972: 194). Rather he speaks of his χόλος (e.g. 9.646, 18.109), a kind of explosive anger that he feels with special intensity (cf. 81-2n., Walsh 2005: 109). Only two other characters in the poem are said to feel *mênis*: Agamemnon against Achilles (1.247 ἐμήνιε) and Aineias against Priam (13.460 ἐπιμήνιε). As the first word of the first line in the poem, μῆνις immediately characterizes Achilles as a special kind of hero with a link to the divine through his mother, the Nereid Thetis, whom Πηληϊάδεω calls to mind. At the same time and more importantly, the first line also calls to mind Achilles' mortality through his father Peleus. The plot of the poem takes Achilles from a focus on his mother, through whom he differs from other mortals, to a heightened awarenss of his father, through whom

he is the same as others. Πηληϊάδεω anticipates Achilles's thoughts about his father and ultimate affirmation of mortality in the scene with Priam in Book 24.

The force of μῆνιν in line 1 is heightened by its placement at position 1.5 of the hexameter, where word-end is rare, and by the unusual colometry of the first half of the line, which is one of only 10% of Homeric hexameters without word-end at position 2 or position 3, the 'A' caesura, and with word-end at positions 1.5 and 3.5, where it is atypical; see Introd., 00.    At the level of formulaic style, the combination μῆνιν ἄειδε likewise stands out and might even seem misplaced at the beginning of the line: its grammatical-metrical pattern, involving a noun of type –◡ plus a verb of type ◡–×, is more common at the end of the line, e.g. 2 ἄλγε᾽ ἔθηκε᾽, 40 μηρί᾽ ἔκηα (Russo 1963: 241).      ἄειδε: the narrator asks the goddess, i.e. the Muse, to sing the poem that he is composing. Elsewhere in Homeric epic the Muse (s) are asked to 'say' or 'tell' rather than 'sing'. (Finkelberg 1998: 122 with n. 44), e.g. 2.484 ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι, *Od.* 1.1 ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, 1.10 θυγάτηρ Δός, εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν, and the datives imply, 'tell me so that I am able to sing…'; cf. 2.761, 11.218, 14.508, 16.112. Thus ἄειδε is marked, like μῆνις, and the absence of μοι is similarly striking, unless 3 θεά would have implied μοι for an audience familiar with the openings of other epic poems.      θεά: the goddess is the equivalent of the Muse or Muses invoked elsewhere, who, as daughter(s) of Memory (Μνημοσύνη), enable the narrator to perform and compose by 'remembering' for him, i.e. by 'calling to mind' or 'reminding him of' (μιμνήσκω, μιμνήσκομαι) characters and stories he wishes to sing. The Muse(s) can do so because they are present everywhere and know all things at all times (cf. 2.484-5). They make the narrator mindful of the traditional repertoire of mythology, the technique of simultaneous performance and composition in formulaic language and style, and the poetic themes needed for effective composition, and in this way they guarantee the accuracy, the 'truth', of what they enable the poet to sing (Detienne 1996: 43-52). Elsewhere in Homer, humans use vocative θεά mainly to

acknowledge that  they are speaking to a goddess (1.216, 5.815, 18.18) or to suggest the

importance of divine status (1.401, *Od.* 5.173, 178).  θεά is also found after a speaker has

called (on) a goddess by name (e.g. 10.290, *Od.* 20.61) or even without a previous naming

of the goddess, when there is no doubt which goddess is meant, as when Odysseus invokes

Athene as θεά at 10.462 and 23.770 (Redfield 1979: 98-9).  Here θεά reflects the

narrator's special relationship with the Muse, whom he does not need to name and who

enables him to succeed poetically.        **Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος:**  this formulaic phrase,

with synizesis of ε and ω and hiatus between the two words (Introd., 00), may seem

unremarkable:  it occurs 6x in the *Il.* at the end of the line.  Here, however, the reference

not merely to 'the wrath of Achilles' but to 'the wrath of Achilles, son of Peleus', alludes

unmistakably to the story of the forced marriage of Thetis to the mortal Peleus, and this

mention of his double parentage, divine and human, calls special attention to Achilles as the

mortal hero *par excellence* in an epic whose central theme is mortal heroism (cf. 352-4,

Schein 1984, Slatkin, 1991, Introd., 00).        **Πηληϊάδεω** is gen. sing. of the first-

declension masc. nom. patronymic, **Πηληϊάδης**.  The older form of the gen. was

**Πηληϊάδαο** (cf. 16.686), but at a relatively late stage of the oral poetic tradition, -αο

became -εω by Ionic quantitative metathesis (Introd., 00) and provided a useful metrical

variant.  *Πηληϊάδα' Ἀχιλῆος would scan here, but this phrase is not found anywhere in

Homeric epic.

 2 **οὐλομένην...ἔθηκε:** οὐλομένην, a metrically lengthened form of ὀλόμενος, aor.

mid. participle of ὄλλυμι, 'perish', 'be destroyed' (cf. 5.876, 14.84), is an example of

'progressive' enjambment, in which the runover word is not essential for completing the

grammar or syntax of the preceding line.;  it suggests that Achilles' wrath is not only

destructive but self-destructive.  Enjambment of a mid.-pass. participle with the word-

shape $-\cup\cup-$ at position 3 is a common feature of  the oral formulaic style, e.g. 13

λυσόμενος, 21 ἀζόμενοι.  Elsewhere in the *Il.*, and for the most part in the *Od.*,

ὀλόμενος/οὐλόμενος describes persons;   here, though, it strikingly personifies the wrath, and this personification is developed in 2–5, where ἥ, referring back to μῆνιν…οὐλομένην, is the subj. of three active verbs in three successive clauses.  Typically the giver of ἄλγεα is a named or unnamed god or gods (12x in the *Il.* and *Od.*);  twice the giver is a curse originating with mortals and made effective by the Erinyes, 'Curses', who are named at *Od.* 11.279 and implicitly present at *Od.* 9.330.  Here Achilles' μῆνις, as inflicter of ἄλγεα, functions as a kind of divine curse (Redfield 1979: 101 with n. 17).

**μυρί':**  when the accent is on the penult., μυρίος means 'infinite', 'countless', but when it is on the antepenult, μύριοι, it means 'ten thousand' (a sense not found in Homer, but at Hes. fr. 278.10).        **Ἀχαιοῖς:** Ἀχαιοί, Ἀργεῖοι (e.g. 382), and Δαναοί (e.g. 79) are the three names regularly used to denote the Greeks throughout the *Il.*

**μυρί'…ἄλγε':**  the agreement of a 2-syllable adj. at position 5.5, the B¹ caesura, with a 2-syllable noun at position 10.5 is very rare;  it weakens the effect of the caesura and contributes to the harshness of the line caused by elision of the final syllables of μυρί' and ἄλγε' and the double hiatus between these and the following words.

  **3-4 πολλάς…κύνεσσιν:**  πολλάς, emphatically positioned at the beginning of 3, helps to convey the power of the μῆνις.        **ἰφθίμους:**  ἴφθιμος is used elsewhere in the *Il.* and *Od.* only of live human beings, animals or parts of their bodies.  It means 'strong', 'mighty', though it cannot be cognate with ἴς, ἶφι, ἴφιος because, unlike these words, it never had an initial digamma (cf. *DELG*, *LfrgE s.v.* ἴς).  ἰφθίμους ψυχάς is almost an oxymoron, because in Homer the ψυχή after death is merely an immaterial and strengthless shadow of a living person.  Possibly ἰφθίμους is an instance of the figure known as enallage, a transferred epithet, with 'many mighty lives of fighting men' signifying 'many lives of mighty fighting men';  this would explain the slightly unusual circumstance of ψυχάς having two adjectives and ἡρώων none.   Here ἴφθιμος is a two-termination adj., but at 5.415, *Od.* 11.287, 15.364 there is a separate feminine ending.        **ψυχάς:** ψυχή,

which etymologically means 'wind-breath' (*DELG* 1294, *s.v.*), in Homer denotes 'the breath of life' and is mentioned in the *Iliad* only when it leaves the body on the point of death (e.g. 16.856-7 = 22.362-3), when death is risked or threatened (e.g. 9.321-2, 408-9, cf. *Od.* 2.237, 3.74 = 9.255) or when a character faints or is knocked out (e.g. 5.696, *Od.* 24.348); cf. Vermeule 1979: 212 n. 12. ψυχή can also denote the unsubstantial, ghost-like image of a formerly living person on its way to or in the Land of the Dead.

The bT scholia report that Apollonios Rhodios conjectured κεφαλάς for ψυχάς, and another scholion implicitly criticizes 'some' (τινες) for adopting this reading. κεφαλάς is unlikely to be right: it would destroy the effective contrast between αὐτούς, 'them(selves)', i.e. their dead bodies, and their 'lives'. Yet κεφαλάς too makes sense: like ψυχαί, κεφαλαί and the synonymous κάρηνα are sometimes said to descend or be hurled down to Hades at the moment of death, e.g. 11.54-5 οὕνεκ' ἔμελλε | πολλὰς ἰφθίμους κεφαλὰς Ἄϊδι προϊάψειν, Hes. fr.. 204.118-9 …π]ολλὰς Ἀΐδηι κεφαλὰς ἀπὸ χαλκὸν ἰάψ[ει]ν | ἀν]δρῶν ἡρώων ἐν δηϊοτῆτι πεσόντων. See Clarke 1999: 73-7.

**Ἄϊδι:** Homer does not use Ἄιδης, etc., only the unaspirated forms of the name, which in Homer, except perhaps at 23.244, is always that of the god, never of the place.

**ἡρώων:** in Homer, ἥρως always means 'fighting man', 'warrior', never a cult hero or a hero in any other sense of the word. Here ἡρώων gains emphasis from enjambment and hyperbaton, followed by a sense–break strong enough to be marked in our texts by punctuation.    **αὐτούς:** αὐτός can serve both as a third person pronoun, weaker and less emphatic than the deictics οὗτος, ὅδε and ἐκεῖνος, and as an intensifier, 'themselves'. Here 'themselves' are the dead bodies on which the pronoun focuses attention (Bonifazi 2012: 141-3), in contrast to the departed ψυχάς. The conception of the body as the 'self' is reflected in Homer's much greater concern with what happens to bodies than with what happens to ψυχαί.    **ἐλώρια** is acc. plur. of ἐλώριον, a

metrically motivated variant of ἔλωρ found elsewhere only at 18.93 (plur.) and Ap. Rhod. 2.264 (sing.).

  **4-5 κύνεσσιν…πᾶσι**: the first occurrence of a major theme of the *Il.*, the threat to deny a dead warrior burial and to expose his corpse to be eaten by dogs and/or birds. No corpse is said to be eaten, but the threats become increasingly frequent in the course of the poem, as the warriors become increasingly savage. See Segal 1971, Redfield 1975: 168-9, 184-6, 199, 200.      **κύνεσσιν** is Aeolic dat. plur. of κύων, equivalent to Attic κυσίν. **τεῦχε** is unaugmented imperf. of τεύχω (Introd., 00), usually 'make', 'construct', 'fabricate', but here 'make or cause one thing to be another'; cf. *Od.* 13.191-2 ὄφρα μιν αὐτὸν | ἄγνωστον τεύξειεν.      **οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι**: According to Aristarchos on 1.4 (Erbse 8), Zenodotos rejected lines 4-5. He is, however, also said at Athen. 1.12e-f to have written **δαῖτα** instead of **πᾶσι**. There is no mention of this reading in Σ, and all the MSS have **πᾶσι**. Nevertheless, many scholars consider **δαῖτα** the true reading, because of several passages in Attic tragedy thought to echo it: Aesch. *Supp.* 800-801 κυσὶν δ' ἔπειθ' ἔλωρα κἀπιχωρίοις | ὄρνισι δεῖπνον, Soph. *Ant.* 29-30 νέκυν… | ἐᾶν… ἄκλαυτον, ἄταφον, οἰωνοῖς βοράν, Eur, *Ion* 504-5 πτανοῖς…θοίναν θηρσί τε φοινίαν | δαῖτα, and Eur. *Hec.* 1077 κυσίν τε φοινίαν δαῖτ'. These passages, however, show only that in fifth-century Athens the reading (or one reading) in 1.5 may well have been **δαῖτα**, but this reading could have been no more than a conjecture that found its way into the text at some point between the late eighth and early fifth centuries, because it seemed more lively and colorful than **πᾶσι**. Athenaios' speaker says that in Homer δαίς is never used of animal food, which also was Aristarchos' criticism of Zenodotos' reading. At 24.43, however, in a simile comparing Achilles to a savage lion, the lion is said to 'go against the flocks of mortals, in order to take a meal' (ἵνα δαῖτα λάβῃσιν).

  **5 Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή**: the imperf. suggests that 'the plan of Zeus was being accomplished' at the same time as the actions conveyed by the three aor. verbs in lines 2-5,

and perhaps that these effects of the μῆνις are part of Zeus's plan.  The impf. often has a "synchronizing" force, and the difference in verbal aspect between the aor. and the pres./impf. is fundamental to situating actions and events in time;  see Danek 1999: 78-80.  The juxtaposition of the Διὸς βουλή with human action and suffering looks back to the combination of divinity and humanity in 1.1 and forward to the narrator's statement in 1.8-9 that Apollo was the god who caused the conflict between Agamemnon and Achilles.   Cf. Achilles at 19.271-4: 'the son of Atreus would never have aroused [my] heart | … nor would he have brought away | the girl against my will…;  but no doubt Zeus | preferred (ἤθελ᾽) that there be death for many Achaians'.        βουλή 'plan', though 'will' and 'resolution' are also present.   This combination of meanings recurs, with varying emphases, whenever the βουλή or βουλαί of Zeus are mentioned, e.g. 12.236, 241, 13.524, 20.15, 20).

The precise content of Zeus's plan has been debated since antiquity. Most scholars, beginning with Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchos (Erbse 10), equate the 'plan of Zeus' with his promise to Thetis to make the Trojans victorious until the Greeks honor Achilles, whom Agamemnon had dishonored by taking away his *geras* Briseis;  cf. 407-12, 498-530.  Other ancient and modern scholars consider that Zeus's plan in the *Il.* is the same as his plan in the Cyclic epic *Kypria*, where Διὸς δ᾽ ἐτελείετο βουλή (fr. 1.7) refers to Zeus's decision, out of pity for the overburdened earth, to reduce its population by means of the Trojan War, in which 'the heroes kept on killing one another' (*Kypria* fr. 1.3-7 ); cf. Σ *Il.* 1.5 (Erbse 9-10), Σ Eur. *Or.* 1641, Kullmann 1955, Scodel 1982: 39-40, 45-8).  In light of a cosmic history familiar to the poet and his audiences or readers (cf. Graziosi and Haubold 2005) or of an equally familiar 'master plan' by Zeus to cause human death and destruction in order to affirm the immortality of the gods (Murnaghan 1997: 29), these two interpretations of Zeus's plan are not mutually exclusive.  See Introd., 00-00.

6 ἐξ οὗ δή…ἐρίσαντε: ἐξ οὗ δή continues the sense from the previous line: 'the plan of Zeus was being accomplished, | (beginning) from precisely (δή) when the two (men), having quarreled, stood apart'. Aristarchos (Σ 5-6, Erbse 10) argued against those who connected ἐξ οὗ δή with 1 ἄειδε: 'sing the wrath… from precisely when…' Leaf 4 and Kirk 53 support this connection, adducing as parallels *Od.* 1.10 τῶν ἀμόθεν γε, θε θύγατερ Διός, εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ('from some point [*sc.* in the story], goddess, daughter of Zeus, speak to us too') and *Od.* 8.499-500 ὁ δ᾽ ὁρμηθεὶς θεοῦ ἤρχετο, φαῖνε δ᾽ ἀοιδήν, | ἔνθεν ἑλών… ('and that man, inspired by [or: 'starting from'] the god, began and showed his song, | taking it up from there …'). The close connection between a quarrel and the implementation of Διός…βουλάς at *Od.* 8.75-82 also might support this interpretation, but the distance of ἐξ οὗ δή from ἄειδε makes it unlikely, if not impossible (Willcock 185-6), as does the use of temporal ἐξ οὗ rather than a spatial word like ὁμόθεν or ἔνθεν.      τὰ πρῶτα is adv. neut. plur. = πρῶτον.      διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε: διαστήτην is 3rd person dual, aor. indic. act. of διΐστημι, and ἐρίσαντε is masc. nom. dual, aor. act. participle of ἐρίζω. These dual forms place their two subjects, Agamemnon and Achilles, on a naturally equal footing and could imply that they are working together cooperatively, but line 7 and the scene of the first assembly show that they are fundamentally dissimilar amd opposed to one another.

7 Ἀτρεΐδης…Ἀχιλλεύς: the basic difference between the two subjects of 6 διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε is clear from the ways in which they are identified: Agamemnon is first described by a patronymic, suggesting that he has inherited his primacy from his father Atreus and ultimately from Zeus; cf. 2.100-108 (the description of Agamemnon's scepter), 2.204-5; then he is described as ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, a phrase that grounds his command in his authority to control sacrificial ritual and, thus, relations with divinity (Hitch 2009: 162-3, 176-80), as well as in his general political authority (cf. 1.281). Agamemnon's position as ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν gains emphasis from the placement of these words in the second colon of

the line, before the B caesura; all other (c. 50) occurrences of this formulaic phrase come after the B caesura, in the third colon (Pagliaro 1963: 38, Redfield 1979: 38). Achilles, on the other hand, is named not by a patronymic, as in 1, but solely by his own name, which suggests that what is essential to his identity is not a matter of inherited majesty but has to do with the meaning of this name–his power to cause 'grief , ἄχος, for the army, λαός' (Palmer 1963: 79-80, 1980: 37-8; cf. Nagy 1979: 69-70), and by the epithet δῖος ('bright', 'brilliant'), which associates him directly with Zeus, god of the bright sky, (*DELG s.v.* δῖος) and implies that he does not need Agamemnon and his sacrificial authority. Elsewhere both characters claim to receive honor directly from Zeus, Agamemnon at 174-5 (reinforced by Nestor at 278-9) and Achilles at 9.607-608.     Ἀτρεΐδης τε gains emphasis by its conspicuous position in enjambment at the beginning of line 7 and its word-end at position 3.5, even though it is syntactically linked with ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν. The patronymic could refer to either Agamemnon or Menelaos, but ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν immediately dispels the ambiguity for a listener or reader familiar with traditional mythology and traditional epic poetry, who would almost certainly have known some version of the story of the the conflict between Agamemnon and Achilles.  See Introd., 00.

### 8-12 Ἀτρεΐδης:  TRANSITIONAL PASSAGE

This transitional passage leads quickly from the proem to the actual events of the poem and provides the immediate background against which they unfold.  8 ἔριδι picks up 6 ἐρίσαντε, 8 σφωε looks back to the duals in line 6, and 9 Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός picks up the divine interventions in human existence signaled in 1 ἄειδε, θεά, and 5 Διὸς…βουλή.

  8 τίς…μάχεσθαι:  a rare rhetorical question addressed by the poem's speaker to its audience or readers, 'Who, then, of the gods threw them together in strife, to fight'?  θεῶν is partitive gen. with τίς.  ἄρα, ἄρ, and ῥα are metrically motivated variants of the same inferential particle and are common after an interrogative word. Connective τε following

an interrogative is often followed by ἄρα and perhaps makes the question more lively (K–G 2.240) or more emphatic (Ruijgh 1971: 805). Such a question normally comes at the beginning of a speech or, as here, of a unit of narrative (*GP* 533, e.g. 3.226 τίς τ᾽ ἄρ ὅδ᾽ ἄλλος…; 18.188 τίς τ᾽ ἄρ τῶν ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος ἔην…; Some editors prefer enclitic ταρ to τ᾽ ἄρ, following the grammarian Herodian (2.22 Lentz; cf. Σ 65, Erbse 29), who thought ταρ had coalesced from τ᾽ ἄρ as γάρ had from γ᾽ ἄρ. Following Watkins 1995: 150-1, Katz 2007: 66, 69-72 draws on parallels in Luvian to argue for the existence of a Homeric particle ταρ and at 70 n. 28 lists all the passages in which he judges that we should read ταρ instead of τ᾽ ἄρ. Cf. *LfrgE s.v.* ταρ.    σφωε is 3rd person acc. dual. Zenodotos's σφῶϊ, 2nd person acc. dual, would inappropriately make the narrator address his rhetorical question to Achilles and Agamemnon.    μάχεσθαι is inf. expressing result, with a suggestion of purpose as well (*GMT* §775, *GH* 2.302-3). Cf. 150-1.

  9 Λητοῦς…υἱός:  Apollo is often identified as the son of Leto in the *Il.* and in early Greek epic generally, e.g. 1.36, 16.849, *HHAp* 14-8, 89-126.

  9-10 ὁ…λαοί:  the definite article in later Greek is still a demonstrative pronoun in Homer.  Here ὁ picks up υἱός and can be translated 'this one', cf. 11n.  Homeric ὁ, ἡ, τό can also serve as a relative pronoun and in this capacity is always accented (ὅ, ἥ, τό). βασιλῆϊ: Agamemnon even though in 7 he is described by the more exalted title of ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν (cf. 277, 11.23). There is only one ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν in the Greek camp, but many βασιλῆες; cf. 9.59, 10.195, Taplin 1992: 47-9.    νοῦσον is the metrically lengthened, Ionic form of νόσον, the 'plague' whose effects are described in 50-2. ἀνὰ στρατόν:  like κατά, ἀνά with acc. can indicate extension or movement through, throughout, along, or among; cf. 3.449 ἀν᾽ ὅμιλον ἐφοίτα, *GH* 2.91.  Line 10 is marked by an unusual rhythm that reflects and reinforces the unusualness of the plague inflicted by Apollo: (1) ἀνά at position 3, the A caesura, goes so closely with στρατόν at position 4 that it weakens the force of that caesura; (2) usually when a word ends at position 1.5, as

does νοῦσον, the following word continues to the B caesura, but here στρατόν, ending at position 4, weakens the effect of the caesura at position 5.5 following ὦρσε and helps to produce a rhetorically tripartite structure that is in tension with the line'scolon metrical form.  In addition, ὀλέκοντο at position 9.5 bridges the C caesura (see Introd., 00) and is the only instance of ὀλέκω in the 3rd person plur., imperf. indic. pass. in surviving early Greek epic, a correlative of how extraordinary the plague and the deaths it causes are. κακήν is pred. adj., focalized both by Apollo, from whose viewpoint the plague is objectively 'bad', i.e. 'destructive', for the Greeks, and by the army (and perhaps the narrator), in whose subjective judgment the plague is 'evil', even though κακός in Homer rarely has a moral meaning.  Cf. 25 κακῶς with 25n., 97 ἀεικέα λοιγόν with 97-9 n.

   11 τὸν Χρύσην...ἀρητῆρα:  as a demonstrative pronoun (above, 9-10n.), τόν should mean 'that one' or 'that man', even though Chryses has not yet been mentioned by name or title.  He may, however, have been well known in mythological and poetic tradition as priest of Apollo and/or father of Chryseis, 'Chryses's daughter', or else the narrator uses τόν to give the impression that he is (cf. Lat. *ille*).  Χρύσην and ἀρητῆρα are, strictly speaking, in apposition to τόν:  'that (well-known) man, Chryses … the priest'. Chryses and his daughter Chryseis appear only in Book 1, where they help to cause and then to appease the wrath of Apollo.        ἠτίμασεν (‒‒◡◡) is aor. of ἀτιμάζω. Contrast 94 ἠτίμησ᾽ (‒‒‒), from ἀτιμάω.        ἀρητῆρα:  a noun ending in -τηρ or -τωρ is an agent noun, used of a person who does the action denoted by the verb from which the noun is derived.  An ἀρητήρ performs the action of the verb ἀράομαι, 'pray to', 'invoke', 'call upon' a god or gods for vengeance, in particular the Furies;  cf. *Od.* 2.135 στυγερὰς ἀρήσετ᾽ Ἐρινῦς, *Il.* 9.454 πολλὰ κατηρᾶτο, στυγερὰς δ᾽ ἐπεκέκλετ᾽ Ἐρινῦς.  Cf. 9.566 ἐξ ἀρέων and the later personification as the Ἀραί (= the Furies) at, e.g., Aesch. *Eum.* 417;  see Kakridis 1929.  The choice of ἀρητήρ rather than another word for 'priest' is appropriate, since Chryses will soon call upon Apollo for

vengeance on Agamemnon and the Greek army (37-42); see Graf 2009: 22. ἀρητῆρα gains force from its rhetorically climactic placement at the end of the line: 'he dishonored that man, Chryses–the priest…!' For the heavy syllable instead of 2 light syllables at position 10, see Introd., 00.

12 Ἀτρείδης: the runover word followed by a strong sense-break emphatically concludes the transitional passage (Edwards 1966: 135, Kirk 54).

## 12-42: CHRYSES AND AGAMEMNON

12 ὁ: Chryses

13 λυσόμενος…ἄποινα: an example of the rhetorical figure known as *hysteron-proteron*, which reverses the order in which events or actions occur and indicates that a later one is more important than an earlier one (Smyth §3030). 'To ransom his daughter' comes before 'bringing a boundless ransom', because Chryses views it as more important, even though bringing the ransom must precede the ransoming. Cf. 251 τράφεν ἠδὲ γένοντο ~ Shakespeare *Twelfth Night* 1.2.22 'for I was bred and born…'; *GH* 2.351-2, 357-8, Battezzato 2008: 13-24. λυσόμενος fut. mid. participle of purpose, lit. 'to have [her] ransomed for himself'. The person who offers the ransom does so in the mid., the person who accepts it in the act. θύγατρα: a metrical variant of θυγατέρα, with a short instead of a long υ. Chryseis is not named until 111, when Agamemnon uses her name disrespectfully in his statement (111-15) that he wishes to have her at home, because he prefers her to Klytaimestra; cf. 111-3n. ἄποινα is neut. plur. It denotes a payment by one who suffered a loss to the person who inflicted it, in order to secure the return of what was lost. ἄποινα differs from ποινή, which denotes repayment, compensation, or satisfaction for a loss that is exacted by the one who suffered it from the one who inflicted it (or from his family or friends). See Wilson 2002: 16, 89-90. This is the first sounding of two themes that will be important in Book 1 and the poem as a whole:

(1) the status of women as 'prizes', objects of economic and sexual value who are exchanged by men for their own purposes;  (2) the question of value more generally, of how to measure worth.  See Introd., 00.

  **14 στέμματ'** are strands of wool attached to the top of the staff carried by a priest. They mark Chryses as a ritual suppliant, at least by norms of the classical period, when, however, the suppliant's 'staff' was a branch of laurel sacred to Apollo (cf. *HHAp* 395-6) or of olive, not a golden (or gold-studded) scepter.  στέμματα does not occur in connection with priestly supplication elsewhere in Homer or in later Greek literature, but cf. Soph. *OT* 3 ἱκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμένοι with the notes of Jebb and Dawe;  see Gould 2001: 22 n. 1 and, on supplication generally, 22-77).  Chryses is a symbolic, not an actual, suppliant, though he is referred to as ἱκέτης at Pl. *Rep.* 3.393e1.  He does not make physical contact with Agamemnon by touching his knees, hands, or beard and does not abase or humiliate himself (Mirto 802).        **ἑκηβόλου** belongs to a family of formulaic epithets for Apollo, each with the same meaning, 'he who shoots (or 'strikes') from afar', but with a distinctive metrical value:  cf. 21 ἑκηβόλον, 75 ἑκατηβελέταο, 147 ἑκάεργον, 370 ἑκατηβόλου, 385 ἑκάτοιο, 438 ἑκηβόλωι. These epithets enable the poet to sing of 'far-shooting Apollo' in the gen., dat., or acc. case at various metrical positions in the line. In addition, Apollo is ἀργυρότοξ' (voc.) in line 37 and is described elsewhere in language having to do with his bow that is appropriate to the god with the power to strike individuals or whole peoples from afar with disease or death, e.g., 4.101, 119 κλυτοτόξωι.  For Apollo represented with the bow in figurative art, see *LIMC* 2.1: 184, 2.2: plates 18a-81.

  **15 χρυσέωι ἀνά:** the vowels –εωι must be pronounced together as one sound (synizesis, cf. 1 Πηληϊάδεω) and counted as a light syllable before the first α of ἀνά (epic correption).  See Introd., 00, 00.

**16 Ἀτρεΐδα...λαῶν:** Chryses' duals respectfully place the two sons of Atreus on an equal footing, but Agamemnon alone responds to his entreaty (24-32).

**17-32:** the speeches of Chryses (17-21) and Agamemnon (26-32), separated by four lines of narrative, are the first instances of direct speech in the poem, about 50% of which consists of direct speech. Book 1 includes 377 lines (62%) spoken by characters, 144 by Achilles, and stands out as highly rhetorical, like Books 6 (65%) and 9 (83%).

**17 ἐϋκνήμιδες:** in the *Il.* and *Od.* the formula ἐϋκνήμιδες (-ας) Ἀχαιοί (-ούς), 'well-greaved Achaians', occurs frequently in scenes of assembly and other gatherings. 'Greaves' are shin–guards that protect the κνήμη, the part of the leg between the knee and the ankle, against spears, arrows, and rocks; thus Chryses addresses the Greeks as warriors. This form of address is in striking contrast to Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες in the following line, one of four formulaic phrases that describe the existence of the gods in implicit contrast to that of mortals: they have their homes on Olympos, they 'live easily' (ῥεῖα ζώοντες), they are the 'blest gods who exist forever' (*Od.* μάκαρες θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες), and they are 'ageless and immortal' (ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε *et sim.*).

**18 ὑμῖν...δοῖεν:** Chryses begins by trying to win his audience's good will. Of the 182 examples of nom. θεοί in the *Il.* and *Od.*, this is the only one that must be scanned as a monosyllable by synizesis (Kirk 54; Introd., 00); cf. *Od.* 14.251 θεοῖσίν τε ῥέζειν.

**19 οἴκαδ':** -δε is a suffix signifying 'motion toward'.

**20 τὰ δ'ἄποινα** lit. 'but those things, the ransom', cf. 9-10n, 11n.    **δέχεσθαι:** infin. for imper.; cf. *GH* 2.316-7.

**21 ἀζόμενοι:** Chryses speaks of respecting Apollo, but he is also asking the Greeks to respect himself as Apollo's priest and a ritual suppliant. In this way, though Chryses does not say so, they would also be respecting Zeus, the god of suppliants (cf. 24.569-70, *Od.* 9.269-70, 16.421-3).    **ἑκηβόλον** may imply a threat: at 48-52 Apollo causes the plague by shooting arrows into the Greek camp from afar. Cf. 14n.

**22-5:** 22 ἔνθ᾽ ἄλλοι μέν introduces a relatively mild clause ('it was not pleasing to Agamemnon') and looks forward to a similarly mild, antithetical δέ clause; cf. *Od.* 1.11-13 ἔνθ᾽ ἄλλοι μέν …, τὸν δ᾽ οἶον…). 24 ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ, however, introduces a much stronger antithesis than δέ or οὐδέ would have done: 'all the others' wish to respect the priest and accept the ransom, but Agamemnon rejects Chryses with malice and 'place[s] a powerful command (upon him)'. For μῦθος denoting a strong, authoritative speech act, see Martin 1989: 12, 14, 16-18, 66. Achilles repeats lines 22-25 verbatim at 376-8 in his account to Thetis.

22 ἐπευφήμησαν 'said in response (ἐπ-) that it was good (to respect the priest)', 'approved'. The word does not have its later sense of 'keeping ritual silence', but its use here is appropriate to the quasi-ritual context, cf. 14n., Gödde 2011: 29-30.

23 αἰδεῖσθαι 'show respect toward', 'feel shame in the presence of'. In Homeric poetry, αἰδώς and its cognates αἰδεῖσθαι and αἰδοῖος denote 'an interior, psychological phenomenon, a state of awareness or consciousness corresponding to φιλεῖν, φιλότης, and φίλος', which signify 'an exterior fact, a social condition' (Glotz 1904: 138-9, Benveniste 1969: 1.341). Both sets of words are used of the same persons with reference to the same type of relationship, and those linked by reciprocal duties of αἰδώς are φίλοι obligated to respect, care for, and assist one another. In the traditional, formulaic language of Homeric epic, αἰδεῖσθαι, αἰδώς, and αἰδοῖος sometimes occur together with φιλεῖν, φιλότης, and φίλος, e.g. 10.114, 14.210, 24.11; see Schein 1986: 131-2, Cairns 1993: 89-95. On αἰδώς, αἰδεῖσθαι and supplication, see Gould 2001: 45-9, Cairns 1993: 113-9. δέχθαι is best understood as pres. inf. of *δέγμαι (= δέχομαι).

24 οὐκ…θυμῶι 'was not pleasing to Atreus' son Agamemnon in his heart'. θυμῶι is locative, not in a 'whole and part' construction with Ἀγαμέμνονι (Leaf 1: 5). Cf. 196, 217, *GH* 2.79.

**25 κακῶς...κρατερόν** are unexpectedly strong words. κακῶς here means 'with malice and abuse' (Cunliffe, *s.v.* κακῶς 3). The narrator offers a description rather than a moral judgment (cf. Taplin 1992: 51), although in antiquity some understood it morally: see the bT-Scholia on 25, Plut. *How to Study Poetry* 19b5-c1 with Hunter and Russell's n. Cf. 9-10n., 97-9n.　　**ἀφίει** is 3rd pers. sing., imperf. indic. act. of ἀφίημι. **ἐπὶ...ἔτελλεν** is an example of the figure of speech known as 'tmesis' (from τέμνω, 'cut'), a term reflecting the view of ancient grammarians working with written texts for whom preverb and verb were parts of a single compound word that had been artificially divided. In many traditional oral formulas, however, the preverb and verb, which immediately precede and follow their object, appear to have not yet coalesced into a single word, and the preverb stands on its own and functions as an adverb, e.g. 39 ἐπί...ἔρεψα, 48 μετά...ἔηκε. Thus tmesis , far from being only an artifice of literate poets,was 'absolutely fundamental to the art of [oral poetic] composition in dactylic verse' (Horrocks 1980: 5); cf. Horrocks 1981, Haug 2002: 42-4, 2011: 884.

**26-32:** Agamemnon threatens to exercise his power over a victim he considers powerless. Both his wish to avoid the public dishonor that he thinks might ensue, should he be seen to 'give in' to so weak a character as Chryses and have to surrender his special prize (γέρας, cf. 118-20, 133-9) and his desire to keep Chryseis as his slave and concubine (cf. 29-36, 112-5 with n.) motivate the extreme harshness of his speech and his disrespect for the priest and for Apollo himself.

**26 μή σε...κιχείω** 'do not let me find you'. κιχείω is pres. subjunct. of κιχάνω, as if the verb were *κίχημι, from which the aor. forms of κιχάνω also seem to derive. For the negative prohition also implying a threat or warning, cf. 21.475-6 μή σευ *νῦν ἔτι* πατρὸς ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἀκούσω | εὐχομένου, *GMT* §§ 257, 272.　　**γέρον** is usually a respectful, sometimes a compassionate form of address (e.g., 23.618, 24.411, 546, 560), but here Agamemnon uses it unexpectedly and forcefully to introduce a speech of hostility and

disrespect.　　ἐγώ is not needed as subject of κιχείω and aggressively expresses Agamemnon's sense of his own importance.

28 μή...οὐ χραίσμηι 'lest your scepter and staff not protect you'. χραισμέω is found 18x in the *Il.*, but nowhere else in early Greek epic or Greek literature generally, except for late, archaizing epic, e.g. A.R. 2.218, 249, Nic. *Th.* 914; see Lynn-George 1993: 203-8. μή οὐ with the subjunct. is used here in a 'purpose' ('final') clause dependent on a negative leading clause (24 μή σε...κιχείω). With a colon rather than a comma after ἰόντα, μή...οὐ χραίσμηι would be an independent clause: '(take care) lest the σκῆπτρον and στέμμα of the god not protect you' (see *GH* 2.336-7). Cf. 15.163-5 φραζέσθω... | μή μ' οὐδὲ κρατερός περ ἐὼν ἐπιόντα ταλάσσηι | μεῖναι..., the only other occurrence in Homer of μή οὐ with the subjunct. in any kind of object clause. τοι = σοι

29-31 Aristarchos rejected these lines because they weaken the force of Agamemnon's speech and threat against Chryses. Σ 29-31 (Erbse 17) also implies that Aristarchos thought Chryses would have been pleased by his daughter 'associating with' the king (or 'serving' him—the text is uncertain). It is inappropriate for Agamemnon to tell Chryses that he will keep his daughter as a sexual slave, but it is wrong to reject lines 29-31 for that reason; they contribute effectively to the characterization of Agamemnon.

29 τὴν...ἔπεισιν: the asyndeton and use of fut. indic. λύσω and of ἔπεισιν with fut. meaning make Agamemnon's threat virtually a promise. πρίν and καί are both adverbs, and καί gives special force to 29 γῆρας: 'before (that), old age itself will come upon her'.

30 ἡμετέρωι...πάτρης: Agamemnon uses successive adverbial expressions of place to torment Chryses by emphasizing the increasing distance between him and his daughter (Kakridis 1971: 131; cf. Griffin 1980: 107).　　τηλόθι πάτρης: this formulaic phrase is used elsewhere in direct speech, with great pathos, of someone who will die or has died 'far from his native land', e.g. 16.461, 24.85-6. At 24.540-2 Achilles calls to

mind for an audience or readers his own mortality and impending death at Troy, though not in the *Il.*,when he tells Priam that he 'remain[s] very far from my native land, causing distress to you and your children'. Agamemnon's use of τηλόθι πάτρης is especially striking and harsh, because he cruelly evokes the perspective of Chryses in speaking of the occupational and sexual slavery of his daughter. His words also suggest that in the world of the *Il.*, a woman's experience as a captive is a kind of death parallel to a hero's death on the battlefield.

**31** ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένην lit. 'walking back and forth along the (large, standing) loom (following the shuttle)," i.e. weaving.      ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν 'encountering my bed', a euphemism for 'sharing my bed', 'having sex with me'. The form of the participle is an example of *diektasis*; see Introd., 00. This is the only instance in Homer of ἀντιάω with the acc. rather than the partitive gen. (cf. 66-7n.), perhaps because the acc. expresses the 'goal' or 'end of motion', perhaps because it emphasizes the bed (as used for sexual intercourse) as a whole object rather than a part (*GH* 2.46, 49).

**32** ἴθι; 2nd pers. sing., pres. imper. of εἶμι.      μή μ' ἐρέθιζε 'don't keep on irritating me' (pres. imper.). Agamemnon responds to Chryses' brief entreaty as if it were a continuing provocation and reason for anger.      σαώτερος…νέηαι 'so that you might go back more safe (than you would if you kept irritating me)'. Greek uses an adj. where English would use an adverb, 'safely'.      νέηαι is 2nd pers. sing., pres. subjunct. of νέομαι in a purpose clause introduced by ὥς κε. In Homer ὥς ἄν and ὥς κε with the subjunct. are much more frequent than simple ὥς (*GMT* § 326) and sometimes convey a special emphasis. Here, for example, ὥς κε…νέηαι seems to imply that *in these circumstances* (i.e., 'if you stop irritating me'), you might go back more safe' (*GH* 2.210-11).

**33-42:** Chryses is terrified and obeys Agamemnon's command. Alone on the seashore, in order to strike at Agamemnon for dishonoring him and keeping Chryseis, he asks Apollo

to make the Greeks pay for his tears, even though the army had supported her return (22-3).  Chryses anticipates Achilles who, with the help of Zeus, inflicts harm on the whole Greek army in order to retaliate against Agamemnon for dishonoring him by taking and keeping Briseis;  cf. 42n.  This passage gives rise to the series of events culminating, outside the *Iliad*, in the death of Achilles and the sack of Troy (Taplin 1992: 54-5).

**33 ἔφατ'**:  the 3rd pers. sing., imperf. indic. mid. of φημί, is used with no difference of meaning from the act. ἔφη.        **ἔδεισεν:** the first syllable of this word is heavy because of an original digamma after δ (ἔδϝεισεν).  See Introd., 00.        **ὁ γέρων** 'that old man' is more easily understood than 11 **τὸν Χρύσην**, because it refers to a character who has already been mentioned.  Cf. 35 ὁ γεραιός.        **ἐπείθετο:** the imperf. after aor. ἔδεισεν suggests that while Chryses' fear was instantaneous, his obedience was a slow process;  see 5n., *GH* 2.192.

**34 βῆ...θαλάσσης:**  Chryses, obeying Agamemonon's command, retreats from the world of human beings to the seashore, in order to call upon the god with whom he has a special relationship.  His silence and isolation from others suggest a ritual observance intended to enhance the effectiveness of his prayer.  Cf. Achilles at 349-50, Telemachos at *Od.* 2.260-1, Pelops at Pind. *Ol.* 1.71-3.  For the shore as a place associated with a character's 'tension or sadness', see Kirk 56-7, Mirto 803.        **πολυφλοίσβοιο** is cited by Dionysios Thrax 12 (p. 42 Uhlig-Merx) as onomatopoeic.  Cf. φλοῖσβος, used of 'any confused roaring noise' (LSJ *s.v.*), such as the din of battle (e.g. 5.322, 469, 20.377) or the roaring of the sea (Aesch. *PV* 792 πόντου περῶσα φλοῖσβον, Soph. fr. 479.3 φλοίσβου μετὰ κόπον καθημένοις, unless φλοίσβου denotes the waves rather than the sound they make;  see Sturtevant 1910: 328-9).

**35  πολλά:**  in both the sing. and the plur., the neut. acc. of adjectives denoting measure or degree, like other accusatives of the inner object, can be used adverbially.  Here πολλά modifies ἠρᾶθ'.        **ἀπάνευθε νεῶν** is part of an acoustic formulaic

system: ἀπάνευθε νεῶν, ἀπάνευθε θεῶν, ἀπάνευθε κιών, all at the same position in the verse (Kirk 57).     ἡρᾶθ᾽: see 11n. on ἀρητῆρα.

**37-42:** Chryses' prayer has three parts: first, he calls on Apollo, using epithets and mentioning places associated with his cult (37-39), which helps to make his prayer efficacious; second, he reminds the god of what he has done for him in the past that puts him in a position now to seek a favor in return (39 εἴ ποτέ τοι-41 αἰγῶν); third, he courteously requests the favor, and his final two words, σοῖσι βέλεσσιν, suggest the way in which Apollo might grant it (41 τόδε μοι-42).

**37 ἀργυρότοξ᾽:** like ἑκηβόλος etc., ἀργυρότοξος can connote the god's deadliness; cf. 24.758-9 ὅν τ᾽ ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων | οἷς ἀγανοῖσι βέλεσσιν ἐποιχόμενος καταπέφνηι. Cf. 14n.

**37-8** = 451-2. Chryses formally calls on Apollo to harm the Greeks in the same words in which he later calls on him to ward off their destruction. Chryse, c. 25 miles south of Troy, is the home town of the priest and his daughter; Killa, near Thebe, is the town in which Chryseis and Briseis were captured; Tenedos is a small island just offshore, within sight of Troy.     **ἀμφιβέβηκας** lit. 'you have placed your feet around', i.e. 'you protect', is a metaphor from bestriding a fallen comrade or his corpse. Cf. 5.299 ~ 17.4 ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αὐτῶι βαῖνε.     **ζάθεος:** in epic ζα- is an intensifying prefix, the Aeolic equivalent of δια-.

**39 Σμινθεῦ** is a *hapax legomenon*, apparently derived from σμίνθος, 'mouse' (Σ 39, Erbse 21-2). If the Greeks associated mice with bubonic plague, Σμινθεῦ would be especially appropriate here, since Apollo is about to unleash the plague on the Greek army (48-52). According to Apion (Erbse 20), who thought that the adj. Σμινθεύς came from σμίνθοι, 'mice', Apollo and Dionysos were worshipped at the Σμινθεῖα, a Rhodian festival, for destroying mice that were defiling the crops. (Cf. *1 Samuel* 6.4-5, where the Philistines are told to make golden images of mice to rid themselves of a plague.)   Some

scholars consider the worship of Apollo as Smintheus an indication that he had once been identified with the mouse as a tribal totem, and that long after he had become one of the Olympian gods, this totemic identity still survived (Lang 1884: 107-10, cf. Mirto 803). Aristarchos rejected the association of Apollo with mice and considered that the epithet came from a town in the Troad called Sminthe (Erbse 21). In historical times there was a cult-temple of Apollo Smintheus in the western part of the Troad near the town of Hamaxitos (Cook 1973: 232-5, Kirk 57,). For archaeological evidence that this cult goes back to the Bronze Age, see Özgünel 1990-91, cited by Latacz et al 42.

**χαρίεντ'…νηόν** 'a temple that would be pleasing (to you and make you gracious to me)'. χάρις is often considered an ideal kind of reciprocal relationship between a god and a human being. **ἐπί…ἔρεψε** 'roofed over', from ἐπερέφω, a *hapax legomenon*; cf. 24.450-1 ἔρεψαν | …ὄροφον, *Od.* 23.192-3 (θάλαμον… | … εὖ καθύπερθεν ἔρεψα. For the 'tmesis', cf. 25 ἐπί…ἔτελλεν with n. Here a roofed–over temple may be no more than a sacred space or cult image protected by branches and twigs. Temples are rarely mentioned in Homeric epic. Elsewhere in the *Il.*, Apollo has a temple on the Trojan acropolis (5.446, 7.81) and a 'stone threshold' in 'rocky Pytho' (Delphi) (9.404-405), and Athene has a temple on the Trojan acropolis (6.296). In the *Od.*, Athene enters the 'well-built house of Erechtheus' in Athens (*Od.* 7.82), probably a forerunner of the fifth-century Erechtheion, and Apollo and his priest Maron dwell in a shady grove–a naturally roofed shrine–in Thracian Ismaros (*Od.* 9.198-201).

**40 κατά…ἔκηα:** the burning of animal thigh–bones wrapped in fat as an offering to the gods, while the meat of the animal is consumed by members of the community of worshippers, was a standard feature of Greek sacrificial ritual. For an aetiology of this ritual, see Hes. *Theog.* 535-60.

**41 ἠδέ** is an epic equivalent of the conjunction καί and is sometimes used along with καί, e.g. 334 Διὸς ἄγγελοι ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.    **κρήηνον** is 2nd person sing. aor. imper. of κραιαίνω, a lengthened form of κραίνω, 'accomplish', 'fulfill'.

**42 τίσειαν** 'pay the penalty for', 'make payment for'. Chryses does not specify a material recompense for himself, and 'pay for my tears' suggests that the wound he suffered was primarily emotional and that he he has in mind some some sort of emotional repayment of the honor Agamemnon has taken from him (11-12 ἠτιμασεν ἀρητῆρα | Ἀτρεΐδης) by seizing his daughter, refusing to release her and publicly threatening him. The material recompense goes to Apollo, who, unlike Chryses, has the power to exact it from the king and, at the same time, to restore honor to his priest. Chryses's emotional response is like that of Achilles in Book 9, who refuses to rejoin the fighting until Agamemnon, who had treated him like a 'dishonored vagabond' (ἀτίμητον μετανάστην, 9.648, cf. 16.79), 'pays back my heart-rending injury' (πρίν γ᾽ ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ἐμοὶ δόμεναι θυμαλγέα λώβην, 9.387). Unlike Chryses, however, and like Apollo, Achilles has the power to punish Agamemnon and look after his own honor; see Mackenzie 1978,1981: 71-81. The 3rd pers. opt. in -ειαν is normal in Homer; -αιεν is found only twice, in 24.38.    **βέλεσσιν:** instrumental dat. For the death-dealing arrows of Apollo, see 48-52, 14n., 21n., Graf 2009: 14-5.

<center>43-52: APOLLO AND THE PLAGUE</center>

**43-52:** when gods intervene personally in human affairs, the narrator normally gives a reason for the intervention, describes the god's preparation for the journey and the journey itself (often using a simile as part of the description, here 47 ἤϊε νυκτὶ ἐοικώς), and mentions the god's arrival, the manner in which he intervenes and the result of his intervention. For the emphatic repetition of sounds and synonyms in 43-52, see Griffin and Hammond 1982.

**43 ὡς...Ἀπόλλων** = 457; cf. 37-8n.     **εὐχόμενος** 'praying'. For the formulaic associations and sacred and secular meanings of εὔχομαι, see Muellner 1976.     **τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε...Ἀπόλλων:** cf. 37 κλῦθί μευ ἀργυρότοξ'. κλύω, 'hear', can mean 'hear favorably', 'be persuaded', 'obey'.

 **44-7:** Apollo's descent and the language in which it is described are highly marked. Elsewhere in the *Il.* and *Od.*, e.g. 2.167, 4.74, βῆ...καρήνων ocurs only when Athene or, at 24.121, Thetis descends from Olympos at the command of Zeus or Hera, or when Athene comes of her own accord (7.19); it is always followed by the participle ἀΐξασα in the fourth colon of the line, suggesting the goddess's rapid, darting movement, and usually by explicit mention of her arrival in the following line(s). Here, however, the emphasis is on Apollo's setting forth and his anger as he comes on (44 χωόμενος κῆρ, 46 χωομένοιο), with no mention of his arrival.

 **44 βῆ...καρήνων** 'he came down along the peaks of Olympos'. Mt Olympos, in Thessaly near the border with Macedonia, is the tallestmountain in Greece (9573 ft. = 2918 meters), with 52 separate peaks. The Homeric gods are imagined as dwelling on or above its summit.     **κῆρ** is the contracted form of κέαρ, 'heart', and acc. of respect with χωόμενος. κήρ ('death', 'death-spirit', 'agent of death') is a different word. Monosyllabic words are rare at position 12; when they do occur, they tend to go so closely with the word ending at position 11 that the final cadence of the line is unaffected, e.g. 1.491 φίλον κῆρ, 511 νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς.

 **45 ἀμφηρεφέα τε** 'and covered on both ends'. ἀμφηρεφέα, the uncontracted form of ἀμφηρεφῆ found in later Greek texts, is *hapax legomenon* in Homer. The final syllable of ἀμφηρεφέα, despite the short –α, is heavy by acoustic analogy to other -ηρεφής– compounds that end in a heavy final syllable at position 9 when followed by two consonants (e.g. 9.582 ὑψηρεφέος θαλάμοιο, 12.54 ἐπηρεφέες περὶ πᾶσαν), even though metrically τε at 9.5 is the final syllable of the word. (Contrast 18.589 κατηρεφέας ἰδὲ

σηκούς, where the second α is long, making the final syllable of the word heavy.) The rhythm of the whole line is strikingly irregular, with word-end at positions 3.5 and 9.5 and no A or C caesura.

**46-7:** there is no good reason for Zenodotos's rejection of these lines, which was perhaps motivated by the same stylistic features that make them poetically striking, including the genitives in both lines and emphatic αὐτοῦ in line 47 looking back to 43 Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

**46 ἔκλαγξαν:** onomatopoeic κλάζω is often used of sharp, piercing, sounds made by animals or gods (or occasionally mortals), often in contexts of assault or aggression, e.g. 12.125, 16.430, 17.756, 759. Here the verb is particularly striking, because its subject is a material object that exhibits agency, as in other descriptions of human weapons and armor; see Purves 2015: 80-7 on 16.102-11. **χωομένοιο** 'of him, being angry' (Willcock 187).

**47 αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος** 'as he (*sc.* the god) set himself in motion', gen. absolute. The intransitive aor. pass. κινηθέντος is 'ingressive', marking the god's 'entrance into' action (cf. Smyth §§ 1924, 1925). **ὁ:** cf. 9-10n. **νυκτὶ ἐοικώς:** an ominous phrase, because in the *Il.* night and darkness are regularly associated with deadliness and death, e.g. 5.310 = 11.356 ἀμφὶ δὲ ὄσσε κελαινὴ νὺξ ἐκάλυψεν.

**48 ἀπάνευθε νεῶν:** cf. 35n. **μετά...ἕηκεν:** 'tmesis', cf. 25n. ἕηκεν is 3rd pers. sing., aor. indic. act. of ἵημι and a metrical variant of 195 ἧκε). The shift from 46 ὀϊστοί to 48 ἰόν as the word for 'arrow' might be a matter of stylistic variation or metrical convenience, like the shift from 45 τόξ᾽ to 49 βιοῖο, but ἰόν, by a kind of word-play, may also suggest the word of identical sound and spelling, ἰός ('venom', 'poison'), which would be appropriate here because Apollo is shooting plague into the Greek camp, even though elsewhere in the poem, e.g. 23.862, ἰός 'arrow' is no more than a synonym of ὀϊστός. Cf.

*Od.* 1.261-2, where Athene/Mentes tells Telemachos that Odysseus had once sought φάρμακον ἀνδρόφονον…ὄφρα οἱ εἴη | ἰοὺς χρίεσθαι χαλκήρεας.

**49 δεινή…κλαγγή:** cf. 46n. For the milder sound of a bowstring when an arrow is shot by a human being, see 4.125 λίγξε βιός. δεινή is pred. adj. and gains emphasis from its position at the beginning of the line, separated by δέ from κλαγγή.

**ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο** picks up 37 ἀργυρότοξ᾽, as Apollo actively grants his priest's prayer. ἀργυρέοιο is not ornamental, but like ἑκηβόλος, etc. and ἀργυρότοξος has the connotation 'deadly'; cf. 24.605 τοὺς μὲν Ἀπόλλων πέφνεν ἀπ᾽ ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο.

**50 ἐπῴχετο…θεοῖο:** κῆλα is used only of shafts shot by gods: cf. 383, 12.280 (snowflakes as the shafts of Zeus), *HHAp* 444. ἐποίχομαι is often used of attacks by gods or by heroes aided or inspired by gods, e.g. 383, 24.759.     **ἀργούς:** 'white', 'bright', 'glistening' when used of oxen (23.30) or a goose (*Od.* 15.161), but 'swift' when used of dogs, e.g. 18.283. Probably 'white' was the original meaning (cf. Arist. *Top.* 149a7), which developed into 'bright', 'glistening', then 'rapidly moving', then 'swift' as a description of dogs' flashing feet and of dogs generally; cf. 18.578, *Od.* 17.62 = 20.145 κύνες πόδας ἀργοί.

**51 αὐτοῖσι:** the men themselves, as opposed to the mules and the dogs.     **βέλος:** -ος is metrically 'heavy', although it is followed by a word beginning with a single vowel and no trace of initial digamma. See Introd., 00.     **ἐχεπευκές** 'sharp', 'pointed', 'piercing' is a rare (and therefore a marked) word, used in Homer only here and at 4.129. For the probable etymology (ἔχω + *πεῦκος 'sharp'), see *DELG s.v.*

**52 βάλλ᾽** 'kept on shooting' (imperf.) is highly emphatic both as the runover word in 'integral enjambment' and through its etymological relation to 51 βέλος.

**αἰεί…θαμειαί:** there is a striking shift in narrative pace from the detailed account of Apollo's assault to a general statement about its consequnces. The image is of funeral pyres kindled and continually (αἰεί) burning in close proximity (θαμειαί) on the plain of Troy.

This line provides a vivid and haunting conclusion to the opening movement of Book 1 and a prelude to the deaths that will occur throughout the poem,

### 53—305: THE GREEK ASSEMBLY AND THE QUARREL BETWEEN ACHILLES AND AGAMEMNON

**53-4 ἐννῆμαρ…Ἀχιλλεύς:** in Homeric epic nine days is a conventional length of time during which an action is said to have taken place, before it is followed by a more important or decisive action on the tenth day.  For similar formations, cf. ἑξῆμαρ, always followed by a clause specifying what happened on the seventh day, αὐτῆμαρ. πανῆμαρ, ποσσῆμαρ.　　**ἀνὰ στρατόν:** here the tension between meter and rhetoric is even greater than in line 10, because ἀνά is located at position 5, the normal B² caesura, but goes so closely with στρατόν at position 6 that the force of the caesura is weakened, and the line seems to be bisected rhetorically.  See Introd., 00.

**καλέσσατο…Ἀχαιῶν** 'had the Greek army summoned' (*sc.* by heralds), a 'causative middle' indicating that the subject accomplishes something for himself or in his own interest through the agency of another or others (Smyth §1725). Cf. *Od.* 3.137 τῶ δὲ [*sc.* the two Ἀτρεῖδαι] καλεσσαμένω ἀγορὴν ἐς πάντας Ἀχαιούς,.　　**ἀγορήνδε.** This is the first of four Greek assemblies in the poem;  cf. 2.85-398, 9.9-79 and 19.40-276, as well as the ἀγών for the funeral games of Patroklos (23.257-897).  The narrator is not concerned to say where the assembly took place or what the assembled host sat on--only that the individual speakers stood up to speak and sat down when they had finished speaking (e.g. 58, 68-69, 101-2;  cf. Giordano 136).  For a Trojan assembly, see 7.345-80;  for an assembly of the gods, 20.4-30.　　**Ἀχιλλεύς:** when Achilles takes the initiative to call the assembly, he does so as a member of the Greek community (cf. 59 ἄμμε, Mirto 804) as or more concerned than Agamemnon for the army's well-being.  On the other hand, Achilles' intervention seems transgressive:  though there is no reason why any leader

cannot take the initiative to have an assembly called, in doing so Achilles seems to usurp the authority of Agamemnon as ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν; cf. 9-10n. Perhaps the irregularity of this usurpation is signalled by a slight emphasis on the name Achilles, which is conspicuously not accompanied by any of the usual formulaic epithets and gains force from its placement at the end of its clause and of the line.

**55 τῶι γὰρ...Ἥρη:** the φρήν/φρένες are one of a number of physical organs located in the breast–the θυμός, the ἦτορ, the κῆρ, the κραδίη, the πραπίδες, and the νόος–that at various times are said to be sites of emotion or thought. See Clarke 1999: 61-126. The exact nature of the φρένες and their location in relation to the other organs is uncertain: they have been identified with the lungs, the diaphragm and the pericardium, but the φρένες are better seen not as a single physical organ but as 'indefinitely corporeal' (Darcus Sullivan 1988: 7-9, 21-9). This corporeality means that Hera did not inspire Achilles to call the assembly, but physically placed the idea of doing so into him. The φρένες are particularly connected with thinking, thought, deliberation, and judgment; cf. 8.218-9 εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκ' Ἀγαμέμνονι πότνια Ἥρη | ... θοῶς ὀτρῦναι Ἀχαιούς. They can, however, also fill with "fury" (μένος), e.g. 103-4

Hera is the most appropriate god to stimulate Achilles to call an assembly (Ali 2015). She passionately hates the Trojans and has 'sweated sweat' and toiled to assemble the Greek army (4.26-8)–actions unparalleled among the gods 'who live easily'. When Zeus tells Hera that she would satisfy her anger only if she could devour Priam and the Trojans raw, she does not contradict him and even offers him any of her own favorite cities to destroy, provided that her toil is fulfilled by the destruction of Troy (4.51-7). Because of her hatred, Hera is especially devoted to the Greek war effort, sending Athene at 1.194-5 to prevent Achilles from killing Agamemnon (cf. 208-9) and at 2.156-65 to stop the army from boarding their ships and going home. Elsewhere in the poem she helps the Greeks by disguising herself as Stentor to arouse the Greek warriors' strength and spirit (5.784-92), by

suggesting battlefield tactics to Agamemnon (8.218-9), and by seducing Zeus, so that, during his post-coital nap, Poseidon can rally the Greek forces (14.157-387).

**57 ἐπεὶ οὖν:** in Homer this combination regularly introduces a subordinate temporal clause, and occasionally one that is causal. In all but two cases, 3.4 and 4.244 (both in similes), ἐπεὶ οὖν refers to something previously described or implied and, like ὡς οὖν, which always follows a verb of explicit or implied 'seeing, hearing or ascertaining', 'stress[es] the completion of an action', a distinctively Homeric usage (*GP* 417).

**ἤγερθεν** is a metrical variant of ἠγέρθησαν, 3rd pers. plur., aor. indic. pass. of ἀγείρω. For the typically Homeric redundancy, ἤγερθεν ὁμηγερέες τ' ἐγένοντο, cf. 73 ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν, 160 οὔ τι μετατρέπηι' οὐδ' ἀλεγίζεις.

**58 τοῖσι δέ:** the so-called 'apodotic δέ' introduces the main clause of a sentence, following a subordinate clause, by repeating the conjunction that introduced the subordinate clause, thus emphasizing the correspondence between the two clauses (*GH* 2: 356-7). Here τοῖσι δέ picks up 57 οἱ δ'. Cf. 137 εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώωσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕλωμαι.     **πόδας:** acc. of respect with ὠκύς; cf. 114-5 οὔ ἑθέν ἐστι χερείων, | οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φυήν, οὔτ' ἄρ φρένας οὔτε τι ἔργα.

**59-67:** on the surface, Achilles' first words in the poem are without blame or rancor and appear to be based on his concern for the army's safety and success. On the other hand, it seems pointed, even anatagonistic, to call an assembly and begin by telling Agamemnon, in the presence of the whole army, that the expedition he commands seems doomed to failure.

**59 Ἀτρεΐδη:** the voc., unadorned with one or more epithets, is typically Achillean in its directness and could seem disrespectful. Contrast Nestor at 2.434 Ἀτρεΐδη κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνον, though such epithets too can be used disrespectfully; cf. 122.

**59-60 νῦν...φύγοιμεν** 'I think that now, having been driven (lit. 'made to wander') back, | we shall be on our way back home, if we should escape death'. The strong

repetition of the notion 'back' in πάλιν and ἄψ and the implication of failure in ἀπο-

reflect Achilles' frustration at the possible collapse of the Greek war–effort.        πάλιν

is always spatial in Homeric epic, 'back', never temporal, 'again', though Aristarchos

(Erbse 28) mentions some 'recent' scholars who interpreted it temporally in this passage as

an allusion to the traditional story, known from a fragment of an elegy by Archilochos

(P.Oxy. 4708) and from the *Kypria* (*Argumentum*, Bernabé 72-73 = West 2003: 72-3) but

undoubtedly pre-Homeric, that the Greek fleet had sailed against Troy once before but

landed by mistake at Teuthrania in Mysia, which they attacked unsuccessfully. The story is

not mentioned in the *Il.* or *Od.*, and Σ 59 says that Homer 'does not know' it.  It would,

however, be better to say that he ignores it for his own poetic purposes.  See Introd., oo.

**εἴ κεν …φύγοιμεν** 'if, as seems unlikely, we should escape'.  εἴ κεν + opt. expresses a

more remote possibility than would ἐάν + subjunct., and a much more remote possibility

than 61 εἰ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε δαμᾶι καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιῶν, in which δή and the fut.

indic. following εἰ strongly imply that 'war and plague really will master the Achaeans'.

**εἰ δή** 'if, as is clear';  see *GH* 2.255 n.1, *GMT* §460.        **λοιμός** is a rare word used of

a rare event;  it occurs in Homer only here and at 97 and is used similarly at Hes. *WD* 243

of a plague sent by Zeus to punish a transgressor.

  **62-4 ἀλλ ἄγε…Διός ἐστιν**: Achilles suggests that the army consult an expert who,

in a time of crisis, can interpret the purposes and actions of a god:  a seer (μάντιν), who

might predict the future on the basis of bird omens or other signs;  a priest (ἱερῆα), who is

an expert in things having to do with sacrificial ritual;  or a dream-interpreter (whether of

his own or others' dreams is not specified), 'for a dream too (is) from Zeus'.

  **62 ἀλλ' ἄγε…ἐρείομεν**:  ἐρείομεν is a short-vowel pres. subjunct., presumably

from ἐρέω, though the short 'o' suggests that it might come from, or was formed as if it

came from, *ἔρημι.  In Homer the hortatory or jussive force of the subjunct. following

ἀλλ' ἄγε(τε), δεῦτε, etc., is particularly strong (*GH* 2.207).

63 **καὶ γάρ…ἐστιν:** τ(ε) gives this explanation of why to consult an ὀνειροπόλον the gnomic or proverbial tone of a saying that is always true.

64 **ὅς κ᾽εἴποι** 'who could say'. In a rel. clause expressing purpose, κε with the opt. generally emphasizes what is expected or probable (*GH* 2.249), in this case, that an expert could explain 'why Apollo became so angry'.       **ὅ τι** 'in respect to what?', 'why?' is adverbial acc. of respect with ἐχώσατο. Cf. *Od.* 5.215 μή μοι τόδε χώεο. The indirect question is made more precise in line 65 by another indirect question dependent on ὅς κ᾽ εἴποι: '(who could say) if he finds fault with an (unfulfilled) vow and hecatomb'. εὐχωλῆς and ἑκατόμβης are causal genitives giving possible reasons for the god's finding fault (μέμφεται). Achilles understands that the god's anger may be due to a ritual gone wrong, but he does not think of, or at least does not mention, Agamemnon's transgressive refusal of the formal request by Chryses, as a ritual suppliant, to ransom his daughter.

65 **ὅ γ᾽** 'that one', i.e. Apollo, with a mild emphasis provided by γ(ε). A hecatomb, literally a sacrifice of 100 oxen, in practice referred to the sacrifice of a large number of any kind(s) of sacrificial animals.       **εἴ τε…εἴ τε…ἑκατόμβης** 'whether he finds fault with a vow or with a hecatomb'), a standard Homeric way of expressing alternatives in indirect questions (cf. 2.349, 12.239-40, *Od.* 3.90-1); the first εἴτε is often strengthened by ἄρα, perhaps to mark uncertainty or in expectation of clarification (GH: 2.340; cf. Smyth §2675 with N.1, K–G 2: 299-301, 326). Here, however, almost all MSS read ἠδέ instead of the second εἴτε, 'whether he finds fault with a vow and a hecatomb', though one has εἴ τε…εἴ τε…). εἴ τε…ἠδέ… is found in classical texts, but nowhere else in Homer. Herodian (cf. Σ 65a, Erbse 31) read εἴ ταρ…ἠδ᾽, which would eliminate the need for the second εἴτε by the removal of the first one; see 8n. Nevertheless, given Kalchas' οὔτε…οὔτε… at 93 in his response to Achilles, it is likely that Achilles is here expressing alternatives.

**66-7 αἴ κεν᾿…ἀμῦναι** is better taken as an independent clause expressing a hope or a wish on the part of Achilles, whose rhetoric is characterized by such emotional self-interruptions (e.g. 9.376-87,16.97-100), than as part of the indir. question introduced by 62 ἐρείομεν.  Cf. 2.72 ἀλλ᾿ ἄγετ᾿, αἴ κεν πως θωρήξομεν υἷας Ἀχαιῶν. **βούλεται** is a short-vowel, pres. subjunct. with αἴ κεν and need not be changed to βούλητ᾿, given the unanimity of the MSS (*GH* 1.454-7).  **κνίσης** is partitive gen. after ἀντιάσας (cf. the gen. with τυγχάνω); ἀρνῶν and αἰγῶν are gen. of origin dependent on κνίσης.  **τελείων** 'complete', i.e. 'unblemished'. **ἀπό…ἀμῦναι:** tmesis., cf. 25n. λοιγός denotes comprehensive devastation or destruction like that threatened by the plague or, later in the poem, by the Trojans routing the Greeks with the aid of Zeus or by Achilles fighting to avenge the death of Patroklos (cf. 21.133-5).  When Achilles, Thetis, or Zeus wards off destruction for the Greeks, the formula is λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι; when the river Skamandros or Apollo tries to ward off destruction for the Trojans, the formula is λοιγὸν ἀλάλκοι (cf.. 21.138, 539).  For the thematic associations and interpretive significance of λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι and its formulaic variants within the *Iliad*, see Nagy 1979: 74-6, 78.  Slatkin (1991: 65-6, 87-8, 96) emphasizes that Achilles is the only mortal in the poem with the ability to 'ward off destruction', as can Thetis, Apollo, and Zeus.  λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι is not found elsewhere in early Greek epic, except for the imitation λοιγὸν ἀμύνοντες at [Hes.] *Shield of Herakles* 240 (6th-5th c.).

**68-83:** Achilles had addressed his words to Agamemnon, but Kalchas rises at the mention of a seer or dream interpreter (62, 63).  His request for Achilles' protection, if his explanation should anger the 'man who greatly has power over all | the Argives, and the Achaians obey him' (78-9), is a pointed reference to Agamemnon.

**68 ἤτοι…ἀνέστη:** this line occurs regularly between the end of one speech and the beginning of another, e.g. 101, 2.76, 7.354.  ἤτοι is a mildly affirmative particle, probably

a combination of ἦ, impf. of *ἠμί, 'he said', and τοι, which draws attention to the truth of what is being said (*GP* 553-4). **ἄρ'** is sometimes found between the parts of a verb separated in tmesis, e.g. 5.299 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῶι βαῖνε, though the effect of this placement is unclear. **τοῖσι** 'to them', i.e. the Greek army, even though Kalchas goes on to address only Achilles (73).

**69 Κάλχας...ἄριστος:** Kalchas is the leading seer in the Greek army and has a longstanding relation with Agamemnon (cf. 106-8). Outside of Book 1, he is mentioned only twice: when Odysseus quotes his prophecy nine years earlier that they would take the city in the tenth year of the war (2.322-33), and when Poseidon takes on his appearance and voice to inspire and energize the two Ajaxes (13.45-75). Kalchas was more prominent in the poems of the epic cycle that sang of events leading up to and following the Trojan War than he is in the *Il*: see *Kypria, Argumentum* 34-5, 45-6 with fr. 23 Bernabé, *Nostoi, Argumentum* 7-9 Bernabé, *Sack of Ilium* as reflected in Apollod. *Epit.* 5.23; cf. Finkelberg 2011: 203-206, 2015: 134-5 with nn. 39-40, Danek 2015: 367-8, 375-6.
**Θεστορίδης:** Thestor occurs only here in archaic epic as father of Kalchas, but Thestor is also the name of a Greek warrior killed by Sarpedon (12.394) and a Trojan warrior killed by Patroklos (16.401-10). **οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος:** this phrase is also used at 6.76 of the Trojan seer Helenos, who, however, does not interpret the flight of birds but 'hears' in his θυμός 'the will of the gods' as they devise their plans (7.44-5, 53). See Graziosi and Haubold on 6.76. **ὄχα** 'by far' occurs only in the phrase ὄχ' ἄριστος (-η, -ον).

**70: ἤιδη:** plpf. of οἶδα, with impf. meaning. **πρό τ' ἐόντα** = τά τε προόντα. Kalchas' knowledge, qua seer, of past, present, and future resembles that of the Muses, who tell τά τ' ἐόντα καὶ ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα (Hes. *Theog.* 38), and that of the poet whom they inspire to glorify τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα (Hes. *Theog.* 32); cf. Hes. fr. 204.113 ὅσσα τ' ἔην ὅσα τ' ἔ]στι, καὶ ὁππόσα μέλλει ἔσεσθαι. In practice,

the poet sings mainly of 'things that were' and the prophet of 'things that will be', and divinity makes known to each what he could not otherwise know, because, unlike divinity, he cannot be present everywhere. Cf. *Il.*. 2. 484-6 ἔσπετε νῦν μοι , Μοῦσαι, …| ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε πάρεστέ τε ἴστε τε πάντα, | ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν. Cf. 1n., West 1966: 166.

   **71 καί…εἴσω** 'and guided the fleet of the Greeks to Ilios'. With the dat., ἡγέομαι means 'guide', 'lead the way for'; with the gen., 'be in command of'. Usually Homeric εἴσω is an adverb, 'within', but when it follows a noun in the acc., it can function as a prep. governing that noun and meaning ''to' or 'into'. Cf. 18.58-9 = 439-40 ,*Od.* 9.524. **Ἴλιον** is acc. of Ἴλιος, the name of the city previously referred to by Chryses as 'Priam's city' (19) and also known as Τροίη. Originally Ἴλιος was preceded by a digamma, Ϝίλιος; it may well be cognate with Hittite Wilus(s)a (adj. Wilusija), which was possibly the Hittite name for Troy.

**72-3 ἥν…μετέειπεν:** ἥν is fem. acc. sing. of the third-person possess. adj. ὅς/ἑός; ὅ that man', is masc. nom. demonstrative referring to Kalchas; οἱ is dat. sing. of ὅς/ἑός; σφιν, the Doric equivalent of Ionic μιν, is dat. plur. of the 3rd pers. pron. σφεῖς. σφιν is felt both as dat. of advantage with ἐΰ φρονέων and as indir. obj. of μετέειπεν (*GH* 2.116).      **τήν** is rel. pron., cf. 9-10n.      **πόρε** is 3rd person sing. of aor. *πόρω, 'give'. In Homer an exceptional skill or the exceptional equipment with which that skill is practiced is often said to be the personal gift of a god, e.g. Pandaros' bow (2.827), Achilles' arms and armor (18.83-519, 19.194-6, 20.267-8). See Willcock 1970.      **ἐΰ φρονέων** suggests both 'with good sense', as opposed to ἀφρονέων (15.104), and 'with good intention', as opposed to κακὰ φρονέων (12.67, *Od.* 20.5). Cf. ἀγαθά, φίλα, and ὀλοὰ φρονέων.

   **74-5 ὦ…ἄνακτος:** ὦ before the voc. is less common in Homer than in Attic. Sometime in informal contexts it is lively or brusque; sometimes, as here, it conveys a

strong emotional inovolvement (*GH* 2.37).     **κέλεαι** is second pers. sing., pres. indic. of κέλομαι (= κελεύω); the Attic form would be κέλει.  Kalchas takes Achilles' general comment in 62-3 as a personal command, since he thinks of himself, rightly, as the seer *par excellence* in the Greek army and indispensable if they wish to save themselves from Apollo's wrath.     **μυθήσασθαι | μῆνιν:** 'speak with authority about the wrath', perhaps in the quasi-technical sense of a seer predicting the future or interpreting or expounding on a god's words or signs.  Cf. *Od.* 2.159 and, with a god himself doing the expounding, *Od.* 8.79.  The enjambment is unexpected and particularly emphatic:  for the first time in the poem, a verb at the end of one line governs the first word in the next line as its direct object.  The parallel between Achilles and Apollo is clear, but there is a major difference:  Apollo's wrath is, as it were, superficial and will be easily removed by the return of Chryseis to her father and sacrifice of a hecatomb.  The wrath of Achilles, however, is emotionally deep-seated and cannot so easily be removed, even when in Book 9 Agamemnon agrees to return Briseis and offers Achilles a huge payment of honor.  On the connection between Achilles and Apollo, involving both identification and hostility, see Introd., 00.

 **76-7 τοιγάρ...ἀρήξειν:**  in Homer, τοιγάρ 'is only used by a person preparing to speak or act at another's request' (*GP* 565).  It is always the first word in the first line of a speech and is followed by ἐγώ(ν).     **σύνθεο:** aor. mid. imper. = Attic σύνθου.  In Homer συντίθημι, like συνίημι, can signify an attentive kind of hearing:  'mark my words', 'take my words to heart', almost 'hear me and do as I say'.  Cf. Snell 1978: 35. **ὄμοσσον...ἀρήξειν:** 'swear to me' is followed immediately by emphatic ἦ μέν (= Attic ἦ μήν) introducing the terms of the oath.   As usual, the subject in indirect discourse is not expressed when it is the same as the subject of the leading verb.     **πρόφρων** in Homer is always a predicate adjective and easiest to translate into English by an adverb.

ἔπεσιν καὶ χερσίν are more often contrasted than linked, e.g. 395 ἢ ἔπει…ἠὲ καὶ ἔργωι, 15.106 ἢ ἔπει ἠὲ βίηι.

78-9 ἦ γὰρ…Ἀχαιοί: ἦ γάρ regularly introduces a clause that explains what has just been said and emphasizes its main verb. χολόω in the act. is causal ('make someone angry'): cf. 18.111 ὡς ἐμὲ νῦν ἐχόλωσεν…Ἀγαμέμνων. The mid. and pass. are intrans. ('be or become angry'), cf. 64, 80, 139. καί…Ἀχαιοί is an independent clause: 'I think that I will anger a man who…, | and the Achaians obey (him)'. In prose one might expect ἐκεῖνον with ἄνδρα, but not necessarily in poetry, especially when Kalchas is clearly thinking of Agamemnon.

80 χώσεται is short-vowel aor. subjunct. of χώομαι, after ὅτε. Classical Greek would have ὅταν, but Homeric Greek often omits ἄν/κε in general or indefinite clauses: cf. 81 εἰ…καταπέψηι, 82 ὄφρα τελέσσηι. χέρηϊ is a metrically motivated variant of χερείονι. It is unclear why Zenodotos athetized this line, since he is also reported to have read κρείσσω for κρείσσων. Perhaps the scholia (Erbse 32) refer to the wrong line, and Zenodotos actually athetized 81 (as speaking vulgarly and disrespectfully about a king); see Erbse 32, Kirk 63.

81 εἴπερ…καταπέψηι: τε in this and the following line marks them as gnomic or proverbial, cf. 63n.

82 ἀλλά τε…τελέσσηι 'but afterwards he suppresses his resentment until he can fulfill it'. ἀλλά τε frequently opposes a main clause to a subordinate clause in conditional sentences, e.g. 10.225-6 μοῦνος δ᾽ εἴ πέρ τε νοήσηι, | ἀλλά τε οἱ βράσσων τε νόος, λεπτὴ δέ τε μῆτις, 19.164-5 εἴπερ γὰρ θυμῶι γε μενοινάαι πολεμίζειν, | ἀλλά τε λάθρηι γυῖα βαρύνεται. See *GH* 2.344. καταπέψηι is aor. subjunct. of καταπέσσω, found only here in Homer. The verb denotes a kind of controlled cooking or baking: 'keeps his anger (χόλον) from rising (but keeps it cooking beneath the surface)'. The simple verb πέσσω 'ripen', 'cook', 'bake', is used with χόλον at 4.513 =

9.565 to describe Achilles 'cooking' or 'brooding over' his anger, or perhaps ''foment[ing] it inside him and mak[ing] it moistly swollen like ripened fruit' (Clarke 1999: 93). Cf. 18.109-110, where Achilles speaks of χόλος 'which rises (ἀέξεται) much sweeter than dripping honey | in the breasts of men'), and 9.646, where he says, 'My heart swells (οἰδάνει) with χόλος'. καταπέψηι describes the suppression of this rising, swelling substance, which is, in psychological terms, the suppression of anger. In later Greek medical and scientific writing, χόλος is 'bile', and καταπέσσω means 'digest' in a physiological sense, but 'digest' is a misleading translation of the word as it is used in Homer. See *DELG*, *LfgrE s.vv* καταπέσσω, πέσσω. κότον: κότος and χόλος are the most important words for anger in the *Il.*, after μῆνις. χόλος is a violent, explosive emotion that can burst forth in a moment, but can also be controlled. κότος, by contrast, is a long-lasting, deep-seated feeling, which there is no way to control until the person in its grip brings it to its τέλος. See Walsh 2005: 12-14, 20-31, 233-4. ὄφρα introduces a temporal clause with the subjunctive, 'until he can fulfill (it)'; ὄφρα can also introduce a purpose clause, and it is not always easy to know how it is being used. Here, for example, there is a secondary sense of purpose in addition to the temporal meaning (*GH* 2.262); cf. 14.85-7 'to whom Zeus | granted from our youth even into old age to wind up the strands | of difficult wars until we each perish (ὄφρα φθιόμεσθα ἕκαστος)'.

83 φράσαι is aor. imper. mid., lit. 'point out to (yourself)', i.e. 'consider'. In Homer φράζω and φράζομαι never mean 'say'. Zenodotos's φράσον would be aor. imper. act., a form that does not occur elsewhere in early epic.

85-91 Achilles encourages Kalchas to tell whatever he knows of a divine purpose and swears to protect him against anyone in the Greek army, even Agamemnon. Achilles' diction and style in these lines is marked by a series of rare usages that contribute to its direct, urgent tone: voc. Κάλχαν at the end of line 86 is one of only four vocatives in the poem unaccompanied by epithets at position 12 (cf. 2.761 Μοῦσα, 10.416 ἥρως, 15.14

Ἥρη); ᾧι τε σύ is found elsewhere only at 14.198 and is one of just four rel. phrases at positions 9-10 in early epic (cf. 22.259, *Od.* 9.356, *HH* 30.7); συμπάντων Δαναῶν in enjambment at the beginning of line 90 and dependent on τις at the beginning of line 88 is particularly forceful. The unusual coincidence of meter and meaning in line 87, with each of the four cola filled by a single word, gives the line a heightened solemnity.

85 θαρσήσας...εἰπέ 'take courage, (and) speak as much as you like'. θαρσέω is always intransitive, and in Homer the aor. forms often have an ingressive force; cf. 20.338 θαρσήσας δὴ ἔπειτα μετὰ πρώτοισι μάχεσθαι, 'take courage then to fight among (their) foremost'. μάλα 'very much', i.e. 'as much as you like', goes with imper. εἰπέ; cf. 173 φεῦγε μάλ᾽, εἴ τοι θυμὸς ἐπέσσυται. θεοπρόπιον 'disclosure of divine will' or 'divine will as disclosed to a θεοπρόπος' whose activity is denoted by θεοπροπέω. This neut. noun, identical in sense to θεοπροπίη, occurs elsewhere only at line 87 in the sing. and at 6.438 in the plur.

86-7 οὐ...ἀναφαίνεις 'no, by that Apollo to whom you, Kalchas, | pray and reveal divine will to the Greeks'. Cf. 72-3n. Plur. θεοπροπίας and pres. ἀναφαίνεις suggest that Kalchas has revealed divine will on multiple occasions; cf. 105-6, 2.299-332.

88-90 οὔ τις...Δαναῶν: 88 οὐ negates ἐποίσει at the end of 89. 90 συμπάντων Δαναῶν is partitive gen. with 88 τις, the subj. of ἐποίσει. ἐμεῦ...δερκομένοιο is gen. absolute, 'while I am living and having the power of sight upon the earth'. Cf. the common formula ὁρᾶν φάος ἠελίοιο 'to be alive' (e.g. *Il.*18.61, 24.558), and the use in Attic of βλέπω with the same meaning.

89 σοί, accented and placed at the beginning of the line, is emphatic. βαρείας...ἐποίσει 'will lay hands upon you that will be heavy', i.e. 'hands that will be powerful and hostile to you'. On the semantics of βαρείας, see Chadwick 69.

90 οὐδ᾽...εἴπῃς: Achilles adds this clause as if it were an afterthought, and in so doing provides the protasis of a fut. more vivid condition of which 88-9 οὐ...ἐποίσει turns

out to be the apodosis. But the clause is not really an afterthought. Achilles is responding to Kalchas' statement in 76-9 that he needs protection from 'the man who holds power over all the Greeks, and they obey him' (78-9). Achilles, more blunt and forthright than Kalchas, names Agamemnon directly and promises his protection. The exchange between the two men may suggest spontaneous or pre-arranged complicity, but nothing in the text explicitly authorizes this interpretation. Cf. Taplin: 54-5.      οὐδ' 'not even'.

 91 ὅς...εἶναι: Achilles speaks ironically. The irony, though, is not in 'claims to be' (as opposed to 'really is'), since Agamemnon really is ἄριστος in one sense of the word and is treated as such by others (Leaf 91, Willcock 189). Rather, the irony lies in the disparity between Agamemnon's claim to be 'best of the Achaians' owing to his political rank and authority (2.82) and command over the most people (1.281, 2.577, 580), and Achilles' more effective claim to be 'best of the Achaians' because he is the most powerful fighter (244, 412). Cf. Nagy 1979: 26-7.      πολλόν = πολύ (adverbial). See 35n.
Ἀχαιῶν: ἐνὶ στρατῶι is the unanimous reading of the MSS, but the ancient scholars read Ἀχαιῶν, which seems more effective poetically in light of 244 and 412.

 92 μάντις ἀμύμων: ἀμύμων is a frequent generic epithet in Homeric poetry, but μάντις ἀμύμων occurs only here and at *Od.* 11.99, 291. The traditional etymology from ἀ- + μῶμος suggests the basic meaning 'blameless', but not necessarily in a moral sense, since the word is used of Aigisthos at *Od.* 1.29. The original meaning of ἀμύμων, however, may have been 'beautiful, handsome', which developed into 'excellent', 'expert' (in a functional sense). See Amory Parry 1973.

 93 οὔθ'...ἑκατόμβης: the text is uncertain: most MSS and several papyri read οὐδ' for the second οὔτε, which would strengthen the second alternative. Cf. 65 with 65n. Often in Homeric poetry, a character responding to a question first contradicts the questioner's assumptions before giving the correct answer. This stylistic feature, found in such traditional genres as the English ballad and modern Greek popular song, may have

been a feature of 'popular style' adapted by Homeric epic from pre-Homeric songs and folktales (Kakridis 1949: 106-26.)

**94 ἠτίμησ':** 3rd pers. sing., aor. indic. act. of ἀτιμάω. Cf. 11n.

**95 οὐδ'…ἄποινα:** for the *hysteron-proteron*, see 11n. In Homeric epic, unlike Attic prose, οὐδέ (or μηδέ) can follow either a positive or a negative main clause (cf. 97-9n.). **οὐκ** in καὶ οὐκ goes with ἀπεδέξατο: 'nor did he release [the priest's] daughter, and he did not accept the ransom'.

**96 τούνεκ'** is correlative with 94 ἕνεκ': '<u>on account of the priest</u> whom Agamemnon dishonored, | …, | <u>therefore</u> he who shoots from afar gave ἄλγεα and will still give (them)' (94-6). Aristarchos (Erbse 36) rejected 96 as superfluous (περισσός), possibly on the grounds that there is nothing new in ἄλγε᾽ ἔδωκεν ἑκηβόλος and that τούνεκ' seems to repeat 94 ἕνεκ᾽ ἀρητῆρος; see Kirk 63. Kalchas's ἠδ᾽ ἔτι δώσει, however, is both new and important, since a listener or reader would expect the words of a seer using the future tense to be fulfilled.

**97-9 οὐδ'…ἀνάποινον:** 97 πρίν is an adverb, 98 πρίν a conjunction looking forward to ἀπό…δόμεναι. In Homer the adverb πρίν occurs frequently in clauses on which πρίν + infinitive depends (cf. *GMT* 657). This double πρίν construction seems especially common in Achilles's speeches and in speeches attributed to him, addressed to him, or directly or indirectly connected with him (Hogan 1976, Wilson 1991). In Attic, πρίν with the infinitive usually follows an affirmative main clause, but in Homer this construction can also follow a negative clause; cf. 95n.     **ὅ γε** refers to 96 ἑκηβόλος. In 97,          Aristarchos, following Rhianos and the Massaliotic 'city' text (see Introd., 00), read Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσει, but all MSS have Zenodotos's λοιμοῖο βαρείας χεῖρας ἀφέξει. Zenodotos's conjecture might be possible in light of 21.548 ὅπως θανανάτοιο βαρείας κῆρας ἀλάλκοι, but without Δαναοῖσιν there is no readily understood subj. of 98 ἀπό…δόμεναι.     **ἀεικέα λοιγόν:** ἀεικής and its

cognates can be used 'objectively' to describe an 'unseemly' action that disfigures or throws a negative light on the person who is its object, or in an 'evaluative, moralizing way' of an 'unseemly' deed that 'primarily disfigures the doer and not the damaged one' (Danek 2014b: 139; cf. Schein 2016: 104 n. 23). It is unclear which of these two senses is foremost in Kalchas' mind, or if both are present equally. ἀπώσει gives λοιγόν a strongly physical connotation. Elsewhere ἀπωθέω is used of one fighter or army driving another back or away, e.g. 13.367, *Od.* 9.280. ἀπριάτην ἀνάποινον 'without a price, without a ransom' appear to be adjs. agreeing with κούρην at the end of the preceding line (cf. *Od.* 14.316-7), even though Aristarchos understood ἀπριάτην as an adverb. The asyndeton and 'progressive' enjambment emphasize that Agamemnon will pay for his mistake by having to reverse himself, return Chryseis, and lose the honor and material benefit of the ransom he rejected. ἀνάποινον is *hapax legomenon* in surviving Greek literature. ἑλικώπιδα is the only Homeric example of ἑλικῶπις used of a woman rather than a goddess, presumably with reference to her attractiveness, but cf. Hes. frr. 43.19, 180.13 ἑλικώπιδα καλλιπάρηον. The meaning of ἑλικῶπις is uncertain. The most likely ancient and modern guesses have to do with the color of the eyes ('black') or with their movement or animation ('lively', 'flashing', 'darting'), rather than with their shape ('round', 'curved')–especially as ἕλικ- should mean 'twisted', which does not seem appropriate, rather than 'round' or 'curved'.

100 ἐς Χρύσην: cf. 37. ἱλασσάμενοι πεπίθοιμεν: 'after we have propitiated him (*sc.* Apollo), then we might persuade him'. ἱλασσάμενοι is aor. participle of ἱλάσκομαι, and πεπίθοιμεν is first person plur. opt. of a reduplicated aor.of πείθω. Cf. 9.112 φραζώμεσθ', ὥς κέν μιν ἀρεσσάμενοι πεπίθωμεν, where Nestor's ἀρεσσάμενοι is more appropriate with reference to the mortal Achilles than ἱλασσάμενοι would be, and subjunct. πεπίθωμεν envisions a less remote possibility of persuasion than does opt. πεπίθοιμεν.