CHAPTER 7

The Life of the *Iliad*

The completion of a text is the beginning of a life that is sustained through the ages as long as there are readers to construe the meaning of the words. Readers respond to the text in different ways, and from the traces of their response one may reconstruct the life of the text. Responses take many forms. Direct comment constitutes a body of scholarship and criticism, which in the case of important texts develops a coherence and authority of its own, guiding or even prescribing appropriate questions and responses. But commentary is neither the only nor the most important form of response. Imitation, adaptation, translation and such negative responses as evasion or neglect bear equally on the life of a text and form a tradition of implicit commentary. Moreover, explicit and implicit responses interact through the ages. Vergil's reading of Homer, to give the most celebrated example, draws on a rich tradition of explicit commentary, and the *Aeneid* in turn, although not a commentary, has done more than any other text to shape the responses of readers to Homer.

No Western text boasts a life as long as the *Iliad* and few can match its energy and glory. To tell the life-story of the *Iliad* is far beyond the scope of this modest epilogue, which can only sketch in the broadest terms the stages of its life as it appears in the succession and interaction of different forms of reader response.

The most fundamental form of response is the repetition of the text; its scholarly version is the effort to establish, and guarantee the accurate transmission of, an authentic text. It is a chastening experience to pursue the text of our *Iliad* through the ages and raise the question whether we read what Homer wrote. The transmission of the Homeric text from its creation to the first printed edition (Florence, 1488) is a complicated story, but we can say with some confidence that the text we read is fundamentally identical with the text established by three generations of Alexandrian scholars in the third and second centuries BC: Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus. The work of these scholars, which can be reconstructed from indirect sources, consisted in the main part of deleting lines that had clearly crept into the text later or of 'obelising' or 'athetising', i.e. marking with special symbols, lines and passages that seemed suspect to them for one reason or another. The many post-Alexandrian papyrus texts of Homeric passages show very little fluctuation in the number of lines. Pre-Alexandrian papyrus passages, on the other

hand, differ considerably in length and may contain more or fewer lines than are found in our editions. It is apparent from the evidence that the Alexandrian scholars did much to stabilise the Homeric texts, but it is an unresolved question on what authority they established the canonical number and sequence of lines. Did they have access to a privileged tradition? Or did they use their judgement to construct from a variety of sources a text that later generations accepted as authoritative? Do we have Homer's *Iliad* or that of Aristarchus? It is difficult to give confident answers to these questions because we know very little about the nature of Homeric editions in classical Greece and even less about the state of the text in earlier periods. Several ancient sources refer to what modern scholars call the Pisistratean recension. There is good evidence that during the reign of the Pisistratids in Athens in the sixth century BC official performances of the *Iliad* were instituted as part of the Panathenaean festival. Some scholars have taken a passage in Cicero (*De Oratore*, 3.13.137) as lending support to the view that at these festivals the body of Homeric songs were for the first time gathered and arranged in a fixed order. Such scepticism has not found much support, and it seems more likely that the evidence for a Pisistratean recension merely points to some official concern for the stability and order of the text performed from year to year. Some scholars like to think that the editorial work of Aristarchus rests on an official Athenian edition that goes back to the time of Pisistratus. But, despite some corroborative evidence, such a thesis owes as much to faith as to reason. And, even if we can link the *Iliad* of Aristarchus firmly to that of Pisistratus, how do we know that the *Iliad* of Pisistratus was that of Homer? We may take some comfort from the fact that the *Iliad* is a massive and sturdy poem that can suffer a large number of minor changes without losing its shape. We may also use the very coherence of the poem as an argument for the stability of its transmission, but we should always be aware of the many stages of transmission that stand between what we read and what Homer composed.

The milestones in the history of Homeric scholarship are closely allied to the history of textual transmission. Once again, the accuracy of information drops off sharply as we move beyond Alexandrian criticism into classical times. The oldest form of criticism is allegorical and can be traced back to Theagenes of Rhegium in the sixth century BC. Allegory is a procedure for dealing with objectionable features of a text by claiming that they 'say something else' (the literal meaning of 'all-egoria'). Allegorical exegesis arose out of the need to deal with the scandals of Homeric theology. It flourished among Stoic thinkers and later merged with similar Judaeo-Christian procedures to become the favoured method for 'saving' the ancient gods in a Christian world. The most famous and most productive allegorical interpretation of an Iliadic passage transforms the golden chain by which Zeus threatens to hang the other gods into the 'Great Chain of Being'.

Plato in his *Ion* is our main source for the professional interpretation of Homer in classical times. Ion is a rhapsode, a man who makes a living reciting and explaining Homer and by virtue of his knowledge of the poems thinks of himself as a walking encyclopaedia. But while Plato exposes the pretensions of such knowledge he does not give us enough evidence to say very much about patterns of interpretation and explanation common in his day.

We are on firmer ground with the Alexandrians. They had no encyclopaedic ambitions and they wanted no truck with allegory. They were professional scholars in our sense, interested in employing philological techniques to establish and elucidate the text. 'Explaining Homer out of Homer' was Aristarchus' anti-allegorical slogan. Much of the work of the Alexandrians has come down to us via a devious route and survives in the marginal notes of Byzantine manuscripts, the 'scholia'. It is in the nature of such 'notes and queries' that they do not easily convey a comprehensive view of the poem. But scholars who, like Jasper Griffin, have made a point of systematically consulting the scholia have found in them a treasure of acute and sensitive observation that reveals much about the ancient understanding of the *Iliad*. In addition to the scholia, parts of ancient Homeric scholarship survive in the discursive commentary of the twelfth-century Byzantine scholar Eustathius, Bishop of Thessalonika, which for centuries to come remained a basic reference tool for Homeric scholars.

Although Homer was a much edited author during the Renaissance, there are no significant advances in textual and philological scholarship between Alexandrian times and the early eighteenth century, when Richard Bentley discovered the 'digamma', the *w*-sound that had disappeared from Greek by Homer's day, but had left its traces behind in certain features of Homeric prosody. This discovery led the way to a systematic and exhaustive analysis of Homeric language: a modern scholar can say with justice that there are many features of Homer's poetry that he understands more fully than any ancient reader, including perhaps Homer himself. Another milestone in the philological criticism of Homer is the publication in 1788 by the French scholar Villoison of the Venetus A manuscript, which dates from the tenth century and is the best manuscript of the *Iliad*. The manuscript also includes a set of scholia that provide more valuable and extensive evidence for Alexandrian scholarship than had been previously available. Modern textual scholarship of the *Iliad*, which culminated in the edition by T. W. Allen (1920), dates from the publication of that manuscript. The late eighteenth century also saw the beginning of the analytical criticism of Homer, which had precursors in the work of d'Aubignac and in casual remarks by Vico and Richard Bentley, but may be said to begin properly with the publication of Friedrich Wolf's *Prolegomena* in 1795 (above, p. 8).

Travellers and gentlemen scholars of the eighteenth century had begun

to cultivate the pleasant pastime of taking ancient authors – above all, Homer – out of the world of thickly annotated folio volumes and placing them in their real and original habitat of Greece. 'We proposed to read the Iliad and Odyssey in the countries, where Achilles . . . fought and where Homer sung,' Robert Wood wrote in his *Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer*, the most influential book to popularise this new approach (Jenkyns, 8). A century later, Heinrich Schliemann thought that he had discovered Homer's Troy. The systematic excavations of Troy, Knossos and Mycenae that have continued since the late nineteenth century have given us a much fuller understanding of the material base of Homeric culture. But the dream of explaining Homer out of the ruins has not come true: the more we have learnt about the world of early Greece, the more sceptical we have become about assuming a simple relationship between the world of the poetry and any historical reality (above, p. 2).

Textual scholarship and its related disciplines distrust interpretation and are made possible by the belief in the fiction that restoration is possible and will ultimately make interpretation redundant. The text of the *Iliad* we read today is the valid product of that noble delusion. But the life of the *Iliad* is not limited by the history of that text and its explanations; it is, to use a fashionable phrase, a story of misreadings, most lively and influential where it is least hampered by an ethos of faithful explication.

The first major stage in the life of the *Iliad* is the *Odyssey*. Possibly the work of the same poet, though more probably the work of a younger contemporary or disciple, the *Odyssey* is conceived as a complementary sequel to the *Iliad*. Its protagonist has a name with the same metrical properties (*Achil(l)eus* = *Odys(s)eus*) and, like Achilles, Odysseus, by turning down Kalypso's offer of immortality, chooses death and identity over nameless pleasure. But within the framework of the heroic choice Odysseus opposes Achilles at all points: Achilles volunteered for the war despite his mother's attempt to conceal him; Odysseus is drafted despite his efforts to evade conscription. With ferocious single-mindedness, Achilles responds to an insult to his name and reputation: the syntax of the poem's opening lines shows him as both defined, engulfed and consumed by one passion: *mēnin . . . Pēlēïadeō Achilēos oulomenēn*. Odysseus is not named in the opening line of his poem: he is a man 'of many turns', open to the manifold of experience, capable of hiding his name or of substituting the similar *outis*, 'nobody'. Achilles dies young, Odysseus suffers long and survives. When we last see Achilles he remembers a father to whom he will not return. Odysseus is reunited with Penelope: the bed he made as a young man outlasts the ships of the Achaeans.

The *Odyssey* completes the story of the *Iliad*. Through the return of Odysseus, it tells of the return of the other Achaeans as well. Demodokos' story of the Wooden Horse (*Odyssey*, 8.486) shows the narrator's effort to create seamless narrative continuity from the beginning of the *Iliad* to the

end of the *Odyssey*. Whether or not the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the work of the same poet, their systematic complementarity created 'Homer' as an oeuvre that established the forms and modes of Western literature, and in particular the recurring polarisation of human experience into a tragic and a comic vision. Because of the *Odyssey* it becomes an impossible enterprise to tell the life of the *Iliad* apart from that of 'Homer', a term that refers sometimes to a man, sometimes to a body of works, and frequently to whatever the speaker understands by the principle of poetry.

If we look in Greek literature for those traces that lead us specifically to the *Iliad*, we encounter tragedy. The plot of the *Iliad*, with its concatenation of the fates of Hektor, Patroklos and Achilles, provided the great exemplar that allowed the Attic playwrights to refine the art of plot construction and to achieve in their best plays a degree of concentration that led Aristotle to rank tragedy above epic. We know that Aeschylus wrote a trilogy about Achilles, but the corpus of extant plays accurately reflects the fact that the great dramatists acknowledged the primacy of the *Iliad* by keeping their distance from it. Of the thirty-odd plays that have survived from antiquity, only one, the *Rhesus*, deals with an event directly narrated in the *Iliad*. (This play, although attributed to Euripides, probably originates in the fourth century BC, and it is telling that its subject, the Doloneia, is a peripheral part of the *Iliad*.) The fall of Troy and the aftermath of the war, on the other hand, were favoured because the *Iliad* gave to these subjects a special weight and interest without pre-empting their treatment. Aeschylus' most majestic work, the *Oresteia*, is a sequel of sorts to the *Iliad*. It sharpens the paradox of defeat in victory and challenges the theology of the *Iliad* by showing the power of the chthonic forces that the Olympian vision had banished from its ken. Sophocles' *Aias*, his earliest surviving play, similarly uses a post-Iliadic event to deepen the dilemma of the warrior code. Because the arms of Achilles were awarded to Odysseus rather than to him, Aias is seized by an implacable hatred for Agamemnon, a *mēnis oulomenē* that leads to slaughter and self-destruction without a compensating heroic achievement. The scene between Aias, his war-bride Tekmessa and their son Eurysakes is a transposition of the Hektor–Andromache scene of Book 6 of the *Iliad* into a harsher key – the only instance in Attic tragedy of a direct imitative challenge to the *Iliad*. The *Philoctetes*, Sophocles' other play about the Trojan War, is a bitter vision of a post-Iliadic and post-heroic world in which the good have died and the likes of Thersites prosper. A similar vision informs Euripides' plays about the aftermath of the Trojan War.

Tragedy is one great trace of the life of the *Iliad* in Greek culture; the other is Plato. The *Republic* is the *locus classicus* for the war of poetry and philosophy. Plato of course attacks all poets rather than Homer or the *Iliad*, and Homer is singled out simply because he enjoys pride of place. None the less, the scandal in Plato's eyes is not this or that aberration from

moral standards but the fundamentally ambiguous relationship of poetry to morality. Despite its risqué story of Ares and Aphrodite the *Odyssey* shows few traces of that ambiguity. The *Iliad*, on the other hand, is deeply imbued with it; or, to put it differently, at their most serious moments Plato and the author of the *Iliad* live in different worlds. For this reason there is some justice in seeing Plato's attack on poetry as fundamentally a response to the *Iliad*.

With the *Odyssey*, the *Iliad* becomes part of Homer; with Vergil it becomes part of the 'Epic Tradition'. The stance of the *Aeneid vis-à-vis* the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* established an exemplary relationship of admiration and rivalry: the history of its repetition in different times and places is the history of the epic tradition. The *Aeneid* has been far more important than any other text in identifying the criteria and questions that have dominated Homeric criticism through the ages. If the *Odyssey* creates 'Homer' by joining itself to the *Iliad*, the *Aeneid*, by distancing itself from Homer, creates the 'Homeric', the elusive category whose definition always turns out to be some version of the difference between Homer and Vergil.

Vergil's poetic ambition was to create a work that would do for Rome what the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had done for Greece. The first point to note about Vergil's achievement is that he wrote in Latin rather than in Greek. The *Aeneid* appropriates and emancipates itself from a foreign paradigm, thereby establishing for its Greek precursor a climate of remote primacy. Second, Vergil conceived the *Aeneid* as an equivalent that self-consciously and explicitly proclaims its dependence on its models at every step. Vergil's attitude is filial in the extreme: Aeneas carrying Anchises away from the burning Troy may stand as an image for the poet as well. This self-proclaimed dependence turns the *Iliad* into a poem without origins or, rather, a poem created *ex nihilo* by the original genius of Homer.

The *Aeneid* comprehends, supersedes and reverses the events of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. To the destruction of a city and the subsequent wanderings of the conquerors it opposes the wanderings of a refugee whose descendants will in time found Rome. The burning Troy, dimly envisaged at the end of the *Iliad*, is fully described, but it functions as a beginning. And the Homeric bias for the Achaeans is replaced by the Roman poet's bias for the Trojans who are his ancestors, for it is from Aeneas that Caesar and Augustus, the greatest Roman rulers, trace their descent.

This reversal is only the most visible form of a critique of Homer that despite its tone of filial deference leaves no aspect of the model untouched. The critique is easiest to see on the moral level, where Vergil is the heir to centuries of philosophy. Plato had complained in the *Republic* about the moral deficiencies of Achilles, calling him greedy, brutal, uncontrolled, and generally lacking in the virtues that result from a proper education and find their embodiment in the Philosopher King (*Republic*, 390e). Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* projected the ideal of the magnanimous man.

Such embodiment of virtues in images of human perfection appealed to the Romans. It appears, for instance, in Cicero's attempts to capture the excellences of rhetoric through an image of the perfect orator. It is not surprising, therefore, that the protagonist of the *Aeneid*, unlike his predecessor in the *Iliad*, is an Epic Hero embodying the virtues of the soldier Achilles and the statesman Agamemnon without any of their shortcomings. In addition to the specifically heroic virtues of courage and wisdom, Aeneas also embodies the remaining cardinal virtues: piety and, despite his entanglement with Dido, temperance.

The list of Vergilian corrections of moral lapses in the *Iliad* is a long one. Aeneas does not withdraw from battle in anger; rather, his absence is the inevitable consequence of his attempt to secure allies. Far from mutilating the body of his opponent, he is even reluctant to kill him. And so it continues in a thorough revision of Iliadic scenes in which motives and actions that appear blameworthy to Vergil are either transformed or attributed to bad characters.

Since moral, social and aesthetic criteria are inextricably intertwined in the ancient world, the Vergilian critique of Homer extends to matters of social and stylistic decorum. The *Aeneid* reflects the greater social stratification of the Roman world, and our familiarity with its sense of protocol inevitably moulds our reading of Homer. Odysseus shoots a deer on Circe's island, makes a crude sling from branches, and lugs the animal on his back to his sole remaining ship (*Odyssey*, 10.157). Aeneas even in distress remains the admiral of a fleet. On his arrival in Libya, he climbs a hill and sees a herd of deer led by three stags. He takes the bow and arrow carried for him by his faithful Achates (more servant than companion) and shoots first the 'leaders', then the 'common crowd', until he has killed one animal for each ship. As to how these were transported back to the ships, it is beneath the epic poet's dignity to attend to such detail: certainly Aeneas did not carry them himself (*Aeneid*, 1.184). He carried his father and the house gods out of the burning Troy, and he will later put on 'the shield and destiny of his descendants' (2.707, 8.731). But an epic hero does not lug dead animals on his back.

Social stratification goes hand in hand with a hierarchy of styles. In theories of style since the Hellenistic period epic and tragedy are the prime literary examples of the high style. Vergil made such theories canonical through the example of his poetic career, which he understood as a self-conscious progress from the humble beginnings of pastoral to the exalted form of the epic. We may have tired of the soaring epic ambition with its quest for an 'answerable style', and we may find greater delight in the rugged practicality of Odysseus and in the vivid concreteness with which it is described. But what we like to think of as an immediate response to the quintessentially Homeric world and style has its origin, directly or indirectly, in the Vergilian response to Homer.

In talking about the critical recension of Homer that is implicit in the *Aeneid* and makes Vergil the greatest of all Homeric critics, we must not neglect the sense of doubt and inadequacy that besets the Vergilian enterprise at every step and has left its traces both in the text and in some telling anecdotes. Vergil said that 'borrowing a line from Homer was like stealing the club of Hercules', forbade the publication of the *Aeneid* and wanted to burn it on his deathbed. His personal shyness gave him the nickname *Parthenias*, 'the Maiden'. Since Vergil's day, an acute sense of the 'anxiety of influence' has been *de rigueur* for the epic poet – a fact well known to Dante. The figure of the epic poet approaching his great task with an equal sense of inferiority and superiority bears on the *Iliad* precisely because its author alone of all poets is seen as exempt from this contradiction.

Despite the misgivings of its author, the *Aeneid* was an immediate triumph. It became the national epic of Rome, and it marked the maturity of Latin as the language of a distinct literary culture that came to dominate the West and turned Greek into a foreign language not even known by the educated elite. As the *Aeneid* triumphed, the *Iliad* went into hibernation. Poems about Troy, however, remained popular. One of these was the *Ilias Latina*, a poem of a thousand hexameters that summarises the events of the *Iliad*. It belongs in the first century AD, but the Middle Ages falsely saw in it the work of Pindar. More influential was the *Historia de excidio Troiae*, which is a fifth-century version of an earlier Greek poem that attributes itself to the Phrygian Dares, a counsellor of Hektor. This history by an 'eyewitness' with a Trojan bias was very popular in the Middle Ages and, together with another 'eyewitness report' by the Cretan Dictys, a companion of Idomeneus, it provided the main source for the vast literature of Troy that flourished in the Middle Ages. In the twelfth century Benoit de Sainte-Maure combined and expanded these accounts; a century later Guido delle Colonne paraphrased Benoit in a Latin 'history', which, translated into French (1464), and back from French into English, became the first book printed in England, Caxton's *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*. An episode from this cycle was elaborated by Boccaccio, and in its English adaptation became the greatest of all medieval works about Troy: Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. The point to be made about this poem and about the tradition from which it derives is that they have nothing to do with the *Iliad* but completely supersede it. Chaucer's narrator early disclaims any intention to relate the story of the war and tells his readers that they may find 'the Troian gestes, as they felle, in Omer, or in Dares, or in Dite' (1.146). In the envoi 'Omer' is listed once more, together with Vergil, Ovid, Lucan and Statius, as one of the poets whose footsteps the author's 'litel' book is to kiss (5.1792). But here, as in the fourth canto of the *Inferno*, Homer is a mere shade. And so he remained for an early Humanist writer like Petrarch, who acquired a Greek manuscript of Homer but was unable to read it.

The revival of the *Iliad* in the West is part of the revival of Greek studies that began in the fifteenth century for many reasons, including the influx of Byzantine scholars into Italy as a consequence of the fall of Constantinople. The sixteenth century, in particular, was an age in which a knowledge of Greek, while precious, spread beyond an exclusive group of scholars. An interest in Greek literature is characteristic of the learned poets of sixteenth-century France, especially of Ronsard. But one should not imagine that the revived *Iliad* superseded the medieval Troy literature. It would be more correct to think of the Renaissance *Iliad* as another, though highly prestigious, item in that literature, which retained its hold on the European imagination, perhaps even strengthened it when new national monarchies, as in France and England, legitimated their origins by myths of descent from Troy. Take the 1583 edition of Homer by the French poet Jean de Sponde (Spondanus), the work of a man then in his mid-twenties. It is not a work of great scholarly merit, but interesting for that very reason since it reflects accurately the knowledge and interests of a highly educated literary man in the late sixteenth century. The work includes not only the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in Greek with facing Latin prose translations but also the *Ilias Latina* and Dares. In other words, it is as much an encyclopaedia of Troy poems as it is an edition of Homer.

If the reading of Homer was in part shaped by the literature of Troy, it was much more powerfully affected by Renaissance theories of the epic. Most Homeric criticism between 1500 and 1700, if it is not a repetition and elaboration of Byzantine scholia, is found in commentaries of Aristotle's *Poetics* or Horace's *Ars Poetica* and in the innumerable vernacular poetic treatises based on them. This criticism operates at considerable distance from the Homeric texts and deals in generalities that stay within the bounds of the Vergilian recension. It often takes the form of adjudicating competing claims or answering specific charges such as 'Is Plato right in attacking poets?', 'Is Aristotle right in preferring tragedy to epic?', 'Is Vergil greater than Homer?' The most influential of these discussions are shaped by an exalted notion of the moral power of poetry, by a belief in the supremacy of epic poetry, and by a celebration of the Epic Hero as the pinnacle of human perfection. It did not escape Renaissance readers that in the context of such assumptions the *Iliad* is a problematical text. In particular, it was difficult to see Achilles as an Epic Hero: Tasso's Rinaldo and other 'improved' Achilles figures of Renaissance epics bear clear witness to these difficulties (Steadman). The greater compliance of the *Aeneid* with the ideals of epic perfection led Julius Caesar Scaliger in his *Poetics* to proclaim its superiority over Homer – a judgement that repeats Vergil without his characteristic diffidence.

The Renaissance response to the *Iliad* finds a unique and representative expression in Chapman's translation and in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. Readers during the 1590s took a special interest in the literature of Troy. A reprint of Caxton appeared in 1596; Chaucer's works, including

Seaven Bookes: the council of the desperate Achaeans (Book 2), the duel of Hektor and Aias (Book 7), and the Embassy (Book 9). G. K. Hunter has argued that the revulsion at the brutality of war, which pervades *Troilus and Cressida* so deeply, owes something to Shakespeare's response to Homer, that he was blind to the nobility of Homer's moral vision, and that, like Goethe later, he saw in the *Iliad* a proof that life was hell. On such a view, Shakespeare found in the *Iliad* corroboration for a realistic perspective from which to subvert the medieval and romantic tradition of Troy. But the realism of *Troilus and Cressida* and that of the *Iliad* are of a very different order. *Troilus and Cressida* is an unchecked outburst of the deflationary and corrosive perspective that Shakespeare in his tragedies always keeps under control. The play focuses on the *Iliad* as its target because Chapman had recently reaffirmed its status as the paradigm of heroic poetry not only in his translation but also in the effusive prefatory matter.

The fact that in Shakespeare's play the *Iliad* provides a target of attack rather than the source of a despairing vision emerges clearly from the prominent role given to Thersites. In the *Iliad* he had been introduced for the express purpose of being kicked out: with the expulsion of this loudmouth and coward, the Achaeans reassert their commitment to the warrior code. Expelled from the *Iliad*, Thersites found a niche in handbooks of rhetoric, where he survived through the ages: a medieval schoolboy might run across Thersites as the type of railing detractor without ever hearing of the *Iliad* (Kimbrough, 38). Shakespeare's version of this Thersites re-enters the world of the *Iliad*; indeed, he becomes the filter through which its characters and events are seen in *Troilus and Cressida*. The privileged position given to him reflects an implicit understanding on Shakespeare's part of what is not found in the *Iliad*. The return of Thersites, which has a parallel in the celebration of Thersites as the arch-survivor in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, allows us to draw a suggestive analogue between one of Shakespeare's most problematic plays and a number of plays of the fifth century BC in which a mood of disillusionment and weary cynicism likewise defines itself against the heroic world of the *Iliad*. Some of these plays – e.g. Euripides' *Orestes* – raise questions of classification that are similar to the curious status of *Troilus and Cressida* as a problem play. To treat such works as episodes in the life of the *Iliad* is helpful in clarifying their mode and purpose. There remains, however, the question whether we should call a work like *Troilus and Cressida* a critique of the *Iliad* or whether we should see it as a subversion or rejection of the values implicit in the Vergilian recension of Homer.

A very different critique of the *Iliad*, and one that clearly does by-pass the *Aeneid*, appears in *Paradise Lost* (Mueller). By the standards of his age, and indeed by modern professional standards, Milton had an exceptionally thorough knowledge of Greek, and Homer was one of three authors – Ovid

and Isaiah were the others – that his daughters read most frequently to their blind father in the original. The opening lines of the epic closely follow the *Iliad*:

> Of Man's first Disobedience and the fruit
> Of that forbidden Tree whose mortal taste
> Brought Death into the world and all our woe...

'Man's first Disobedience' echoes *mēnin Peleïadeo Achilēos* in its syntactic structure, and both openings explore the polarity of a central event and its disastrous consequences. The Iliadic echoes point to larger structural resemblances. Milton copies the distinctive structural feature of the *Iliad*, its way of telling a larger story by means of a central incident. The wrath of Achilles and the fall of man are episodes in much larger cycles of events, the Trojan War and the Celestial Cycle, which begins with Creation and ends with the Last Judgement. This relationship of plot to story led Milton to think of the triangle of Adam, Eve and Satan in terms of Achilles, Patroklos and Hektor–Apollo (perhaps prompted by the not uncommon identification of Apollo with Satan via *Apollyon*, 'destroyer', a Greek word for the devil). In elaborating the story of the Fall, Milton had available to him a rich narrative tradition. While he used it freely, he departed from it in the scene that accounts for Eve's meeting Satan by herself. His Eve asks Adam's permission to work by herself, and when she returns to him Adam recognises her fall as the consequence of his failure to protect her. In other words, Milton uses the Patrokleia both to motivate Eve's separation and to articulate a moment of tragic recognition in which Adam, like Achilles, sees his own doom in that of his dead beloved. One of Milton's most powerful Homeric allusions further emphasises the moment of tragic recognition. When Hektor dies, Andromache is at home working a piece of embroidery. As she hears the shouts of woe, she rushes to the towers and faints at the sight of the dead Hektor. Her headgear, a precious wedding present, falls to the ground. When she recovers, she expresses her loss in words. This sequence is closely followed by Milton in leading up to Adam's sight of the fallen Eve. He had been weaving a wreath of flowers in anticipation of her return, but when he sees her he is horror-struck and

> From his slack hand the garland wreathed for Eve
> Down dropped, and all the faded roses shed. (9.892–3)

In the ensuing speech he expresses the meaning of the gesture and calls Eve 'defaced, deflowered, and to death devote' (9.901).

Milton's fusion of the two great Iliadic recognitions of tragic loss rests on

an apprehension of the dramatic structure of his model that has its only parallel among the Attic playwrights. But Milton rejects the premisses on which that structure rests and offers a powerful critique of tragic consciousness. Knowledge brings disaster in the *Iliad* (and in Greek tragedy), but it also provides the ground for identity and self-assertion. Milton takes over the structure of tragic recognition but rejects its metaphysical implications. Whereas the blind Achilles had been transformed into the seeing Achilles by the death of Patroklos, Adam falls into blindness. His tragic consciousness of Eve's doom is false, and the situation of tragic recognition becomes the scene in which man wilfully isolates himself from divine grace. Tragic necessity in *Paradise Lost* is an illusion, and the poem's true recognition occurs beyond the fall when Adam and Eve discover their dependence on one another and divine grace. Through his use of the *Iliad*, and by placing and transcending the situation of tragic recognition, Milton discovered the conditions of Christian tragedy, and his work is the most sustained reflection on the relationship of Christian tragedy to its ancient sources.

Milton's use and understanding of the *Iliad* rest very much on his own reading and have no parallel in his day. With Alexander Pope, on the other hand, we come to an author whose response to Homer subsumes that of an entire age, in England and beyond. Between 1715 and 1720, Pope published his translation of the *Iliad* in six volumes, each containing four books of the original. Bentley, the greatest classical scholar of his age, was contemptuous: 'it is a pretty poem, Mr. Pope, but you must not call it Homer'. The polite world for whom it was intended thought otherwise. Pope's Homer was widely read and quickly established itself as one of the few translations to become originals in their own right. Pope's *Iliad* is arguably the finest English poem in heroic couplets, and outside the Greek world more readers got to know Homer through Pope than had ever read him in any version.

Pope's interest in Homer dates back to his childhood when he read the *Iliad* in Ogilby's version, published in a richly illustrated folio version. A mediocre work, it more than justified its existence by the spark it lit in the 8-year-old boy. The more immediate cause of Pope's *Iliad* was the precarious state of the author's fortunes. Pope conceived of his translation as a commercial venture that would bring him financial security, and in this regard, as in many others, the translation was a resounding success that permitted the poet to buy the small estate at Twickenham, where he spent the rest of his life.

Like Chapman, Pope endows Homer with a heroic patina. If Homer does not live up to the 'Majesty of Epic Poetry where everything ought to be great and magnificent' (7.lii), Pope will improve his original, sometimes apologetically. Thus, when Athene gives Menelaos the bloodthirsty courage of a fly Pope in his note acknowledges the just precision of the

original, but in the translation changes the animal into a 'vengeful hornet' because 'our present Idea of the Fly is indeed very low as taken from the littleness and insignificancy of this Creature' (*Iliad*, 17.570; 17.642 in the translation). But Pope will have nothing to do with Chapman's abstruseness. On the contrary, he is an ardent apostle of Homeric simplicity and among the most important critics to unfold what is implicit in the Vergilian recension: that Homer is characterised by a lack of art. The modern roots of that view are found in the battle of the ancients and moderns, the favourite parlour game of the literary elite in late-seventeenth-century France, where Homer took his knocks as the standard-bearer of antiquity but also had begun to be worshipped as the only poet to whom it was given to exist in pristine and prelapsarian grandeur. Dryden gives an early and important expression of this view when in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* he lines up Homer and Vergil with Shakespeare and Jonson: 'Shakespeare was the Homer, or father of our dramatic poets; Jonson was the Virgil, the pattern of elaborate writing; I admire him but I love Shakespeare.' Pope contrasts Homer and Vergil in terms of invention and judgement. The 'fire' of invention is visible in Vergil, 'but discern'd as through a Glass reflected from *Homer*, more shining than fierce, but everywhere equal and constant'. Pope elaborates this conceit by first lining up Milton and Shakespeare with Vergil and Homer and then making Homer transcend even Shakespeare, a double comparison that was echoed by Matthew Arnold and was indeed something of a commonplace in Victorian criticism (Jenkyns, 192): 'In *Milton* it glows like a Furnace kept up to an uncommon ardor by the Force of Art; in *Shakespeare*, it strikes before we are aware, like an accidental fire from Heaven: But in *Homer*, and in him only, it burns everywhere clearly, and everywhere irresistibly' (7.4–5). Homer's only rival is Scripture and, in a phrase that looks forward to Winckelmann's phil-Hellenic slogan of 'noble simplicity and silent grandeur', Pope speaks of the 'pure and noble simplicity of Scripture and Homer'.

This Homeric simplicity, however, is a very eighteenth-century plainness that values abstraction. An age can be defined by the purple passages its finds in the classics: the most frequently translated and anthologised Iliadic passage in Pope's day was Sarpedon's speech to Glaukos. Pope translated it at the age of 19 and later used it as the model for Clarissa's speech in *The Rape of the Lock*. Taken from its context, the speech becomes a creed, an example of Pope's habit, as Maynard Mack puts it, of 'teasing the unique fictions of his original toward something more generic and therefore more easily recognizable' (Pope, 7.lviii).

Grand and general, Pope's *Iliad* also has a high-gloss finish and a tendency towards the epigrammatic, two qualities that derive from the medium of the heroic couplet. The end of Sarpedon's speech shows these qualities in their most brilliant and attractive light:

> The Life which others pay, let us bestow,
> And give to Fame what we to Nature owe;
> Brave tho' we fall, and honour'd if we live,
> Or let us glory gain, or Glory give!

Pope's Homer was the most successful of many attempts, especially in England and France, to make Homer available to a polite and not necessarily very learned audience. For this audience the epic was no longer a living vernacular genre but existed in differently displaced forms: *Paradise Lost* was a classic, *The Rape of the Lock* a parody, the *Iliad* a translation. The audience of Pope's *Iliad* was to find its authentic literary form in the novel. Fénélon in his *Télémaque*, a kind of *Bildungsroman* based on the opening books of the *Odyssey*, had anticipated this development. Fielding confirmed it by calling *Joseph Andrews* a 'comic epic poem in prose' and by using a technique of allusion that recalls the epic tradition, and in particular Homer, only to distance itself from it. The establishment of the novel as the dominant form of narrative coincides roughly with the development of modern Homeric scholarship and criticism, and it is surely a cardinal fact about the life of the *Iliad* since the eighteenth century that its readers have defined its genre in opposition to prose fiction. For Hegel, the novel is the appropriate expression of a prosaic and bourgeois world. Like the epic, it mirrors the totality of the world, but with a crucial loss of poetic substance. Fictional protagonists like Julien Sorel or Dorothea Brooke may have the brilliance and energy of Achilles, but they live in a world where circumstances rule out the achievement of heroic glory, even at the cost of life.

The dominance of the novel has led to a changing perception of the relationship of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The latter has often been seen as a proto-novel, a perspective that ultimately accounts for *Ulysses*. The *Iliad* by contrast has been increasingly aligned with the stark world that readers discovered in other forms of 'heroic poetry', and especially in Germanic mythology. This vision of the heroic differs significantly from the Renaissance vision and replaces a timeless image of human perfection with an image of splendid and atavistic brutality.

The changing fortunes of Homer as a school author also bear on the understanding of the *Iliad* as a heroic poem. Ronsard in the preface to his *Franciade* had offered an early and suggestive formulation of the difference between Homer and Vergil by proclaiming that he had chosen as his model the 'naïve facilité' rather than the 'curieuse diligence' of Vergil. Ronsard's 'naïf' means 'innate', 'natural', and has no tinge of 'naïve' in Schiller's sense. None the less, the phrase draws our attention to the continuity between Renaissance distinctions of nature and art and eighteenth-century theories of the naïve. In the nineteenth century, Homer, the great paragon

of naïve poetry, the original genius from the childhood of man, becomes an author for boys, specifically public schoolboys at Winchester or Rugby. Richard Jenkyns' fine chapter on the Homeric Ideal in *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* is appropriately divided into sections on 'Homer' and 'Athletics'.

Opposition to the bourgeois novel and the boys' school as the temple for the cult of the heroic are critical facts for an understanding of the life of the *Iliad* in the nineteenth century. The understanding of Homer fostered in such a context may be seen as restating in a different form the Vergilian category of the Homeric. In the *Aeneid* Turnus understands himself as Achilles, but for Vergil Turnus represents violence and the flamboyance of heroic gesture without lasting achievement. Aeneas, the cautious and farsighted leader, on the other hand, lacks glamour. And, while Vergil's art is in the highest degree poetic, his protagonist is peculiarly prosaic. Vergilian art and the world of prose, in fact, are at bottom the same and provide a very similar background for the identification and admiration of the Homeric.

The Vergilian prism has been no less dominant in the twentieth-century criticism of Homer. If there is a distinguishing feature of twentieth-century criticism, it lies perhaps in the innocent arrogance with which it has claimed a superior understanding on the basis of radically new insights into the nature of Homer's art or his vision of man. The oral critics in particular have been guilty of a failure to see that their ideological prejudices have a very long history indeed (above, p. 8). A somewhat similar charge can be laid against 'Homeric anthropologists' like Hermann Fränkel, Bruno Snell, E. R. Dodds, and more recently A. W. H. Adkins. In the works of these scholars, however illuminating it has been on many aspects of the Homeric poems, a Hegelian vision of the unfolding of the human spirit has combined with the scholar's territorial instinct to dwell on the distinctness of his subject and sharply mark off its boundaries. The *homo Homericus* 'reconstructed' by their labours is little more than a more scholarly version of the Homeric naïve. Whether Parry and Snell are 'closer' to the *Iliad* than Chapman or Pope is by no means an idle question. I do not mean to suggest that to study the life of the *Iliad* is to sort through the junkheap of discarded interpretations: on the contrary, the life has a shape and direction that must guide our own understanding. But criticism is not a progressive art.

If we think of the life of the *Iliad* as revealing to us an identity that can guide our own understanding, we are confronted with a peculiar problem. The most distinctive feature of Homeric criticism has been the recurring attempt to endow the category of the Homeric with a supremacy that elevates it beyond the limits of an individual style and puts it beyond description. For the Greeks, Homer was The Poet. For Ronsard and the Vergilian tradition Homer's 'naïve facilité' identifies the Homeric with the

natural. The naïve Homer is the modern version of the self-defeating enterprise of combining description with absolute praise. Homer is not the only artist to have suffered this fate: we recognise it in the criticism of Shakespeare and Mozart. But in Homer the dilemma is more central. Is it chronological priority or a peculiar greatness that has created the persistent temptation to dissolve the Homeric as the contours of a specific identity and to equate it with some version of the absolute? To that Homeric Question we may never find an answer.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

(1) EDITIONS, COMMENTARIES, TRANSLATIONS

EDITIONS

Homer, [*Works*], ed. Demetrius Chalcondylas and Giovanni Acciaiuoli (Florence, 1488). The first printed edition.

Homeri quae extant omnia... cum Latina versione... Perpetuis... in Iliada simul et Odysseam J. Spondani... commentariis (Basel, 1583). A popular edition, characteristic of late-sixteenth-century scholarship, by the French poet Jean de Sponde. Used by Chapman for his translation.

Homeri Ilias ad veteris codicis Veneti fidem recensita. Scholia in eam antiquissima... nunc primum edidit... J. B. C. d'Annse de Villoison (Venice, 1788). The first printed edition of the Venetus A manuscript, on which all modern editions of the *Iliad* are based.

Homeri Opera, ed. D. B. Monro and T. W. Allen, 5 vols, Oxford Classical Texts (London, 1920).

Homeri Ilias, ed. Thomas W. Allen, 3 vols (London, 1931). The standard modern edition of the *Iliad*.

Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem (scholia vetera), ed. Hartmut Erbse, 5 vols (Berlin, 1969–77).

Eustathii, archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis, commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem, ed. J. G. Stallbaum, 4 vols (Leipzig, 1827–30).

The Iliad, edited with apparatus criticus, prolegomena, notes and appendixes by Walter Leaf, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London, 1902). This is still the most substantial commentary on the *Iliad* and, while largely superseded on archaeological and historical matters, it remains extremely valuable on questions of meaning, usage and narrative structure.

Homers Ilias. Für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von Karl Friedrich Ameis, revised by C. Hentze, 4th edn, 8 vols (Leipzig, 1902–6). The two-volume appendix (*Anhang*) to this edition is virtually a variorum edition of nineteenth-century analytical scholarship.

COMMENTARIES

Willcock, Malcolm M., *A Commentary on Homer's Iliad*, Vol. 1 (Books 1–6) (London, 1970). No further volumes of this useful commentary have appeared (but see Willcock, p. 200).

Iliad. Book XXIV, ed. C. W. MacLeod (Cambridge, 1982). A splendid commentary that combines philological acumen with literary sophistication.

TRANSLATIONS

Chapman, George, *Chapman's Homer*, edited with introductions, textual notes, commentaries and glossaries by Allardyce Nicoll, 2 vols (New York, 1956).

Pope, Alexander, *Translations of Homer*, ed. Maynard Mack, 4 vols (London, 1967). Twickenham Edition, Vols 7–10.

The Iliad of Homer, trans. Richmond Lattimore (Chicago, Ill., 1951). The most widely read translation since Pope, Lattimore's *Iliad* is remarkable for its

stateliness and fidelity to the arrangement of words, phrases and lines in the original.

The Iliad, trans. Robert Fitzgerald, with drawings by Hans Erni (Garden City, NY, 1974). The only serious modern challenger to Lattimore, Fitzgerald pays more attention to the rapidity and flow of Homeric narrative.

(2) OTHER

Adkins, A. W. H., 'Homeric values and Homeric society', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 91 (1971), pp. 1–14.

Adkins, A. W. H., *Merit and Responsibility* (London, 1960). The standard discussion of the Homeric poems as the description of a real society based exclusively on competitive values. See the criticism by Long and Adkins's defence (1971).

Aeschylus, *Die Fragmente der Tragödien des Aischylos*, ed. Hans Joachim Mette (Berlin, 1956).

Arend, Walter, *Die typischen Scenen bei Homer* (Berlin, 1933). This careful classification of recurring scenes in the Homeric poems is still the standard work on its topic.

Armstrong, J., 'The arming motif in the *Iliad*', *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 79 (1958), pp. 337–54. Relates the elaboration of this common motif to the narrative needs of different contexts.

Arnold, Matthew, 'On translating Homer', *On the Classical Tradition*, ed. R. H. Super (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1960), pp. 97–216. *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold.*

Austin, Norman, 'The function of digressions in the *Iliad*', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, vol. 7 (1966), pp. 295–312. Reprinted in Wright. A superb essay on the role of descriptive detail in articulating narrative progress and marking moments of significance and suspense.

Austin, Norman, 'The Homeric formula', in his *Archery at the Dark of the Moon: Poetic Problems in Homer's Odyssey* (Berkeley, Calif., 1975), pp. 11–80. Demonstrates that even so rigidly conventionalised elements as the speech-framing lines respond to the needs of individual contexts.

Bassett, S. E., *The Poetry of Homer* (Berkeley, Calif., 1938).

Bate, Walter J., *The Burden of the Past and the English Poet* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).

Bloom, Harold, *The Anxiety of Influence* (New York, 1973).

Bowra, Sir Maurice, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (London, 1930).

Bullough, Geoffrey (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols (London, 1957–75).

Burkert, Walter, 'Apellai und Apollon', *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. 118 (1975), pp. 1–21. Disputes theories of the Asiatic origin of Apollo and associates him with Dorian festivals of early manhood. Powerful remarks on the affinity of Apollo with his victim Achilles.

Burkert, Walter, 'Das hunderttorige Theben und die Datierung der Ilias', *Wiener Studien*, vol. 10 (1976), pp. 5–21. A very intriguing case for dating the *Iliad* as late as 660 BC on the basis of allusions to contemporary Egyptian history.

Burkert, Walter, 'Das Lied von Ares und Aphrodite', *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. 103 (1960), pp. 130–44.

Burkert, Walter, *Die griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart, 1977).

Calhoun, G. M., 'Homeric repetitions', *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, vol. 11 (1933), pp. 1–26.

Davison, J. A., 'The Homeric Question', in Wace and Stubbings, pp. 234–65. The finest discussion in English of theories about the authorship of the Homeric poems since the late seventeenth century.

Dodds, E. R., 'Agamemnon's apology', in his *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, Calif., 1951), pp. 1–27. The classic discussion in English of the problem of double motivation in Homer.

Eichholz, D. E., 'The propitiation of Achilles', *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 74 (1953), pp. 137–48. The best statement of the case that Agamemnon's offer is inadequate and that Achilles is right to reject it.

Fenik, Bernard (ed.), *Homer: Tradition and Invention*, Cincinnati Classical Studies Vol. 2 (Leiden, 1978).

Fenik, Bernard, 'Stylization and variety: four monologues in the *Iliad*', in his *Homer: Tradition and Invention*, pp. 67–90. An excellent analysis of the scenes of deliberation by Odysseus, Menelaos, Agenor and Hektor.

Fenik, Bernard, *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad: Studies in the Narrative Techniques of Homeric Battle Description* (Wiesbaden, 1968). Hermes Einzelschriften, Vol. 21.

Finley, Sir Moses, 'The Trojan War' (includes responses by J. L. Caskey, G. S. Kirk, D. L. Page), *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 84 (1964), pp. 1–20. This symposium by four eminent historians reflects the range of scholarly opinion about the question whether the *Iliad* is an account of real events.

Finley, Sir Moses, *The World of Odysseus*, 2nd revised edn (Harmondsworth, 1979). The most accessible and balanced introduction to the historical background of the Homeric poems.

Finnegan, Ruth, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance, and Social Context* (Cambridge, 1977). Based on a wide range of empirical research, this book demolishes the case for a unified theory of oral composition as distinct from literate composition and shows that arguments from analogy, which have been very common in the oral criticism of Homer, have no standing as evidence.

Finnegan, Ruth, 'What is oral literature anyway? Comments in the light of some African and other comparative material', in *Oral Literature and the Formula*, ed. Benjamin A. Stolz and Richard S. Shannon III (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1976).

Fränkel, Hermann, 'Der homerische und kallimacheische Hexameter', in his *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens*, 3rd edn (Munich, 1968), pp. 100–56.

Fränkel, Hermann, *Die homerischen Gleichnisse*, 2nd edn (Göttingen, 1977). First published in 1921. A pathbreaking book in its day and, despite a recent flurry of books on the Homeric simile, still the most interesting, if occasionally fanciful, treatment of its subject.

Fränkel, Hermann, *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy: A History of Greek Epic, Lyric, and Prose to the Middle of the Fifth Century*, trans. Moses Hadas and James Willis (New York, 1975). First published in 1951.

Freud, Sigmund, 'The theme of the three caskets', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey, Vol. 12

(London, 1958), pp. 291–301. Bassanio's choice of the leaden casket in *The Merchant of Venice* and Lear's rejection of Cordelia represent success and failure in coming to terms with human mortality. The powerful essay by implication throws much light on the ambiguous attitude towards the immortal Olympians in the Homeric epics.

Friedrich, Wolf-Hartmut, *Verwundung und Tod in der Ilias: Homerische Darstellungsweisen* (Göttingen, 1956). This ingenious demonstration of differences in the representation of injury and death retains its value even for a reader who does not agree with the author's analytical conclusions.

Goold, G. P., 'The nature of Homeric composition', *Illinois Classical Studies*, vol. 2 (1977), pp. 1–34. Homer was the first poet to use writing on a big scale, and he composed both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* over the course of a lifetime. His 'progressive fixation of the text' involved him in inconsistencies that analytical scholars have correctly identified but wrongly accounted for in terms of multiple authorship.

Griffin, Jasper, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford, 1980). A superb general book, which treats the two epics as one oeuvre and discusses a range of narrative and thematic conventions. Especially good on symbolism, setting and characterisation.

Grote, George, *A History of Greece*, 12 vols (London, 1846–56).

Hainsworth, J. B., 'Criticism of an oral Homer', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 90 (1970), pp. 90–8; reprinted in Wright. A sceptical survey of attempts to derive a poetics of oral composition from the known facts about formulaic versemaking.

Hainsworth, J. B., *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (London, 1968).

Havelock, Eric Alfred, *The Greek Concept of Justice from Its Shadow in Homer to Its Substance in Plato* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978). A full and important discussion of the social role that the Homeric epics played in the preliterate society for which they were composed.

Hédelin, François, abbé d'Aubignac, *Conjectures académiques, ou Dissertation sur l'Iliade*, ed. V. Magnien (Paris, 1925).

Heitsch, Ernst, 'Der Zorn des Paris: Zur Deutungsgeschichte eines homerischen Zetemas', *Festschrift für Josef Klein*, ed. Erich Fries (Göttingen, 1967), pp. 216–47. An exemplary discussion from an analytical position of the difficulties involved in reconciling the Paris scenes of Books 3 and 6.

Hermann, Gottfried, 'De interpolationibus Homeri dissertatio', in his *Opuscula* (Leipzig, 1834), Vol. 5, pp. 52–77.

Heubeck, Alfred, *Schrift* (Göttingen, 1979). Archaeologia Homerica, Band III, Kapitel X. A comprehensive survey both of the early history of writing in Greece and of theories about whether Homer wrote.

Hoekstra, A., *Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes: Studies in the Development of Greek Epic Diction* (Amsterdam, 1965).

Hunter, G. K., '*Troilus and Cressida*: a tragic satire', *Shakespeare Studies* (Tokyo), vol. 13 (1974), pp. 1–24.

Ingalls, W. B., 'The structure of the Homeric hexameter: a review', *Phoenix*, vol. 24 (1970), pp. 1–12.

Jenkyns, Richard, *The Victorians and Ancient Greece* (Oxford, 1980).

Kakridis, Johannes, *Homeric Researches* (Lund, 1949). Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, Vol. 45. Argues on pp. 65–75 that Book 18

of the *Iliad* shows traces of an earlier narrative in which Thetis mourned the death of Achilles. One of the few plausible attempts to extrapolate narrative sources from our text of the *Iliad*.

Kimbrough, Robert, *Shakespeare's Troilus & Cressida and Its Setting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964).

Kirk, G. S., 'The formal duels in Books 3 and 7 of the *Iliad*', in Fenik (1978), pp. 18–40. A methodologically significant essay that displays a striking *rapprochement* of 'oral' and 'analytical' approaches in discussing the interdependence of the two duels.

Kirk, G. S., *Homer and the Oral Tradition* (Cambridge, 1976). This set of essays written over a number of years is the best introduction to questions of oral composition in Homer. The later essays especially are less doctrinaire and more persuasive than the sections on oral poetry in *The Songs of Homer*.

Kirk, G. S., *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge, 1962). The fullest and sanest account of the historical background of the Homeric poems. Emphasis on the importance of the sub-Mycenaean (and relatively deprived) centuries in the evolution of the heroic tradition.

Kirk, G. S., 'The structure of the Homeric hexameter', *Yale Classical Studies*, no. 20 (1966), pp. 76–104.

Kirk, G. S., and Raven, J. E., *The Presocratic Philosophers: A Critical History with a Selection of Texts* (Cambridge, 1957).

Knauer, Georg Nicolaus, *Die Aeneis und Homer. Studien zur poetischen Technik Vergils mit Listen der Homerzitate in der Aeneis* (Göttingen, 1964). The elaborate tables of correspondences between Homer and Vergil make this book an indispensable reference tool, quite apart from its great merit as a critical study.

Knauer, Georg Nicolaus, 'Vergil's *Aeneid* and Homer', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, vol. 5 (1964), pp. 61–84.

Lesky, Albin, *Göttliche und menschliche Motivation im homerischen Epos* (Heidelberg, 1961). Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1961, Vol. 4. A measured and possibly definitive account of the problem of human and divine motivation in Homer. Modifies Snell and Dodds by stressing the links between Homeric experience and our own.

Lesky, Albin, *A History of Greek Literature*, trans. James Willis and Cornelis de Heer (London, 1966).

Lesky, Albin, *Homeros* (Stuttgart, 1967). Reprint of Pauly-Wissowa, supplementary volume 11.

Lloyd-Jones, Hugh, *The Justice of Zeus* (Berkeley, Calif., 1971).

Lohmann, Dieter, *Die Komposition der Reden in der Ilias* (Berlin, 1970).

Long, A. A., 'Morals and values in Homer', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 90 (1970), pp. 121–39. A trenchant critique of Adkins's theories about the moral values of Homeric society.

Lord, Albert, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960). This ambitious attempt to reconstruct Homeric composition in the light of first-hand experience with Serbo-Croatian oral poetry contains much valuable detail but founders on the untenable hypothesis (see Finnegan) that oral poetry, wherever it occurs, employs similar procedures of composition and performance.

Moulton, Carroll, *Similes in the Homeric Poems* (Göttingen, 1977). Hypomnemata, Vol. 49.

Mueller, Martin, '*Paradise Lost* and the *Iliad*', *Comparative Literature Studies*, vol. 6 (1969), pp. 292–316; reprinted in his *Children of Oedipus* (Toronto, 1980).

Myres, Sir John Linton, *Homer and His Critics*, ed. Dorothea Gray (London, 1958).

Nagler, Michael, *Spontaneity and Tradition: A Study in the Oral Art of Homer* (Berkeley, Calif., 1974).

Nagy, Gregory, *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry* (Baltimore, Md., 1979).

Otto, Walter F., *The Homeric Gods*, trans. Moses Hadas (London, 1954). A celebratory account of Greek religion, unmatched for its intuitive power and, if used with caution, the best introduction to the subject.

Page, Sir Denys, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley, Calif., 1959). A justly famous book, but to be read sceptically because of the author's ability to make quite extravagant speculations appear as truths resting on a bedrock of facts and common sense. Goes farther than most historians in seeing the *Iliad* as an account of specific events that can partly be reconstructed from other historical sources, including Near Eastern materials.

Parry, Adam, 'Have we Homer's *Iliad*?', *Yale Classical Studies*, no. 20 (1966), pp. 175–216; reprinted in Wright. This defence of the unity and design of the *Iliad* against the excesses of oral criticism has become something of a classic.

Parry, Adam, 'The language of Achilles', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. 87 (1956), pp. 1–7.

Parry, Anne Amory, *Blameless Aegisthus: A Study of AMUMON and Other Homeric Epithets* (Leiden, 1973).

Parry, Milman, *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*, ed. Adam Parry (London, 1971). The fundamental work on the system of noun–epithet formulas and its role in a tradition of oral poetry. Adam Parry's long introduction is a masterly survey of this branch of scholarship in the wider context of the Homeric Question.

Perrault, Charles, *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences*, ed. H. R. Jauss and M. Imdahl (Munich, 1964); reprint of 1688–97 Paris edition.

Redfield, J. M., *Nature and Culture in the Iliad* (Chicago, Ill., 1975). This anthropologically oriented study throws light on many aspects of the Homeric world but is especially persuasive on the themes of food and purification.

Reinhardt, Karl, 'Das Parisurteil', in his *Tradition und Geist* (Göttingen, 1960). This inspired essay, first published in 1938, is unmatched for its illumination of narrative procedures and moral vision in the *Iliad*.

Reinhardt, Karl, *Die Ilias und ihr Dichter*, ed. Uvo Hölscher (Göttingen, 1961). A fragmentary work, posthumously edited. Its genetic hypotheses go farther than the evidence warrants, but the book is full of wonderful observations on the 'Iliadic' quality of the *Iliad*.

Ronsard, Pierre de, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Paul Laumonier (Paris, 1950).

Schadewaldt, Wolfgang, 'Aischylos' Achilleis', in his *Hellas und Hesperien: Gesammelte Schriften zur Antike und zur neueren Literatur*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Zurich, 1970), Vol. 1, pp. 308–54.

Schadewaldt, Wolfgang, *Iliasstudien*, 2nd edn (Leipzig, 1943; reprinted Darmstadt, 1966). This monograph used the methods of analytical criticism to argue for a

unitarian position by showing how firmly Book 11 is anchored in the total structure of the *Iliad*. A seminal work, much superior to Schadewaldt's more literary, and often quite pretentious, essays on Homer.

Schadewaldt, Wolfgang, *Von Homers Welt und Werk*, 4th edn (Stuttgart, 1965).

Segal, Charles, *The Theme of the Mutilation of the Corpse in the Iliad* (Leiden, 1971). *Mnemosyne*, supplementary volume 17. A meticulous study with broad implications for the unity and thematic structure of the epic.

Simonsurri, Kirsti, *Homer's Original Genius: Eighteenth-Century Notions of the Early Greek Epic* (Cambridge, 1972).

Snell, Bruno, 'Homer's view of man', in his *The Discovery of the Mind: The Greek Origins of European Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 1–21. The most famous statement of the position that Homeric man's concept of self differs radically from that of later ages.

Snodgrass, A. M., 'An historical Homeric society', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 94 (1974), pp. 114–25. An eminent historian of archaic Greece expresses scepticism about taking the Homeric poems as descriptions of a real world.

Steadman, John M., 'Achilles and Renaissance epic: moral criticism and literary tradition', in *Lebende Antike: Symposium für Rudolf Sühnel*, ed. Horst Meller and Hans-Joachim Zimmermann (Berlin, 1967), pp. 139–54.

Vivante, Paolo, *The Homeric Imagination: A Study of Homer's Perception of Reality* (Bloomington, Ind., 1970).

Wace, Alan J. B., and Stubbings, Frank, *A Companion to Homer* (London, 1962). A massive handbook on all aspects of Homeric scholarship from grammar and archaeology to literary criticism. The book was long in the making, and many contributions reflect an earlier state of scholarship than the date of publication suggests.

Webster, T. B. L., *From Mycenae to Homer*, 2nd edn (London, 1964).

Weil, Simone, *The Iliad or the Poem of Force*, trans. Mary McCarthy (New York, n.d.).

Whitman, Cedric H., *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958). One of the best literary studies of the *Iliad*, famous for its demonstration of the 'geometric structure' of the work.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Ulrich von, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin, 1916).

Willcock, Malcolm M., *A Companion to the Iliad: Based on the Translation by Richmond Lattimore* (Chicago, Ill., 1976). An elementary and very useful reference work for the Greekless reader.

Wolf, Friedrich August, *Prolegomena ad Homerum* (Halle, 1795).

Wood, Robert, *An Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer* (London, 1775; reprinted New York, 1971).

Wright, John, *Essays on the Iliad: Selected Modern Criticism* (Bloomington, Ind., 1978).

INDEX

Abas 92
abdominal injuries in battle 84
accidents in warfare 78
Achaean(s) 105, 126, 131, 133, 134, 176
  camp, plague in 32
  casualties in battle 82, 99
  delegates to Achilles 44–5
  Hektor battles with 41
  retreat 107, 166
  strong narrative bias towards 89
  suffering of 35, 50
  and Trojan hostility 73
  warriors, catalogue of slayings 98
Achates 183
Achilles, son of Zeus and Peleus 5–43 *passim*, 55, 56, 65, 89, 91, 101, 117, 126–58 *passim*, 167, 169, 173, 174, 180, 186
  accepts ransom from Priam 68
  aristeia of 95, 96, 119
    gloating speeches in 93
    simile 112
  arms of 97, 109
  blindness of 52
  choice of 31–2
  commitment of 68
  confronts Aeneas, simile for 119, 120
  death of 53, 58, 59
  desires to eat Hektor 115
  duels, with Aeneas 81, 168
    with Hektor, similes 111
  epic hero 183
  fight with river 129, 169
  hatred of Achaeans 51
  kills Hektor 82, 99
    Lykaon 70
  maltreatment of Hektor's body 68
  moral deficiencies of 182
  and Patroklos' death 51, 52, 56–8, 117, 118
  personal vendetta of 107
  prayer to Zeus 49, 56, 57
  quarrels with Agamemnon 33–4, 144
    reconciliation 115
  quoted 165, 166, 171, 172
  and Priam 68–76
  reason for violence of 86
  receives new armour from Thetis 112
  refuses Achaean offer 46, 47, 48, 49
  rejection of Trojans 70
  requests destruction of Achaeans 35
  sacks city of Thebes 38
  sacrifices twelve prisoners at Patroklos' grave 59
  savage and destructive anger of 30, 32, 66, 71
  shield of 78, 175
  slaughter of Trojans, metaphor for 112
  turns against Hektor 58
  victims of 82–3
  words to dying Hektor 95
adjectives, function of 18
Adrestos 86, 117, 153
  Patroklos kills 82
Aeneas 63, 80, 98, 103, 126–55 *passim*, 168, 183, 192
  killings of 100
  yields in battle 79
Aeneid (Vergil) 123, 177, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 192
Aegisthus 18
Aeschylus 181
Agamemnon, Greek leader, son of Atreus 5, 6, 29, 47, 89, 90, 92, 96, 100, 125, 127, 134, 135, 139, 167, 168, 171, 172
  and Achilles quarrel 32–3, 35, 144
    resolved 72, 115
  apology of 130, 131
  aristeia of 96–7, 98, 153, 154
  arming of 109
  in battle 80, 81, 82, 84
  and concubines 32
  demands Helen's extradition 66
  hatred of Trojans simile 117
  images 117, 118
  intervention in truce 69–70
  kills Isos and Antiphos, simile of 117
  offers gifts to Achilles 44
  prophesies fall of Troy 165
  reason for cruelty of 86
  rebukes Menestheus and Odysseus 156
  speech 150, 152, 164
  statesman 183
  simile 110, 117
Agastrophos 99, 157
Agenor 79

Aiantes 107, 126
aids Automedon 80
carrying of body of Imbrios, simile 119
Aias, son of Telamon 5, 12, 13, 29, 41, 45, 89, 100, 113, 117, 126, 132, 133, 140, 155, 156, 166, 172
in battle 84
defeats Hektor 48, 104, 105
fights over Patroklos' body 107
hatred of Agamemnon 181
and Hektor duel 103, 168, 170–1, 173
kills Archilochos 94
Hippothoös 152
Kaletor 105
retreat of 109, 111
saves Odysseus 115
speech of 48
Aias (Sophocles) 181
Aisepos 90
Akamas 129
kills Promachos 94
Alegenor 94
Alexandrian scholars, work of on *Iliad* 177, 178, 179
Alkathoös 54
fight over body of 106
killed in battle 85
marriage 91
Alkibiades 7
Allegory 178
ambush in warfare 78
Amphiklos, injury to 83
Amphimachos 106
anachronisms 173
Anchisis 137
Andromache 26, 30, 38–9, 40, 45, 91, 169, 171, 181
and Hektor 65–6
reaction to husband's death 64
ancient Greek verse 15
anger, a condition of warrior's success 33
animal images in simile 112
anonymity of Homer 9
Antenor 91, 169
Antilochos, son of Nestor 39, 58, 63, 78, 83, 100, 126, 155
in battle 85
kills Echepolos 100
and Menelaos, restriction to 154
and Patroklos' death 52
Antimachos 91, 117
supporter of Paris 70
Antiphos 91, 100
Aphrodite, daughter of Zeus, goddess of love 28, 37, 66, 67, 69, 103, 127, 137, 138, 143, 145, 182
compels Helen to return to Paris 66, 131–2
rescues Paris 66, 81, 118, 128, 131
Apollo, son of Zeus 53, 106, 126–7, 128, 139, 142, 143, 144
healer 42, 43, 128
intervention of 133–5
prevents Patroklos conquering Troy 106
rallies the Trojans 133, 134
refuses to fight 145
sends plague on Achaeans 134
simile 120
stops Trojans 105
stuns Patroklos 54
Archeptolemus 96
Archelochos 3, 83–4
Areithoös 83
Ares, son of Zeus 80, 81, 128, 129, 136, 137, 143, 182
and Aphrodite, complementarity of 137
song of 145
and Athene as war gods 137
seeks revenge on Athene 144
stabbed by Diomedes 138
Aretos 84, 95
aristeia, serial fights 96
four major 96
Aristarchus, Alexandrian scholar, 10, 177, 178, 179
Aristophanes of Byzantium, Alexandrian scholar 177
Aristotle 83–4, 182, 185
on Homer 29
on Homeric poems 159
armies, simile for progress of 111
arming scenes 96–7
arms, making of 97
Arnold, Matthew 23
Ars Poetica (Horace) 185
Artemis 91, 141, 144
substitutes a hind for Iphigenia 29
Asios 87, 89, 94, 109
Askalaphos 137, 139
fight for body of 106
Asteropaios 95, 100, 175
killed by Achilles 81
Astyanax, Hektor's son, 'city-guardian' 30
denial of heroic role 40
Athene, goddess of skills 28, 34, 66, 67, 120, 139, 143, 144, 147, 151

appeals to Achilles 34, 35
cruel lie of 63
guides Diomedes' spear 170
hits Ares with a stone 144
hostile to Aphrodite 37
to Ares 136–7
intervention of 125–38 *passim*
protects Diomedes 140
pushes Aphrodite to ground 144
scolds Diomedes 138
as war-god with Ares 137
Athenian society 7
Athens 6, 7
athetising of Iliad text 177
Atreus, father of Agamemnon 131, 136, 153
Atymnios 91
Aulis, Greeks assemble at 29
Automedon 84, 95
Autonoös, killed by Patroklos 82

barbarian Greeks 4
battle, of the gods 138
progress of 102–7
scenes 77
of the ships 105
similes 110
Bellerophon 163
Beowulf 6, 28
birth images in similes 117
blind poets 2
boar's helmet 2
boars in similes 112
Boukolion 90
bow as a weapon 78
Briseis, concubine 32, 45, 158
Agamemnon and 33–4
brothers united in death 91
burial motif 93

caesura 16, 17
cannibalism 69
catalogues, and aristeias 95–8
of victims 95–8
catalogue of ships 30
chain deaths 100
chain of five reciprocal slayings 102
chain of images 112
chain killings 98–101, 104
chain of retribution 98–101
Chapman, George 186, 189
Charops 99
Chryseis, daughter of Chryses 32, 38, 68
Chryses, priest 32–3, 68, 86, 134
code of heroic resistance 26
colon in hexametric composition 17
contextual surplus 151, 152, 156, 157, 158
contrast and significance in the Iliadic image 120
corselet, description of 96
cross-references, inaccurate and precise 169
inadequate 170
missing or misleading 169
cunning in warfare 78
Cypria, copy of used as dowry 164

Dante 7, 26, 159, 184
Dardanos 83
daydreams 145
deaths, bizarre accounts of 85
chain of 100
manner of in battle 87–8
decapitation in battle 84
deception, role of in warfare 78
Deiphobos 63, 94, 99, 126, 136, 156
Deiphobos/Athene promises help to Hektor 63
Demodokos, sings about fall of Troy 30
story of wooden horse 180
Demoleon 83
Demouchos 83
Deukalion 83
Dictys, a companion of Idomeneus 184
diaeresis 16, 17
Dido 183
Digamma 179
Diomedeia 98, 102
Diomedes 18, 47, 60, 79, 80, 89, 95, 96, 126, 127, 130, 134, 158, 168, 169
and Achilles doublets 157
aristeia of 96, 97, 102, 133, 137
Athene and 81, 136
in battle 84
catalogue of slayings 98
defeats Hektor 41
healed by Athene 128
helps Nestor 79
injured, lion simile for 119, 120
kills Agastrophos 99
Pandaros 67
and Odysseus trap Trojan spy 176
pray to Athene 132
replaces Achilles 53
rescues Nestor 103

and Tydeus 39
Dionysius, god of wine 143
Dioreus 90
discontinuities in joints and cross-references 172
discourse, forms of 11
discrepancy in similes 120
displacement through substitution in fighting 99–100
divine intervention and natural causality 125–9
two forms of 128
divine motivation 129–33
Dolon, Trojan spy, trapped 176
Doloneia 78, 175, 176
Dolops killed by Menelaos 81
dominant simile families 114
Dorian invasion 2
language of choral lyric 18
doublets 150–8, 165, 166
Dryden 190
Dryops 83

eating role in similes 114
Echeklos 82, 83
Echepolos killed by Antilochos 100
editorial deficiencies 172
Eëtion 45
Elasos, killed by Patroklos 82
Elphenor 78, 100, 106
Embassy, The 44–9, 171, 173, 175
encounters, injuries in 80–1
English, hexameter 16
poetry rhythm 15
Epeigeus 91
Epic Hero 183, 185
epic, length of narrative 109
simile 122–4
Epistor killed by Patroklos 82
epithet 20, 21
context-specific 21
Erinyes, goddesses of vengeance 127
Eris 28
Erymas, injury to 84
Essay on Criticism (Pope) 7, 8
Essay on Dramatic Poesy (Dryden) 190
Essay on Original Genius and Writings of Homer (Wood) 180
Euchenor, dilemma of 92
killed by Paris 101
Eumelos 126, 127, 153
Euphorbos 67, 80, 89, 92, 100, 101, 109, 127, 133, 153
simile for 113, 117
wounds Patroklos 54
Euripides 129, 181
distortion of the *Iliad* 132
Euryalos challenge to Odysseus 145
Eurydamas 92
Eurypylos 50, 57, 82, 154
Eurysakes, Aias' son 181
Eurystheus 91
Eustathius, Byzantine scholar, commentary of 176, 179
expansion of *Iliad* 175

fable of the eagle 35
fairness in warfare 78, 79
fall of Troy a punishment for rape of Helen 147
fathers as prophets 92
feeding animal in simile 114
felled tree simile 119
fighting over bodies 105, 106
simile for 110
flight in warfare 79
Finnegan, Ruth, and oral poetry 10, 11
food theme in similes 114–15
foot, in verse structure 16
formulae 151, 152
formulaic, character of the *Iliad* 149
phrases 164
system in Homeric poetry 22

Glaukos 80, 101, 106, 128, 134, 156, 162, 171
obeys warrior's code 55
prays to Apollo for healing 169
gloating speeches 93–5, 105
gods, frivolity of 145
outrageousness of 144–5
Goethe on *Iliad* 187
Gorgythion 96
Great Chain of Being 178
Greece 4
colonisation of 4
Greek(s), adapt alphabet from Phoenicians 163
of Homer 2
literature, features of 17–18
grief and anger 100
grieving survivor motif 93
groin injuries in battle 84
guile and cowardice 78

Hades, god of the underworld 141, 168
hail of stones in battle 104
Harmonides 90

favourite of Athene 135
Harpalion 92
head injuries in battle 84
heavy word 17
Hekabe 37, 38, 63, 129, 132, 147
Hektor 5, 6, 25–58 *passim*, 89, 93, 95, 96, 120, 126, 133, 136, 143, 155–69 *passim*, 181, 186
and Achilles, duel 111, 132
enmity of 47, 48, 49
after death of Patroklos 60–4
and Aias duel 103, 170–1, 187
Aias injures 109
and Aias simile 119
and Andromache 40, 65–6
Apollo intervenes for 134
attack on ships 105, 172
attacked by Diomedes and Nestor 103
attacks Diomedes 99
battle with Diomedes 41, 157
body of, exchanged for ransom 68
clairvoyance of 39
death of 30, 64–76, 89
maltreatment of body 64, 65
defeat by Aias 42
disillusionment of 62
during absence of Achilles 36–43
encounter with Patroklos 53–4
felled by Aias, simile for 113
flight of 62, 63
metaphor for 112
healed by Apollo 128
insecurity of 26
kills Amphilochos 106
Lykophron 101
Patroklos 99, 194
new role of 40–1
noble patriotism of 43
opposition to Aias 104
and Patroklos' death 55, 56
Patroklos' body simile 118
prophesies fall of Troy 165
recognises Deiphobos as Athene 140
rejects Poulydamas' advice 43
similes 109, 117, 119, 123
speech to Glaukos 55
strips Patroklos' body of armour 107
strategy in battle 79, 80
takes advantage of Patroklos' injury 78
triumph of 106
visit to Troy 36–7
Helen, daughter of Zeus and Leda 26, 28, 29, 37, 129, 158, 173
abducted by Paris 28
anger with Aphrodite 132
and identity of heroes 66
invitation to Hektor 75
marries Menelaos 28
rape of 138, 140
recognises Aphrodite 127
Helenos 99
hellenizein Greeks 4
helm-shimmering, Hektor's epithet 40
Hephaistos, son of Zeus, husband of Aphrodite 56, 127, 129, 141, 144, 168, 169
helps Achilles 112
resolves quarrel 72
skill of 5
weapons of 58
Hera, wife of Zeus 28, 34, 67, 136, 137, 139, 144, 147, 151, 169
anger of 151
gives speech to Xanthos 127
hatred of the Trojans 69, 140
sends Hephaistos to assist Achilles 168
inspires Achaeans 103
slaps Artemis with arrows 144
Herakles 91
Hermes, son of Zeus, messenger god 74, 135, 139, 173
admits cowardice 144–5
roles of 141
Herodotus 1
heroic, fellowship of warriors 63
poetry of Homer 5, 6
succession, prayer for 40
tradition, decline of 162
hexameters 163, 165
dactyllic 15
division of 16
Historia de excidio Troiae (Dares) 184, 186
Hippokoamas 83
Hippolochos 84, 86, 90
Hippothoös 84
drags Patroklos' body by the heel 152
Hodios killed by Agamemnon 86
Homer 1 *et seq.*
advantages over Shakespeare 8
analytical criticism of 179
anonymous 8, 9
audience of 13
birthplace 2
blind 8, 9
dating of 3
deficiencies 167
dowry to daughter 160
epic poet, development of 159–66

and Greek tragedy, differences 27
language 18, 167
and nature 26–7
as oral poet 5, 7
repertoire of songs 172
and writing 164
Homeric fighting, ethos of 77–80
formula and its limits 14–27
gods 125–47
intervention of 125, 126
society of 133–47
hexameter 15, 16
language analysis 179
narrative 25, 109
poems, use of adjectives 18
Question 148
simile 108–24
texts, stabilisation of 178
theology 178
warrior instilling fear into opponent 79
warriors, group loyalty of 34
Horace praises Homer 29
human and divine motivation 125–33
Hyperenor 13
Hypnos 144
Hypsenor 94

iambic trimeter 16
Idomeneus 54, 78, 84, 154, 156
aristeia of 101
injures Phaistos 82
kills Alkathoös 94
Iliad, composition of writing 148–76
criticism of gods in 146–7
date of writing 1–3
formulaic language in 148
heroic poem 5–6
history 2
length of 14
life of 177–93
plot of 5–6
social justice in 147
stages of 64–76
as tribal encyclopaedia 6, 14
Iliad (Pope) 189, 190, 191
Ileonus 84, 92, 93, 94
image in similes 121–2
Imbrios 84, 91, 106
body mutilated by Achaeans 106
individual encounters and slayings 102, 106
injuries to warriors, god heals 80
injury and death in battle 82–6
intelligence in warfare, unscrupulous use of 78
intervention by third warrior 79
Ion (Plato) 179
Ionian, Attic sub-dialect 18
Iphidamas 81, 84, 97, 99
Iphigenia, Agamemnon's daughter, sacrificed 29
Iphition 83, 90, 95
Iris, messenger goddess 18, 139, 141
Isos 91

Jenkyns, Richard, on Homeric ideal 192
Jonson, Ben, and Shakepeare 8, 26
justice and the gods 146–7

Kalchas, prophet 29, 126, 140
Kaletor, Aias kills 101, 105
Kalypso 145, 180
Kassandra, Priam's daughter 91, 94
Kastor and Pollux 28
Kebriones, charioteer 58, 84, 87, 107, 174
fight over body of 106, 174
killed by Patroklos 54
Kimon 7
kinsmen, action on death of 101
Kleitos 152
Klytaemnestra, murder of Agamemnon 29
Knossos 180
Koiranos 84, 85
Koön 81, 97
decapitated 84
reaction to death of brother 100–1
wounds Agamemnon 97
Kopreus 91
Krethon and Orsilochos lion simile 119
Kronos 151
Kyklops 147

Laogonos 83
Laomedon, king of Troy 141
Leikritos 100
Leontes 95, 103
simile of 113
Leto, mother of Apollo 135, 141
line, in verse structure 16
lion similes 109, 116–20, 148
Lord, Albert, on Homeric poetry 9, 20
Lykaon 93, 95
killed by Achilles 70
and Asteropaios doublet 175
Lykians 156

Lykomedes 100
Lykon, in battle 81
  decapitated 84
Lykophron 91

Machaon 49, 50
Maris 91
mediation 114–15
Medon 91
Meges 79
  and Dolop duel 81, 83
Melanippos 82, 154
Menelaos, king of Sparta 13, 18, 25, 26, 29, 63, 67, 68, 89, 90, 92, 101, 111, 112, 117, 118, 126, 137, 152–3, 156, 165, 169, 170
  abandons Patroklos 79
  attacks Paris and Peisandro 153, 154, 155
  in battle 85
  captures Adrestos 69
  kills Dolops 79
    Pylaimenes 84
  marries Helen 28, 140
  and Meriones taking body of Patroklos simile 119
  rescues body of Patroklos 67
  retreat of 107, 109
  simile for thigh-wound of 116
Menestheus 156, 157
Menoitios 34
Meriones 78, 79, 82, 84, 85, 101, 112, 119, 156
  injury to 83
  specialist in groin injuries 86
Merops 92, 157
Miltiades 7
Milton 8, 123, 146, 159
  and *Iliad* 187–9
Miltonic similes 122
Moral lapses in *Iliad*, Vergilian corrections 183
Moulios, killed by Patroklos 82
Mycenae 3, 4, 180
Mycenaean, artefacts 2, 3
  civilisation, collapse of 3, 5
  use of writing 163
Myrmidons 165, 166
myth, of Er 129
  of the Two Poets 9

name phrases 22
narrative(s), of battle 101
  discontinuity 167, 168
  patterns beyond the individual encounter 95
  simile in 109
natural causality 126
Nature and Homer 7, 8
Nausikaa 8, 145, 156, 157
necrologues and gloating speeches 89–95
Neleus 39
Nestor 5, 32, 33, 39, 63, 79, 153, 154, 155
  and Achilles 49, 50
  advises Agamemnon 44
  cup 2
  finds injured warriors 168
  orders and advice in warfare 78
  and war with the Epeians 5
Nicomachean Ethics (Aristotle) 183
noun-epithet combinations and formulas 22, 24

obelising of *Iliad* text 177
Odysseus 6, 25–48 *passim*, 78–101 *passim*, 126, 136, 140–57 *passim*, 166, 171, 174, 180, 183
  anger at death of Leukos 100
  and code of courage 79
  courage of 26
  eating and drinking of 115, 116
  naked, faces Nausikaa 156, 157
  prays to Athene 130, 132
  rejects flight 61
  restores order in army 168
  reunited with Penelope 180
  revenge on Polyphemos, simile for 110
  saved by Aias simile 115
  speech of 92
  surrounded by Trojans, simile for 112
  traps Dolon 176
  words to body of Sokos 93
  wrestles with Aias 78
Odyssey 1–29 *passim*, 115, 136, 141, 173, 180, 181, 182, 183
  doublets 156
  gods in 145
  poetic justice in 147
  similes 110
  as tribal encyclopaedia 6
Oineus 129
Olympians, society of 143–6
Olympic games 4
Olympus 7, 137, 138, 144, 145, 146
oral/aural equivocation 13–14
oral criticism 148

and literate composition of Homer 13
poetry 7, 9–10
Oresteia (Aeschylus) 181
Orestes (Euripides) 187
Orsilochos 119
Orthyroneus 91, 94

Panathenaean festivals 3, 14
Iliad performed in 3, 178
Pandaros 34, 63, 81, 89, 93, 103, 109, 119, 120, 126, 128, 132, 136, 140, 169, 170, 173
injury to 85
killed by Diomedes 67
Paradise Lost, Leviathan and Proserpina similes 123
Paris 6, 26, 53, 89, 90, 92, 111, 132–56, 169
arbiter of dispute 28
chooses Aphrodite 28
duel with Hektor 170
duel with Menelaos 34, 37, 38, 66, 67, 81, 96, 137, 155, 170, 173
injures Diomedes 99
kills Achilles 99
simile of 118
wounds Machaon and Eurypylos 103
Parry, Adam 20
Parry-Lord theory of Homeric poetry 10
Parry, Milman, and Homeric poetry 9, 18, 19–24, 148
patience and obedience from estrangement and reconciliation 74
Patrokleia, gloating speeches in 93
rules that killer is killed 174
Patroklos 25, 26, 34–96 *passim*, 101, 113, 120–81 *passim*
aristeia of 96, 97, 106, 107
arming of 97, 175
battle victims 54, 55, 82, 85, 98, 99, 105
counselling role 49, 50
death of 39, 40, 52, 53, 80, 89, 171
fight over body of 105, 106, 107, 110, 111, 118
generous in battle 50, 51
and Hektor fight for Kebriones, simile 117
prophecy of 56
and Sarpedon encounter 52
simile of 117
tends wounds of Eurypylos 173
Pedaios 84, 91
Pedasos 90
Peiros, injury to 84
slays Dioreus 99, 102, 129
killed by Thoas 90, 99, 102
Peisandros 81, 84, 90, 153
Peneleos inflicts head wounds 87
Peleus 28, 33, 39, 73, 74, 91
and Thetis wedding 28, 29
warns on yielding to anger 50
Peneleos 81, 84, 93, 100
Penelope 145, 180
Perikles 7
Perimos killed by Patroklos 82
Periphas 126
Periphetes 91
Phaistos 82
phasganon arguroëlon, the silver-studded sword 2
Phereklos 84, 90
Philoctetes (Sophocles) 181, 187
Phoenician alphabet 3
Phoenicians, writing adapted from 164
Phoinix, tutor of Achilles 45, 47, 48, 174
Phorbas 93
Phthia 145
Achilles returns to 47
phusizoos aia, interpretation of 23, 24
Pisistratean recension 178
Pisitratus 178
plague, cause of 32
Plato 129, 146, 182
on Achilles 182
on Homer 27
and the *Iliad* 179, 182
Poetics (Aristotle) 185
Poetics (Scaliger) 185
Polydoros, son of Priam 79, 83, 92, 157
Polyides 92
Polyphemos, son of Poseidon 141
Polypoites 96, 103
simile for 113
polytheism in *Iliad* 146
Pope, Alexander, and Homer and Vergil 7, 8, 26, 27
Poseidon, son of Zeus 54, 80, 81, 85, 135, 139
intervention of 43, 126
leads Achaeans 127, 128, 141
stops Trojan advance 104, 105
Poulydamas 94, 169
advises retreat 48, 60, 62
clashes with Hektor 42, 43
Priam, king of Troy 6, 39, 63, 66, 71, 73, 91, 100, 131, 132, 141, 157
progressive fixation of Homeric texts 164
Proitos 163

Promachos 94
prosodic rules, units of 16
Protesilaos, battle over ship of 43, 105, 107
Prothoenor 94
Pylaimenes 85
Pylastes killed by Patroklos 82
Pyraichmes, Patroklos kills 105

Rape of the Lock (Pope) 190, 191
reciprocal connection for weaving short individual encounters 95
Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye (Caxton) 184
Renaissance response to the *Iliad* 185
repetition and contextual surplus in *Iliad* 149–58, 177
Republic (Plato) 181
restriction of a doublet 152–3
retreat in battle 79
revenge killings 100
rhetorical strategies 11–13
Rhigmos 83
Rig Veda 163
ring composition in Homeric speeches 64
river fight 169
Ronsard on difference between Homer and Vergil 191
Ruskin quoted 23
ruthlessness of Hektor 79

Sappho 3
Sarpedon 58, 80, 87, 89, 98, 103, 107, 120, 135, 156, 157, 169, 174
  death of 101
  dying speech of 106
  exposition of heroic code 145
  kills Tlepolemos 54
  Patroklos defeats 52, 55
  simile 117, 119
  speech 156, 190
  and Tlepolemos duel 156
Satmos 90
Scheria, a quasi-divine world 145
scholia of Byzantine manuscripts 179
Seaven Bookes of the Iliades of Homere, Prince of Poets (Chapman) 186, 187
Segal, Charles, on *phusizoos aia* 24
serial connection for weaving short individual encounters 95
sex and violence in Trojan war 138
Shakespeare 8, 185–7
shield 96
similes 108–24
  chain of 111
  cluster 111
  content 112–16
  contrast 120
  double 110
  function 113, 116
  narrative function 109
Simoeisios 90, 92, 100
  falls at hands of Aias, simile 113, 152
  tree simile for 109
Singer of Tales, The (Lord) 20
Skamander, plain of 111
Skamandrios 82, 91, 169
Socrates 7
Sokos, son of Hippaos 81, 92, 93, 99, 101, 126, 156
Sophocles 13
spear in hand, as sign of battle-readiness 37
  in warfare 78
speeches of exultation 95
Sponde, Jean de (Spondanus) 185, 186
spying missions of Achaeans and Trojans 175–6
stealth in warfare 78
Stevens, Wallace, quoted 5, 11
Stheneleus 136
styles, hierarchy of 183
substitute deaths and slayings 100
syllables, measuring duration of 15

Tekmessa, war-bride of Aias 181
Telemachos 37
Testament of Cresseid (Henryson) 186
Teukros 101
  fails to hit Hektor 103
  injured 80
  killings of 152
Theagenes of Rhegium 178
theodicy in *Iliad* 146, 147
theomachy of the gods 144
Thersites 6, 187
Thestor, killed by Patroklos 85
Thetis 28, 35, 112, 165
  simile for 113
  visits Achilles 56, 58
    Zeus 139
Thoas 106, 129
  kills Peiros 99, 102
Thoön 83, 92
Thracians, massacre sleeping warriors 176
  protect body of Peiros 106
Thucydides use of *Iliad* 2

Tlepolemos 156
killed by Sarpedon 54
topoi, use of 25
tragedy, in the *Iliad* 181
in spoken verse 18
transgression and punishment 147
tree images in similes 113
tree similes 109, 113
triplets in *Iliad* 150
Troad 2
Troilus and Criseyde (Chaucer) 184
Troilus and Cressida (Shakespeare) 185, 186, 187
Trojan(s) 155
advance stopped by Poseidon and Apollo 104, 105
Apollo and 134
attack 103
battle against Achaeans 42, 43
Cycle 28, 29
flight of 166
horse 30
injuries of 85
intervention of Patroklos, simile for 113
lack of control in war 89
moral failings 89
retreat 105
rout of 79, 96
slaughtered by Achilles 112
victory 107
war 2, 14
beginning and end 66–8
warriors, death of 82
Zeus gives strength to 126
Trojan Women (Euripides) 129
Tros 83
Troy 2, 6, 36
burning of 182
conflagration of simile 112
systematic excavation of 180
fall of 30
prophecy of 165
siege of 29
wooden horse of 30
truce broken through death of Patroklos 69
Turnus 192
Tyndareus, human father of Helen 28
Tydeus 39

unlettered poet, Homer as 9
Ur-Iliad 172, 173

vegetation imagery in similes 113
Venetus A manuscript 179
Vergil 8, 123, 183, 190
Homeric critic 184, 192
poetic ambition 182
Vergilian similes 122–3
verse structure 16
versemaking in *Iliad* 15, 16, 17
Victorians and Ancient Greece, The (Jenkyns) 192
victory, similes of 109
Villoison, French scholar 179

warfare in the *Iliad* 77
warrior(s), anger of 33
code 5, 6, 55
Achaeans and 187
dedicates corpse to animals 93
fallen, simile or necrologue for 109, 120
and individual encounters 80
weather, subject of similes 113
Whitman analyses the *Iliad* 175
wives, grieving 92
Wolf, Friedrich, *Prolegomena* of 179
wooden horse of Troy, warriors hidden in 30
writing in Homer's day 163, 164

Xanthos 92
Achilles' horse, predicts his death 127
Xenophanes quoted 146

Zenodotus, Alexandrian scholar 177
Zeus, ruler of the gods 7, 34, 35, 47, 66, 79, 137–51 *passim*, 172
Achilles' prayer to 50, 52, 56
bewitches the Achaeans 126, 127, 128
cries for Sarpedon 145
gives victory to Trojans 107
and Hera quarrel 135, 144
intervention of 103, 126, 183
marries Peleus 28
plan of 147
pre-eminence of 146
prediction of 169
promise, ambiguity of 43
scolds Ares 144
sends dream to Agamemnon 167
sexual adventure of 43
subject to delusions 130
teases Hera and Athene 67
tells gods to join fighting 171
threatens Diomedes with thunderbolts 103
and truce deliberations 69
urges gods to take sides 168
as weather god 113