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This is the fifth volume in the major six-volume Commentary on Homer's *Iliad* now being prepared under the General Editorship of Professor G. S. Kirk. Volume I was published in 1985, Volume II in 1990; both were edited by Professor Kirk himself. Like its predecessors, the present volume (the first to appear from the hand of one of Professor Kirk's four collaborators) consists of four introductory essays (including discussions of similes and other features of narrative style) followed by the Commentary. The Greek text is not included. This project is the first large-scale commentary on the *Iliad* for nearly one hundred years, and takes special account of language, style, and thematic structure as well as of the complex social and cultural background to the work.

The Commentary is an essential reference work for all students of Greek literature, and archaeologists and historians will also find that it contains matters of relevance to them.

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The Iliad: a commentary

Volume v: books 17–20

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THE ILIAD:
A COMMENTARY

GENERAL EDITOR G. S. KIRK

Volume v: books 17–20

MARK W. EDWARDS

PROFESSOR OF CLASSICS, STANFORD UNIVERSITY



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PREFACE

The General Editor's invitation to prepare a volume in this series reached me at the perfect time. After some years of work on formulae, type-scenes, and narrative patterns in Homer, I was in the final stages of putting together a general book on the *Iliad*, which originated largely from teaching the poem to undergraduates. In this I could not examine in fine detail the compositional techniques the poet was using. I felt the time was approaching when I should demonstrate more fully how these techniques could be analysed for the fullest possible appreciation of Homer's genius, but I had not yet begun to work out how to do so. Professor Kirk provided the ideal opportunity, for which I am very grateful.

The type of commentary described in his invitation, and now embodied in the first two volumes of the series, emphasizes stylistic analysis and explanation, as well as the necessary historical, linguistic, and literary comment. This is very much in line with my own interests and wishes. In what follows, I have constantly drawn attention to the structural patterns in the poem, the preparation of the audience for what is to come, the use, adaptation, or avoidance of formulaic expressions, the techniques for expanding or contracting typical scenes, and the positioning of words within the verse. Our understanding of such characteristics of Homeric style has advanced a great deal since Leaf's time, and familiarity with them is essential for proper appreciation of the poet's craft.

The preparation of this volume was aided by a Fellowship for Independent Study and Research from the National Endowment for the Humanities for 1986–7, and by leave granted by Stanford University for the same period. Dr David W. Packard kindly lent me a prototype Ibycus computer system and a CD-ROM holding the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* Greek corpus, which made possible rapid searches of the text.

I am also grateful to Professor Kirk and the editors of the other volumes in the series for making valuable comments on drafts of my commentary and for sending me advance copies of their own work; to my colleagues M. H. Jameson and A. E. Raubitschek, who gave me much help with the Shield of Achilles; and to Andrea Nightingale, Rush Rehm, and Larry Woodlock, who read parts of my MS and gave me useful comments. I must also thank many scholars for sending me advance copies of articles pertinent to my work. David Briney, Megan Harbison, and Donald Hersey assisted me in checking references, and at a late stage the careful eye and

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Preface

good sense of Susan P. Moore of the Cambridge University Press saved me from many errors.

I have made frequent reference to notes which will appear in forthcoming volumes in this series, working from drafts kindly supplied by my collaborators. In some cases subsequent changes in their text may mean that the material to which I refer when I write (for instance) 'see 12.34n.' may actually appear in the note to (say) 12.32–6. I hope the convenience of such cross-references will more than make up for any possible inaccuracies.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of my two teachers, whose enthusiasm and originality of thought developed my love for Greek literature, and whose encouragement and help enabled me to enter a profession which has made my life a happy one.

Stanford University
July 1990

M. W. E.

ABBREVIATIONS

Books

- Ameis–Hentze C. F. Ameis and C. Hentze, *Homers Ilias* (7th edn, revised by P. Cauer; Leipzig 1913)
- Apthorp, *Manuscript Evidence* M. J. Apthorp, *The Manuscript Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (Heidelberg 1980)
- Arch. Hom.* *Archaeologia Homerica: die Denkmäler und die frühgriechische Epos*, edd. F. Matz and H. G. Buchholz (Göttingen 1967–)
- Arend, *Typischen Scenen* W. Arend, *Die typischen Scenen bei Homer* (Berlin 1933)
- Beazley, *ABV* J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (Oxford 1956)
- Bernabé, *PEG* A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci: Testimonia et Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1988)
- Bolling, *Athetized Lines* G. M. Bolling, *The Athetized Lines of the Iliad* (Baltimore, 1944)
- Bolling, *External Evidence* G. M. Bolling, *The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* (Oxford 1925)
- Bremer, *HBOP* *Homer: Beyond Oral Poetry*, edd. J. M. Bremer, I. J. F. de Jong, and J. Kalff (Amsterdam 1987)
- Chantraine, *Dict.* P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1968–80)
- Chantraine, *GH* P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* I–II (Paris 1958–63)
- Cunliffe, *Lexicon* R. J. Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (London 1924)
- Davies, *EGF* M. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen 1988)
- Denniston, *Particles* J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (2nd edn, Oxford 1951)
- Dihle, *Homer-Probleme* A. Dihle, *Homer-Probleme* (Opladen 1970)
- Edwards, *HPI* M. W. Edwards, *Homer: Poet of the Iliad* (Baltimore 1987)
- Erbse H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* I–VII (Berlin 1969–88)
- Fenik, *Odyssey* B. C. Fenik, *Studies in the Odyssey* (*Hermes Einzelschriften* 30, Wiesbaden 1974)

Abbreviations

- Fenik, *Rhesus* B. C. Fenik, 'Iliad X' and the 'Rhesus': the Myth (Brussels 1964)
- Fenik, *TBS* B. C. Fenik, *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad* (*Hermes Einzelschriften* 21, Wiesbaden 1968)
- Fernández-Galiano and Heubeck, *Odissea* M. Fernández-Galiano and A. Heubeck, *Omero: Odissea*. VI, libri XXI–XXIV (Rome 1986)
- Fittschen, *Sagendarstellung* K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagendarstellungen bei den Griechen* (Berlin 1969)
- Fittschen, *Schild* K. Fittschen, *Der Schild des Achilleus* (*Arch. Hom.* N, Göttingen 1973)
- Fränkel, *Gleichnisse* H. Fränkel, *Die homerischen Gleichnisse* (Göttingen 1921)
- Friedrich, *Verwundung* W.-H. Friedrich, *Verwundung und Tod in der Ilias* (Göttingen 1956)
- Friis Johansen, *Iliad* K. Friis Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (Copenhagen 1967)
- Frisk H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1954–73)
- Griffin, *HLD* J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford 1980)
- Hägg, *Greek Renaissance* R. Hägg, *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.* (Proceedings of the Second International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, Stockholm 1983)
- Hainsworth, *Flexibility* J. B. Hainsworth, *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (Oxford 1968)
- Hainsworth, *Odyssey* A. Heubeck, S. West, and J. B. Hainsworth, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* I (Oxford 1988)
- Heitsch, *Aphroditehymnos* E. Heitsch, *Aphroditehymnos, Aeneas und Homer* (*Hypomnemata* 15, Göttingen 1965)
- Heubeck, *Odyssey* A. Heubeck and A. Hoekstra, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* II (Oxford 1989)
- Hoekstra, *Epic Verse* A. Hoekstra, *Epic Verse before Homer* (Amsterdam 1981)
- Hoekstra, *Modifications* A. Hoekstra, *Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes* (Amsterdam 1965)
- Hoekstra, *Odyssey* A. Heubeck and A. Hoekstra, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* II (Oxford 1989)
- Hoekstra, *Sub-epic Stage* A. Hoekstra, *The Sub-epic Stage of the Formulaic Tradition* (Amsterdam 1969)
- HyAp, HyAphr, HyDem, HyHerm* *Homeric Hymns to Apollo, Aphrodite, Demeter, Hermes*
- Janko, *HHH* R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns* (Cambridge 1982)

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- de Jong, *Narrators* I. J. F. de Jong, *Narrators and Focalizers: the Presentation of the Story in the Iliad* (Amsterdam 1987)
- Krischer, *Konventionen* T. Krischer, *Formale Konventionen der homerischen Epik* (Zetemata 56, Munich 1971)
- Kullmann, *Quellen* W. Kullmann, *Die Quellen der Ilias* (Hermes Einzelschriften 14, Wiesbaden 1960)
- Leaf W. Leaf, *The Iliad* 1–11 (2nd edn, London 1900–2)
- Lee, *Similes* D. J. N. Lee, *The Similes of the Iliad and the Odyssey Compared* (Melbourne 1964)
- Lenz, *Aphroditehymnos* L. H. Lenz, *Der homerische Aphroditehymnos und die Aristie des Aineias in der Ilias* (Bonn 1975)
- Leumann, *HW* M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* (Basel 1950)
- LfgRE* *Lexicon des frühgriechischen Epos*, edd. B. Snell and H. Erbse (Göttingen 1955–)
- LIMC* *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zürich 1981–)
- Linear B 1984* *Linear B: a 1984 Survey*, edd. A. M. Davies and Y. Duhoux (Proceedings of the Mycenaean Colloquium of the 8th Congress of the International Federation of the Societies of Classical Studies, Louvain-la-neuve 1985)
- Lohmann, *Reden* D. Lohmann, *Die Komposition der Reden in der Ilias* (Berlin 1970)
- LSJ H. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek–English Lexicon* (9th edn, Oxford 1940)
- Macleod, *Iliad XXIV* C. W. Macleod, *Homer, Iliad Book XXIV* (Cambridge 1982)
- Marg, *Dichtung* W. Marg, *Homer über die Dichtung* (Münster 1957)
- Markoe, *Bowls* G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berkeley 1985)
- Martin, *Language* R. P. Martin, *The Language of Heroes* (Ithaca 1989)
- Moulton, *Similes* C. Moulton, *Similes in the Homeric Poems* (Hypomnemata 49, Göttingen 1977)
- MW R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, edd., *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford 1967)
- Nagler, *Spontaneity* M. N. Nagler, *Spontaneity and Tradition: a Study in the Oral Art of Homer* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1974)
- Page, *HHI* D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1959)
- Page, *Odyssey* D. L. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey* (Oxford 1955)
- Page, *PMG* D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962)
- Parry, *MHV* A. Parry, ed., *The Making of Homeric Verse. The Collected Papers of Milman Parry* (Oxford 1971)

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- Pasquali, *Storia* G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (Florence 1962)
- Plutarch, *Vit. Hom.* Ps.-Plutarch, *De Vita et Poesi Homeri* II (*Moralia* vol. VII, ed. G. N. Bernardakis, Leipzig 1896)
- Reinhardt, *IuD* K. Reinhardt, *Die Ilias und ihr Dichter* (Göttingen 1961)
- Risch, *Wortbildung* E. Risch, *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache* (2nd edn, Berlin 1974)
- Ruijgh, *L'Élément achéen* C. J. Ruijgh, *L'Élément achéen dans la langue épique* (Assen 1957)
- Ruijgh, *τε épique* C. J. Ruijgh, *Autour de 'τε épique'* (Amsterdam 1971)
- Russo, *Odisea* J. Russo, *Omero: Odisea* V (Rome 1985)
- Schadewaldt, *VHWW* W. Schadewaldt, *Von Homers Welt und Werk* (4th edn, Stuttgart 1965)
- Scheibner, *Aufbau* G. Scheibner, *Der Aufbau des 20. und 21. Buches der Ilias* (Leipzig 1939)
- Scott, *Oral Nature* W. C. Scott, *The Oral Nature of the Homeric Simile* (Leiden 1974)
- Shipp, *Studies* G. P. Shipp, *Studies in the Language of Homer* (2nd edn, Cambridge 1972)
- Thalmann, *Conventions* W. G. Thalmann, *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry* (Baltimore 1984)
- van der Valk, *Researches* M. H. A. L. H. van der Valk, *Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad* I-II (Leiden 1963-4)
- van Leeuwen J. van Leeuwen, J. F., *Ilias* (2 vols., Leiden 1912, 1913)
- Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents* M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*² (Cambridge 1973)
- von Bredow, *Thrakischen Namen* I. von Bredow, *Die Thrakischen Namen bei Homer* ('Terra Antiqua Balcanica': *Acta Centri Historiae* 1, edd. A. Fol, V. Zhivkov and N. Nedjalkov, Turnovo 1986) 133-86
- von Kamptz, *Personennamen* H. von Kamptz, *Homerische Personennamen* (Göttingen 1982)
- Wace and Stubbings, *Companion* A. J. B. Wace and F. H. Stubbings, *A Companion to Homer* (London 1962)
- Wackernagel, *Untersuchungen* J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (Göttingen 1916, repr. 1970)
- West, *Theogony* M. L. West, *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford 1966)
- West, *Works and Days* M. L. West, *Hesiod, Works and Days* (Oxford 1978)
- S. West, *Odyssey* A. Heubeck, S. West, and J. B. Hainsworth, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* I (Oxford 1988)
- Wilamowitz, *IuH* U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916)
- Willcock M. M. Willcock, *The Iliad of Homer* (books I-XII, London 1978; books XIII-XXIV, London 1984)

Abbreviations

Journals

<i>AC</i>	<i>Acta Classica</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>BAGB</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Association G. Budé</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, London</i>
<i>CA</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CSCA</i>	<i>California Studies in Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>CW</i>	<i>Classical World</i>
<i>DA</i>	<i>Dissertation Abstracts</i>
<i>G&R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HSCP</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>IF</i>	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i>
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>LCM</i>	<i>Liverpool Classical Monthly</i>
<i>MDAI(A)</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Athen. Abt.)</i>
<i>QUCC</i>	<i>Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica</i>
<i>RBPh</i>	<i>Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>RFIC</i>	<i>Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum</i>
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici</i>
<i>SO</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>UCPCP</i>	<i>University of California Publications in Classical Philology</i>
<i>WS</i>	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
<i>YCS</i>	<i>Yale Classical Studies</i>

NOTE

| is used to mark the beginning or the end of a verse. The abbreviation '(etc.)' means that other grammatical terminations are included in the reference or total; it is used in such cases only where the fact may have some significance.

On 'Arn/A' (etc.) references see vol. I pp. 41ff.