Book Eighteen

Introduction to the Shield of Akhilleus

The making of the armour by Hephaistos can formally be considered a relocated expansion of Akhilleus' arming-scene, which will be resumed at 19.369 (after a short prelude). The huge scale of the expansion is proportional to the importance of Akhilleus' return to battle and, like the Catalogues of book 9, to the size of the H. itself. But the poet boldly devotes almost the whole of the episode to a description of the pictures on the shield, which are introduced successively in the form of a catalogue. Like an immense simile, the description halts the action of the poem while the audience visualize the scene and feel its relationship to the ongoing story. The scale far exceeds the accounts of Agamemnon's corset and shield, which perform a similar function in his arming-scene (11.20-40). Even more remarkable is the choice of decorative motif; the shield displays not monstrous horrors to terrify its bearer's opponents, as do the shield of Agamemnon and the baldric of Herakles (Od. 11.609-14), but scenes familiar to the poet's audience from their everyday life. He has other designs than to frighten us.

Literature

The fundamental general studies are:

W. Marg, Dichtung 20-37.
K. Reinhardt, HsD 401-411.
W. Schadewaldt, FHWW 357-74.

Marg's is the most perceptive and sensitive of these. Schadewaldt summarizes the archaeological parallels and stresses the polarities in the choice of scenes and the comprehensiveness of the depiction of human life. Reinhardt stresses more perhaps too much the absence of the darker side of human circumstances and the emphasis on the aristocratic life. There is a good brief comparison of Homer's shield with Hesiod's Aspis in R. Lamberton, Hesiod (New Haven 1988) 141-4.

The archaeological evidence is best presented in:

H. Borchhardt, Arch. Hom. 1 (Göttingen 1977) 1-5, 36-52.
K. Fittschen, Schild
E. Kunze, Kretische Bronzereliefs (Stuttgart 1931).
G. Markoe, Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean (Berkeley 1985).
S. Marinatos and M. Hirmer, Crete and Mycenae (New York 1960).
Fittschen's work concentrates on Akhilleus' shield and that of Herakles in the Aspis, and has a good bibliography and useful illustrations. He also includes an interesting reconstruction of Akhilleus' shield by L. Weniger (Taf. vnb). Borchhardt often gives more detail. Kunze and Markoe list, describe, study, and illustrate the Cretan shields and the Phoenician metal bowls respectively (see the following section); Markoe also gives useful accounts of the subject-matter of the scenes and of the techniques of presenting a narrative. Güterbock discusses the Phoenician bowls in the context of other narrative representations from Asia Minor. Marinatos and Hirmer illustrate and discuss the inlay technique of Mycenaean daggers. Snodgrass deals especially with the question of shield-bosses. Several of the chapters in Wace and Stubbings are still of use, but are seldom referred to in what follows as they have often been superseded by the relevant volumes of the Archaeologia Homerica series, which are up-to-date and have exhaustive bibliographies.

Construction and technique

The poet clearly visualizes a round shield, not the semi-cylindrical 'tower' shield or the various forms with cut-out sides which appear in Geometric art ('Dipylon', 'figure-of-eight', or 'Boeotian' shields, on which see most recently J. M. Hurwit, CA 4, 1985, 121-6). The usual Homeric round shield is made of a number of layers of oxhide, presumably stretched over a light wooden frame, with a bronze facing on the outside. Sarpedon's shield was made of closely-stitched oxhides on the inside, with a bronze layer beaten out (δεξαλατον) on the outer surface (12.295-7), and Hektor's is πεθασμον πυκνην, πολλοι δ' ἐπιθάλατο χολος (13.804; cf. 17.492-3). At 7.220-3 Aias' 'tower' shield (see 6.117-18n., 7.219-23n.) was made of seven oxhides and an eighth layer of bronze, and Hektor's spear penetrates the bronze and six layers (πτύχως) of hide, stopping in the seventh (7.247-8).

There are indications that the layers of hide were laid in concentric circles, diminishing in size towards the outer face of the shield. Akhilleus' spear hits Διονησ' shield 'at the outer rim, where the bronze is thinnest, and thinnest is the oxhide laid' (20.275-6) and rips through, δια δ' αφαστώς ἐν κύκλων; this seems to mean it tore apart the layer of bronze and the single layer of hide at the rim. A bronze plate beaten out over such layers of hide would itself take on a surface appearance of concentric circles, like a modern target, and this seems to be meant in the reference to Αγαμέμνων's shield, ἄν περι μὲν κύκλων ἕξες ἄμφως ἐν ἄκρα (11.53). Similarly,
Idomeneus' shield is ἰδόνεος θεοῦ καὶ νόμον χαλκὸν ἱδιωτὶν (13.406-7; see note ad loc.). Perhaps at one time the decoration followed these concentric bands, though on the shields from Crete the number of bands varies widely. Adapting this mainly leather artifact to the metalworking of Hephaistos presents the poet with a problem. The god is said to make the shield of five layers (πτύχων, 18.481). At 20.25gff. Aineias' spear strikes this shield, but does not pierce it (20.268-72):

χρυσός γὰρ ἰδόνεος, δώρα θεοῦ·
οὐκόν δὲν μὴν διαφαίνει πτύχως, οὐ δὲν ἔτι τρεῖς
ήσον, ἐπὶ πέντε πτύχως ἦλπισε κυλλόποδίον,
τὸς δὲν χαλκοῖς, δύο δὲν ἔδωκεν καπνίστροφο,
τὴν δὲ μίαν χρυσὴν, τῇ δὲ ἐσχέτο μελίνον ἤγχος.

This would mean that the shield was constructed of two outer layers of bronze and two inner ones of tin, with a gold layer sandwiched between, which stopped Aineias' spear. Unfortunately, such construction makes little practical sense. Gold, though the divine metal par excellence, would not stop a bronze-headed spear; neither would tin; and in such an arrangement bronze alone would be visible on the outer face of the shield, the more decorative metals being hidden beneath it. It seems that in 268 (as at 21.165, the same verse) χρυσός means not 'the gold layer' but 'the golden (shield)', and 269-72 are an incomprehending addition to the text, as Aristarchus (Arn/A) perceived (see also 20.268-72).

How the poet thought the shield was actually built up thus remains uncertain. He can hardly have imagined Hephaistos laying oxhides over a frame in the manner of a human craftsman, and then superimposing the layers of metal. Fittschen, Schild 7, thinks of five layers of bronze. Probably Homer gave the matter little heed. 'All die Rekonstruktionen sind müßig, nichts als Verkennung der Dichtung. Jene Beziehungen sagen nichts mehr als dass die Phantasie des Iliasdichters im Raum des Realen bleibt' (Marg 26). The choice of five layers (481) may reflect the arrangement of scenes worked out by modern scholars (see below). It may, however, be a reference to the five components which form the surface and its decoration—bronze, tin, gold, silver (474-5), and κυάων, which forms οἶμος ('stripes?') on Agamemnon's corslet (11.24) and πτύχως on Hesiod's Aipt (143). Inlay-work can indeed be thought of as 'layers' of different materials, in a different sense from the superimposition of oxhides in a shield.

The decorative technique employed must be that of inlay of different-coloured metals. 'Gold gave the yellow colour, whiter if alloyed with silver and redder if alloyed with copper. Silver was white, and copper was occasionally used for red' (D. H. F. Gray, JHS 74, 1954, 3-4). Two other colours were used for Agamemnon's breastplate: ἐν δὲ οἱ διαφορᾶς ἦσαν ἄλικον, ἀλλ'
Tin would give a duller white than silver. Kuanos is applied on the shield only to the ditch around the vineyard (564); it may be the blue glass-paste mentioned on Linear B tablets (see Fittschen, *Schild* 5 n. 22; F. Eckstein, *Arch. Hom.*, Götingen 1974, 40-1), or the usually black niello, of which Gray writes (4): 'Less obvious is the method of producing black, by mixing powdered sulphur with lead, copper, or silver to form the alloy known as niello; the black background of the Lily dagger from the fifth Shaft Grave is said to be a plate of iron and silver alloy. Depressions showing the patterns in blank outline were cut and hammered out of the cold bronze base. Thin plates of the inlaying metals were cut to the right shapes and hammered cold into the depressions. The niello was either applied in powder form and then fired, or first fired and cut out and then applied as a cold plate.' The technique can be seen on the well-known inlaid daggers from Mycenae, splendidly illustrated in colour in Marinatos and Hirmer, pl. xxxv-xxxviii; in a note to this last plate (p. 167) they remark 'At the moment of discovery the niello looked dark blue rather than black.' On a larger scale, the technique is used for the depiction of a frieze of six bulls' heads, in gold and niello on a silver background, on a fourteenth-century silver cup from Enkomi (*Companion* pl. 36c; the splendid polychrome effect is well brought out by the colour plate in H.-G. Buchholz and V. Karageorghis, *Prehistoric Greece and Cyprus*, tr. F. Garvie, London 1973, pl. 4). Gray suggests that Homer was familiar with artifacts of this type but not with the actual process of manufacture. The continuity of representations on the monuments from the Mycenaean to the Attic Geometric period has been demonstrated by J. L. Benson, *Horse, Bird and Man* (Amherst 1970) 109-23; he also lists a number of artifacts found in a context later than that of their manufacture.

No mention is made of a boss at the centre of the shield, despite the ubiquitous formula ἱερὸς ἄγαλμα (etc.; 11.34-5). Bronze bosses are found on shields from the twelfth century on, one example also having a bronze rim (Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1967, 32-3, 43-4; *Early Greek Armour and Weapons* 37-46); see 13.192-3.

The nearest monumental parallels are bronze shields found in Crete, which may have come from Asia Minor or from Cyprus, and Phoenician silver and bronze bowls. The techniques used are repoussé, chasing, and engraving; inlay of different metals, like that described above, does not occur, though in a few cases gold foil has been applied to the figures alone on a silver bowl (see Markoe, *Boats* 10). The Cretan shields have an omphalos, a lion's head, or a rosette in the centre, surrounded by concentric bands of decorative motifs and figured scenes, usually of the hunt; the best-preserved examples are Kunze no. 6 (Taf. 10-12 and Beilage 1 = Fittschen,

Schild p. 8 Abb. 1; here fig. 1) and no. 10 (Taf. 26 = Schadewaldt, IVW II Abb. 27). The Phoenician metal bowls or dishes, also of about Homer's period (there are references to them at 23.741-4 and Od. 4.615-19 = 15.115-19), are catalogued, illustrated, and studied by Markoe. They too show (usually on the interior surface) concentric rings of figure-scenes. Two are particularly interesting. A silver dish from Amathus (Markoe no. Cy4, Fittschen, Schild Abb. 3, Schadewaldt, IVW II' Abb. 28; here fig. 2), of which about half is preserved, has a centre rosette, an inner band of sphinxes, a figure-band of scenes from Egyptian religious myth, and an outer band showing the siege of a city, with defenders on three towers fighting off on each side attackers with scaling-ladders; beyond these, on one side hoplites, archers, armed horsemen, and the horses of a (lost)
chariot approach; on the other, two armed horsemen ride up to two men felling trees in an orchard (ravaging the countryside?). The depiction is very close to Homer's City at War (18.509-30), especially as a second city may well have appeared symmetrically placed on the lost portion of the band. Another silver dish from Praeneste (Markoe no. F2; Fittschen, Schild Taf. vmb; here fig. 3) shows in the centre an unarmoured figure killing captives with a spear, then a frieze of horses, and an outer band depicting the 'Hunter's Day', a series of nine scenes presenting the narrative of a king who leaves a walled city, shoots, pursues, kills, and slays a stag, makes offerings to a deity, is attacked by an ape and rescued by the deity, kills the ape, and returns again to the same city-representation from which he left. The snake which encircles the whole scene may represent the ocean, which flows around Homer's shield too (see 607-8n.). A similar series appears on a silver bowl from Kourion (Markoe no. E37), suggesting a well-known tale is being represented.
Fittschen, Schild 4 n. 16, gives a lengthy list of scholars and artists who have been tempted to reconstruct the scenes on the shield. Homer introduces the five πᾶτερες of the shield and the decoration upon it in successive sentences (481–2), and the more recent reconstructions have followed this fivefold division. In the usual view, the heavenly bodies (introduced by ἐπιστήμων, 483) occupy the central position, surrounding the boss (if there is one), and the following scenes occupy successive bands moving outwards to the rim (607–8). However, the only evidence for this arrangement is the sequence of the poet's description, and it has been challenged by H. A. Gärtner, Studien zum Antiken Epos (edds. H. Görgermann and E. A. Schmidt, Meisenheim am Glan 1978) 48–65.
Book Eighteen

Each scene is introduced by a new verb of action. The innermost band is divided between the City at Peace and the City at War (πόλις, 490), and the next among the three scenes of the farmer’s year (ploughing, reaping, and the vintage; ἔθος, 541, 550, 561). Then the next may contain either three scenes, the cattle (with the attacking lions) and the sheep (πόλις, 573, 587) together with the dance (παιδικά, 590; so Wilcock ad 478–608); or the dance may be given a separate band, as in van Leeuwen’s diagram (ad 483–608), which in view of contemporary artists’ fondness for rows of similar figures is probably preferable. Ocean (τάφος, 607) occupies the outermost band, just inside the decorated rim. The uncertainty whether the central and outermost scenes are included in the five bands makes it undesirable to attempt a more definite allocation.

There is no reason to suppose that Homer was describing an actual shield he had seen. In some scenes, however, it is possible he may have had some work of visual art in mind, and minor confusions in the details of his account may result from misinterpretation of a two-dimensional picture. Thus the θέματα depicted on either side of the city probably represent one army, depicted on either side of a city (see 509n.); the capture of the cattle and sheep is likely to be the work of attackers rather than the besieged inhabitants of the city (see 523–34n.); and the two talents in the lawsuit scene, though explicable as a reward for the best opinion, might well represent the compensation for a death in a different value system (see 507–8n.).

It is the normal Homeric technique for physical objects to be described by means of action and movement, as in the account of Pandaros’ bow (4.105–11), Odysseus’ brooch (Od. 19.228–31), and especially his boat (Od. 228–61; see Edwards, HPI 83–4). So here verbs repeatedly recall Hephaistos’ ongoing action (478, 493, 490, 541, 550, 561, 573, 587, 590, 607), and there are occasional references to his technique, stressing colour and the appearance of light and dark (517–19, 548–9, 562–5, 574, 577); once the poet steps back and marvels at the artistic deception (548–9). Sometimes, however, he looks beyond the materials employed, and mentions the ‘stone’ seats of the elders (504) and the soft, finely spun clothing of the dancers (505–6).

Even more striking, however, is the constant emphasis on movement and progression of time; ‘the predominant way of appropriating visual images is to translate them into stories’ (so A. S. Becker in his theoretical study of ekphrasis, with special reference to the shield; JJP 111, 1990, 139 53). Just as in Homeric similes, there is life and action in every scene, including even that of the heavenly bodies (498; Marg, Dichtung 27–9). In the lawsuit scene, the antagonists appear two or three times; so do the inhabitants of the besieged city; the ploughmen turn and turn again at the headland; the
Book Eighteen

cattle move from stall to river-bank; the dancers form now a circle, now straight lines (599-602). Even sound-effects are included: men and women are singing (493, 570-2), cattle are lowing, a stream babbling (575-6, 580). Homer does not stand back to reflect that the outcome of the lawsuit and the siege will never be known, as would Keats (Ode on a Grecian Urn) and the author of the *Aspis*, who says of his chariot-racers (310-11):

οἱ μὲν δρόμοι ἐγὼν πόλον, οὐδὲ ποτὶ ἄφιν


κηδείᾳ ἐπηρεάζεται, ἀλλ’ ἀκριτον ἐγὼν ἀδελφον.

For Homer does not intend to present a particular occurrence, but paradigms of ever-continuing human social activities.

Subject-matter of the sc nes

In the first scene of this Book, Akhilleus made the decision between long life and everlasting glory which he had described in book 9; he chose to return to the battle and take vengeance on Hektor, then face the imminent death of which Thetis forewarns him. Now the poet portrays, on the shield which the hero will bear into the battle, the everyday human life which he has given up. All the scenes are full of ordinary people taking part in the activities of ordinary life. Akhilleus does not shoulder the burden of responsibility for these people, as Virgil's Aineias does for Rome's future (attollens um ro famamque et fata nepotum. *Aeneid* 8.731). But the poet chooses to present this real and familiar life, just as he invariably presents it in the similes, instead of frightening us with terrifying forms such as the Fear, Strife, Panic, Slaughter (etc.) which begin the description of the *Aspis* (144-67) or the other mythological and heroic fictions which might have been expected here. Parallels have been drawn between his choice of scenes and those found on the miniature frescoes from Thera (see most recently S. P. Morris, *AJA* 93, 1989, 511-35). Marg, *Dichtung* 24-5, makes the good point that the scenes on Akhilleus' shield are described as the god fashions them on Olympos, not (as are those on the shield of Aineias) when the hero receives and admires the armour on earth; the audience can appreciate them now, but Akhilleus could not properly do so until after his reconciliation with Priam, when he is more ready to appreciate life on ordinary human terms.

The poet constantly emphasizes, with a few vivid words, the pleasure the participants feel in their communal life. The women stand in their doorways admiring the wedding procession; the lawsuit will be decided by proper legal procedures without further bloodshed, and the fairest judge will win a reward; the *pealeis* watches his workers with joy in his heart, and the ploughmen and reapers receive their refreshment; the busy
vintagers sing along with the musician, the spectators enjoy the beauty of
the dance. Except for the absence of the sea and ships, we might almost be
in the wonderland of the Phaeacians. It is all far from the hardship,
injustice, and gloom one finds in the dour Hesiod’s pictures of human life.
The same delight in the details of the daily round appears in those similes
which have unique, non-traditional subject-matter (see Introduction, ch. 3, iii).

The scenes balance union and dissension, men and women, youth and
age. It has also been held, rather implausibly, that they represent Dumézil’s
tripartite Indo-European society (see C. S. Littleton, Arachusa 13, 1980, 147
and references there). Connexions have been found between specific scenes
on the shield and the plot of Il. itself (especially by O. Andersen, SO 51,
1976, 5-18), and between the general attitude and feeling of the
descriptions and those expressed elsewhere in both poems (by O. Taplin,
G&R 27, 1980, 1-21). Schadewaldt (tentatively; VIIWW 367) and Marg
(more firmly; Dichtung 36-7) adopt the suggestion that the poet represents
himself in the δοσεις of 604. That verse may not belong in the text (see
604-6n.), but even without it, it is hard not to think Homer was aware of
the parallel between the god’s creation of human beings in essentially
human circumstances and his own creation of the poem (as is argued by
Marg, Dichtung 33-7). Certainly the irony of the doomed hero of the past
who bears into battle the depiction of the continuing life of ordinary human
folk is in harmony with the symbolic use made elsewhere of the divinely
made armour (see the introduction to this Book), and with the famous
simile of the leaves which fall to the ground but burgeon again in the
spring; δος δ’ αυρείων γενής ἡ μάν φύης, ἡ δ’ ἀπολληγία (6.149).

468 82 Hephaistos sets to work, and forges a mighty shield, decorated with many
scenes

As usual in Homer a manufactured object is described by an account of the
way in which it was made; cf. Pandaros’ bow (4.106-11), the speaker’s staff
(1.234-7), and Odysseus’ raft (Od. 5.228-61). The scholia (bT on 476-7)
remark ‘Homer’ himself has marvellously crafted the craftsman, as if
wheeling him out (δουλησας) on the stage and showing us his workshop in
the open.’

468-73 Hephaistos’ bellows are ‘automatic’, like his tripods (375-9) and
χάλας (< χάλα) recurs in Hesiod, Theogony 863, in the phrase ὑπὸ τ’ ἀτρήγου
χάλας, and is usually taken to mean ‘crucible’, ‘melting-pot’ (‘from
which [metal] was run into the mould’, LSJ) or ‘furnace’, the holes being
those through which the draught was forced (so West ad loc., Leaf). But
M. H. Jameson points out to me that the true meaning must be 'nozzle through which the blast is forced, tuyere'. This sense better fits the etymology and Hesiod's epithet (cf. Ar. Theog. 18 κάινον δι' χολόν ὀτο διστρήματο (Reiske's emendation)), and the scholiast to Hesiod ad loc. understood the word thus (χωματήρος: χολόν τὸ χωρίτθμον ('container') τοῦ νεόσμου, τῶν πύδος λέγει). It also matches the meaning of the later contracted form χώμι, 'funnel', 'cone'. ἐπιθυμον (only here) < τρήσω, 'blow'. The bellows blow upon the fire and the work from all angles (πυραίνω... διότις ἔξωσις, cf. νοσίοι δισύσσω | νοσίοιδον ὀνόμα, 17.55-6), on hand for the busy smith (ἐπεδόσει παρίσιμον) as he time and again requires their blast (ἐλλοτε μόν... ἐλλοτε ἀ' ὀστή), ἐλλοτε ὀ' ὀστή means 'at another time again', not 'on the contrary', as Leaf and Willcock take it (i.e. ceasing to blow); when two clauses beginning with ἐλλοτε are contrasted, the contrast is signified not by ὀστή but by the verbs (e.g. ἐλλοτε ἐπιθυμον... ἐλλοτε ὀ' ὀστή | ἐλλοτε, 159-60; cf. 24.10-11, Od. 4.102-3, 11.303-4, and on the meaning of ὀστή, J. S. Klein, Historische Sprachforschung 101, 1988, 286-7). ἄνωντο: the ἄ is unexplained, as *ἀνώνω becomes ἄνων or ἄνω. Leaf reads ἄνων, but without good MS authority; see Chantaine, GH i 51, for this form of the optative, and GH i 61 for the vocalization of the digamma.

474-5 Cf. χαλόκος ἀτύρις | (3 × Il.), ἀτύρια χαλόν | (1 × Od.), and χαλόν ἀτύρια (bridging the mid-verse caesura, 2 × Il.). τιμία is for τιμήντα, cf. τιμίαισαι (Od. 7.110) and τιμῆς < τιμή (9.605, see note ad loc. and Chantaine, GH i 32). χρύσον (οἶνο)... τιμίαντα (οἷο) is found 2 x Od.

476-7 Cf. ἐν ἁθέτει διομοδίτερα μέγαν ὀμοιόν, κάτω δι' ἔωαν |... (Od. 8.274). δυστήρ ( < δαιώ): lit. 'smasher'; τυράγηρ ( < τυρ + γηρ): 'fire-pincers' (also at Od. 3.434; Risch, Wortbildung 207). He holds the hot metal in the pincers with one hand and hammers it with the other. D. H. F. Gray, JHS 74 (1954) 12-13, points out that the poet is visualizing iron-working rather than the handling of the softer metals listed.

Zenodotus (Did/AT) and some good MSS read κραττάων; Eustathius supports the feminine form. Objects in -νῦρ are otherwise masculine (Risch, Wortbildung 30, gives a list), and -νῦ is probably a change to improve the metre.

478-82 First the making of shield and shield-strap is mentioned in general terms, introduced by παῖ... πάντοις δαίδαλλων (478-9; δαίδαλλων recurs in Homer only at Od. 23.200). Then the five layers are specified, and the ring form completed by the concluding πάντα δαίδαλλα πολλά (482).

478-80 Verse 478 οὖν, the summarizing line at the end of the shield construction, in which πᾶς replaces ποίων for metrical reasons. οὖν, 'then', is also used of the rail of a chariot. It is not clear what is meant by the 'triple' rim; it may be three decorative bands, like those on the bronze Cretan shields (see fig. 1, p. 204, and 607-8n.), or possibly a means of
securing the layers of hide to the frame at the edges of a 'real' shield.
Perhaps the poet is influenced by the formula | διπλάσια πορφυρίς, used 2× II. for an embroidered robe. On the πορφυρίς see 14.402-8n. and Borchhardt, 
Arch. Hom. Ε 4-5.

483-9 The heavenly bodies

First the poet sums up the entire content of the decoration (483): the depictions of human life on the earth (in 490-606), the stream of Ocean which surrounds the whole (in 607-8), and the sky, which occupies the central position and is described in the following six verses (484–9). This seems preferable to envisaging an anthropomorphic Gaia, Ouranos, and Thalassa here (contra, O. Taplin, G&R 27, 1980, 19 n. 19.). The sun, moon, and constellations, besides being the eternal companions of human life, were watched closely because they indicate the passing of the day, the month, and seasons of the year respectively. Before a reliable calendar was developed a knowledge of the constellations was essential for farming, as Hesiod’s Erga makes clear. Odysseus used the Pleiades, Boötes, and the Bear to sail by (Od. 5.272–3). How the poet envisages their depiction on the shield is unclear, and there are no good parallels from contemporary artifacts. On two gold signet-rings from Mycenae the sun is represented as a circle (once with spokes for rays) and the moon as a crescent (Marinatos and Hirmer, Crete and Mycenae 172–3 and pl. 207). A late Mycenaean amphora has figures which may be intended to represent the constellations (see J. Wiesner, JDAI 74, 1959, 45–6).

On Homeric and Hesiodic astronomy see D. R. Dicks, Early Greek Astronomy to Aristotle (London 1970) 27–38, esp. 36.

483 The central band of figures is introduced by τίπεσι, the next band by ποινας (490), the third by τιται (541, 550, 561), the fourth by ποινας (573, 587), the last by ποινας (590), and the rim by τιται (607); cf. 478–8n. The same triple anaphora of τί recurs at 533, and also in similar descriptions at 5.740 and 14.216.

485 τίπεσι is a form of τίπεσι, lengthened for metrical reasons (or to increase its impressiveness); on the ending see Risch, Wortbildung 87. τίπεσι, 'portent', usually means a meteor or comet (see 4.75-8n.), or a rainbow (17.548). The unchanging constellations may be so termed because of their significance for human life. τά τ' οὐρανός ἱστημένα is rendered by Leaf 'has set around it [sky or earth?] as a crown', by Willcock 'with which heaven is crowned', by Ameis–Hentze 'mit welchen der Himmel rings besetzt ist', and most recently by T. Worthen, Götze 66 (1988) 1–19, 'stars which Ouranos encompasses like a diadem'. Parallel phrases with τίπεσι (ὁμοίως ...) ἱστημένα (τού) mean '[Fear] has hung itself (has been hung) as
a wreath around [the aegis]’ (5.739; similarly at 15.153, Od. 10.195, HyAphr 120, Aspis 204), and even when there is no peri (διψι), as here and at Theogony 382 (after διστά τε λαμπτεώντα), it seems best to take the meaning as ‘[stars] which the sky (or Ouranos) has hung up as a wreath <around the earth; or around his head>’. (I take the usage at 11.36 to be exceptional; but see note ad loc. Worthen, op. cit. 3, thinks it may well be the archetype of the others.) Did/A report that Zenodotus read οὐρανῶν ἵππον εἶπεν and Aristarchus οὐρανῶν ἵππον ἵππον. Zenodotus’ phrase recurs in Hesiod, Theogony 779 (and cf. 4.443). Neither alternative appears in the MSS or has anything to recommend it, and the cause of their concern is not clear.

486 = Hesiod, Erga 615. The Pleiades mark the times for harvest and ploughing (Hesiod says Πλειάδων Ἀτλαντικών ἐπιπλησθεῖσαν, οὐρανῶν ἵππον ἵππον, ἅρματο περί δωσαμενόν, Erga 383–4). For a detailed account see West, Works and Days 254–6. At Erga 619–20 Hesiod speaks of the Pleiades plunging into the sea to escape the ὄμος ἄπαξ ὑπερίσκετο, as a sign that sailing-time is over. Both Pleiades and Hyades are close to Orion. J. H. Phillips, ICM 5.8 (1980) 179–80, points out that the risings and settings of these three constellations delimit the period May–November, during which the three main agricultural activities later described (341–72) take place.

The meaning of Πλειάδες is obscure; possibly < *Πλειάδες < πλέκω, because of their association with sailing. Hesiod (frs. 288, 289, 290 MW = Athenaeus 11.80) and later poets use the form Πλειάδες, ‘doves’. Hesiod gives the names of the five Hyades (fr. 291 MW). The ancients said they were cateralyzed by Zeus after they died mourning their brother Hyas (Tzetzes on Hesiod, Erga 384), or because they reared Dionysus, who was called Ὑμης (schol. on Aratus 172). Their name may actually be derived from ὄνο, ‘rain’, or from ὅς, ‘pig’, cf. their Latin name suculas, ‘piglets’.

The older form Ναράμων, -ος is found in Pindar and later poets, but did not survive in our MSS of Homer and Hesiod; Pasquali, Storia 246, would (justifiably) restore it to the text here and at 488.

487–9 = Od. 5.773–5. Hainsworth, Odyssey on Od. 5.272–7, has a good discussion of the passage. The Great Bear is still known in England as Charles’s Wain (wagon). Hainsworth refers to O. Szemerényi’s demonstration (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderheft 13, 1962, 190–1) that the Greek Ἀρκτος, ‘Bear’, is derived (through the form ἄρκτος) from Akkadian ṚIQ, ‘wagon’, and is thus a false etymology. See also A. Scherer, Gestirnnamen bei den indogermanischen Völtern (Heidelberg 1953) 134.

The idea that the Bear keeps a watchful eye on the great hunter Orion is an attractive touch, and brings out the all-pervasive sense of movement in the scenes depicted; West on Erga 620 gives parallels for the idea of constellations pursuing each other. Leaf points out that the Bear is close to
the horizon, about to take his bath, when Orion rises and scares him away. Orion continues his hunting even in the Underworld (Od. 11.572-5). On his sexual randiness see most recently A. Griffiths, *JHS* 106 (1986) 66-70, on his catasterism J. Fontenrose, *Orion* (Berkeley 1981) 15-18. 

Orion (488): i.e. without setting. On this is true of the constellations mentioned in Homer and Hesiod, and of others which do not set the Bear is the most obvious (as Aristotle noted, *Poetics* 1462b1-2); see Hainsworth, *Odyssey* on Od. 5.475.

490-508 The city at peace

The blessings of ordered communal life are represented by weddings, which unite different families and bring festivities for all, and the peaceful settlement of a dispute over a man’s death by a city’s judicial institutions. The Hesiodic *Aspis* also describes a wedding and other revels (272-85). The poet limits himself to two topics, which he (and the artist) can encompass in detail, rather than attempting to include religious ceremonies, funerals, games, and all the other public activities of a city.

491-6 καλός: the single runover adjective is unexpected and effective, almost as if the sight called up an exclamation. In 492, Zenodotus read ἀλάμψος (Did/A), which is attractive (οὐκ ἀλάμψος, A) but not necessary; there is no MS support. ἄνθρωπον ὑπὸ λαμπρομένων recurs 2 x *Od.*; ὑπὸ = ‘accompanied by’. ἦγερον is trisyllabic. στόλος 8’ ὑμικοῦ ὁδόρρυμα | recurs at *Aspis* 274, in the more lengthy description of a wedding there; cf. στόλος 8’ ὑμικοῦ ὁδόρρυμα | (4 x *Il.*, 1 x *Od.*), στόλος 8’ ὑπὸ κόμπου ὁδόρρυμα | (Od. 8.380). ἐρχετήρις (491) recurs only in Hesiod fr. 123.3 MW and later imitations; the usual form is ἐρχετήρις (2 x *Il.*). ἓλθεν = ‘turn’, ‘spin around’; see 496n. The women standing on their porches to watch (495-6) form a particularly attractive detail.

497-508 Organized communal life is further illustrated by the representation of the legal proceedings in the case of a man’s killing. There is much dispute over what the legal issue is and what roles are played by the ἤττος, the elders, and the golden talents displayed. The most recent discussions of the problems are those by R. Westbrook (see 498-500n.), M. Gagarin, *Early Greek Law* (Berkeley 1986) 26-33, and O. Andersen, *SO* 51 (1976) 11-16; H. Hommel, *Politiea und Res Publica: Gedenkschrift R. Starks* (ed. P. Steinmetz, Wiesbaden 1969) 11-38 gives the fullest bibliographical listing and review of others’ work; H. J. Wolf’s article in *Traditio* 4 (1948) 31-87 (also in German) in *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte Altgriechenlands* 1961, 1 961 is of fundamental importance. A brief account is given by D. M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1978), and the older literature is reviewed in R. J. Bonner and G. Smith, *The Administration of
Book Eighteen


497 λαοί = the citizens, distinguished from the women of the previous sentence. ἀγώνι probably = "meeting-place", as in similes at 16.387 and *Od.* 12.439 (cf. 274-60.); elsewhere in Homer it has the earlier meaning 'assembly'.

498-500 Is the issue simply the practical one of whether the compensation for the man's death has or has not been handed over? This is the view of the scholiasts: μὴ διαβολοῦντο λέγων δεδομένα τῷ ἄρχοντι πρὸς ἀθηνά τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ὅ οὖν ἤγοντο (bT). Or – and this is a much more fundamental question – is it whether a monetary compensation for his death should, or must, be accepted? If it is not accepted, presumably either the killer must go into exile, or a blood-feud will begin (see 23.85-90.).

Wolff (op. cit. 44-6), basing his interpretation on a wide comparative knowledge of the legal systems of early societies, points out that the 'defendant' (the one responsible for the death) speaks first, not the 'plaintiff'/creditor (the dead man's kinsman). He holds that the dead man's kinsman, acting under extra-judicial self-help, is about to seize or threatens violence against the person of the victim's killer, who now appeals for a legal trial before an arbitrator. This is consistent with either the failure to hand over an agreed compensation, or with refusal to accept such compensation. Wolff himself believes that the issue is whether compensation has actually been handed over, arguing that 'In all periods of Greek legal history ἐπώδοσεν [499] was technical for paying a debt already incurred' (p. 37); if the issue were whether the injured party might or might not refuse to accept compensation, he claims that ἄνοιξεν would be required. However, he does not discuss the meanings of ἔξηκτο, ἀναίνετο, and ἱππότα. Wolff's view here has been challenged with good general and specific arguments by A. Primmer, *WS* 4 (1970) 5-13.

Certainly μὴ ἔξηκτο πάντι ὁμολόγησεν can mean 'the one was claiming to have paid everything' (for this use of ἐξόμοιον with an aorist infinitive to refer to a past action cf. 8.254, 21.501, *Od.* 11.261). E. Benveniste, *Le Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* (Paris 1958) 233-43, and many earlier scholars have supported an alternative rendering 'the one promised to pay everything'. However, A. E. Raubitschek points out to me that in dedicatory epigrams ἐξομόνως means 'claiming', ἐξόμονως 'having promised'; ἔξηκτο will thus be the past form of the defendant's ἐξόμοιον, 'I am claiming', avoiding the semantic change in ἔξηκτο, 'he promised'. Furthermore, L. C. Mueller, in *The Meaning of Homeric ΕΥΧΟΜΑΙ through its Formulas* (Innsbruck 1976) 100-6, holds (on the basis of other uses of the
verb and an occurrence in Linear B) that only the significance 'asserts', '
'says' is acceptable; though his own rendering, 'One man was saying he paid [the παινη for murder] in full, the other [the victim's kinsman] was refusing to take anything' (105-6, Muellner's brackets), is rather illogical. The interpretation of J.-L. Perpillou, REC 83 (1970) 537 (also using the Mycenaean evidence), 'une des parties “proteste de son droit”, ici à se libérer d’une dette de sang selon telle procédure’, is preferable.

ἀεναι with infinitive in Homer normally means ‘refuse <to do something>’, as at 450. Only at 9.116 and Od. 14.149 can it be taken as ‘refuse <to admit the idea>’, ‘deny’. The obvious meaning of δ’ ἀεναίτο 

πολεμήσει is thus not ‘the other denied that he had received anything’ but ‘the other refused to take anything’. With this sense, πολεμήσει is correct (Chantraine, GI II 333, ‘l’autre refusait de rien recevoir’), whereas if ‘denied that he had received anything’ were the meaning πολεμήσε would be normal (though Wackernagel, Vorlesungen i 282, quotes Ar. Eq. 572 ἤπειρο 

μὴ πειττωκίνησεν to support his ‘leugnete etwas erhalten zu haben’; E. Fraenkel, Aeschylus Agamemnon, Oxford 1950, iii on Ag. 1653 follows him).

The straightforward interpretation of the two statements, closest to the normal meaning of the words, would thus be: ‘The one man was claiming <to be able, to have a right> to pay everything (i.e. to be free of other penalties), the other refused to accept anything (i.e. any pecuniary recompense in place of the exile or death of the offender).’ This is in accordance with Muellner’s investigation of ἐκσκοιτε (though it is not exactly his rendering of the passage), with Primmer’s study of other word-usages, and with the parallels Andersen has drawn with the plot of the II. (see below). There is no other example of this construction with ἐκσκοιτε, but neither is there of its use in a legal context (except on the Linear B tablet discussed by Muellner and Perpillou). With this view, the problem of whether ἐκσκοιτε can mean ‘received’ is also avoided. MacDowell’s view (op. cit. 19-21) is similar to this. However, as W. Beck has suggested (Lfr E s.v. ἐκσκοιτε), the clarity of the passage may have suffered from the effort to achieve structural parallelism between the two clauses.

After I had formulated the above views, R. Westbrook was kind enough to show me his article on the trial scene (forthcoming in HSCP), in which he compares this trial scene with what is known of legal procedures in cases of homicide in ancient Near Eastern and Mycenaean Greek societies. This evidence suggests that usually the dead man’s kinsmen have the right to choose either to take revenge or to accept a ransom in lieu of it. In disputed cases, a court would decide: (a) whether revenge or ransom was appropriate, depending on the circumstances of the killing; and either (b) the appropriate limit of revenge (death of the culprit, death of his family too, whipping, humiliation, etc.); or (c) the appropriate
amount of the ransom to be paid. Westbrook therefore holds that in this trial scene the killer is claiming the right to pay ransom \((\tau\nu\nu\nu, 498)\) in full \((\pi\alpha\tau\sigma, 499)\) on the grounds of mitigated homicide, the amount to be fixed by the court. The other party is claiming and choosing the right to take revenge, as in cases of aggravated homicide. The court must set the ‘limit’ \((\tau\iota\rho\rho\rho, 501)\) of the penalty, i.e. whether it should be revenge or ransom, and also the appropriate ‘limit’ of either revenge or ransom. This view is identical with my own, and in accordance with the usual meaning of \(\tau\iota\rho\rho\rho\) (see next note).

If this interpretation is correct, the issue can be said (as O. Andersen has pointed out, \(SO\ 51\), 1976, 14–16) to parallel the situation in the \(II\), where Akhilleus has so far refused the recompense offered by Agamemnon, but will at last accept it in the following Book \((19.238–75)\); and in fact he was rebuked by Aias with the words ‘A man accepts (\(\iota\tau\o\iota\nu\nu\nu\) compensation \((\tau\o\iota\nu\nu\nu)\) even for the death of a brother or son, and \(\langle\text{the killer}\rangle\) remains there among the people, after he has paid much’ \((9.632–4)\). Andersen also links the situation to Akhilleus’ acceptance of compensation for the death of Patroklos: Thetis says to him \(\delta\alpha\lambda\ \delta\gamma\ \theta\iota\iota\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu, \nu\iota\o\iota\iota\ \delta\iota\iota\iota\ \delta\iota\iota\iota\) \((24.137)\).

\(501\) \(\tau\iota\rho\rho\rho\) is usually taken as \(<\ \iota\iota\delta\tau\o\iota\o\iota\nu\nu\nu\>\) (Chantraine, \textit{Dict. s.v.}), derived from the same root as \(\delta\iota\o\iota\iota\iota\iota\iota\iota\iota\) \(\langle\text{what is right}\rangle\), or perhaps \((\text{Wolff, op. cit. 38})\) ‘one familiar with the facts’. The meaning ‘witness’, which appears in the scholia and on a Boeotian inscription \((\text{LSJ})\), does not fit well here. However, E. D. Floyd, \textit{Glotta} 68 (1990) 157–66, argues for a derivation from \(\iota\o\iota\o\iota, \text{‘seat’, ‘sit’}\) and the meaning ‘convener’. The word is used when Idomeneus proposes that Agamemnon arbitrate the dispute between him and Aias \((23.486)\), and by Hesiod in the general sense ‘wise’ \((\text{Erga} 792)\). Here it is not clear if the reference is to the elders as a body, to their presiding officer \(\langle\text{if any}\rangle\), or to the eventual winner of the two talents \((\text{see 507–8n.})\). The last view is preferred by Wolff and MacDowell. The recourse to arbitration is like that suggested by Menelaos \((23.573–8)\), not unlike the mediator’s rôle played by Nestor and Hephaistos in turn in
book i. τῇραπ is usually taken to mean ‘judgement’, an extension of the sense ‘boundary between lands’, since property is the object of adjudication (so A. L. T. Bergren, *The Etymology and Usage of τῇραπ in Early Greek Poetry*, New York 1975, 43-5), but Westbrook’s ‘limit’ (see previous note) is even closer to the normal meaning; see also 6.143n.

Presumably the dispute formed one scene on the shield, the hearing another, the litigants appearing in both (the ‘episodic’ form of narrative, Markoe 65).

502-3 ἵππημος: this compound of ἵππος occurs only here, ἵππος being amplified by ὠπτὶς ὀργοὶ. The Massaliotic text (Did/AT) read ὠφοινχάους (also favoured by Zenoedus and Aristophanes) and a variant (corrupted in the MSS) for ἵππημος. The animated and noisy scene can well be imagined. With 503 cf. 1 ἰχνώνος βοῦσας ἰππημος (2.97).

504-5 Thus the Phaeacian counsellors sit upon smooth stone seats in their assembly (Od. 8.6). The circle is sacred because Zeus presides over judicial matters (e.g. 9.98-9) and the public altars would be close to the assembly-place (cf. 11.807-8). Similarly threshing-floors are ἱπποι (5.499) because Demeter is at work there. J. T. Hooker, however, thinks the meaning may be ‘massive’; see 17.461-5n. ὡμπηρος may be plural to match κρῆκων, the idea being that the elders are given the speaker’s staff in turn by the heralds, when each wishes to speak (cf. 23.567-8 and note ad loc.); or possibly as holders of the judicial powers once belonging to a king, or as βασιλῆς (cf. 556-7n.), they each have a royal staff. ἱππημος occurs only here; it may be connected with ἵππος and mean ‘whose voices resound through the air’; see Chantraine, *Dict. s.v.*

506 Ameis–Henize, Leaf, Wolff, Hommel, and Wilcock take this as ‘The elders’ leapt to their feet with their staffs’, but the abrupt action seems unlikely even in the heat of debate; elsewhere ἄπειροθ αἰσχρος always conveys the idea of speed. It may be better to take the litigants as subject, ‘To these elders then they dashed.’ ἄπειροθ = ‘gave their judgements’ (the same as ἄπειροθ...διψο, 507). ἄπειροθ is used in the active for the decisions of Zeus and others (1.542, 8.431, 23.574, 23.579, *Od. 11.547*); if the meaning were that litigants presented their own cases the middle voice would be required (as at *Od. 11.545, 12.440*). Here the elders must be the subject, picking up ὡμπηρος, with an abrupt but not un-Homeric change from the subject of ἰχνων. A. Primmer, *HS 4* (1970) 5-13, points out that ἄπειροθ here must mean the elders are each giving their learned opinions, not handing down one majority decision. In its only other occurrences (Od. 18.310, *HyDe* 326) ἰχνων also refers to a series of people acting in turn, not to two only.

507-8 άπον χρυσότο κάλαντα are the fourth prize in the chariot-race (23.269, 23.614), ranking after an unused cauldron and before a two-
handled jar; see 23.269n. The talents are usually taken to be contributed (one each) by the parties in the suit, as an award for the one who 'speaks a judgement most straightly' (ἐκλέγει as at 16.542 and Od. 11.570, ἐδόσει as at 23.580, HyDem 152, Hesiod, Erga 36). Wolff (43) and others compare HyHerm 324, though it is far from certain that the τολμάτα there are not simply the scales of Zeus. The equivalence in value to the chariot-race prize is reasonable enough – A. L. Macrakis considers that Homeric prices are consistent (Studies Presented to Sterling Dow, Durham, NC 1984, 211-15) – but of course by standards of the classical period this is an enormous weight of gold, even if it were the recompense which the defendant pointed to in 550. The matter has not yet been explained.

μετά τῶν: ‘among the elders’ (Wolff 39-40). Presumably the surrounding crowd decide which elder wins the award; Wolff (40-2) finds an analogy to this in early Germanic law. Verse 508 sounds much like an inscription on a prize, such as the Dipylon oinochoe: ὡς νῦν ἐφηκτείναν πάντων ἄπολυτον παίξα (IG 1 Suppl. 492a; see most recently B. B. Powell, Kadmos 27, 1988, 65-86).

509-40 The city at war

The scene continues (there is no new ‘he made’) with the second city, this one under siege; a representation probably chosen by the poet not only because of the tale of Troy but because it was one of the recurrent circumstances of Greek city life. The picture includes an ambush and the capture of cattle. In similar fashion, the West House at Akrotiri contains miniature frescoes showing both pastoral and siege scenes (see most recently S. P. Morris, AJA 93, 1989, 511-55; P. M. Warren’s article, JHS 99, 1979, 115-29, includes two colour plates).

509 Cf. στρεμός ἐπί θαλῶν (4.76). It has often been pointed out that the description seems to be based on a two-dimensional representation in which the besieged city appeared with the enemy forces on either side, as on the silver dish from Amathus (see fig. 2, p. 205, and Markoe 66-7). This also recalls the siege of a city by both sea and land on the north frieze from the West House at Akrotiri, and the well-known silver rhyton fragment from Mycenae (Fittschen, Schild 12, Taf. 67a; T. B. L. Webster, From Mycenae to Homer, London 1958, 98-9 and pl. 5), on which only the attack on one side of the city, by sea, survives. Nestor told of the siege of Thruoesa by the Epean army and its rescue by a force from Pulos (11.710-60), but that kind of episode does not seem to fit here. στρεμός can have the meaning ‘band’, ‘troop’, e.g. at 8.472, so the meaning here may be simply ‘two forces of armed men’ or ‘two camps’, not necessarily two distinct armies. On the Hesiodic Ἀσπίς (237-70) one of the armies is that of the besieged city (cf.
9.529-30), but that would fit badly here with the ambush which follows. The scholia (AbT) offer divergent interpretations.

510-12 The divided opinion may well be, of course, within one attacking force. | τῶν Ἀχιλέας ἀρμάτων (etc.) is reserved by Homer for Hephaistos-made armour, as at 17.214 when Hektor dons it, and at 20.46 when the Trojans shudder at Akhilleus’ appearance in it. ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ ἑαυτῶν ἡμῖν ἔκδοσις | is formular (2 × Od). In the same way Hektor, facing Akhilleus alone, wonders whether to offer that the Trojans give back Helen and divide with the Greeks the wealth of Troy (22.111-21), using in part the same words (511-12 = 22.120-1; but 22.121 may be taken from here, see note ad loc.).

513 αἱ: i.e. the townspeople. ὑποδοθήκης (only here in Greek): ‘armed themselves secretly’. The ambush is called a δῆλος in 526, and in general in the II. is considered a cowardly stratagem (see A. T. Edwards, Achilles in the Odyssey, Königenstein/Ts. 1985, 18-27).

514-15 The description evokes not only the Teikhoskopia (3.145-244), and Hektor’s instructions for the defence of Troy while its army is camped on the plain (8.517-22), but the sufferings of women, children, and the old at the sack of innumerable cities; these are portrayed in Hektor’s words to Andromakhe (6.450-65), in her lament over his corpse (24.731-8), and in the prediction of old Priam (22.66-76). Women are shown on the wall of the besieged city on the Mycenaean silver rhyton (see sogn.). Verse 514 = 4.238.

516 οἱ: i.e. the fighting-men of the city. Thus when the Trojans attack ἑκτίκην δ’ ἄρον ἔφης Ἀρχις καὶ πόλιν’ ἔσω (15.592). On the shield the presence of the gods must be pictured, not merely mentioned by the poet. The joint action of the deities, so often opposed to each other in the II. (see 17.398-91.), perhaps reinforces the generalized nature of the depiction.

517-19 The poet describes the artist’s technique, as at 548-9, 562-5, 574, and 577. On the well-known dinos by Sophilus in Athens the spectators are drawn much smaller than the contestants in the chariot-race. ὄψις probably = ‘apart’, as at 15.709. ὑπολίθων (519; Leaf’s ἐν ὄψις is preferable) is for ὑπό, ‘beneath <them>’ and ἐόλος ὄψις = *ἐλαγγελέων, the old comparative form of ὄψις, found as a place-name at 2.717 and in inscriptions and later poetry (see LSJ).

520-2 Verse 520 = 23.138. ἔδρα is the imperfect of ἐδώκα, ‘it seemed fitting’. This tense is found only here in Homer. (Willcock, less plausibly, derives it from ἐδώκα, ‘yield’, as at 22.321). δρῶς (also at Od. 13.247) < ὑπό, ‘give water <to cattle>’. βοῦς (cf. βόσκω) occurs only here in early epic, but is used in later poetry; this phrase must have been suggested by the frequency of βοτοῖν in this position, preceded by ἕξειν (3 × II., 3 × Od.) and other adjectives – once by παντοσοῦ, as here (Od. 13.397). With 522 cf. καρπορίσκειν τὸν χώκο (9 × II., 1 × Od.). The formular ‘bright’
bronze is not very suitable for an ambush, and ἐπισταμένοι is not used elsewhere in this position, so the poet may be creating a new phrase to describe the craftsman’s technique rather than the men’s armour.

523-34 The two scouts alert the men in ambush to the approach of the cattle; these are then seized and their herdsmen killed. Then the besieging army hears the bellowing of the cattle, comes to the rescue, and a pitched battle begins. It is possible that the poet has seen juxtaposed pictures of a siege and the capture of cattle, and has interpreted it as the seizing of the besiegers’ cattle by the townsman, though the reverse would seem a more likely event.

525-6 o! ὡς: the cattle, though ὠς (plural) is elsewhere feminine in Homer; by 527 they have become τά. τοσχά: ‘soon’, not ‘swiftly’. The second hemistich of 525 recurs at Od. 17.214. The happy, syrinx-playing herdsmen are straight out of later pastoral poetry – much unlike Hesiod’s countrymen – and the swift pathos of their death is like that of the short ‘anecdotes’ which follow the death of so many minor characters in this poem. The syrinx is also mentioned at 10.13.

527-9 o! μών: the men in ambush; o! ὡς (530): the besiegers, owners of the cattle. προϊόντες, ‘seeing from a distance’, as at 17.756. With 528-9 cf. βοῦς παραμυθώνουσα ἴδῃ ὡς καλὰ (2 x Od.). The poet has expanded the usual verse with βοῦς δύσας (which occurs in various forms in both poems) and added, in enjambment, the colour-phrase ἀργυρωκῶν ὡς, modified from the older ὡς ἀργυρωκῶν (2 x Il., once separated) and ἀργυροῦ διόσων (1 x Il., 1 x Od.). Zenodotus read πὼς μὴ’ ὡς, which is formular (2 x Il., 1 x Od.) but loses the importance of the colour here; it must mean he omitted 529. ἀπολοτῆρος occurs only here and HyHerm 286.

530-2 o! ὡς: the besieging army, still debating the question presented at 510-12. ἐφώνω: apparently ‘assemblies’; the word recurs only at Hesiod, Theogony 804. It may be connected with the root of ἐφο, ‘speak’ (Chantraine, Dict.) and is glossed by Arn/A as τὰς ἄγωρας. προτάραζε suggests an audience sitting in a camp meeting-place listening to speakers who stood in front of them. ἤτοι ἀριστοῖδες begins a verse 2 x Il.; on this kind of formular modification see J. B. Hainsworth, Flexibility 105-9, and M. W. Edwards, TAPA 97 (1966) 150-2. Of course chariots are meant.

533-4 ἐφών ὡς Od. 9.54-5, which has παρὰ νησὶ δεξιὸν in place of παραμυθών πορ’ δύσας (which recurs at 4.487). ὡς is best taken both as object with ἀργυρωκῶν (cf. φιλότητα στῷον, Od. 11.314) and with ἠμέλευεν as cognate accusative. χαλάσατειν ἀγόνων | is formular (2 x Il., 2 x Od.); the epithet here may or may not refer to the craftsman’s material.

535-8 These verses also appear in the Hesiodic Aspis (156-9), with ἰθύνοι for ἰθύνον in the first line. J. M. Lynn-George, Hermes 106 (1978) 396-405, has argued, with much probability, that the lines were composed
for the Aspis and have been interpolated into the text of the II. Lynn-
George’s main reasons (based on those of F. Solmsen, Hermes 93, 1965, 1-6) are: the lurid content of the lines, which much better suits the Aspis than Akhilleus’ shield; the lack of parallels in the II. to the activities of Eris, Kudoimos, and Ker, whereas at Aspis 248-57 the Keres behave in a similar way (Lynn-George (400) suggests Aspis 248-57 may have been the model for Aspis 156-9; other such doublets in the Aspis are discussed by R. Janko, CQ 36, 1986, 39-40); and the congruity of the sentence structure by 8’ “Eπα... ουκειων with the circumstances of the Aspis, where a completed shield is described, contrasted with the II.’s depiction of the craftsman’s actions in fashioning one (λυχνια... etc.). ουκειων of Aspis 156 was changed to ουκαμαν to match ουκαμαν (539) in ring form.

Lynn-George is also probably correct in maintaining (against Solmsen) that 539-40 follow smoothly after 534 with the same grammatical subject, and should be retained in the text; the sense (as he says) may be compared with 418, where Hephaistos’ robots are δοκεσθήναν δοκεσθην. Both he and Solmsen (the latter uneasily) suggest that 608a-d (see 607-8n.) may have been interpolated in a similar way, but less successfully, at the same early period in the transmission.

535 On Eris see 107 ton., and on such personifications generally 4.440-1. At 5.740-1 (the description of Athene’s aegis) the anaphora is more shapely, in four cola of increasing length.

536-7 ους occurs only here and in the parallel Aspis passage, and the form (δι- for δι-) is unexplained; see Chantraine, Dict. s.v. ους. ους occurs at 4.540, and ους at 13.539. Lynn-George (op. cit. 400) points out that this is rather a lot for a single Ker to handle, and that her grip on an unwounded man is strange. He suggests a ‘somewhat jumbled reworking’ of Aspis 248ff.

538-40 Elsewhere the form is always δοκεσθήναν. The word-order | νεκροτ... τηθυνότοι | recurs at 6.71. O. Andersen, SO 51 (1976) 11, following Marg, Dichtung, sees in the rescue of corpses an allusion to the struggle for Patroklos’ body.

541-52 The farm’s year

The third band of decoration includes three scenes depicting the seasonal work of the farmer’s year: ploughing, reaping, and the vintage. Each is introduced by ιν μ’ άβαθα (541, 559, 561). In all three scenes the pleasurable rewards of labour are emphasized – the refreshing cup of wine; the feast; the song and dance at the vintage. The pasture-land scene should perhaps be grouped here too (see 550n., 573-8n.).

541-9 Lines 541-47 describe not a depiction of a field, but the plowing
of a field, which includes movement and the desires of the depicted figures; the audience is thereby encouraged not to imagine the surface appearance of an image (the visual medium) but to imagine the world depicted therein... Lines 548-49 then call us back to the (visual and verbal) context of the scene' (A. S. Becker, *AJP* 111, 1990, 143).

541-2 πεῖραν ἀποφάνων is formulaic (1 x It., 2 x Od.); on the meaning and history of ἀποφάνω see W. Richter, *Arch. Hom.* h 93-4 and Hoekstra, *Odyssey* on Od. 13.354. ἐν τριπόλατῳ is found at Od. 5.127 and Hesiod, *Theogony* 971. τριπόλατον: 'thrice-ploughed' (cf. πολέω, 'plough', in Hesiod, *Erga* 462). Repeated ploughing not only kills weeds but by aerating the topsoil reduces the loss of moisture left by the winter rains; see H. Forbes, *Expedition* 19 (1976) 5-11, M. Jameson, *CJ* 73 (1977-8) 127, and P. Walcot, *Greek Peasants, Ancient and Modern* (Manchester 1970) 38-9. It is recommended in Hesiod (Erga 462-3), and is often referred to in later authors (see West's note *ad loc.*). There must be some association between τριπόλατος and the name of the agricultural cult-hero Triptolemos, which appears as early as HyDem 153 and 474, and this suggests some possible ritual significance in three ploughings. E. A. Armstrong, *CR* 57 (1943) 3-5, suggested the translation 'triple-furrowed', an allusion to three ritual furrows ploughed by a king or priest, but there is no supporting evidence for this from Greece, though sacred ploughing rituals are known in Attica (Plutarch, *Mor.* 144a-b; see M. Jameson, *TAPA* 82, 1951, 49-61). For further discussion and references see W. Richter, *Arch. Hom.* h 101, and more recently West, *Works and Days* 274, *Theogony* 423, and Hainsworth, *Odyssey* on Od. 5.127.

543 ζεύγησα διώνυσες: 'turning the yokes (of oxen at the headland)'; the idea is elaborated in the next four verses. ἐπιτραφέω is a form of ἐπιτρεφω, appearing in Theognis and occasionally later. The number of words describing motion, especially 'turning', in this passage is very noticeable. There is a similarly vivid description of ploughing at 13.703-7 (see note *ad loc.*).

544-7 τόξον, 'turning-point', 'headland', comes from the root *qel* 'turn', as does (τρ)πόλον (542) too. (μαλκα)δίκος σῶν occurs here, 2 x Od. and *HyDem* 206; it is declined (with digamma ignored) from μαλκίδα (τ)σῶν | τοι θεί | (546): the refreshed ploughmen. δύσως here = 'furrows', as at *HyDem* 455. δύσως means a row or strip (perhaps from δύω or a postulated *κύω*, 'furrow'; see Chantraine, *Dict.*), and is used of the swath cut by the reapers at 552 and 557 (and 11.68). See W. Richter, *Arch. Hom.* h 119-20.

The sudden insight into the labourers' minds (547) is noteworthy. Drinks would be frequent, but the wine would have been mixed with water, as usual (W. Richter, *Arch. Hom.* h 127).

548-9 The subject is ἡ (νεούς) (from 541 and 547), but ωλοίνετο refers
both to the ploughed earth and to the representation of it on the shield; ὅμως again refers to both the ploughing and the depiction of it. 'The physical similarity between depiction and depicted scenes serves to enhance the audience's respect for the ability of the visual image to reproduce significant aspects of the world. The result is an appreciation of Hephaestus' art' (A. S. Becker, *AJP* in, 1990, 144). Then ἐκεί returns us to the visual medium, and the narrator comments in his own voice: τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ ὅμως πέταξο (549). The poet must be thinking of the application of niello over a gold underlay, as at 562. ὅμως is intensive, not local. ὅμως: as Hephaistos promised at 466-7.

550-60 A similar reaping scene is described more briefly in a simile at 11.67-9, where again the rich (μίσκος) holder of the arable land is mentioned.

550-1 Three post-Aristarchean papyri and some older MSS read παῖαι ὀρχάι, which is clearly correct (cf. 556); others βασιλεία, perhaps under the influence of βασιλικόν in the similar description in Hesiod, *Ap. 288* (and 11.560). Both readings were known to Did/AT. After 551 some texts added καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς Δημήτρης ἐγαλλοδόρου (Τ on 18.483), perhaps interpolated to give ἡμῖν an object. Agallis of Corcyra, a contemporary of Aristophanes of Byzantium, used the verse to support her view that the two cities on the shield were Eleusis and Attica. On the ἱαμάτων or royal estate, see 14.122-5n., Hainsworth, *Odyssey on Od*. 6.295. H. van Effenterre, *REG* 80 (1967) 17-26. J. Manessy-Guitton, *IF* 71: (1966) 14-38, and L. R. Palmer, *Myceneans and Minoans* (London 1965) 100-4. The regular formal description appears at 6.194-5, καὶ μὲν οἱ ἱαμάτων ἀρδεῖ τόμον ἢ δάλλον καὶ σταυρὸν (ἐκ 20.184-5, cf. 12.313-14, which ends...πυκνόφυλλο). The temenos offered to Meleagros is half arable, half vineyard (9.578-80). At 14.122-4 grazing-land for cattle is added, and this is also implied at 12.319. These parallels suggest that the vineyard (561-72) and perhaps the pasture-land too (573-89) also belong to the βασιλεία of 556.

The ἵππος in Hesiod, *Erga* 602-3 (see West ad loc.), is a hired woman servant; Athene offers to be Nausikaa's σύνιστος with her laundry duties (Od. 6.32). The etymology is unknown. Later the meaning becomes 'wool-workers', perhaps from an assumed connexion with ἵππος. Here they are hired farm-hands; speaking of classical Attica, M. Jameson says 'The harvester is the typical hired man (Demosithenes 53.21, and woman, 57.45)' (C. 73. 1977-8, 131). The distinction (if any) between them and ἔργα is not clear. See also W. Richter, *Arch. Hym.* n 17-19. On the form of the ἔργα see W. Schiering, *Arch. Hym.* n 154-8.

552-6 A ἔργα is literally a handful (< βράσσονως); the cornstalks are grasped with the left hand and cut with the ἔργα in the right.
Book Eighteen

Some of the handfuls are shown still lying με' δυνον, 'along the swath' (see 546-7n.), others are being gathered into sheaves. On ηπηραμα see 208-14n. άλδεφονεις must mean 'sheaf-bindings', perhaps from *αλλω (άλω), 'turn' (Chantraine, Dict. s.v.) + the suffix -ΕΟΣ (Risch, Wörterbildung 106). The 'handfuls' are gathered and bound into sheaves by the δυαλόδεταις; then the children grab the sheaves (δρομώνωται), carry them off in their arms, and place them in stooks. πάρεψι: 'were at hand', as at 23.835.

556-7 The βοσινως must be the local landowner, the hereditary chief of the community, perhaps like the twelve noblemen who share power with Αλκινως of Φακας (Od. 8.390-1); in Linear B the qa-si-re-we seem to have been provincial officials (Ventris and Chadwick, Documents 121). See most recently P. Carlier, La Royauté en Crète avant Alexandre (Strasbourg 1984) 136-230; I. M. Morris, CA 5 (1986) 98-9 and references there; and J. B. Hainsworth, Odyssey on Od. 7.49 and Introduction to Od. 8. On his staff see 2.108n. and R. Mondi, Arethusa 13 (1980) 206-12.

560 The second hemistich is a lengthened form of the formula η' άληφτα λευκά πάλλουν | (1 x II., 3 x Od.). The wording has been interpreted to mean either that the barley is sprinkled over the meat - as over Εβαμαιος' roast pork (Od. 14.77, 429) - for a general feast, or that the heralds are preparing the roast meat for the king and the women are making a kind of porridge for the workmen - though elsewhere the formula is used for sprinkling barley into wine, not boiling it in water (11.640, Od. 10.520 = 11.28). For this reason I find (with Leaf) the first interpretation more probable (taking υπόσωται as 'apart from the reaping', not 'apart from the women'); Willcock (ad loc.) and G. S. Kirk (Homer and the Oral Tradition, Cambridge 1976, 12) prefer the second. In either case, δάνιον must be in apposition to the sentence, 'as a meal'. έτεθώ: see 550-1n.

561-72 Λυ διάπι is an orchard or vineyard, often marked off by a ήρας (564, 5.90); see W. Richter, Arch. Hym. II 97-8. Again the poet emphasizes the craftsman's skill and the happiness of the workers, and the song and dance anticipate the later dance-scene (590-605). The whole description is idyllic.

562-3 The visual impact of χροσίη leads into the contrasting μέλως ά':...; cf. 548-9. διάπι is understood as subject of ιστηρια. Ησιοδ., Φαιν. 299, has διρυφησε κώμος |, which may have been formular; κώμος is later used for any kind of pole or shaft. διαμπρετ (έρινω, 'pass through'): 'through the whole vineyard-picture'; cf. 20.362, Od. 14.11.

564-6 The κόπτως (cf. Chantraine, Dict. s.v. σκόπτω) is a ditch, for irrigation (cf. 21.257-62; Od. 7.125-30), drainage, or both; see W. Richter, Arch. Hym. II 105 7. It is inside the ήρας, which protects it, marks the boundary, and keeps out wild and domestic animals. διαμπρετ: the form
Book Eighteen

The concept of *atraps* appears at 17.743 and *Od.* 14.1. Both in Homer and later, *παρθένος* (like the English 'harvest') with an accusative of the crop (*Od.* 7.124) or of the place from which it is taken (as here, and Hesiod, *Apoll.* 292).

567–8 Cf. ἄρχειν καὶ παρθένοι ὁδεγοῦσαν | (593), παρθένος ἄρχειν τε (22.127, 22.128), νώμαι τ’ ἄρχειν τε (5.11.38). *παρθένος* appears as a longer alternative for *παρθένος* at *Od.* 11.39, Hesiod, *Theog.* 699, and in later poetry. Uses such as παρθένος ἄρχειν νεῖμι (Od. 7.20) perhaps made its adoption easy. ἄρχειν φροντίζειν (etc.) is formular (Hesiod, *Theog.* 699, *HyDem.* 24); the shorter form ἄρχειν φρονίζειν occurs at 6.490. On the much-disputed derivation of ἄρχειν (perhaps = 'tender') see C. Moussy, *Mélanges... à P. Chantraine* (Paris 1979) 157 68, who renders it here as 'qui ont la simplicité naïve de l'enfance'. Both halves of 568 recur 1x *Od.*

569–70 On the *φόρμων* see M. Wegner, *Arch. Hom.* u 2–18. *λινον*: 'the Linos-song'. ὑπὸ: 'to the accompaniment of', as in *HyDem.* 502, καλά is probably adverbial, like ἑστάνειν. The notion of Zenedotus (Arm/A) and others that λινον here means the string of the cithara (subject of διαδέσκει), though accepted by van der Valk, *Researches* 1 153-4, seems on a par with Philochorus' tale (schol. T) that Linos was killed by Apollo because he substituted sheep-gut strings for λινον, 'thread spun from flax' (or vice versa). Sheep-gut is said to be used for phorminx-strings at *Od.* 21.406–8. Aristarchus (Arm/T) correctly saw the parallel with παρθένος, the song in honour of Apollo Paian.

On Linos see M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983) 56–67 (with fragments and testimonia). Hesiod said that Linos was the son of Ouranie, δὲ δὲ, ὅσοι ἠρετῶν ἠμέτακται καὶ καθαροτερῶν, τὸ πάντες μὲν ἔργαινον ἐν κληρινίας τε χοροῖς τε (fr. 305.2–3 MW). T quote an inscription in Thöbes: ὅ λινον πάντας τῆς ἤθελες τετειμένος, τοις γὰρ ἔδωκαν ἅβανον προῦτον μήλος ἑνδρώπισεν (διὰ τοῦτο) ἐν τοῖς ἄθροισι. Μόρφης δὲ σε βρήκαν αὐτὸν | μυρίσμοι μουλθῆσαι, ἐπὶ λιπές ἦλιον αὐξά (Page, *PMG* fr. 88b, in drastically altered form). Pausanias (9.29.3, quoting 569–70) gives a fuller version, that Linos was murdered by Apollo for rivalling him in singing and is universally mourned, even by the Egyptians; Herodotus (2.79) repeats the Egyptian connexion, and gives a more likely one with the Phoenicians. The scholia and Eustathius (1163.53 1164.27) give further information.

Linos and the Linos-song probably developed from the cry *αἶλουν*; cf. Pindar fr. 128c.6 (Smell) *λινον* αἴλουν ὁμι; Aeschylus, *Ag.* 121 etc.; and Sophocles, *Ajax* 627. The cry is probably of oriental origin (Chantraine, *Dict. s.v. λινον*); see E. Diehl, *AthM* 89 (1950) 81–114. The song is always referred to as a dirge, and it seems odd to sing it here on what is obviously a cheerful occasion. If Linos was actually a dying vegetation god, perhaps the song was proper to the autumn.
571-2 λεπτολος (< λεπτός, ‘thin’, ‘delicate’) occurs rarely in later poetry. The meaning here is not obvious, but presumably complimentary; perhaps ‘high’? ῥέσουντες is not from ῥίγωμι but from ῥίσσοι (Attic ῥίττω), ‘strike’; cf. Ἰρηφ 516 of ἤ ῥήσουντες ἑποντο and Ἀρ. Ῥη. 1.359 πίθου ῥήσουμεν πόδεσσιν. ἄμυτος: ‘together’ (< ἄμις), as at 5.656. On λυγμοί see 17.64-7n. σφύρω is used at Od. 10.412 of calves frisking around their mothers.

573-8 Cattle and sheep herding

The cattle and sheep are probably thought of as the property of the king (see 550-11n.), but reconstructions of the shield’s design generally allot these two scenes a band of their own (van Leeuwen), or place them on a band together with the following dance-scene (Willcock). The change in the introductory verb (τοιρες, 573 and 587) suggests these two scenes should be separate from those which precede and follow. The season of the year is not emphasized (transhumance is not likely in the Mediterranean area at this period, according to P. Halstead, JHS 107, 1987, 79-81), though T (on 587-8) remark that sheep are driven to pasture only in the spring and O. Taplin, G&R 27 (1980) 7-9, holds that these scenes continue the farmer’s year and portray winter. On depictions of cattle and sheep in early art see W. Richter, Arch. Hom. 11 52-3, 59, and Markoe, Bowls 54-6.

573-6 On ὄρκοπεραῦων see 3-4n. The scholia (bT) point out that the two metals provide different colours for the animals’ hides; cattle in Homer are termed ὀργύς (23.30), πομφίς (Od. 3.6), ὀνυψ (13.703 = Od. 13.32), and ὀκτών (16.488, Od. 18.372). The onomatopoeic root ὠκ- appears in a number of forms in Homer and later Greek; cf. μικόκως (〈 μικάκως) at 580. ὠκαφύς recurs at Od. 12.265. The use is extended to cover the groaning of gate-hinges (5.749 = 8.393, 12.460) and the clang of a shield struck by a spear (20.260). ὠκοί can mean both ‘dung’ and ‘stall’, ‘farmyard’ as here and at Od. 10.411. The mention of the sound-effects accompanying the picture is remarkable, anticipating 580 and Krats’ ‘heifer lowing at the skies’ (Οδ. on a Grecian Urn).

S. E. Bassett, The Poetry of Homer (Berkeley 1938) 156-7, claims 576 as the most beautiful verse in Homer, pointing to the way in which the second hemistich almost repeats the pattern of the first, the asyndeton stressing the parallels; different senses are appealed to by ‘murmuring’ stream and ‘waving’ reeds. W. B. Stanford, The Odyssey of Homer (London 1965) 1 xxii, also comments on the sound; besides its rippling dactyls the verse has nine short α’s, alternating with short ο’s, much alliteration (especially of -ου), anaphora at the mid-verse caesura, and a chiastic arrangement of
noun-participle-adjective-noun, in which the first and third and second and fourth words match in metrical shape. On patterns of sounds in Homer see Introduction, ch. 4, v, 1.

The scholia, though often conscious of sound-effects (Richardson, CQ 30, 1980, 283–7), are here preoccupied with spelling. MSS give ποδανός, which probably means ‘waving’ (cf. ποδέων, ‘spun thread’, ‘wool’), but Zenodotus read ποδαλόν (after διά) and Aristophanes and Aristarchus perhaps ποδείβων (Did/A; the text is corrupt); see Erbse and van der Valk, Researches I 44–6. The variation in root vowel is unexplained (Chantraine, Dict. s.v. ποδανός; the variation -ίνος/-ανος is common enough).

578 The second hemistich is a lengthened form of κώνας ἄργιοι ἐπόντον | (3 × Od., cf. 18.289).

579–86 The capture of the best cow in a pasturing herd by a lion, its consuming of the blood and entrails, and the powerless uproar of the herdsmen and dogs, are all described in a simile at 17.61–7. Besides the verbal parallels, which are natural in descriptions of a similar action, the shared content and sequence of ideas closely link simile and shield-scene. Cf. also 15.630–6, 18.161–2, and, on lions in Greece, Introduction, ch. 3, iii. Zenodotus’ reading κόικῶ δὴ λύων (Did/AT) reveals his imaginative critical methods; he obviously sought a colour-contrast with χρόνος (577), and one wonders if he could possibly have understood the dogs to be ‘white-footed’.

579–80 ἐν πρώτῃ probably refers to position, the lions attacking one of the foremost animals, likely to be a prime bull. But βοῦν...ἡ τῆς ἄργιντον in the parallel description (17.62) suggests that the alternative ‘among the best of the cattle’ (cf. 15.643) should not be ruled out. ἱέρωμα occurs only here; it comes from the root of ἱέρωμα, ‘bellow’, cf. the Latin rugio. The sound of the word is important here, anticipating μουκων.

581 Some late MSS have τῶ for τᾶν; Zenodotus (Did/A) read τῶ. Amid the rapidly changing subjects in these lines τῶ is easiest for the audience to follow; τῶ would give better sense, but τῶ again in the next verse would then be weak.

582–6 There is a steady progression of time during these scenes, as in a simile. First the oxen leave the farmyard (575), then reach the riverside pastures (576); then the lions seize one of the foremost bulls (579–80), and now they are eating its carcase as the herdsmen try in vain to get the yapping dogs to attack. Bulls and lions are common on Phoenician bowls; see Markoe, Bowls 39–41.

583–4 Cf. αἰμα καὶ ἔγκατα πάντα λαφύσσει | (11.176 = 17.64). λαφύσσεντον is imperfect; in historic tenses the ending should be -έν, but -ένοι is also
found for metrical convenience at 10.361, 10.364 and perhaps 13.346 (see note ad loc.). ἐδίωσ: ‘in vain’. ἐδίωσσεν (only here) is imperfect active of ἔδιωκα, ‘pursue’, with prefixed ἐ-, ‘towards’, ‘against’, as in ἐντρέπομαι, ἐντρέψαμαι; i.e. they were sicking the dogs on.

585-6 ἐπηρετυχώτατο is for an earlier ἐπηρετύχων; the alternatives -ο-, -ω- in the root occur in a number of -ο- verbs, e.g. ποτώσσει (2.462), ποτώστω (12.287); see Chantraine, GH i 358. On 586 T comment γραφικός ἔθευτο τό πάν.

587-9 The description of the meadow for sheep-herding is much shorter than the other scenes and has no movement or human participants. Its presence is best defended by Marg, who draws attention to its peacefulness, intervening between the excitement of the lions’ attack and the swift action of the dance; ‘In der Knappheit so etwas wie ein Verlieren in der Landschaft, daher nichts Näheres mehr, kein Mensch zu erkennen, nur dies Andeuten der weissen Schäflein auf den Hängen (588). Ein Zwischenstück, eine Pause vor dem vollen Schluss’ (Dichtung 27).

μένος (-ος) is often used in this position to extend a preceding or following formula; the construction is paralleled by 6.194-5 (Ξ 20.184-5) τίμονος... ἔστελν ταῦτα καὶ ἄρομα (Od. On στάμφος see 5.140n.

590-606 The dance

The penultimate band depicts young men and women dancing amid spectators. Two kinds of dance movement are described, a round dance and one with rows of dancers facing each other. The dance is led by leaping solo dancers. The happy scene forms a fitting conclusion to the pleasant picture of human social life which the shield presents.

Representations of dances of men and women together, accompanied by a lyre-player, are discussed by M. Wegner, Arch. Hym. u 60-5 (with plates); see also Fittschen, Schild Taf. xa and b and Abb. 6.

590-2 χορός is best taken as ‘a place for dancing’, as at Od. 8.260, 8.264, 12.4, 12.318, rather than ‘dance’, as Schadewaldt, VHW 484 n. 1, and others understand it. Marg, Dichtung 42 n. 50, gives good reasons for adopting the view taken here, including the parallel with νωάν at 587 and the use of ἄνδρος at 593. The verb ποιέω occurs only here in ancient epic, but is common later. Possibly the word hints that this picture is more in the nature of a decorative frieze, like the rows of identical figures on Geometric vases, than a real-life episode like the others on the shield. κράτος (-ος, -ης) is used at the verse-end after Ἰλιδί τοῖς Ἰλισ (2 x Il., 3 x Od.), Ἰλιδί Σπαρτῆς (1 x Od.), Ἰλιδί Κρήτης (2 x Od., including 1 x in the genitive), Ἰλιδί Λυκίδα (1 x Il.), and Ἰλιδί Ἐλευθέρων (1 x Il.). There may also be a formula Κρήτοιον... ἤπαθων I (Od. 14.199 = 16.62). δοκο is used of any kind of handiwork.

228
The simile compares the scene of daily life to the heroic past, an appealing reversal of the normal illustration of a heroic action by a familiar action of ordinary experience. The ancient scholars, however, argued much over whether it was correct to have Hephaistos imitating the work of a mortal (AbT). On Crete generally see 2.646-8n.; Cretans were famous dancers, and Aineias hurla jibe at Meriones the Cretan about this (16.617, see note ad loc.). On Daidalos, a 'speaking name' from δειλός (< δείλ- δειλ-, from the root *del- which appears in Latin dole, 'sorrow'; von Kampf, Personennamen 109), see most recently F. Frontisi-Ducroux, Diale (Paris 1973). Ariadne's name is a divine title, 'most holy', from ἀριστ- (intensive) + διός, Cretan for διός (but see Ἰφιεις; Xenodotus [Did/AT] read Ἀριάδνη, an unexplained form found also in Callimachus fr. 67,13; see Pfeiffer ad loc.). The conception of Daidalos' making a dancing-floor in Knossos for Ariadne, followed immediately by the description of a dance of young men and women, must be associated with the familiar talt of the Minotaur, the labyrinth, and the yearly tribute of young men and maidens (on which see H. Herter, Gnomon 16, 1940, 410-16; on the ἱππος-dance on Delos, A. Yoshida, RBPh 42, 1954, 9-10 and references there). Tablets from Knossos mention a Daidalion and a Mistress of the Labyrinth (W. Burkert, Greek Religion, tr. J. Raffan, Cambridge, Mass. 1985, 23 and references there; on dancing and processions on Crete, 34), and three circular platforms dating from soon after 1400 have been identified as dancing-floors (P. Warren, BSA 79, 1984, 307-24). Theseus' abduction of Ariadne and her death on the island of Æg is related at Od. 11.321-5.

592-4 Dancers in Greece still hold each others' wrists, and a line of dancers is led by a person who does his own figures, in a semi-acrobatic way. δέραβος is derived from the root appearing in ἀδερβα, 'yield', 'fetch' and -βος < βος (cf. ἔδερβος, περβος, etc.; Risch, Wortbildung 138; W. J. Verdenius, Hermes 29, 1957, 4-7). The word occurs only here and in a similar phrase at HyApf 119; it must be an old formula for 'maidens worth many cattle'. M. I. Finley, Economy and Society in Ancient Greece (Harmondsworth 1981) 293 n. 41, considers it the antonym of πολυβάρος; A. M. Snodgrass, JHS 94 (1974) 115 n. 116, lists 13 Homeric references to gifts given by the suitor to the bride's kin. On the vexed question of bridewealth and dowry in Homer see most recently I. M. Morris, CA 5 (1986) 105-15; Finley, op. cit. 253-45; Snodgrass, op. cit. 115-18. Verse 594 of HyApf 196.

595-6 Helen leaves to go up to the wall ἀρβενηθης καλωματις δόθισαν (3.141), presumably donning some kind of outer wrap or shawl. The χιτόν is the normal wear of men. On the use of olive oil to give clothing a gloss (cf. the epithets αγαλέως, λιπαρός), a sweet scent, and perhaps softness see 14.172n. and S. Marinatos, Arch. Hum. 4-6. Plutarch says that the use of
Book Eighteen

olive oil gives long-lasting brightness to white cloth (Alex. 36). The grammatical structure of 595–6 and 597–8 matches almost word for word.

597–8 Both women holding garlands and men wearing daggers are common on Geometric vases; see Fittschen, Schild 16 and Taf. xα, b. This couplet was omitted by Aristophanes and舸ized by Aristarchus ( Arn/A) on the grounds that in Homer ὧςἀρα cannot mean 'sword' (cf. 19.252–3, and 13.609–10.) and that knives or daggers (its usual meaning) are not proper for a dance. Neither argument is compelling. acc Bolling, External Evidence 183). Apthorp, Manuscript Evid nce 118 n. 139, suggests a copvist’s omission before the time of Aristarchus, because of the similarity of 595 and 597 and the homoearchon in 596 and 598. Leaf adduces a reference in Lucian, On Dancing 12–13, to a chain-dance (δραµα) of young men and women, δ ḫρητος τὰ υστερά ὰρχομένος καὶ δέσιν ὄπλησθον ἐν πολύμο χρήστον. There is evidence for certain dances as part of military training in Greece (see E. L. Wheeler, GRBS 23, 1982, 223–33), but here both men and women are dancing and nothing more than brilliance of costume need be intended. The gold and silver remind us again of the craftsman’s technique.

599–602 ἕν ἄτη...ἄθλητος (δέ), 'at one time...at another time' is found again at 11.64–5 and 20.49–50. The shift in time, like that appearing in many of the other scenes, intensifies the ideas of movement and vividness. ἐπιστημώνως (etc.) elsewhere always qualifies a person, but the extension of usage is natural enough. On the spelling of θέα (θέα in the Berlin papyrus) see 17.461–2n. δραµα ἐν πολύμον ἐν τῷ ἑντὸς ἐν τούτο διδάσκεις. Leaf adduces a reference in Lucian, On Dancing 12–13, to a chain-dance (δραµας) of young men and women, δ ḫρητος τὰ υστερά ὰρχομένος καὶ δέσιν ὄπλησθον ἐν πολύμο χρήστον. There is evidence for certain dances as part of military training in Greece (see E. L. Wheeler, GRBS 23, 1982, 223–33), but here both men and women are dancing and nothing more than brilliance of costume need be intended. The gold and silver remind us again of the craftsman’s technique.

603 On the form πολλός see 13.802–5n.

604–6 Allen prints the text as it appears in the MSS and papyri. According to Athenaeus (18oc–d), Aristarchus (or his school) added Od. 4.15–19 to the description of the wedding in Menelaus’ palace, the last three verses running | τοντόσων μετά δὲ φιλανθον θεος δεδομένων | φορώον | δοθώ &... | κατά κλίνουσι. Later (18id) Athenaeus quotes 604–6 as they appear in our MSS, without metà...φορώον, claiming that Aristarchus cut them from the IL text. Wolf restored them (see his Prolegomena ch. xix n. 49). The verse τοντόσως...δεδομένων recurs at Od. 13.27, enjambling with | δημοδόκοι in the next verse.

It is likely that the additional sentence was added to provide the dancers with music; there are traces of a similar effort at 606a (see below), which must have been added as an alternative. In an excellent recent discussion of the evidence and of previous opinions, Apthorp, Manuscript Evidence 160–5, opposes the view of van der Valk, Researches u 223–4, 527–30, and
Pasquali, *Storia* 232–3, that Aristarchus excised the sentence on the basis of internal evidence (i.e. the use of μελασμα to mean 'sing' instead of 'play') without MS support. The omission of an instrumental accompaniment to the dancing remains odd (*pace* Apthorp 164), especially since both the wedding and vintaging scenes concluded with phorminx-players (494–5, 569–70). Possibly the vulgate H. and Od. versions represent shorter and longer variants of a standard dance-description, though elsewhere such variants differ by complete lines rather than by the four enjambing cola in question here. (Two of the obvious doublets in the Hesiodic *Aspis*, however, begin and end at the mid-verse caesura: 201–3, 209–11.) Schadewaldt, however, retains the sentence, suggesting that the singer may represent Homer himself (*FHWW* 367); Reinhardt, *IuD* 402, and Marg. *Dichtung* 30, take a similar view.

605-6 καπστηνηψ are leaping solo dancers, *Springtänzer*, like the two Phaeacians who show off their skill leaping to catch a ball and dance together with rapid exchanges of position (τοπρτü δειμουνην, *Od.* 8.370–80). Such dancers are figured on Geometric vases (M. Wegner, *Arch. Hel* u 65–8 and plates ma, via, b, d). The word is also used of a diver plunging down for sea-squirts (16.745, 16.749, 16.750) and of fish jumping above the surface (21.354). κατα' α'λωνι: 'through them', 'among them', further defined in κατα' μεσασως in the next verse; Athenaeus' (180e) κατα' α'λωνι, i.e. 'by themselves', is incorrect.

606 The MSS δφραχωνες (or -ε, with an unnecessary hiatus) is indubitably correct. It makes much better sense than Athenaeus' -ος (180d-e, 181d: with το γελεδε understood), and a genitive absolute without the noun expressed is rare in Homer (only occurring at 11.458). See van der Valk, *Researches* 530. A proto-Attic amphora shows a row of women in long dresses led by an apparently naked male figure clapping his hands (M. Wegner, *Arch. Hel* u 52, no. 62; *BSA* 35, 1934–5, an(α) βλεπιν). *Endoι (io) means 'turn', 'spin around', like the dancers in the marriage-procession (494); cf. also 543. There is no warrant for thinking they are somersaulting tumblers or acrobats (*pace* F. Chamoux, *L’Information Littéraire* 1, 1949, 69–71). See M. Wegner, *Arch. Hel* u 43.

After 606 the Berlin papyrus adds ἐν δεσσον ςσγγγ (180e) κοι πάλας τις κοι ταϊς. The idea is like 494–5 and *Aspis* 278–80, but the phrasing does not recur.

607-8 The river of Ocean

Οκκανος, δι περ γενες παντος τετυπη (14.246), surrounds the pictures on the shield as he surrounds the flat disc of the earth on which men and women work out their lives.
Book Eighteen

607–8 It is not clear how this band is related to the ‘triple rim’ of 479–80; perhaps the poet thinks of it as sandwiched between two decorative bands. Okeanos is grouped with the rivers at 20.7, though he does not attend the extraordinary gods’ assembly as they do; on his etymology and place in cosmogonies see 14.200–70. It may be that Homer thinks of him represented here in the form of a snake encircling the shield, like the snake running round the edge of the silver dish from Praeneste (fig. 3, p. 206; see 14.244–81, and R. B. Onians, The Origins of European Thought, Cambridge 1951, 315–17). In the Aspis, however, the depiction of Ocean included swimming swans and fish (314–17). The formula ἥνα αἴθως ὄμενόω recurs at 21.195, preceded by the impressive πανδορκίως (see note ad loc.). With 608 cf. ἐντὸς ὤμος ὦν ἀπειπὸς διμολογήσεις (6.118) and ἔννυ’ ὧτο πρῶτην (20.275).

After 608 the Berlin papyrus adds four extra verses, printed in Allen’s apparatus and edited by S. West, The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer (Pap. Col. iii, Cologne 1967) 135–6. Verse 608a is adapted from Aspis 207–8; 608b runs together the first hemistich of Aspis 209 and the second of Aspis 211 (the text of the Aspis includes a doublet here); 608c = Aspis 212 (with a variant replacing a corrupt word in the Aspis MSS); 608d = Aspis 213 (with a minor error). Further additional verses continued in the next column. This is obviously another example of the interpolation of verses from the Aspis into the II., which was seen at 535–8 (see note ad loc.); it must have occurred before the doublet entered Aspis 209–11, i.e. early. One feels that the harbour-scene and fisherman of the Aspis would be out of place on the shield-rim, but the dolphins might be a fitting decoration for the stream of Ocean.

609–17 Hephaistos makes the rest of the armour and gives it to Thetis; she bears it down from Olimpos

609–13 The making of the corset, helmet, and greaves is described as rapidly as possible, with little elaboration and simple repetitions of ὁ... The magnificence of the shield-description could only be diminished by further ornamentation here. The ancient scholars (T on 460) wondered why no sword is mentioned, and suggested that Nereus had received one from Hephaistos and passed it on through Thetis to Akhilleus. There was also a story that Hephaistos had made a sword for Peleus (Hesiod fr. 209.2–3 MW; see J. R. March, Th Creativ Poet, London 1987, 5–6). Patroklos had picked up a bronze sword, in the usual formulaic couplet (16.135–6, 3 × II.), as does Akhilleus himself when he goes to battle (19.372–3). Ph. J. Kakridis, Hermes 89 (1961) 297, thinks that Patroklos must have taken Akhilleus’ sword, but that Homer overlooked this because
of the formular verses employed in both arming-scenes. In Greek heroic tales a sword does not have the mystique it has in Teutonic and Celtic mythology, perhaps because of the importance of the spear, as in the case of Pelorus (16.140-4) and Δ' Ερμής Πρώμος (4 × II).

610 θεσμότερον μυρός σάγγης is used of the goddess’s robe at Ἡ φαρθή 86.

The comparison is amplified when Ηκτόρ gazed in terror at Ἀχιλλεύς: ἐπὶ τόν ἄλλην ἄλλην ἐπιστρέφει ἐς τοὺς θρήνους τειχίσματος (22.134-5).

611-12 A shorter form of 611, without νρηθήν, appears at 13.188, and a variation at Od. 18.376. With the phrasing of 612 cf. (φορμαγι) [καλὴς δειλελήμη, εἴτ' ἐπηγύρων ζαφέν ἁν] (9.187), (θόφων) [καλὴς δειλελήμη ἐπὶ τῷ δότην ποιεῖν ἅν] (18.390 and 3 × Od.) and 16.222, 19.380, and 22.314.

613 'Τὸ θείον τοῦ “μείζον” αὐτοῦ ἀνοικίας καὶ τὴν μάκρας ἐπιθέσεως τοῦ ἀστραπών θαυμάζει D. H. F. Gray, JHS 74 (1954) 9; but the epithet is too obviously ornamental to carry such a weight. The greaves are of tin to differentiate them from the normal equipment, which must be understood to be of bronze (though only once said to be so; 7.41).

614-17 The scholia (A) perceptively point out that the poet very properly does not prattle about (καλὸς τὸ μη λαλῖν) praise of Ἐπεισόδιος, Thetis' thanks, or her gathering up of the armour; στριφών γάρ πρὸς τὸν θηρίον. When vase-painters depict the scene they usually provide Nereids to help the goddess with her load (cf. my article in C4 9.2, 1990, 311-25), but the poet need not concern himself about how she can gracefully handle her burden. μὴ πρός Ἀχιλλῆς (615) occurs only here; it is significant, not just a periphrasis.

616 ἰπτεῖ (616) is amplified at 13.62-5 (see note ad loc.); obviously speed, not disguise, is the point here. The gods always move quickly, and Thetis similarly hastens to join her beloved son at 24.121. ἵπτεῖ λιώσει (616) occurs 2 × II, once for Apollo and once for Πατρόκλος. Verse 617 is a variant of 137. The type-scene of Thetis' journey continues at 19.3.