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Phoenix in the Iliad

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PHOENIX IN THE ILIAD

An honors paper submitted to the Department of Classics, Philosophy, and Religion
of the University of Mary Washington
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Departmental Honors

Kati M. Justice

May 2017

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PHOENIX IN THE *ILIAD*

Kati Justice

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CLAS 485

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Abstract

This paper analyzes evidence to support the claim that Phoenix is an narratologically central and original Homeric character in the *Iliad*. Phoenix, the instructor of Achilles, tries to persuade Achilles to protect the ships of Achaeans during his speech. At the end of his speech, Phoenix tells Achilles about the story of Meleager which serves as a warning about waiting too long to fight the Trojans. Achilles rejects Agamemnon's embassy and Phoenix's pleas; therefore, he faces the consequence of Patroclus's death. By using his speech in "Book 9," as the main primary source to analyze Phoenix as a character, the research is focused on his appearances throughout the epic, relationship to Achilles, his life before Troy, and his purpose for being at Troy. This paper will explore counter arguments including the consistent use of dual number during the embassy's travel to Achilles tent, and his abrupt introduction into the epic that contest his authenticity as an original character, and discuss evidence to support the main argument by focusing on his speech in "Book 9," his later appearances in the epic, his relationship to Achilles, and the themes that he supports including need, supplicant-exile, persuasion, value, goals, and emotions in the *Iliad*.

"I hereby declare upon my word of honour that I have neither given nor received unauthorized help on this work."

Autobiography

At the University of Mary Washington I have chosen to major in Classical Civilization, as well as being a student in the Elementary Education Program. I have had the opportunity to study Ancient Greek and to read classical texts. For my senior thesis I wanted to choose a topic that relates to what I have studied; therefore, I choose to write about Phoenix in the *Iliad*. The text I primarily focused on during my studies was Homer's *Iliad*, and because Phoenix is a teacher for the main character of the epic, I found interest in him as a character.

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Introduction

Phoenix is a central character to the epic, and his speech in “Book 9” he acts as a turning point. As a teacher, Phoenix, who took care of Achilles throughout his childhood, tries to persuade and warns Achilles to protect the ships of the Achaeans during his speech. When Achilles rejects the embassy and Phoenix’s offers and pleas, he faces the consequence of Patroclus’s death. Phoenix is an original Homeric character in the *Iliad*, but his narratological function in the epic as a character is challenged by scholars, such as Wilhelm von Christ, starting in the late 1800’s.¹ Because of his speech in “Book 9,” it is possible to argue his narratological purpose. To support his function, this paper will explore his purpose as a character using evidence from the Homeric text and from scholarly sources. To support Phoenix’s originality as a Homeric character, the counter arguments and supporting evidence will be discussed throughout the paper. His appearances throughout the epic, his relationship to Achilles, and the way Phoenix supports major themes about honour, supplicant-exile, persuasion, values, goals, and emotions in the *Iliad* are the points that will be used to defend the argument that Phoenix is an narratologically central character.

There are counter arguments against Phoenix being an original Homeric character in the epic. To introduce his article, John A. Scott wrote, “If there was one point of agreement among disbelievers in the unity of the *Iliad* it is that Phoenix had no part in the *Presbeia* of ‘Book 9.’”² However, Scott perceives Phoenix as an

original character without an important role pertaining to the action of the epic. For example, he wrote, “The presence of Nestor made it impossible for another old man of decidedly inferior rank and ability to play more than a humble part in the economy of poem, while on the other side the prominence of Patroclus excluded him from achieving eminence as the friend and companion of Achilles.”³ The counter arguments are constructed based upon the presence of Phoenix at Agamemnon’s tent, the consistent use of dual number to refer to five characters instead of just two characters during the travel of the embassy to Achilles’ tent, Chiron being Achilles’ mythical instructor, the abruptness of Phoenix’s introduction, and the fact that when Ajax nodded to Phoenix, Odysseus spoke up.⁴

Phoenix’s Entrance

During Nestor’s dialogue in lines 9.162-172, Nestor is suggesting that Phoenix take part in being in the embassy to Achilles:

Then horseman Nestor of Gerenia answered him

“Highly honoured son of Atreus, Agamemnon, king of men

Gifts that you offered to king Achilles, can no longer to be blamed,

But come on let us send chosen men, to swiftly 165

Go to the tent of Achilles son of Peleus.

If whomever I will choose let them be persuaded.

First Phoenix loved by Zeus have lead the way,

Nevertheless then the great Ajax and heavenly Odysseus;

Heralds let Both Odius and Eurybates following at the sametime. 170

bring water from your hands, you keep yourselves in holy silence,
 In order that we may pray to Zeus son of Cronos, if he may show
 mercy.”⁵

Nestor talks to Agamemnon in these lines suggesting who should be in the embassy. He wants Phoenix to lead the rest of the embassy, Ajax, Odysseus, and two harolds through the camp. Although this is the first time Phoenix is mentioned in the *Iliad*, he did not receive a description that usually accompanies important Homeric characters in their introduction. He only received the description of ‘Phoenix, dear to Zeus’ in line 9.168, “Φοῖνιξ μὲν πρότιστα Διὶ φίλος ἡγησάσθω⁶ (First Phoenix dear to Zeus went before).” His detailed description came later during his speech, and his description of life is used instead to persuade Achilles to protect the ships of the Achaeans.

The introduction of Phoenix was abrupt in the Agamemnon’s tent; nevertheless, it supports Phoenix’s originality because it gives him a reason to make his pivotal speech at Achilles’ tent. If Phoenix was in Achilles’ tent and did not know what reason behind the embassy coming to offer the gifts from Agamemnon, then he would not have had the opportunity to try to convince Achilles to participate in protecting the ships of the Achaeans. Phoenix is at Troy to instruct and care for Achilles, but he is in Agamemnon’s quarters. The only reason he takes part in the embassy to Achilles is because Nestor thought it would help them convince Achilles; however, Scott argues that Agamemnon and Nestor did not perceive Phoenix as a

major addition to the embassy, because he did not return to Agamemnon's tent after their business was adjourned at Achilles' tent.⁷

Dual Number

The use of dual number, found in lines 9.182-198, to refer to the five membered group to Achilles tent presents a syntactic problem. This syntactical problem is used to argue against his narratological purpose as a Homeric character in the *Iliad*.

These two walked around the shore of the loud-roaring sea
 Very many prayers to the mover and shaker of the earth,
 to easily persuade the great heart of the grandson of Aeacus.
 They came upon the tents and ships of the Myrmidons, 185
 They found him delighting in his heart by the clear-sounding lyre
 Beautifully embellished, upon it was a bridge of silver,
 It was won of spoils from destroying the city of Eetion;
 So that he delighting in his heart, he sang great deeds of men.
 Patroclus alone sat opposite him in silence, 190
 Waiting until the grandson of Aeacus stayed still,
 These two walked forward, heavenly Odysseus led the way,
 He stood before them, astonished Achilles,
 With the radiant lyre sitting in place there.
 So in this manner Patroclus, when he beheld the men, stood up. 195
 And greeting, the swift-footed Achilles spoke to the two;

“Greetings, which dear men show have come, in great need of something,

Even in my anger to me you are dearest of all the Achaeans.”⁸

In this passage the embassy travels to Achilles’ tent. On the way they pray many times for the ability to persuade Achilles. When they arrive at his tent, they find Achilles singing and playing his lyre with Patroclus sitting across from him. After Achilles finishes singing, Odysseus and the rest of the embassy enter into the tent while Achilles and Patroclus stand to welcome them as friends.

Dual number is used to refer to the five members of the embassy throughout this particular passage, but the grammatical use of dual number only refers to two people or two things. The uses of dual number nouns are found multiple times in this passage. The first two uses of dual number is in line 182, τὼ and βᾶτην . Then in line 183 the participle εὐχομένῳ refers to two people praying. In line 192 there are τὼ, βᾶτην, and προτέρῳ. The sixth use is τὼ again in line 196, and in line 197 there are three more uses of dual number words: χαίρετον, ἰκάνετον, and χρεῶ. Lastly ἔστων uses the dual number in line 198.

The embassy consists of five members: Phoenix, Ajax, Odysseus, and two heralds who are minor characters. Phoenix is the leader, but not a major participant in the embassy as far as Nestor and Agamemnon are concerned. William F. Wyatt wrote, “We cannot not know for sure what the reason was, but it is at least clear that Phoenix’s role was a guide, not a chief.”⁹ Wyatt proposed that because it was nighttime and the Trojans were camped near the Achaean ships, the embassy needed

a recognizable face when traversing through the campsite; therefore, Phoenix was the designated leader of the group while travelling. Although Phoenix may have been the leader of the group, because he does not return to Agamemnon's tent, he still is not a major character in the embassy as previously mentioned.¹⁰ He is not a major character to Agamemnon's embassy because he was not apart of the original embassy that Agamemnon had chosen, and was not required to report back to Agamemnon about the events which had occurred in Achilles' tent.

There are two major people in the embassy, the first of whom is Ajax, the signalman of the embassy. Ajax signals in Achilles' tent in lines 9.222-223 that it was time for Agamemnon's message to be delivered, and that their business was complete before they left. Secondly, Odysseus was the spokesman of the group. His role was to deliver the message that Agamemnon dictated in lines 9.225-306. Because Odysseus and Ajax were the two major characters of Agamemnon's and Nestor's embassy, Homer chose to use dual number during lines 9.182-198, and he stayed consistent with the use of the dual number throughout these lines.¹¹

When the embassy begins their task at Achilles' tent, Ajax nods to Phoenix in lines 222 to 223. “*αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο, νεῦσ' Αἴας Φοῖνικι: νόησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,*¹² (Nevertheless then they put from them the desire of drink and of food, Ajax nodded to Phoenix; heavenly Odysseus noticed there).” Before Phoenix could say anything, although there is no indications that Phoenix was supposed to speak or wanted to say anything, Odysseus used this signal as an opportunity to begin his speech. Because Odysseus felt as if his task was of utmost

importance, he did not wait for Phoenix to speak.¹³ He based his judgement on Nestor's advice in lines 8.179-180. “τοῖσι δὲ πόλλ’ ἐπέτελλε Γεῆνιος ἵπποτα Νέστωρ δειδίλων ἐς ἕκαστον, Ὀδυσσῆϊ δὲ μάλιστα.”¹⁴ (Horseman Nestor from Gerenia commanded them with many glancing towards each, exceedingly at Odysseus.)” Nestor glances at all of the characters, but he makes a point to look at Odysseus while giving instructions. Nestor says through body language that Odysseus' role in the embassy is the most important.

Phoenix's Speech

Phoenix's major contribution to the epic is his speech to Achilles in “Book 9.” Lines 9.434-605 is his main speech that causes the controversy among classical scholars. For the purpose of supporting the argument that he is narratologically central to the epic, the speech will be separated into three parts: Phoenix as Achilles' instructor, his autobiography, and the story of Meleager.

Being 171 lines long, his speech is the longest speech out of all the characters in the *Iliad*; furthermore, the sheer length of the speech commands the full attention of the audience.¹⁵ The length of Homeric speeches and the number of rhetorical techniques support the importance of the character to the epic.¹⁶

Achilles' Teacher

From lines 9.434-443,¹⁷ Phoenix begins his speech by explaining to the audience that he is Achilles' instructor, and the beginning of the speech explains why Phoenix has an obligation to Achilles and why Achilles should listen to him. In this part of the speech, he also reaches out to Achilles to chide gently about how his

decisions affect others. Phoenix says that he wants Achilles to take Agamemnon's offer, to stay, and to defend the ships of the Achaeans for the sake of those who are still fighting and for the sake of his own honour and glory.

An emotional Phoenix speaks to Achilles through tears. He says that Achilles did not even think about protecting the ships, because anger clouds his judgement. Phoenix asks how can he stay at Troy if Achilles decides to go back to Phthia. When the Achaeans first went to Troy, Achilles was innocent to the terrors of war, while most of the men were experienced and ready for the naval and land battles to come. He explains that Peleus sent him to teach the rules of war to Achilles. Also, Peleus sent him to instruct Achilles about being a good speaker and to take action when needed.

Emmet Robin explores the idea that Phoenix may be Chiron in human form, but also seems to argue against Phoenix's being an original Homeric character. There are some parallels in the roles they play in Achilles's life such as being an instructor of medicine, music, hunting, horses, and fighting. However, Robin points out that there are some major inconsistencies in the mythology of Chiron for Phoenix to be an exact parallel of the centaur. Because Thetis is not mentioned in Phoenix's speech about being given Achilles to teach by Peleus, Phoenix contradicts the fact that Thetis took care of Achilles according to Homer's *Iliad*. Phoenix contradicts the mythology of Chiron receiving Achilles from Peleus to be taken away from home to learn as shown in Figure 1.¹⁸ When Phoenix was given Achilles as a student, both Peleus and Thetis gave Achilles to him; however, in Phoenix's speech Thetis is not mentioned.

In the *Iliad*, Thetis did not leave Peleus, and she mentions that she took care of Achilles as a young boy. Also, the failing to mention Thetis contradicts her maternal presence which is displayed throughout the epic.¹⁹ In line 1.396, Achilles recalls hearing Thetis in Peleus's halls. “πολλάκι γάρ σεο πατρός ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἄκουσα”²⁰ (For many times I heard you in my father's halls). Also, not mentioning Thetis's contradiction in lines 16.570-574, when Epigeus came as a suppliant to Peleus and Thetis.²¹

βλῆτο γὰρ οὗ τι κάκιστος ἀνὴρ μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσιν 570

υἱὸς Ἀγακλῆος μεγαθύμου δῖος Ἐπειγεύς,

ὃς ῥ' ἐν Βουδείῳ εὖ ναιομένῳ ἦνασσε

τὸ πρὶν: ἀτὰρ τότε γ' ἐσθλὸν ἀνεπιὸν ἐξεναρίζας

ἐς Πηλῆϊ' ἰκέτευσε καὶ ἐς Θέτιν ἀργυρόπεζαν.²²

For he threw a man not worst of the among the Myrmidons 570

Godlike Epigeus son of great-hearted Agacleos,

Before he was king of well abiding people of Budeum;

but then he had killed his good first cousin

To Peleus he approached as a suppliant and to silver footed Thetis.

The contradictions of Thetis not being mentioned in Phoenix's speech leads to the question of whether or not Homer changes the already known mythology of Chiron to suit the needs of his epic. In the “Mythological Paradeigma in the *Iliad*” M. M. Willcock argues that Homer invented his own mythology to serve the purpose of deepening and embellishing his epic.²³ This argument serves to explain the

inconsistency mentioned by Robin. Homer changing the mythology of Achilles being handed over to Chiron by Peleus and Thetis, allows him to create a character that is a human old man with a close relationship to Achilles such as Phoenix with the ability to give such a strong argument to defend the ships of the Achaeans in the form of a speech.

Although his appearances are few, Phoenix has one of the most important roles in the *Iliad*, being the instructor of Achilles. C. J. Mackie, in his article “Achilles’ Teachers: Chiron and Phoenix in the *Iliad*,” focuses on why Homer chose to use Phoenix as a teacher for Achilles. Mackie argues that a theme of the *Iliad* is human limitation. Chiron, a centaur, is alluded to four times specifically in the epic,²⁴ and Homer may have been hesitant to use Chiron because he would be too distracting to his audience listening to an epic about human relationships and limitations; therefore, Homer needed to replace Chiron with a human figure, and Homer decided to use Phoenix in the guise of an elderly human man. Both Chiron’s and Phoenix’s influences are seen in Achilles through his motivation, skills, and personality.²⁵

Theme of Values, Goals, and Emotions

Not only does this part of the speech answer the question of who Phoenix is, it supports the theme of honour through excellence in battle. G. H. Adkins explores the relationship between values, goals, and emotions throughout the epic. Values are shared by both the individual and the community, and goals are usually shared by members of the community. If the values of an individual are shared by the community, then the community will celebrate the individuals who promote the

upkeep of the community values. However, emotions of an individual can conflict with the community's values and goals. The Achaeans' goals were to win the battle of Troy and increase their gross national product. A soldier will only receive honour and glory if he fulfills the goals set by the community.²⁶

Because the use of weaponry and armour aids in winning the war, a valuable person is one who owns good weaponry and armour and who help the society complete the goal of defeating the Trojans through war. The Achaeans are in need of soldiers who can protect the primary social, political, and economic units. The soldiers with the best armour and weapons will be the most valued through the war. Full sets of armour and weaponry were not common; therefore, only those of higher economic status had full sets of armour and good weapons. The most valued soldiers were those of higher economic status. After Patroclus died, Achilles did not immediately go into battle, Patroclus was currently using the only armour set available; therefore, Achilles had to wait to go into battle until he received a new set of armour.²⁷

Achilles let his emotion of anger override and conflict with his values and goals along with the community's values and goals. In his speech, Phoenix tries to stop Achilles from letting his emotions conflict with the community values. In lines 9.430-433:

ὡς ἔφαθ', οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ
 μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι: μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀπέειπεν:
 ὄψε δὲ δὴ μετέειπε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Φοῖνιξ

δάκρυ' ἀναπρήσας: περὶ γὰρ δῖε νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν:²⁸

So he spoke, they all became quiet in silence

Wondering at his words; for he very strongly spoke out;

After a long time it is necessary that the old horseman Phoenix spoke

Bursting forth tears; for all around he feared for the ships of the Achaeans;

Crying Phoenix tells Achilles to consider trying to ward off the consuming fire from the battleships instead of focusing on the anger in his heart toward Agamemnon. He uses his autobiography and story of Meleager as instructing tools to strengthen his agenda to persuade Achilles to continue fighting instead of returning to Phthia.²⁹

The Autobiography of Phoenix

In line 9.444-523,³⁰ Phoenix starts to recount his life leading up to becoming the instructor of Achilles. The autobiography of Phoenix explains to Homer's audience why he was in the position to be Achilles's instructor. He begins by saying that he was young when he left Hellas. Amyntor, his father, took in a young concubine, which dishonoured and upset his wife. The distraught wife, Phoenix's mother, told her son to seduce the concubine in order to make the girl hate Amyntor. Phoenix did what his mother had asked him to do, and his father found out. Amyntor cursed his son with childlessness and locked up his son in a chamber. Phoenix contemplated on whether or not to murder his father, but the gods did not allow it. His new desire was to run away, and on the tenth night of imprisonment he escaped to Phthia. After supplicating Peleus, he was allowed to stay. Peleus welcomed Phoenix,

treating him as a son, and put infant Achilles under his tutelage. Phoenix tells this to Achilles because he wants Achilles to realize that it is possible for someone who has done something wrong to receive forgiveness. Phoenix wronged his father, but received forgiveness from supplicating Peleus. Because Achilles's emotions are hindering him from protecting the ships of the Achaeans, Phoenix wants Achilles to forgive Agamemnon, who offers gifts for reconciliation.

Phoenix continues to say that he thinks of Achilles as his son. Because Achilles' anger causes him to go against community values, Phoenix warns Achilles not to fall in the hands of the goddess Ate. Phoenix tells him to receive the honour that Agamemnon offers him; however, if Agamemnon had never even offered the gifts, then Phoenix would be unconcerned with Achilles' unwillingness to fight in the war. The goal of receiving honour from fighting was more important than the actual defending of the ships. He finishes this section of his speech by saying that Achilles was not at fault for Agamemnon's deed, but he will be at fault if he does not take the opportunity to receive honour from King Agamemnon.

Honour

Agamemnon thinks of honour to be more important than the actual defense of the Achaeans as well. For example, in lines 1.115-120 Agamemnon refuses to give up Chryseis without recompense.

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἐθέλω δόμεναι πάλιν εἰ τό γ' ἄμεινον:

βούλομ' ἐγὼ λαὸν σῶν ἔμμεναι ἢ ἀπολέσθαι:

αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γέρας αὐτίχ' ἐτοιμάσατ' ὄφρα μὴ οἶος

Ἀργείων ἀγέραστος ἔω, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἕοικε:

λεύσσετε γὰρ τό γε πάντες ὃ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλῃ.³¹

And so I am willing to give her back, if it is better; 115

I wish the people to be safe than to be destroyed;

But prepare for me gifts of honour at once that I alone,

Of Argives, not suffer without a gift of honour, then it is in no wise proper;

For you to look around that my gift of honour goes to another place.

Agamemnon's language shows the importance of the economy of honour to the Greeks and Achilles. When Achilles provided an opportunity for Agamemnon to wait for a much greater prize to uphold his honour, Agamemnon's first reaction was to become angry.

Agamemnon's anger is a parallel to Achilles' anger, and when Agamemnon took the Briseis away from Achilles as recompense, he became angry with Agamemnon. After the embassy presented Agamemnon's offer to gain a greater war prize for Achilles, his first reaction to the offer is one of anger. In line 9.379 of "ἔχθρὰ δέ μοι τοῦ δῶρα, τίω δέ μιν ἐν καρὸς αἴσῃ"³² (Hateful to me are the gifts; I count them in hair's worth)." In this line Achilles rejects Agamemnon's gifts presented by Odysseus. Phoenix's speech tries to convince Achilles not to be like Agamemnon, to accept the bountiful war prizes, and to fight for the protection of the Achaean ships.

Conflict between Agamemnon and Achilles

The autobiography parallels the conflict between Agamemnon and Achilles. Amyntor was angry at Phoenix for taking his concubine just as Achilles is angry at Agamemnon for taking Briseis. Phoenix is a parallel to Agamemnon in the sense that they both wronged someone they needed. Phoenix suffered through being locked in a chamber and childlessness, just as Achilles closed up in his tent. Phoenix tells Achilles Agamemnon's perspective. If Achilles does not change his mind to help the Achaeans, then Agamemnon will lose and have to run from Troy. The importance of telling Achilles about Agamemnon's perspective is that whatever happens to Agamemnon not only affects Agamemnon but it has repercussions on the rest of the troops. Phoenix tells Achilles to think about the lives of his fellow Achaean soldiers.

Theme of Suppliant-Exile

Phoenix's life story supports the theme of the suppliant-exile in the *Iliad*. According to Robert Schlunk, in Homeric epics some of the characters he uses have the background of being an exile, and characters, such as Peleus and Patroclus, become exiles on account of jealousy, defeat, and murder. Phoenix did not murder his father, but he might have contemplated the idea. When he escaped from Hellas, it was clear that he would not be accepted back by his father. The fact that Peleus was an exile seems to be the reason why Peleus was accommodating to Phoenix. Phoenix's supplicating Peleus is a parallel to Agamemnon's offering gifts to Achilles. He tells Achilles that it is possible to forgive Agamemnon just as he received forgiveness from Peleus.³³

Story of Meleager

In lines 9.524-605³⁴ is the last section of Phoenix's speech which is the story of Meleager. The Curetes and the Caledonians were fighting in a war. Oeneus the king of the Caledonians won against the Curetes; however, he failed to offer Artemis the first fruits of their war spoils. The goddess sends a wild boar to lay waste to the land of Oeneus. Oeneus' son Meleager was able to stop and slay the beast with the help of huntsmen from many cities. The huntsmen fought each other for the spoils, and caused a war to break out. Meleager, favoured by Ares, warred against the Curetes, the home of many men. During the war, he killed his mother's uncle, and Althaea, his mother, cursed him. She asked Hades and Persephone to kill her own son. Wrath descended upon Meleager, and he decided not to fight for the Aetolians. Meleager's refusal to fight led to Calydonian's besiegement by the Curetes. The priest and the elders of the Aetolians prayed to the gods and offered Meleager gifts including a great tract of land. Also, his parents and friends beseeched him, but Meleager denied all of their pleas. Then his wife told him about how the Curetes were winning the battle, and the Calydonian citizens were suffering. Although he received no honour, he warded off the Curetes.

At the very end of his speech, Phoenix reminds Achilles not to be slow to act as Meleager. He wants Achilles to uphold the values of the community without losing his chance to attain honour and to ward off the Trojans away from the Achaean ships. Achilles did not listen to his elderly teacher's allegory; his anger still clouded his judgement, and continued to say that he will return back to Phthia.

Foreshadowing

Phoenix's moral lessons not only tried to convince Achilles to protect the ships and receive honour, they are also a foreshadow the rest of the epic. The Aetolians suffer without Meleager just as the Achaeans suffer without Achilles; furthermore, both Achilles and Meleager are offered gifts for honour, but they both deny all of the supplications. When they finally fight, Meleager loses his supplications, and Achilles loses his dear friend Patroclus.

Achilles' Rejection

Theme of Persuasion

Mitchell Reyes wrote about a reason behind why Achilles denied the embassy's pleas and Agamemnon's gifts. He argues that persuasion is a central theme of the *Iliad*. Persuasion is a central force to keep order in society. The leverage used to persuade reveals some of the personality traits of important characters in the epic. The major influences that characters use to persuade with are honour, power, and justice. Reyes defines honour as an activity of an oral bard that insures immortality through speech. He defines power as a state of mind that promotes confidence and eagerness, and justice is honoured by the gods while the humans judge someone's sense of justice on tangible deeds.³⁵ Phoenix also tries to use pity as leverage.

Phoenix along with the other members of the embassy tried to persuade Achilles to take the gifts and protect the ships using honour as a leverage. Because Achilles was already powerful enough to stop the Trojans, Phoenix did not try to use power as a leverage. Although justice is an option because Agamemnon committed

an injustice by taking Briseis, Phoenix actually agrees with Achilles about how being angry is the correct response from lines 9.515-518.

Honour was the only option that Phoenix had to persuade Achilles, but Achilles was not persuaded by the gifts. Peter S. Mazur noted that Achilles denied the gifts of honour because the embassy was dishonest in their persuasion. In Odysseus's speech from lines 9.225-306, he recounts all of the gifts offered by Agamemnon, but because he knew that Achilles would refuse the offer, Odysseus purposefully neglects to say that Achilles would be subjected to Agamemnon's authority if Achilles decides to accept the gifts. Achilles' anger only increased because the embassy refused to admit all of what Agamemnon had said, and continued trying to trick him without saying the word "persuade."³⁶

Theme of Need

Robert Rabel suggests that Achilles' denial of Phoenix and the embassy's persuasion supports the theme of need in the *Iliad*. In line 9.75, Nestor says that the Achaeans have a very great need; "μάλα δὲ χρεὼ πάντα Ἀχαιοὺς"³⁷ (Very needful are all of the Achaeans)." Without Nestor's admitting this to Agamemnon, Agamemnon would have never taken Nestor's advice to make an embassy to Achilles. Without the Achaean's need Phoenix would have never been able to present his speech to his student.³⁸

Phoenix's speech was supposed inhibit Achilles' need to get revenge on Agamemnon by not fighting in the war. Rabel wrote,

Book 9 among its other interests and concerns vividly explores the complex, paradoxical, and ultimately self-destructive nature of Achilles' social and psychological needs, which endanger his comrades and at the same time keep him inactive and confined to the periphery of the Achaean society.³⁹

Neither Phoenix's speech nor the rest of the embassy could persuade Achilles to become an active member of the Achaean society; although they could not curb Achilles' self-destructive needs, the prophetic allegory of Meleager is carried out.

Appeal of Phoenix's Speech

Phoenix's speech is the pivotal speech of the epic in which he appeals to Achilles in two ways: logical and ethical. The ethical appeal of Phoenix's speech is found throughout its beginning and the autobiography. Overcome by a strong emotion, He begins the speech through tears. The fact that Phoenix is in a dependent state which is an expression of his loyalty to Achilles' father, Peleus, reminds Achilles of his obligations towards Phoenix, his mentor. Phoenix then tells Achilles that he is like a son, and that he will follow Achilles' path wherever he may go to relive his youth. He uses his authority as a teacher and invokes emotions in Achilles to strengthen his logical appeal.⁴⁰ His logical appeal is in the third part of the speech. The allegory of Meleager communicates to Achilles that if he returns and protects the ships of the Achaeans now, then he will receive great honour from Agamemnon and the rest of the Greeks. Nevertheless, if Achilles refuses to help in the ships of the

Achaeans at this time, then he will forfeit the great war prizes he could have received.⁴¹

His autobiography serves as a composite appeal which incorporate four components: obligation, request disapproval, and even gods bend. The first component is found in lines 9.485-495.”

And I made you how you are, god like Achilles, 485
 from the love of my heart, since at the time you were not willing of others
 to go feast nor eat in the halls,
 before then indeed I set you upon my knees
 and I satiated you with a cooked cut of meat held for you and wine cup.
 Often you wet upon my breast through my tunic 490
 with wine spitting it out in your helpless childhood.
 So I have suffer much and toiled much,
 mindful of these things, that the gods have not accomplished a child
 for me: but I made you my child, god like Achilles
 So that you would ever ward off unseemly havoc. 495

Phoenix says that Achilles has an obligation to his to mentor because his devotion to taking care and instructing him. The second component in line 9.496, “But Achilles, controller of great spirit,” is Phoenix’s request to Achilles which is to oppress his anger towards Agamemnon. The third component expresses Phoenix’s disapproval of Achilles’ great anger in lines 9.496-497, “not you proclaim to have a pitless heart.” He continues to use his disapproval in the fourth component in lines 9.497-501:⁴²

a pitiless heart; both the gods themselves can bend
 the excellence and honour and power of them is greater.
 And with the burnt sacrifice and the gentle prayers
 and with both libations and of sacrifice men win them over beseeching them,
 whenever someone transgresses and errs.

Phoenix tells Achilles that even the gods can let go of grudges; therefore, it is possible for him to relieve himself of his anger for the protection of the Achaeans and take Agamemnon's bountiful prizes of war.

To strengthen his ethical appeal to Achilles, Phoenix gives the example of Litai, goddess of supplication in lines 9.502-512:

And for the Prayers of daughters of great Zeus
 lame, and wrinkled, and squinted in their eyes.
 And they sinfully go behind Ate is strong and swift of foot,
 and outruns because of this all prayers, and goes over the earth 505
 harming men, then they heal after her.
 He who respects the daughters of Zeus as they draw near,
 him they benefit greatly and they heard his prayers;
 and if he denies them and firmly refuses,
 they go and pray to Zeus son of Chronos, 510
 that Ate may follow him, so that he, having been harmed may receive
 retribution.

But Achilles, honour which you offer and give the daughters of Zeus,

This example serves as warning that if he does not supplicate or receive supplication, then he will be punished. Achilles does not heed this warning, and his dear friend Patroclus is killed as a result of his anger and stubbornness.⁴³

Phoenix's Later Appearances

Phoenix's appearances in other books supports his Homeric originality in the epic. He appears again in line 16.196. “τῆς δὲ τετάρτης ἦρχε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Φοῖνιξ⁴⁴ (old horseman Phoenix lead the fourth),” Five leaders of the Myrmidons are listed off: Menestheus, Eudorus, Peisander, Alcimedon, and lastly Phoenix. Each of the five leaders was given a longer description except for Phoenix. The only reason for Phoenix to have such a comparatively small mentioning is that he has already been introduced in “Book 9.”

He next appears in lines 553 to 555 in “Book 17.”

πρῶτον δ' Ἀτρέος υἷὸν ἐποτρύνουσα προσηύδα

Ἰφθιμον Μενέλαον· ὃ γὰρ ῥά οἱ ἐγγύθεν ἦεν·

εἰσαμένη Φοῖνικι δέμας καὶ ἀτειρέα φωνήν·⁴⁵

555

Urging on she spoke the first son of Atreus

Strong Menelaus; for he was nigh at hand;

She appeared in the bodily frame of Phoenix and in untiring voice;

While Patroclus's body is out on the battlefield after finding in Achilles' stead, Zeus orders Athena to support the Danaans. In order to fulfill Zeus's orders, Athena encourages each man to fight. To encourage Menelaus, the goddess took the

form of Phoenix, and advised Menelaus to urge his men to keep fighting, and to rescue Patroclus's body. Menelaus agrees, and is ready to fight.

As a character, Phoenix's importance is shown in this key passage because Menelaus allows himself to take advice from him and even converse casually. More importantly Athena, an Olympian goddess, took his form which reveals his status from the gods' perspective. If Homer made him an important character for the gods, then his character must have some grandeur in the scheme of the epic. It's worth noting that whenever a god or goddess takes the form of a named human that person receives a description unless this person has previously been described. John A. Scott gives an example using Nestor. “στῆ δ’ ἄρ’ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς Νηληϊῶ υἱὶ ἔοικώς Νέστορι, τόν ῥα μάλιστα γερόντων τῷ Ἀγαμέμνων: ⁴⁶ (Dream stood above his head as Nestor the son of Neleus, the one of whom Agamemnon held highly of old men;).” When Dream visited Agamemnon in a dream in the form of Nestor in lines 2.20-21, there was not a detailed description of Nestor. Because Phoenix was introduced in “Book 9,” he did not receive a detailed description.⁴⁷

Another example in the importance of Phoenix occurs in lines 23.358-360:

σῆμηνε δὲ τέρματ’ Ἀχιλλεὺς
 τηλόθεν ἐν λείῳ πεδίῳ: παρὰ δὲ σκοπὸν εἶσεν
 ἀντίθεον Φοίνικα ὀπάονα πατρὸς ἑοῖο, 360
 ὡς μεμνέωτο δρόμους καὶ ἀληθειὴν ἀποεῖποι.⁴⁸

Achilles showed the boundary

Thereafter in a smooth plain; he set one who watches

Godlike Phoenix comrade of his father, 360
 So he might remind the racers and speak the truth.

Phoenix is to serve as an umpire to their race. Achilles chose Phoenix because he is a close and trusted friend; furthermore, Homer chose Phoenix because he was already known by the audience, and he needed someone who was older and who knew how to manage horses to be a just judge of the outcome of the races.⁴⁹

Conclusion

Because his speech marks the central pivotal moment of the epic, Phoenix has an important narratological function. He appeals to Achilles both logically and ethically, and uses honour as leverage to persuade his student to defend the ships of the Achaeans. This speech marks the moment that causes Achilles to make the decision that will not only impact his personal life, but the outcome of the Trojan War. Phoenix as Achilles' instructor used the speech to persuade Achilles to receive Agamemnon's gifts and defend the ships of the Achaeans. His speech, particularly the story of Meleager, also warns that if Achilles waits too long to help the Achaeans then he will reap the consequences. Achilles did not heed his instructors warning, and he did receive the consequences in the form of the death of his friend, Patroclus.

The Narratological function of Phoenix is supported by his appearances, relationship to Achilles, and his support of the present themes of the *Iliad*. The counter arguments discussed in this paper were constructed upon the presence of Phoenix at Agamemnon's tent, the abruptness of his introduction, the consistent use of dual number to refer to five characters instead of just two, characters during the

travel of the embassy to Achilles' tent, and, Chiron being Achilles' mythical instructor. The evidence against the counter arguments support his relevancy to the epic. Being in Agamemnon's tent allowed Phoenix to fully understand the purpose behind the embassy to Achilles. The abruptness of his introduction allowed Homer to create a more impactful speech for his audience and have more leverage to persuade Achilles into receiving Agamemnon's gifts and protect the ships of the Achaeans. The consistent use of dual number refers to Agamemnon's main ambassadors, Odysseus and Ajax. Phoenix is a substitute of Chiron for Homer to be able to have a human character act as a mentor to Achilles. Phoenix's speech supports his narratological function to the epic to be a teacher to Achilles in the place of Chiron to appeal to his much needed student by using supplication, obligations, allegories, community values, and honour in one long speech that commands the attention of the Homeric audience.

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1. Christ asserts that the *Iliad* was not constructed by just one author. Scott focusing on Phoenix in "Book 9," responds to Christ in his article, "Phoenix in the *Iliad*."
 2. Scott, John Adams, "Phoenix in the *Iliad*," *American Journal of Philology*, 33 (1912): 68.
 3. *Ibid.*, 77.
 4. *Ibid.*
 5. For the Greek text see the Appendix on page 54.
 6. Homer, *Iliad*, Translated by A.T. Murray., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999): 406.
 7. Scott, John Adams. "Phoenix in the *Iliad*." *American Journal of Philology*. 33, (1912): 68.

8. For the Greek text see the Appendix on page 53.
9. Wyatt, William F. Jr., "The Embassy and the Duals in *Iliad* 9," *American Journal of Philology*, 106 (1985): 403.
10. *Ibid.*, 394-408.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Homer, *Iliad*, Translated by A.T. Murray., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999): 406.
13. Scott, John Adams, "Phoenix in the *Iliad*," *American Journal of Philology*, 33 (1912): 68-77.
14. Homer, *Iliad*, Translated by A.T. Murray., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999): 406.
15. Knudsen, Rachel, A., *Homeric Speech and the Origins of Rhetoric*, (John Hopkins University Press, 2014).
16. Rachel Knudsen found eighteen rhetorical techniques in Phoenix's speech.
17. For the Greek text and translation see the Appendix on page 37.
18. Figure 1 is on page 57.
19. Robins, Emmet, "The Education of Achilles," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*, 45, 3 (1993): 7-20.
20. Homer, *Iliad*, Translated by A.T. Murray., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).
21. Lines mentioning Thetis: 1.410-15, 1.493-95, 1.510-15, 1.535-40, 1.555, 4.510-15, 6.130-40, 8.370-75, 9.410-15, 13.350, 15.75-80, 15.595-600, 16.30-5, 16.220-25, 16.574, 16.860, 18.50-5, 18.94, 18.127, 18.140-50, 18.330-35, 18.369, 18.380-84, 18.385, 18.390-95, 18.395-400, 18.405, 18.406, 18.407, 18.423, 18.424, 18.428, 19.1-5, 19.25-30, 20.205-210, 23.14, 24.74, 24.83, 24.87, 24.89, 24.102, 24.104, 24.120
22. Homer, *Iliad*, Translated by A.T. Murray., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).
23. Willcock, M., M., "Mythological Paradeigma in the *Iliad*," *The Classical Quarterly*, 14, 2, (1964): 141-152.

24. The four references to Chiron are in lines 11.832, 16.140-144, 19.388-391, and 4.218-219.
25. Mackie, Chris J., "Achilles' Teachers: Chiron and Phoenix in the *Iliad*," *Greece and Rome*, 244, 1 (1997): 1-10.
26. Adkins, A. W. H., "Values, Goals, and Emotions in the *Iliad*," *Classical Philology*, 77, 4 (1982): 292-326.
27. Ibid.
28. Homer, *Iliad*, Translated by A.T. Murray., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999):406
29. Homer, *The Iliad*, Translated by Richmond Alexander Lattimore, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
30. For the Greek text and translation see the Appendix on page 37.
31. Homer, *Iliad*, Translated by A.T. Murray., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999): 20.
32. Ibid., 406.
33. Schlunk, Robin R., "The Theme of the Suppliant-Exile in the *Iliad*," *The American Journal of Philology*, 97, 3 (1976): 199-209.
34. For the Greek text and translation see the Appendix on page 45.
35. Reyes, Mitchell G., "Sources of Persuasion in the *Iliad*," *Rhetoric Review*, 21, 1 (2002): 22-39.
36. Mazur, Peter S., "Formulaic and Thematic Allusions in *Iliad* 9 and *Odyssey* 14," *Classical World*, 104, 1, (2010): 3-15.
37. Homer, *Iliad*, Translated by A.T. Murray., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).
38. Rabel, Robert J., "The Theme of Need in *Iliad* 9-11," *Phoenix : Journal of the Classical Association of Canada = Revue de la Société Canadienne des Etudes Classiques*, 45, (1991): 283-295.
39. Ibid., 284.

40. Knudsen, Rachel, A., *Homeric Speech and the Origins of Rhetoric*, (John Hopkins University Press, 2014).
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Homer, *Iliad*, Translated by A.T. Murray., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Scott, John Adams, "Phoenix in the *Iliad*," *American Journal of Philology*, 33 (1912): 68.
48. Homer, *Iliad*, Translated by A.T. Murray., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999).
49. Scott, John Adams, "Phoenix in the *Iliad*," *American Journal of Philology*, 33 (1912): 68.

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Appendix

1. Lines 9.434-443

- a. 'εἰ μὲν δὴ νόστον γε μετὰ φρεσὶ φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ
 βάλλεται, οὐδέ τι πάμπαν ἀμύνειν νηυσὶ θοῆσι 435
 πῦρ ἐθέλεις ἀΐδηλον, ἐπεὶ χόλος ἔμπεσε θυμῷ,
 πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ σεῖο φίλον τέκος αὖθι λιποίμην
 οἶος; σοὶ δέ μ' ἔπεμπε γέρον ἱππηλάτα Πηλεὺς
 ἦματι τῷ ὅτε σ' ἐκ Φθίης Ἀγαμέμνονι πέμπε
 νήπιον οὗ πω εἰδόθ' ὁμοίου πολέμοιο 440
 οὐδ' ἀγορέων, ἵνα τ' ἄνδρες ἀριπρεπέες τελέθουσι.
 τοῦνεκά με προέηκε διδασκόμεναι τάδε πάντα,
 μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων.
- b. If indeed to return home is in the midst of your heart, shining Achilles,
 but not altogether willing to ward off destructive fire 435
 from the swift ships, since wrath has fallen upon your heart,
 how, then, from you, dear child, should I be left here
 alone? To you the old horse man sent me
 on the day when he had sent you to Phthia to Agamemnon,

a child knowing not of evil war yet, 440
 nor assemblies, where very distinguished men become preeminent.
 Therefore, he sent me off to instruct you in all of these things,
 both to be a speaker of words and doer of deeds.

2. Lines 9.444-523

- a. ὥς ἂν ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ σεῖο φίλον τέκος οὐκ ἐθέλοιμι
 λείπεσθ', οὐδ' εἴ κέν μοι ὑποσταίῃ θεὸς αὐτὸς 445
 γῆρας ἀποξύσας θήσειν νέον ἠβώοντα,
 οἷον ὅτε πρῶτον λίπον Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα
 φεύγων νείκεα πατρὸς Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμενίδαο,
 ὅς μοι παλλακίδος περιχώσατο καλλικόμοιο,
 τὴν αὐτὸς φιλέεσκεν, ἀτιμάζεσκε δ' ἄκοιτιν 450
 μητέρ' ἐμήν· ἢ δ' αἰὲν ἐμὲ λισσέσκετο γούνων
 παλλακίδι προμιγῆναι, ἴν' ἐχθήρειε γέροντα.
 τῇ πιθόμην καὶ ἔρεξα· πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς αὐτίκ' οἴσθεις
 πολλὰ κατηρᾶτο, στυγεράς δ' ἐπεκέκλετ' Ἐρινῦς,
 μή ποτε γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφέσσεσθαι φίλον υἱὸν 455
 ἐξ ἐμέθεν γεγαῶτα· θεοὶ δ' ἐτέλειον ἐπαρὰς
 Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινή Περσεφόνεια.
 ἔνθ' ἐμοὶ οὐκέτι πάμπαν ἐρητύετ' ἐν φρεσὶ θυμὸς
 πατρὸς χωομένοιο κατὰ μέγαρα στρωφᾶσθαι.
 ἦ μὲν πολλὰ ἔται καὶ ἀνεψιοὶ ἀμφὶς ἐόντες

αὐτοῦ λισσόμενοι κατερήτυον ἐν μεγάροισι, 465
 πολλὰ δὲ ἴφια μῆλα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς
 ἔσφαζον, πολλοὶ δὲ σύες θαλέθοντες ἀλοιφῇ
 εὐόμενοι τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἥφαιστοιο,
 πολλὸν δ' ἐκ κεράμων μέθυ πίνετο τοῖο γέροντος.
 εἰνάνυχες δέ μοι ἀμφ' αὐτῷ παρὰ νύκτας ἴαυον: 470
 οἳ μὲν ἀμειβόμενοι φυλακὰς ἔχον, οὐδέ ποτ' ἔσβη
 πῦρ, ἕτερον μὲν ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ εὐερκέος αὐλῆς,
 ἄλλο δ' ἐνὶ προδόμῳ, πρόσθεν θαλάμοιο θυράων.
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτη μοι ἐπήλυθε νύξ ἐρεβεννή,
 καὶ τότε ἐγὼ θαλάμοιο θύρας πυκινῶς ἀραρυίας 475
 ῥήξας ἐξῆλθον, καὶ ὑπέρθορον ἐρκίον αὐλῆς
 ῥεῖα, λαθὼν φύλακάς τ' ἄνδρας δμῳάς τε γυναῖκας.
 φεῦγον ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε δι' Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόροιο,
 Φθίην δ' ἐξικόμην ἐριβόλακα μητέρα μῆλων
 ἐς Πηλῆα ἄναχθ': ὃ δέ με πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο, 480
 καὶ μ' ἐφίλησ' ὡς εἶ τε πατήρ ὃν παῖδα φιλήσῃ
 μοῦνον τηλύγετον πολλοῖσιν ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσι,
 καὶ μ' ἀφνειὸν ἔθηκε, πολὺν δέ μοι ὄπασε λαόν:
 ναῖον δ' ἐσχατιὴν Φθίης Δολόπεσσιν ἀνάσσω.
 καὶ σε τοσοῦτον ἔθηκα θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ, 485
 ἐκ θυμοῦ φιλέων, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐθέλεσκες ἄμ' ἄλλῳ

οὔτ' ἐς δαῖτ' ἰέναι οὔτ' ἐν μεγάροισι πάσασθαι,
 πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ σ' ἐπ' ἐμοῖσιν ἐγὼ γούνεσσι καθίσσας
 ὄψου τ' ἄσαιμι προταμῶν καὶ οἶνον ἐπισχῶν.
 πολλάκι μοι κατέδευσας ἐπὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα 490
 οἴνου ἀποβλύζων ἐν νηπιέῃ ἀλεγεινῇ.
 ὣς ἐπὶ σοὶ μάλα πολλὰ πάθον καὶ πολλὰ μόγησα,
 τὰ φρονέων ὃ μοι οὐ τι θεοὶ γόνον ἐξετέλειον
 ἐξ ἐμεῦ: ἀλλὰ σὲ παῖδα θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ
 ποιεύμην, ἵνα μοί ποτ' ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμύνης. 495
 ἀλλ' Ἀχιλεῦ δάμασον θυμὸν μέγαν: οὐδέ τί σε χρή
 νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχειν: στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί,
 τῶν περ καὶ μείζων ἀρετὴ τιμὴ τε βίη τε.
 καὶ μὲν τοὺς θυέεσσι καὶ εὐχολῆς ἀγανῆσι
 λοιβῆ τε κνίσση τε παρατροπῶσ' ἄνθρωποι 500
 λισσόμενοι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβῆῃ καὶ ἀμάρτη.
 καὶ γάρ τε λιταὶ εἰσι Διὸς κοῦραι μέγαλοιο
 χωλαί τε ῥυσαί τε παραβλῶπές τ' ὀφθαλμῶ,
 αἶ ῥά τε καὶ μετόπισθ' ἄτης ἀλέγουσι κιοῦσαι.
 ἦ δ' ἄτη σθεναρὴ τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, οὐνεκα πάσας 505
 πολλὸν ὑπεκπροθέει, φθάνει δέ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἴαν
 βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπους: αἶ δ' ἐξακέονται ὀπίσσω.
 ὃς μὲν τ' αἰδέσεται κούρας Διὸς ἄσσον ἰούσας,

τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὤνησαν καί τ' ἔκλυον εὐχομένοιο·
 ὃς δέ κ' ἀνήνηται καί τε στερεῶς ἀποείπη, 510
 λίσσονται δ' ἄρα ταί γε Δία Κρονίωνα κιοῦσαι
 τῷ ἄτην ἅμ' ἔπεσθαι, ἵνα βλαφθεὶς ἀποτίσῃ.
 ἀλλ' Ἀχιλεῦ πόρε καὶ σὺ Διὸς κούρησιν ἔπεσθαι
 τιμὴν, ἣ τ' ἄλλων περ ἐπιγνάμπτει νόον ἐσθλῶν.
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ δῶρα φέροι τὰ δ' ὀπισθ' ὀνομάζοι 515
 Ἀτρεΐδης, ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἐπιζαφελῶς χαλεπαῖνοι,
 οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγέ σε μῆνιν ἀπορρίψαντα κελοίμην
 Ἀργείοισιν ἀμυνέμεναι χατέουσί περ ἔμπτῃς·
 νῦν δ' ἅμα τ' αὐτίκα πολλὰ διδοῖ τὰ δ' ὀπισθεν ὑπέστη,
 ἄνδρας δὲ λίσσεσθαι ἐπιπροέηκεν ἀρίστους 520
 κρινάμενος κατὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιϊκόν, οἳ τε σοὶ αὐτῷ
 φίλτατοι Ἀργείων· τῶν μὴ σὺ γε μῦθον ἐλέγξῃς
 μηδὲ πόδας· πρὶν δ' οὐ τι νεμεσσητὸν κεχολῶσθαι.

- b. “So, dear child, then I would not be willing to be left away from you,
 not even a god in person were to promise 445
 he would strip old age from me to make me a youthful man,
 as when first I left Hellas of beautiful women,
 fleeing quarrels of my father Amyntor, son of Ormenus.
 He was exceedingly angry at me for his beautiful haired concubine,
 whom he loved, and he held in no honour his wife, 450

my mother; always she begged me by my knees
to have sex with the concubine, that she might hate the old man.
I obeyed and did it; father at once placed
many curses on me. He called upon dire Erinyes,
that I might never have a dear son on my knees 455
begotten by me; gods fulfilled the curses,
both Zeus of the underworld and dread Persephone.
I planned to slay him with a sharp sword,
but someone of the immortals ended my anger, placed in my heart
a rumor my people and men's reproach of me, 460
so that I should not be called a father-slayer of the Achaeans.
But now no longer could the heart in my chest be restrained entirely
constantly to pace down the halls of father.
My clansmen and kinspeople about me
who tried to keep me in the halls, 465
many good sheep and curving oxen rolling in their gait
they slaughtered, and many rich pigs were stretched
singed over the flame of Hephaestus.
Many old men drank the wine of jars.
For nine nights they watched around me; 470
they exchanged turns to guard, but not when they quenched
the fire, one beneath the lit well-fenced court,

the other in my chamber, before an inner room of doors.

But, indeed, when the tenth dark night came to pass,

and then I broke the closed inner room doors, 475

and I leapt the fence of the court easily,

I escaped notice of both guard men and the slave women.

After that I fled far away through spacious Hellas,

to Phthia, mother of sheep flocks, with large clods I arrived,

to king Peleus; with a forward mind he welcomed me, 480

and he loved me as a father loves his only beloved son

I was given many possessions.

And placed riches upon me, he gave many people to follow me;

I dwelt in the farthest edge of Phthia to be lord of Dolopians.

And I made you how you are, god like Achilles, 485

from the love of my heart, since at the time you were not willing of others

to go feast nor eat in the halls,

before then indeed I set you upon my knees

and I satiated you with a cooked cut of meat held for you and wine cup.

Often you wet upon my breast through my tunic 490

with wine spitting it out in your helpless childhood.

So I have suffer much and toiled much,

mindful of these things, that the gods have not accomplished a child

for me: but I made you my child, god like Achilles

So that you would ever ward off unseemly havoc. 495

But Achilles, conqueror of great spirit, nor is it necessary for you to have
a pitiless heart; both the gods themselves can bend
the excellence and honour and power of them is greater.

And with the burnt sacrifice and the gentle prayers
and with both libations and of sacrifice men win them over beseeching them,
whenever someone transgresses and errs.

And for the Prayers of daughters of great Zeus
lame, and wrinkled, and squinted in their eyes.

And they sinfully go behind Ate is strong and swift of foot,
and outruns because of this all prayers, and goes over the earth 505
harming men, then they heal after her.

He who respects the daughters of Zeus as they draw near,
him they benefit greatly and they heard his prayers;
and if he denies them and firmly refuses,
they go and pray to Zeus son of Chronos, 510
that Ate may follow him, so that he, having been harmed may receive
retribution.

But Achilles, honour which you offer and give the daughters of Zeus,
bends the will of others who are noble.

For if the son of Atreus was not offerings you gifts and naming them one
after the other

but remained violently always angry, then I would not urge you 515
to throw straight away your wrath
even though the Argives need you to defend them;
Now he gives many gifts, and promises more in the future,
and he sent forward the best men to beseech you,
selecting them from the Achaean army, 520
and they are the most beloved by you yourself of the Argives,
don't shame their speech or their coming here,
even though before this not at all was your being angry to be blamed.

3. Lines 9.524-605

- a. οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπευθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν
ἠρώων, ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐπιζάφελος χόλος ἴκοι: 525
δωρητοὶ τε πέλοντο παράρρητοὶ τ' ἐπέεσσι.
μέμνημαι τόδε ἔργον ἐγὼ πάλαι οὗ τι νέον γε
ὥς ἦν: ἐν δ' ὑμῖν ἐρέω πάντεσσι φίλοισι.
Κουρητῆς τ' ἐμάχοντο καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μενεχάρμαι
ἀμφὶ πόλιν Καλυδῶνα καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐνάριζον, 530
Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι Καλυδῶνος ἐρανῆς,
Κουρητῆς δὲ διαπραθέειν μεμαῶτες Ἄρηϊ.
καὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κακὸν χρυσόθρονος Ἄρτεμις ὄρσε
χωσαμένη ὅ οἱ οὗ τι θαλύσια γουνῶ ἀλωῆς
Οἰνεὺς ῥέξ': ἄλλοι δὲ θεοὶ δαίνυνθ' ἑκατόμβας, 535

οἷη δ' οὐκ ἔρρεξε Διὸς κούρη μέγαλοιο.
 ἦ λάθετ' ἦ οὐκ ἐνόησεν: ἀάσατο δὲ μέγα θυμῷ.
 ἦ δὲ χολωσαμένη δῖον γένος ἰοχέαιρα
 ὤρσεν ἔπι χλούνην σὺν ἄγριον ἀργιόδοντα,
 ὃς κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρδεσκεν ἔθων Οἰνῆος ἀλωήν: 540
 πολλὰ δ' ὃ γε προθέλυμα χαμαὶ βάλε δένδρεα μακρὰ
 αὐτῆσιν ρίζησι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄνθεσι μήλων.
 τὸν δ' υἱὸς Οἰνῆος ἀπέκτεινεν Μελέαγρος
 πολλέων ἐκ πολίων θηρήτορας ἄνδρας ἀγείρας
 καὶ κύνας: οὐ μὲν γάρ κε δάμη παύροισι βροτοῖσι: 545
 τόσσος ἔην, πολλοὺς δὲ πυρῆς ἐπέβησ' ἀλεγεινῆς.
 ἦ δ' ἀμφ' αὐτῷ θῆκε πολὺν κέλαδον καὶ αὐτὴν
 ἀμφὶ συὸς κεφαλῆ καὶ δέρματι λαχνήεντι,
 Κουρήτων τε μεσηγὺ καὶ Αἰτωλῶν μεγαθύμων.
 ὄφρα μὲν οὖν Μελέαγρος ἄρηι φίλος πολέμιζε, 550
 τόφρα δὲ Κουρήτεσσι κακῶς ἦν, οὐδὲ δύναντο
 τείχεος ἔκτοσθεν μίμνειν πολέες περ ἐόντες:
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Μελέαγρον ἔδου χόλος, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλων
 οἰδάνει ἐν στήθεσσι νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων,
 ἦτοι ὃ μητρὶ φίλῃ Ἀλθαίῃ χωόμενος κῆρ 555
 κείτο παρὰ μνηστῆ ἀλόχῳ καλῇ Κλεοπάτρῃ
 κούρη Μαρπήσσης καλλισφύρου Εὐηνίνης

Ἴδεώ θ', ὃς κάρτιστος ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν
 τῶν τότε: καί ῥα ἄνακτος ἐναντίον εἶλετο τόξον
 Φοῖβου Ἀπόλλωνος καλλισφύρου εἵνεκα νύμφης, 560
 τὴν δὲ τότε ἐν μεγάροισι πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
 Ἄλκυόνην καλέεσκον ἐπώνυμον, οὔνεκ' ἄρ' αὐτῆς
 μήτηρ ἄλκυόνος πολυπενθέος οἶτον ἔχουσα
 κλαῖεν ὃ μιν ἐκάεργος ἀνήρπασε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων:
 τῇ ὃ γε παρατέλεκτο χόλον θυμαλγέα πέσσω 565
 ἐξ ἀρέων μητρὸς κεχολωμένος, ἥ ῥα θεοῖσι
 πόλλ' ἀχέουσ' ἠρᾶτο κασιγνήτοιο φόνιοι,
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλοῖα
 κικλήσκουσ' Αἴδην καὶ ἐπαινήν Περσεφόνειαν
 πρόχην καθεζομένη, δεύοντο δὲ δάκρυσι κόλποι, 570
 παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον: τῆς δ' ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινὺς
 ἔκλυεν ἐξ Ἐρέβεσφιν ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα.
 τῶν δὲ τάχ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ὄμαδος καὶ δοῦπος ὀρώρει
 πύργων βαλλομένων: τὸν δὲ λίσσοντο γέροντες
 Αἰτωλῶν, πέμπον δὲ θεῶν ἱερῆας ἀρίστους, 575
 ἐξελεθεῖν καὶ ἀμῦναι ὑποσχόμενοι μέγα δῶρον:
 ὀππόθι πιότατον πεδίον Καλυδῶνος ἐραννῆς,
 ἔνθά μιν ἦνωγον τέμενος περικαλλὲς ἐλέσθαι
 πεντηκοντόγυον, τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ οἰνοπέδιο,

ἦμισυ δὲ ψιλὴν ἄροσιν πεδίῳ ταμέσθαι. 580
 πολλὰ δὲ μιν λιτάνευε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Οἰνεὺς
 οὐδοῦ ἐπεμβεβαῶς ὑψηρεφέος θαλάμοιο
 σείων κολλητὰς σανίδας γουνούμενος υἰόν:
 πολλὰ δὲ τὸν γε κασίγνηται καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
 ἐλλίσσονθ'· ὃ δὲ μᾶλλον ἀναίνετο· πολλὰ δ' ἑταῖροι, 585
 οἳ οἳ κεδνότατοι καὶ φίλτατοι ἦσαν ἀπάντων:
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὧς τοῦ θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι ἐπειθον,
 πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ θάλαμος πύκ' ἐβάλλετο, τοὶ δ' ἐπὶ πύργων
 βαῖνον Κουρηῆτες καὶ ἐνέπρηθον μέγα ἄστν.
 καὶ τότε δὴ Μελέαγρον ἐϋζωνος παράκοιτις 590
 λίσσετ' ὄδυρομένη, καὶ οἳ κατέλεξεν ἅπαντα
 κήδε', ὅσ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστν ἀλώη:
 ἄνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει,
 τέκνα δὲ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγουσι βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας.
 τοῦ δ' ὠρίνετο θυμὸς ἀκούοντος κακὰ ἔργα, 595
 βῆ δ' ἰέναι, χροὶ δ' ἔντε' ἐδύσετο παμφανόωντα.
 ὧς δὲ μὲν Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἀπήμυνεν κακὸν ἦμαρ
 εἷξας ᾧ θυμῷ· τῷ δ' οὐκέτι δῶρα τέλεσσαν
 πολλά τε καὶ χαρίεντα, κακὸν δ' ἦμυνε καὶ αὐτως.
 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ μοι ταῦτα νόει φρεσὶ, μὴ δέ σε δαίμων 600
 ἐνταῦθα τρέψειε φίλος· κάκιον δὲ κεν εἴη

νηυσὶν καιομένησιν ἀμυνέμεν: ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δώρων

ἔρχεο: ἴσον γάρ σε θεῶ τίσουσιν Ἀχαιοί.

εἰ δέ κ' ἄτερ δώρων πόλεμον φθισήγορα δύης

οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς τιμῆς ἔσεαι πόλεμόν περ ἀλαλκῶν. 605

b. And in this way we have heard the glories of heroic men of before,

when violent anger came on one of them; 525

won might they be by gifts and moved by words

I remember this deed of old it is not of yesterday,

how it was; I will tell it among you who are all my friends.

Both the Curetes and Aetolians staunch in battle were fighting

and were killing one another around the city of Calydon, 530

Aetolians protecting lovely Calydon,

Curetes eagerly sacked by Ares.

And for Artemis on a throne of gold had sent this evil upon them

angered that Oeneus had not given first fruits of harvest from the orchard to

her,

The other gods were given a banquet of a hundred sacrificial offerings. 535

But to the great daughter of Zeus alone that he did not offer anything.

He forgot, or had not thought; greatly deluded in his heart.

The heavenly Archer grew angry at them,

and sent a wild white tusked boar upon them

that did many evils, destroying Oeneus' orchard; 540

he uprooted many tall trees from the ground and threw them longways.

Roots and apple blossoms and all.

The son of Oeneus, Meleager, slew it,

the huntsmen and dogs of the many cities gathered together

for the boar might not have been slain by few mortal men; 545

he was so huge, and he had put many men upon grievous fire.

The goddess stirred-up many shouts and the cry

concerning his head and shaggy hide,

between the Curetes and the great hearted Aetolians.

In order that surely Meleager, friend to Ares, waged war, 550

it was worse for the Curetes, and they were not strong enough

to stay outside the wall, though they were many;

but then wrath entered Meleager both in him and in others

anger began to swell in mind by the breast strongly of all minded.

Verily Althea, his dear mother, angry at heart against 555

he lay apart with his wedded wife beautiful Cleopatra

daughter of beautiful ankled Marpessa child of Evenus

and Idas, who was mightiest of men upon earth

in his time; and for he took a bow opposite to the King.

Phoebus Apollo on account of the beautiful ankled maiden, 560

then in the halls of her father and queen mother

called her by name Halcyone, for her, her mother

bears the fate of a sea-bird of many sorrows
 wept because Phoebus Apollo snatch her up;
 Meleager beside her lay with his angry-grievous-heart, 565
 angering by his mother's curses, which she called earnest prayers from the
 gods upon him
 being grieved of her brother's slaying,
 and kneeling beating with her hands many times bountiful lands
 she called Hades and dread Persephone
 wet her bosom with tears, 570
 to bring death to her son, the unseen Erinys,
 bearing a heart without pity, heard her from Erebus.
 The noise of swift Ares arose from their gates and noise rose from
 the walls of the tower; old men of Aetolia supplicated him,
 they sent the noblest priest of the gods, 575
 to go and to protect them they offered of gifts of honour.
 Wherever the plain of lovely Calydon was fruitful,
 there they told to him to take a very beautiful piece of land
 of fifty acres, half fit for vineyard,
 and the other half the plain with bare tillable land to be ploughed. 580
 The old horseman Oeneus supplicated him many times,
 stood in the inner room of the high ceiling chamber
 shook against the bolted doors, begging his son;

even his sister and queen mother

begged; he refused them more still; many of his companions, 585

truest and dearest of all to him could not persuade his heart of his breast,

until his inner room was hit, the Curetes

walked along the tower and inflamed the great city.

All then indeed Meleager's well-girded wife

begged bewailing, and she recounts all the distresses, 590

that come to men when their city is conquered;

the men are killed, and the city destroyed by fire,

and children and deep-girded women are taken by strangers.

His heart stirred hearing the evil story,

he set out to go, he put on his body shining armour, 595

So giving way to his heart he warded off the evil day from the Aetolians,

though he no longer would received good for

their many and gracious gifts, warded off evil from them.

Perceive, do not have a thought as this in your mind, let not your spirit

take you this way dear one, It would be difficult to protect ships after they are

burning; 600

but upon having gifts go forward for you the Achaeans will honour equal to

gods.

But if without gifts you plunge in destroying war

then you no longer will be honoured, even though you ward off the war.

4. Lines 9.182-198

- a. τὼ δὲ βάτην παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
πολλὰ μάλ' εὐχομένω γαιήοχῳ ἐννοσιγαίῳ
ῥηϊδίως πεπιθεῖν μεγάλας φρένας Αἰακίδαο.
Μυρμιδόνων δ' ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθην, 185
τὸν δ' εὖρον φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ
καλῆ δαιδαλέῃ, ἐπὶ δ' ἀργύρεον ζυγὸν ἦεν,
τὴν ἄρετ' ἐξ ἐνάρων πόλιν Ἡετίωνος ὀλέσσας:
τῆ ὅ γε θυμὸν ἔτερπεν, ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν.
Πάτροκλος δέ οἱ οἶος ἐναντίος ἦστο σιωπῆ, 190
δέγμενος Αἰακίδαην ὅποτε λήξειεν ἀείδων,
τὼ δὲ βάτην προτέρω, ἠγεῖτο δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
στὰν δὲ πρόσθ' αὐτοῖο: ταφῶν δ' ἀνόρουσεν Ἀχιλλεὺς
αὐτῆ σὺν φόρμιγγι λιπῶν ἔδος ἔνθα θάασσεν.
ὥς δ' αὖτως Πάτροκλος, ἐπεὶ ἶδε φῶτας, ἀνέστη. 195
τὼ καὶ δεικνύμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκύς Ἀχιλλεύς:
'χαίρετον: ἦ φίλοι ἄνδρες ἰκάνετον ἦ τι μάλα χρεώ,
οἳ μοι σκυζομένω περ Ἀχαιῶν φίλτατοὶ ἔστων.
- b. These two walked around the shore of the loud-roaring sea
Very many prayers to the mover and shaker of the earth,
to easily persuade the great heart of the grandson of Aeacus.
They came upon the tents and ships of the Myrmidons, 185

They found him delighting in his heart by the clear-sounding lyre
 Beautifully embellished, upon it was a bridge of silver,
 It was won of spoils from destroying the city of Eetion;
 So that he delighting in his heart, he sang great deeds of men.

Patroclus alone sat opposite him in silence, 190

Waiting until the grandson of Aeacus stayed still,

These two walked forward, heavenly Odysseus led the way,

He stood before them, astonished Achilles,

With the radiant lyre sitting in place there.

So in this manner Patroclus, when he beheld the men, stood up. 195

And greeting, the swift-footed Achilles spoke to the two;

“Greetings, which dear men show have come, in great need of something,

5. Lines 9.162-172

a. τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἱππότηα Νέστωρ:

Ἄτρεΐδη κύδιστε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον

δῶρα μὲν οὐκέτ' ὄνοστὰ διδοῖς Ἀχιλῆϊ ἄνακτι:

ἀλλ' ἄγετε κλητοὺς ὀτρύνομεν, οἳ κε τάχιστα 165

ἔλθωσ' ἐς κλισίην Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος.

εἰ δ' ἄγε τοὺς ἂν ἐγὼ ἐπιόψομαι οἳ δὲ πιθέσθων.

Φοῖνιξ μὲν πρότιστα Διὶ φίλος ἠγησάσθω,

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' Αἴας τε μέγας καὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς:

κηρύκων δ' Ὀδῖος τε καὶ Εὐρυβάτης ἅμ' ἐπέσθων. 170

φέρτε δὲ χερσὶν ὕδωρ, εὐφημῆσαί τε κέλεσθε,
 ὄφρα Διὶ Κρονίδῃ ἀρησόμεθ', αἴ κ' ἐλέησῃ.

b. Then horseman Nestor of Gerenia answered him

“Highly honoured son of Atreus, Agamemnon, king of men

Gifts that you offered to king Achilles, can no longer to be blamed,

But come on let us send chosen men, to swiftly

165

Go to the tent of Achilles son of Peleus.

If whomever I will choose let them be persuaded.

First Phoenix loved by Zeus have lead the way,

Nevertheless then the great Ajax and heavenly Odysseus;

Heralds let Both Odysseus and Eurybates following at the sametime. 170

bring water from your hands, you keep yourselves in holy silence,

In order that we may pray to Zeus son of Cronos, if he may show mercy.”

Illustrations

Figure 1:



Side A: Peleus bringing Achilles to Chiron

Photograph by Maria Daniels, courtesy of the Musée du Louvre, January 1992

Louvre G 186