

Commentary on the first book of Homer's Iliad, by Joachim Camerarius.

Translated by Corrado M. Russo.

DEDICATORY EPISTLE

Joachim Camerarius sends many greetings to the most learned Wolfgang Augustus Schiefer, the tutor of the royal children at Innsbruck, and a longtime friend.

Since I desire and seek not only in the present moment to look after good literature and humanistic studies as much as I am able, and to offer aid to those working on behalf of them, but also to look forward to the future, it is clear to me that not only must my own small work be furnished-- a work which is to be completed on behalf of these pursuits in the cultivation and practice of erudition-- but so must defenders and proponents, so that the foundations are able to stand and endure, as if they were the supports of these pursuits. And to this end I follow the most learned men of earlier and of our own times, who, it is said, since they were devoted to the study of the best arts and the best learning, pursued patrons not so much for their own benefit as for the benefit of learning itself, patrons who were each the leaders of their own age and men who excelled in wealth and power, so that even in this sense did the Muses appear to be born of Zeus, that is, as if they had been, just as daughters, raised, defended, adorned and established by kings and leaders of republics. For kings are indeed, as Hesiod says, the offspring of Zeus, but the wise and the learned-- and Poets are certainly to be considered as such-- come,

ἐκ Μουσάων καὶ ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος.

But if it is appropriate for this thought to be taken further, certainly it is quite fitting that the divine powers of erudition and learning are presented as maidens, so that this race seems vulnerable to the injustice and mocking of common ignorance, wherefore the chastity, as it were, of the Muses must be preserved and protected with courage and zeal. And so the bravest and greatest kings and emperors have always pursued learned men with the greatest love and cultivation. For Archelaus the king of Macedonia kept Euripides with himself such that he embraced him most familiarly, and was not able to be deprived of the company of that most wise poet, and he treated him with fine honors not only when he was alive, but also when he was dead. Why need I mention Alexander the Great, whose incredible passion towards learned men was easily declared by his own liberality, since he demanded that gifts be bestowed upon them not in Drachmas but in Talents? And he even gilded inscriptions at Philippi. And many examples of this relationship, which I shall call σοφάρετου, are available even from those earlier times which appear not to have been as learned. Should I not mention those poets in the dinner parties of the Phaeacian chiefs, or the guard of royal modesty, or that the Spartans, the most brave men, were commanded by an oracle to seek a wise leader from the Athenians, and the Athenians, when they sent the poet Tyrtaeus to them, fulfilled the request magnificently? And was not Anacreon also among the especial friends of the most wealthy tyrant of Samos, Polycrates? And Aeschylus and Simonides held great honor and authority with Hiero Siculus. We learn that the former of these two moved his seat and household to Sicily, and that the latter

so greatly thrived in that island that he dissuaded and pacified a most serious impending war between Hiero of Syracuse and Thero of Agrigento. Philoxenus also lived with Dionysus, by whom, in fact, he is said to have been occasionally treated inhumanely, but nevertheless that tyrant, in his same savagery, showed that he could not stand to be without learned men. And to turn to later men: Are Antagoras Rhodius and Aratus Solensis not remembered as friends of Antigonus? And entire races of learned men lived with the kings of Egypt. Since this is the case, when I had resolved at this time to gratify my friends, who were encouraging me to address leading men, and when I settled on a work that is, as I hope, not entirely worthless, and which in explicating Homer is important to our students, the author of all learning and wisdom advised me that I entrust to certain most great and powerful princes not only the dignity of literary learning and of the good arts, but also the very safety of these things. As I was looking about and searching for such princes, the royal children entrusted to your loyalty and care occurred first of all to me, the sons of a most lauded king, grandsons of the greatest prince, princes whose great-grandfather we know was held, while he lived, with culture and veneration as if he were a kind of God, and is revered the same now after his death, and will be perpetually in the future. And therefore, just as these princes first of all were brought to mind with deserved consideration as I was planning for the provision of safety and protection for the best arts, so did the situation itself advise me that I send a teacher of learning and fortitude as a messenger of my desire to those who were being educated with literature in pre-eminence of virtue. But in fact, humility stood in the way of my zeal, so that I dared less to approach them straight away, and further address them. This was indeed a just humility, and one owed to the

majesty of those princes, the magnitude of which easily vexed my own insignificance. And so I have come to you, through whom I know that those things which I have wished for the royal offspring to learn will be carried to them directly and in order. The path to you, moreover, lay open to me not only because of our earlier acquaintance, and a certain experience even of friendship, but also because I learned from Philip Melanchthon that, in your letters to him, a most loving and respectful mention of me was recently made. The following also appeared to be greatly convenient, because it freed me from the labor of a longer writing: since those things which must be said about the sanctity, the beauty, and the particular necessity of good literature and arts for the purpose of leading life well and beautifully, are most well known to you and greatly thought upon, it will have been enough for these things to be briefly mentioned; although, if you wish, you will be able to understand something of my own thinking regarding these things from the preface of the following writings. Therefore, my Severus, although you would do it of your own accord, nevertheless, if it is possible, I beg and beseech you that you wish even more diligently and carefully to put these things forth to and, as it were, to instill them in the divine nature and natural character of the royal offspring, so that they embrace them, love them, fight for them and defend them. Having done this, you will have behaved most excellently toward the human race and our most powerful nation, and by the preservation and augmentation of the prosperity and wealth of these princes, you will have joined and won over patrons not only more outstanding in wealth and power, but also greater in number. A robust defense is clearly called for of the activities by which the aforementioned prosperity and wealth are supported, that is, activities pertaining to the arts and studies of

humanity. We see these activities so attacked and assaulted by the many strong forces of depravity and wickedness. The poverty and weakness of those very ones tends to be an object of contempt and an opportunity for plundering to the more bold. Indeed, what prizes are left to them? What hope of longevity, if it happens thus, what security of safety? Nay rather-- a fact which appears especially lamentable-- refuge and the shadows of protection flee from them, and the open expression of complaint does not cease. Conversely, what do ignorance and the disdain of the unlearned lack in aid and support? What glory and honor is not available to them? How great a license of persecuting the more learned and of altogether railing aloud is there? Therefore, unless the divine aid of kings and princes nourishes these studies, clearly now τόδε πῆμα κυλίνδεται ὄβριμος, not Hector, but someone from the stories of destruction of the Greeks, and the God of destruction. And even though in the present there is some need of help against these evils, nevertheless it is clear that a greater strength and force will be required in the future, and these ought to be seized for us now by means of a most secure persuasion, both from the as it were most happy seeds of the other princes of Germany, and also from the royal lineage which has been given over and entrusted for you to nourish, cultivate, and raise, and in which there is no doubt that your great will, with the greatest zeal, will be as it were heaped up. Wherefore I will come to an end, lest among all this you silently rebuke me with a thought of this sort:

Τί με σπεύδοντα καὶ αὐτὸν

Ἵοτρύνεις;

Although indeed it is not unheard of to spur even a willing horse. It remains for me to

ask you that you not unwillingly accept these, my labors, and rather that you willingly desire to know them, and, if it seems right, that you render me more certain about your judgment about these labors and this work. If indeed I perceive that they are not rejected by you, and since, from your opinion (you who, it is agreed, are the most learned man) I will easily understand what other men who study good arts will think of them, my interest in this sort of work will be confirmed and perhaps even incited, and I will put forth next so much more zealously the books that follow, set forth with my same explication. Be well, my Severus, and continue to cherish me as you have begun.

From the school at Tübingen, 3 days before the Ides of October, in the year 1537.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST BOOK OF HOMER'S ILIAD

When I see that less is allowed to me than I had hoped for to devote to a work of the cultivation of that literature which attains for itself by its own merit that most beautiful praise of the studies of humanity, of course I bear it heavily and with frustration. But, in order that I nevertheless leave behind a testament of this spirit and desire, I have decided to pursue all occasions in which I am able to nourish such literature. And so now, while I am thriving somewhat more well, I have decided to explicate the first book of the Iliad of Homer during my leisure time, publicly, for the benefit of lovers of the best disciplines and of humanity, and to earn the following praise for this school: that in it are said to be celebrated the monuments of that author who in the consensus of all is held as the foremost in terms of natural talent, teachings, and wisdom. But it does not seem necessary for me to embark upon the celebration of Homer at this time, nor is it

at all necessary for my insignificant praise to be offered to so great an excellence as that which this poet is determined to possess, according to the judgment of all people. Who, indeed, has ever believed that fire or water needed to be praised? Since all people of all races know, especially because of daily use, that these things exist of their own accord. And it is clear that life is no more conserved and aided by fire and water than all learning is conserved and aided by the monuments of this poet. And just as these monuments contain and include virtue, as at any rate they are justly said to do so, thus do they contain and include all of learning itself. Let me not, therefore, attempt to make these monuments great by my discourse, and to as it were raise them up with words, but let me rather venerate and adore them as if they were divine. For antiquity believed thus, that Apollo was the author of those books which are brought forth under the name of Homer, and that he wished that by the inscription of that man his own divine majesty be covered, and so some author in a single Greek verse made Apollo speak thus:

Carmina sunt mea, sed manus haec descripsit Homeri.

Another, moreover, contended thus that Homer was to be entirely considered a God:

Si Deus est, divinus honor tribuatur Homero.

Sed si non Deus est, Deus hic tamen esse putetur.

I had wished next by my discourse to encourage and inspire you towards the study of the best arts and disciplines, but I realize that this attempt would be pointless. For would I try to instigate and impel you towards those things which you yourselves are

pursuing and yearn after? I wish that they who, as if drunk from too much wisdom, look down on these studies and value them at nothing, or through their own foolishness neglect them, or through madness persecute them, were present and willing to listen to me. But as it is I would have to deal with them while they are absent, which does not seem appropriate. This, therefore, remains: that I exhort, advise, and finally beseech and beg you, who of your own accord love and cultivate the study of the best arts and humanity, that you wish to retain and look over those very things which you have embraced with your own will, and that with the greatest desire you increase and adorn them, lest the disparagements of any men lay out any impediment to you, or the unhappy condition and adversity of these very studies should, in this confusion of all things, deter you. Let others be powerful, wealthy, noble; let before all things the cultivation of ingenuity and the education of the mind please us, things which are made strong through their own greatness, not through the opinion of men. I know that many say that these studies feed a man poorly. I do not see, however, what other fodder ought to be preferred to that by which the excellence of the spirit and the mind is nourished. Of course life must be sustained. A great and powerful mistake inserts itself at this point, of the common opinion, which judges that life is not desirable except in the midst of riches and opulence. Truly, all learned men of every period have most bitterly contended with these sentiments. And the most beautiful disputations of these men against the frivolous desires of mortals are well-known, and the same men have taught that those things which men need for sustenance and survival are easily procured, and flow forth nearly by their own accord. And if it is true what Cicero said (and it seems most like to the truth: that 'frugality is a great income'), who does not see

(who sees anything) with how great a resource and wealth these studies, which contain the teaching of virtue, imbue those who cultivate them? Since frugality is a single part of that which these studies hand down as a whole, the lovers of good literature, either alone or at least foremost, understand that part and possess it and take it for their own as their own property, just as they do to the remaining as it were beautiful limbs of the whole. And if they wished to turn their industry towards establishing and augmenting their affairs, and seeking wealth, Thales demonstrated what they would be able to achieve: a man who in a single year is said to have made as much money from the commerce of oil as the hard work of many merchants was not able to collect with all their treacheries. But to these men, nothing base and common is pleasing, and, although content with outstanding moderation, looked down upon by the loathing and haughtiness of those powerful men, destitute and-- that which pertains to the destitute-- reduced to the noose, they live nevertheless, and indeed enjoy the highest pleasures, while so often those who are in an abundance of all things nevertheless labor in so great a poverty that they themselves consume and destroy their own hearts. Meanwhile the lovers of good literature are fed by the sweetest honey of the Muses, just as ancient Comatas himself, about whom Theocritus said, as our own Eobanus has marvelously translated with elegant verses:

--O felicem te dive Comata

Tam iucunda quidem tibi contigit ista voluptas.

Pastus apum studio cedrina conclusus in arca,

Perficis aeriis totum nutricibus annum.

But truly men lavishly support themselves, and wish to be received lavishly and luxuriously, and to be clothed comfortably and splendidly. Therefore, just as in the society of men at the present time and with the present custom a certain appearance and artifice of knowledge and education must be learned and maintained, certainly all things with the addition of knowledge and education will be more lovely and outstanding in that society than if they lacked them. Let, therefore, the things by which (in the common belief) excellence is furnished, and by which it is agreed that many are made rich, be more necessary in this wretchedness of life; nevertheless these studies which are, as it seems, meager and tenuous, ought not to be valued at so little, but ought to be taken up, either as a respite for the mind, in those times which others take up with unworthy distractions, or so that those professions are adorned and become distinguished by that as it were charming beauty of the good arts. Yet I wonder what hope or belief there could be that any study of learning will thrive and endure, if these fundamentals of the good arts are destroyed and crippled. For if it happens in the future that this now flickering flame of education clinging to a more fertile material will prevail, who at last will judge that anyone is learned if he does not have the thorough polishing of this education? But if a misfortune befalls us, so that this field as it were dries up and dies in weeds, who does not see how great a famine and disaster would then hang over the professors of any science and doctrine? It appears, therefore, that the study of the good arts adorns and improves all other studies, whereas those latter seem to be supported and sustained by the reputation and dignity of the former.

Wherefore I wonder what it is which certain men who are stationed in those higher (as

they are held to be) ranks of learning are thinking; men who, as if they live with porters and day laborers, in professions of particular skills of natural talent, not only take pleasure and exult in the reputation of unlearnedness, but even, if one of them happens to expend a little effort on behalf of the study of the best arts and disciplines, he does not hesitate to pretend that he has lost himself in words. (For my own part I doubt that such a one has much sense at all.) But others now arise who inquire which arts and which studies do I celebrate so greatly with my words, since in all ages arts have been taught and passed on in schools. I respond thus to them: clearly those same arts which they themselves understand us to suggest with that word (the word *ars*), truly many diverse ones. For the understanding of both the Latin and the Greek languages, and the philosophy which has been described with the speech and explained with the wisdom of those races, always contained teachings, just like a subject matter which it formed. But for a long time indeed sincerity and purity have been absent, and even the most well born natural talents are found to be wandering in a dense cloud, and their entire power, being taken up in certain inane subtleties, has vanished. But who does not see that whatever work such talents will have put forth cannot be solid, since it lacks the foundation of the apprehended and understood language of Homer, by whom all things which have ever merited the name and reputation of wisdom and learning have been put forth and revealed? And so those teachings which a short time ago and even for a long time prior were acknowledged and praised, are now useful to almost no other purpose than scholastic quarrels and arguments, caught as they are in a kind of confused insignificance. And if well born intellects now, in an abundance of better pursuits, derive less pleasure from these

teachings, pardon must be given, and one must forgive those who prefer to be fed with reaped grain than with acorns. Much that was compiled by earlier men in dialectics, in physics, in all fields of learning and art, is now melting away. For the foundation of well-learned, solid knowledge was not laid underneath. And there is scarcely anyone who does not prefer to learn about that which he can use for subsistence, rather than to consume and waste the enjoyment of his whole life in learning. And yet I do not reprehend it, rather I greatly approve and praise it, if someone has both the desire and the free time, so that he is able not only to understand the considerations of all things within philosophy, but even to further elaborate on them and to refine them. If, therefore, he immerses his entire self in these things that are less expedient for a common lifestyle, and draws away and ensconces himself in a sort of hiding place of wisdom, not only from the experience of the usual way of living, but even from the very awareness of it, such a man would hardly find that he is entering into my admonishment, but rather, in my judgment, he will be happy and blessed. But this happiness, if it is truly happiness, is conceded to few. I shall weave, moreover, with a coarser thread in this genre, and, in order that I know myself to be learned all the more, I wish to be perceived as slightly less learned, so that, if I am less able to dash the insignificant power of my natural talents on those intricacies of argumentation, I will nevertheless not be ignorant of the best arts, nor ignore the precepts of thinking and speaking well, but will set forth the understandings and insights of the most learned and wisest men in writings, and by my imitation thereof, in a work that I have completed and brought forth, I will elucidate them. Indeed, I shall do so in order that they are universally brought back to veracity and soundness of thought, and

respectability and honor of deed. For if this does not come to pass, other works will perhaps seem to other people to be, on the face of it, more attractive, yet nevertheless there will be in the future the same baseness, or perhaps, futility, for all. So you can see, therefore, that by the repetition of "goodness" and "humanity" I am clearly referring to the studies of right thinking, and of the eloquent expression of that which has been thought. A cultivated mind and a well arranged spirit tend to be strenuously exercised by these activities in the most wonderful works of the best actions. For, just as in a well constituted body the functions of all parts that are whole are worthy of praise, so too can nothing exist that is not attractive and beautiful from a mind that has been well instructed by the good arts and learning. These teachings, moreover, fill the works of the wisest and most divine ancient men, and the diligence of later men has both elaborated similar examples from these teachings and collected together the precepts from them, and handed them down to others, whence eventually the best teachings both arose and were perfected, and the Greek nation abounded easily with this excellence before all others. It seems right to say a few words about these teachings, so that you who attend to these studies have less reason to find fault with your aims and with your work. For you must take care, by immortal God, that those divine writings of the ancients, which are all expressed concisely, in order that they be more true and more venerable-- and this type of language is, as you know, called "poetic"-- take care, therefore, I say, that you not believe these writings to be mere "tidbits" or that they bring only empty pleasure (as others charge). For everything must be sought from within them: surely one will find in them whatever has earned any praise in the teachings of all people and all eras. And indeed there are others who are remembered as authors

and progenitors of such excellence. But Homer, by the consensus of all ages and peoples, has assuredly earned and attained a fame, which is either his alone, or at any rate outstanding. And no learned man can be found who doubts that everything from which the teachings of arts may be handed down is noted or described in his verses. His interpreters, at any rate, judge that all these teachings are received and taken from those verses, and they believe that books of doctrine are nothing if they are not either commentaries or expansions on (and wordier explications of) Homeric sentiments. And so the Grammarians as if sprung from the egg (that is, from the beginning) first demonstrated the reasoning taken and formed from these verses, and that figures and variations both of words and of speech were as it were begotten from this author, in whose writings they were first distinguished. Not, of course, because he himself invented and devised them, but because in writing them down he so molded them and with care and attention refined them, that, since they shone forth first from his writings, and were admired as eminent and extraordinary, he himself appeared to have brought forth and produced them. (Just as we not unjustly call Socrates, who first began to philosophize distinctly and explicitly, the author and the progenitor of wisdom.) And this is agreed to be the truth, and it is manifestly clear, since no figure of speech, no pleasing placement or variation of any word, nothing in either prose or verse can be brought forward, which there is not an example of in Homer, and no one will ever be able to bring forward a model that Homer himself was imitating.

Wherefore, since Homer is discovered to have paid special attention to these devices, clearly their authorship and origin must be ascribed to him. The same must be determined about the entire art of speaking, both with regard to confidence and to

eloquence, which was understood and apprehended with Homer as the teacher. In order that we are not restricted to domestic (that is, Greek) witnesses: this fact was apparent even to Marcus Fabius Quintilian, who affirms that Homer provided 'the origin and the archetype for all aspects of eloquence.' What more now do I need to say, or can anything more delightful or celebratory be said? You will scarcely find in so many great praises of the Greeks a sentiment similar to that which this Latin man has encompassed with a few words. "For all aspects of eloquence," he said, lest he appear to be an insufficient supporter of Homer, although so great is the magnitude of eloquence that it is thought to be barely capable of being encompassed as a whole by the talent and industry of a single man. But what else does Fabius write? "Homer provided the origin and archetype." Therefore, eloquence would have been neglected without Homer, or would not even exist, since what exists without an origin? And this is such great praise, moreover, that not only is Homer the progenitor of eloquence, but also the teacher and the instructor of it, who not only himself labored on the most beautiful works of it, but also put them forth for others to imitate. Homer's fame for the bringing forth of eloquence should therefore be even greater; instruction at any rate is certainly among the greatest utilities of the human race. There remain two types of teaching, that is, about nature and about morals. And in these things they think that it is clear and obvious that Homer alone supplied the opportunity for and the substance of debates to the so many dissenting decrees and maxims of the wise. For they attempt to prove that the dogmas of the ancients were clearly taken up from him, and that these things were emended, corrected, and expanded on according to him by those who followed, and they seem, at least to me, to have proven this. The Academics, certainly

the most famous group of philosophers, used evidence from the Homeric verses with especial zeal. But in the Physicists there was always disagreement among the learned, clearly owing to the fact that, since the natural inclinations of many different people were striving to discover the truth about obscure and abstruse matters, which are neither visible nor open to common perception and judgment, the same thing was not more greatly apparent to all of them, but rather much less so, and in uncertain cases, when more people had been called for and consulted, each pursued probabilities which another, led by different reasoning, was always accustomed to reject and refute, and soon someone would likewise overturn that which the previous one had handed down. When, for many centuries, the greatest studies of the highest men were occupied in explicating earlier discoveries (which were like newborns, up to that point foolish and babbling), there came at last a man imbued with the most acute natural talent and the most productive industriousness, Aristotle of the incredible teachings, who, as if he were chosen as an advocate by Nature and wisdom themselves, would arbitrate this case in opposition to the others, if it were somehow possible for the dispute to ever be settled. And Aristotle is thought to have issued forth so good and praiseworthy a service to this end, that now, if one seeks after some other originator of philosophy besides Aristotle, or even mentions another, it seems that he is to be ignored. Aristotle's diligence was certainly so great that sometimes those men whose minds shrink away from unnecessary subtleties find fault with the minuteness of his investigations, and it is for especially this reason, I judge, that his writings have been neglected even by his supporters, partly because in the however admirable knowledge and copiousness of this man, they seek the grandeur of Plato, whom they

know Aristotle had as a teacher, and partly because they either flee from the tediousness of study, or because they lack the force of will towards understanding difficult and serious disputations, and meanings that must be tracked down and that are more specialized and removed from the common frame of reference. But let each make up his own mind about this according to his inclinations. Certainly that which those ancient men as it were celebrated in discourses about the nature and essence of the universe appears in its entirety to have sprung from the Homeric verses as if they were women (that is, as if they had given birth to them). And I will not at this time recount those things which are obvious to all: facts about the divine spirit; about the motion, cause, appearance, nature, and status, of the sky, air, stars, sea, and earth; and whatever else is similarly obvious and visible in this author. But I will make mention of that which the attention and investigation of the wise has plucked out and put forth from the more obscure expressions of Homer, such as that belief in the uncertainty of things that was held by the ancients, including Democritus, Empedocles, Parmenides, Anaxagoras, whose (even at that time) famous saying was said to be toward a certain friend of his that 'all things are thus to each man as he himself judges them to be'. But if it is possible for the reasoning and intelligence of the mind and the soul to be convinced by opposing suppositions, it will be plainly impossible to maintain any conviction and as it were steadfastness. And Aristotle said that it is most unbearable: if those men who have seen Truth as well it is able to be discerned are misled to such a degree. And he added that such men are the ones who most ardently seek and pursue Truth. For Aristotle wondered that if these men are held under the sway of such opinions, and they teach about Truth in such a manner, how could one

hope that philosophers would engage in their studies with vigor and without despair, since seeking Truth would be the same thing as following the flight of birds. But let me return to the point, and demonstrate what I have been discussing with excerpts from Homer. What else does Ulysses state in Homer? (as Cicero, as I believe, translates):

Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse

Iupiter auctiferas lustravit lampade terras.

And Aristotle writes that the same meaning appears to be intended when Homer makes Hector, wounded and unconscious by an enemy attack, lie ἀλλοφρονέοντα, as one who, in an upheaval of the mind, does not altogether lack thinking and reason, but neither uses them in his customary fashion. Moreover, the entire Platonic account of the mind, be it Egyptian, or from some other race, is Homeric. What else does Socrates say to Crito, in the book in which he dies, when he has been asked how he wished to be buried (I will relate this in the words of Cicero, for could I quote anything more splendid?): 'Friends, he says, I have labored much in vain, for I have not persuaded our Crito that I am going to fly away from here, and that I am going to leave nothing behind.' He did not wish to be seen as his body, but as his spirit, (whether rightly or not does not concern us at present). But is it not credible that Homer suggested this belief to Homer, who made these verses about the soul of the Theban Tiresias:

ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχῇ Θηβαίου Τειρεσίου

Χρύσειον σκήπτρον ἔχων.

It appears that what is introduced in this scene must be ascribed to Tiresias himself, that is, certainly it is the man who is the soul. Now then, the tripartite division of the soul into reason, wrath, desire, is manifestly Homeric. Neither are there many who doubt that the Platonic dwelling places of both the individual parts of the soul and the elements of it, are received and as it were compiled from Homer. What of moderation, which the Peripatetics in particular advanced: was it not pointed out by Homer? And although Homer made ignorant men on all sides immoderately exult and as it were demean themselves as much in mind as in speech, he presented a tempered version of all these behaviors in men of courage, since he said that they neither shook nor turned pale, nor were excessively fearful. And Ulysses clearly rejects excesses, and praises moderation, when he forbids himself to praise or to admonish Diomedes exceedingly. Menelaus too clearly says that he is incensed at those who treat their guests with an immoderate love or hatred: for the mean is truly best. And moreover, do the Academics and the Peripatetics, if this is to be a single group, agree with each other so that in seeking the truth they drew their suppositions only from that which is perceived by the senses? or should it not be believed that they had as a teacher the man from whom they read such things:

Utque cito humanae vis transvolat impete mentis,

Cum secum fuerit quam multis illa revolvit

Hospita terrarum in regionibus, atque ibi passim

Nunc huc nunc illuc repetendo cuncta vagatur,

Sic celeri in caelum luno est sublata volatu.

And the shade of Hercules was discovered in Orcus, while he himself was

enjoying the comforts of riches with his consort Hebe. But in these discussions I myself must practice moderation, and perhaps I should say something about those who came later. Of these, Zeno Cittiensis, who appeared to philosophize most ingeniously and intricately of all by far, even composed books of inquiries on Homer, whence it is clearly obvious how many things he learned from the man whom he read with such great zeal. Who, indeed, seeks any other teacher of the dogmas of Epicurus, to whom the verses from Homer's *Odyssey* were read, in which Ulysses says that nothing in his estimation appears more pleasant than if public gatherings and songs are celebrated joyfully, and full cups are passed around? Since, moreover, that area of philosophy which is concerned with morals both tends to be valued most highly and merits being so on account of its outstanding usefulness, I think I can restrict myself to this testimony of Horace-- lest I wish to seek after something more wordy-- who affirms that Homer is the poet:

Qui quid sit pulcrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenius ac melius quam Chrysippo et Crantore dicat.

The former of these two men is said to have held up the Portico, and the latter once held live coals in the Academy. In this area of philosophy the additional support of the best aphorisms and advisements has the greatest weight and importance, and the most famous of these, having been derived from Homer, are all found in later poets. And even though he supplied to these poets all the as it were material whence they formed by their own industry the widest variety of works, nevertheless this exposition of aphorisms best demonstrates why it is said that Aeschylus often claimed that that his own writings were 'tiny morsels from the great Homeric banquets'. But since there are

two types of aphorisms, one in which something is put forth briefly in a few words, the meaning of which nevertheless lays quite broadly, and another which is put forth with a more copious style of speech, I shall adduce a few examples from which it will be clear that the most celebrated aphorisms of later generations were taken from Homer. Since, moreover, those short and intricate ones which are called ἀποφθέγματα in Greek are hardly able to be said in Latin with their meaning preserved, I will mention certain Greek ones. Such as this, "μηδὲν ἄγαν", which Terence put forth as "Ne quid nimis." Does this not seem born out of those lines which we earlier mentioned, which, it was assumed, had led the Peripatetics toward the contemplation of moderation? And this was also written regarding the subject: "ἄριστον μέτρον." Indeed, "ἔπου Θεῶν" certainly seems to have flowed forth from a Homeric verse, either this:

Iussa Dea semper mihi vestra capessere fas est.

or this, which Maro appears to have transferred from Homer:

Ducente deo--

or certainly this:

Poscebant semper sua Dii mandata tueri.

Likewise "καιρὸν φυλάσσου": is there any doubt that this as it were bloomed forth from that which Subulcus said? Namely, that there is a time for sleeping and for listening to pleasant conversations, and one must not go to bed earlier than is appropriate. And "καιρὸν φυλάσσου", whence if not from this?

Sic ait, inque domat valido sua pectore corda.

Ipsa gerit morem quamvis afflicta voluntas.

But now let us come to those longer aphorisms, and the most famous are those about fate, such as these:

Fati nemo potest vim declinare virorum,

Sed forti ignavoque simul genito illa ferenda est.

Euripides in Hercules writes thus:

Haud fatale quod est licet

Effugere, hoc sapientia

Nunquam reppulerit, neque

Proficiet studio suo

Hoc conari ausus

And he writes in Hippolytus:

Fatalis nulla necessitatis est fuga.

Theognis writes thus:

Cyrne pati cunctis tulerint quae fata necesse est.

Homer says in one passage that the gods are often late but harsh when punishing wicked deeds.

Euripides writes in Ió:

Est quidem Deum ira saepe tarda, nunquam negligens.

Homer again writes thus:

Coniunctis ad iter peragendum forte duobus,
Alter ab alterius sensu quod prosit utrique
Saepe praeitur, at unius et sunt pectora tarda
Et leve consilium ac acies improvida mentis.

Euripides writes in Phoenissa:

Vir unus omnia non videt.

Homer writes thus:

Nam melius nihil esse potest optabiliusve,
Unanimi quàm si coniuncti corde iugalem
Foemina virque thorum celebrent.

Euripides writes in Medea:

Felicitas haec et salus est maxima
Inter virum uxoremque si permanet amor.

Homer introduces Ate as so lithe and fleet of foot that he says she travels on the heads of men.

What does Sophocles write?

Nam compendio

Celeres Deum stulto ultiones irruunt.

Homer says that men who are fearful in battle often are returned unharmed.

Sophocles writes thus:

Sed superstitum

Plerosque fervat imperii observantia.

Homer says that no one should dare commit a bad deed, for fast men are overtaken by slow ones, too, as the lame Vulcan captured strong Mars.

Theognis writes thus:

Consilio capit infirmus persaepe valentem,

Ius immortales hoc statuere Dei.

He also writes that wine which wise men have drunk immoderately makes a disgrace of them. Whence comes this sentiment? From nowhere, if not from these Homeric verses in the Odyssey:

Saepe iubet fatuum sapientes carmina vinum

Accinere, et risu latas agitare choreas,

Verbaque promit, quae melius tenuisse fuisset.

He also notably advises that, since the past does not return, we ought to look forward to the future; certainly this comes from the following (as Cicero translates): "Verum praeterita omittamus."

Theognis also writes:

Nemo quidem cunctis rebus ubique sapit.

And Homer writes:

Non uni dant cuncta Dei bona. —

And Polydamas denies that Hector, a single man, is able to excel in all things.

Sophocles in *Philoctetes* says that the skill and reasoning of those, to whom Jupiter entrusts the scepter of rule which they must bear, is outstanding.

Homer earlier expresses the same sentiment:

Namque haud sceptrigeri est vulgaris gloria regis.

Cui decus ipse hominum pater addidit atque Deorum.

Sophocles writes:

Non est ille vir

Stultus, nec infelice forte, qui malo

Forte implicatus ut mederi possi?t

Annititur, neque fovet illud pervicax

Homer writes the same thing with the most elegant brevity: "ἀκεσταί τοι φρένες ἐσθλῶν." By which it is meant that good men both easily please and are pleased, and tend to strive so that their earlier transgressions are corrected.

In Homer, Achilles says that there are two fate-dealing vessels placed in the heavens, and the Grammarians do not yet have a consensus about these verses, for the exposition is rather obscure. But even Pindar did not decline to interpret this passage, when he said that the gods so divide good and evil for men, so that a twin evil is attached to each good thing.

Homer affirms that the will of Jove always stands before the reason of mortals. And easily does he strike fear into even brave men, and snatch away victory from them. Following which Sophocles writes: If the God is roused, the strength of no man is so great, he says, that he can escape.

But I trust that what I had argued has been adequately demonstrated, and perhaps I have been longer in compiling these aphorisms than is appropriate. For I do not do so in order that I might demonstrate in this section my particular outstanding faculty of memory, but rather so that, as if by a pointed finger, the fountains are pointed out whence so many good and useful things have been drawn up by earlier men: indeed, to compile all of them would be endless, and this most fruitful inquiry and attention must be left to your study, both for the instruction of the arts, and indeed the cultivation of life; the most wise city of Athens judged, to her merit and praise, that the

reading of this poet was so important toward that cultivation of life, that it was decreed by law that on every fifth year, when the great Panathenaic festival was being celebrated, the verses of Homer were to be solemnly recited, and it forbid the recitation of all other verses aside from his. For they recognized that the teachings of morality were at first contained in laws, but that these teachings were both too short and unsatisfactory. And it was the province of the poet to both choose the most important ones, and to put them forward, so that they were handed back most pleasing and lovely, set free, as it were, by the elegance of diction and composition. And they knew that Homer was the best poet and outstanding in each of these aspects. I could pursue at length many other points in this manner, but I hasten toward the subject itself, that is, the explication of so great an author. Even in this very undertaking much that is noteworthy presents itself. And it should not seem strange to anyone that so much greatness is encountered in this one man, when that which is called the "authority of Homer" is discovered to have been held in such regard among the ancients, that it was considered improper to stray from it, no less than from a divine oracle. And so even Pisistratus by the insertion of a single verse in book XI of the Odyssey is thought to have created the reputation of heroism for Theseus. This is in the end of that book:

Θησέα Πειρίθοόν τε θεῶν ἀριδείκετα τέκνα.

Or as it is elsewhere written:

ἔρικυδέα τέκνα.

And Solon, with similar cleverness, prevailed in the debate over Salamis, when the

Lacedaemonians had been chosen as arbiters. For it is said that he recited a verse, which he fraudulently substituted as if it were a verse of Homer, from the catalogue:

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμίνοσ ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας,
Στήσε δ' ἄγων ἴν' Ἀθηναίων ἴσταντο φάλαγγες.

Wherefore it was straightaway decided by the arbiters that Salamis belonged to the Athenian state. To this point is added the *praerogativa* of age, since Homer appears to Herodotus to be the most ancient of all, that is, the first poet of those who are famed for their teachings. For, although Herodotus said this about both Homer and Hesiod, nevertheless, freely in agreement with Cicero, I interpret it such that I understand Homer to have existed prior to Hesiod by many centuries. Although it does not escape my notice that many Greeks brought these two together into the same time period, and some handed down that Homer was defeated in Euboea by Hesiod with a hymn (a victory Hesiod himself makes mention of); nor does it escape my notice that others even make Hesiod older than Homer, just as they also do with Museum, Orpheus, and Pamphos. Herodotus, however, writes thus in Euterpe (for I wish to relate the Greek words):

Οἱ δὲ πρότεροι ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι, ὕστερον, ἐμοὶ δοκέειν.

And for this reason all men have rejected those few who dare to attack and insult the writings of Homer with their censure, no less than if they were impious and sacrilegious. And it is written that one of these men, Zoilus, was even thrown headfirst

from a rock by the entire population of Greece. But this enough about such things, or perhaps too much, especially as I am working towards a different point. Now therefore let me continue on to the very undertaking which I decided upon. It is customary for those who have taken up writings of the ancients for the purpose of explaining them to others to be consulted regarding the author, the type of writing, the title of the work, and the intention and plan of the author, before they begin set forth their own interpretation. And they then proceed to their explication when the argument of the work as a whole and of the individual books (if indeed the work contains many) has been narrated. I, too, will now discuss these things briefly, one by one, and in order, so that I am able as quickly as possible to arrive at the exposition itself.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The author of these writings is Homer. And if I wished to recount all that is said about him, it would be too long. This will suffice for us: because he is so far in the past, his origin, his fatherland, his city, even the time in which he lived, and his way of life and his fortunes and the manner of his death, are all unknown, and are tangled up in tales, a regular occurrence in the history of the earliest antiquity. And so some pass down a most humble origin for him, others a divine one; for it is said that he was born from a slave woman and the river Meles, or from Mercury and a Thebaean Prophetess, or from Apollo and Calliope. And some hand down that he was Greek, and of these, some say that he was an islander, such as one of the men of Chios, or Ithaca, or Cyprus, which Pausanius writes was even passed down by an oracle: for oracles

about this poet are also handed down, and some say that he was an Egyptian, others a Syrian; a few make him a Lydian, certain others a Trojan; some say he was an Italian, and go so far that-- which I find amazing-- they make him a Roman. Moreover, an epigram bears witness that seven townships fought over him, since they each claimed him for themselves:

Ἑπτὰ πόλεις διερίζουσι περὶ ῥίζαν Ὀμήρου,
Σμύρνα, Ῥόδος, Κολοφῶν, Σαλαμῖν, Ἴος, Ἄργος, Ἀθῆναι.

And these are also handed down thus:

Ἑπτὰ ἐριδμαίνουσι πόλεις δία ῥίζαν Ὀμήρου,
Κύμη, Σμύρνα, Χίος, Κολοφῶν, Πύλος, Ἄργος, Ἀθῆναι.

And thus:

Ἑπτὰ πόλεις μάρναντο σαφῆν διὰ ῥίζαν Ὀμήρου,
Σμύρνα, Χίος, Κολοφῶν, Ἰθάκη, Πύλος, Ἄργος, Ἀθῆναι.

Some say he was a wanderer and a prophet. For there are some who have written that, wandering all throughout Greece, he was practically begging alms for sustenance, and that he roused up the shades of Heroes with his songs. Nearly all say that he was indeed blind, and many even pass down that he was born blind, and it is agreed that he was blind even by his own account, since he both mentions that fact and, moreover, mentions that he lived on the island of Chios, in the hymn in which he praises Apollo. Thucydides worked these verses into book 3 of his histories, and this is

one of them:

Τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἔνι παιπαλόεσση.

Herodotus, who I believe is most credible in the assignation of dates and names, writes that Homer lived before his own time by around 400 years. Indeed, one reads this in the second book of his histories:

Ἡσίοδον καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίεσιν ἔτεσιν ἔδοκῶ μετὰ πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλέοσι.

He also says that the Trojan war came before the time in which he himself lived by 800 years. Thus Homer is found to be later than the Trojan times by 400 years, clearly in between those and the times of Herodotus. Yet these differ greatly from both the traditions of others and from those which are recorded in the life of Homer, the authorship of which is ascribed to Herodotus, and scarcely incorrectly, as I think. Cicero, in the fifth book of the Tusculan Disputations, brings Homer into the age of Lycurgus, about which itself there is scarcely any agreement. Porphyrius wrote that Homer was born after the fall of Troy by 275 years, before the first Olympiad by 130 years. And we are told, moreover, that the first Olympiad was founded after the fall of Troy by 400 years. And everything is in correspondence with this reckoning, although a few pass down that it was founded after Troy by 406 years, and others by 460 years. And with regards to these issues, one suspects that there is an error in the passage of Herodotus that was set forth, and perhaps in the place of τετρακοσίοισι, it should be read thus: "ἡλικίην τ' ἑπτακασίοισι." For in this way there would be agreement with

that which is read in the life of Homer: that he is younger than the Trojan period by 168 years. And it makes no difference that 68 years are left over, since Herodotus wished to set down in that passage a time which the age of those poets would certainly not exceed, in order that those who were clearly inferior could in no way be considered superior. Add to this point what Herodotus says clearly in the same life of Homer, that between the age of Homer and the war brought against Greece by Xerxes, there passed 622 years, wherefore he himself was later than the war. Although I have even learned that it has been remarked that a certain Arctinus, a disciple of Homer, lived in the Ninth Olympiad, 400 years after the Trojan period. Wherefore let us leave these inexplicable facts undetermined, for there is such variety and uncertainty in these known periods that I cannot discover what can be done. This, however, is certain: that the Homeric period was distant from our own time by no less than 2400 years, since even Pliny wrote that Homer lived before himself by around 1000. The same Pliny relates the charming story that Appion the Grammarian summoned the shades in order to ask Homer in which fatherland and to which parents he was begotten, but Appion, however, declares that Homer did not dare to give any response. Let us, therefore, bear this lack of knowledge with equanimity, in this as it were fog of antiquity. Indeed, about his name itself there is even controversy, over the apparent reason that it was attached to him. Herodotus writes that he was first named Melesigenem from the river Meles, then soon afterward Homer, which means "blind man" in the Cumaean tongue. Even the Grammarians accommodated the origin of the name to this explanation, and made ὄμηρον as if μήρορον through metathesis. Others say that he was given as a hostage when there was a war of the Smyrnaeans with the Colophons; indeed,

hostages are called ὄμηροι in Greek. And this is also handed down, that Homer, begotten from a certain priestess and with Mercury as his father, had from his first beginnings a hairy thigh, and when this was discovered, since it was unique, he is thought to have obtained the name in reference to it, since, owing to astonishment, he was named ὁ μηρὸς, that is, "the thigh," as among the Latins the Surae are also called the Capitones. Some hand down that he was born blind, others that he was made such by illness, and there are also those who believe that he was not in fact blind, but that this story existed owing to the miraculous self-control and moderation of the man, who did not suffer himself to be conquered by any pleasures, which tend to penetrate through the eyes towards the souls of mortals. Some put forth that he died from an affliction of the spirit, when he was not able to solve a fisherman's riddle. And they also write that this happened to Philitas, who sought and did not find a solution to a certain riddle from those that are called ψευδόμενα. Herodotus writes that this is false, and that he died of disease. But regarding these things, each is able to believe whichever and however much he chooses. An epigram of the following sentiment was affixed to his tomb:

Condit humus caput haec sacrum, qui versibus arma
Fortia divinis heroum ornavit, Homerum.

At one time when I was an adolescent I joked about the same matter in this Distich:

Flumina qui magni et ditem miratur Homeri
Venam, de fluvio cogitet esse patre.

There were also two Grammarians by this name, one a Byzantine, the other by the cognomen Sellius. It is after our own Homer that the Ὀμηρίδαι are thought to have been named, that is, the descendants of this poet in Chios, or those who perform his poems. And this is the word used in Plato's Ion. But now let us come to the end of talking about the author, and discuss the type of writing used.

ABOUT THE TYPE OF WRITING

One of the things which tends to become apparent through discourse is the division of the structure. For it is either sung in measures, which the Greeks call ῥυθμοὶ, so that there are μέτρα, which are called verses; or, with this obligation dissolved it is said to be free, that which is called prose speech, because no necessity of composition twists and directs it as it proceeds. There is another, more general division, which is Platonic, when we say that the entire composition is either a Narrative (he himself calls it ἀπλήν διήγησιν, or δι' ἀπαγγελίαν τοῦ ποιητοῦ), or a Performance, or a mixture of the two. And this division is more certain and fixed than that which is handed down by the Rhetors. For a Narrative is an entire work in which it is recounted that something either is or is not, and what or of what sort it is or is not, as are all disputations and histories, either of deeds accomplished or invented. In this type, no character is encountered except for that of the author. A Performance, though, is entirely in imitation, when the author assigns the entire narration to characters, by whom the plot appears to be acted rather than narrated. Where, moreover, the author mixes in his own persona, there the

type is mixed, or δι' ἀμφοτέρων. The following will serve as examples of the first type:

"The city of Rome, as I have learned, was founded and held from the start by the Trojans, who were wandering as refugees with Aeneas as their leader."

Likewise:

Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis, at idem

Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis aevum.

Likewise:

Poēta cum primum animum ad scribendum appulit,

and so on, since these verses are well known. Likewise the poems of Virgil which begin:

Sicelides Musae paulo maiora canamus.

And a Virgilian poem of the second type:

Tityre tu patula recubans sub tegmine fagi.

And this:

Cur non Mopse boni quoniam convenimus ambo.

Other examples: The Cato and Laelius of Cicero; all the tragedies and comedies. An example of the third sort, a Horatian poem, whose beginning is:

Pastor cum traheret per freta navibus.

Likewise this one of Maro:

Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin.

Other examples: The de Finibus of Cicero. Likewise de Natura Deorum; the Aeneid of Virgil. And the poetry of Homer is also of this sort, composed in verses, that is, with a fixed number of feet, which the Greeks call μέτρα. And while the form and features of these vary, the most perfect is thought to be the Dactylic Senarius, that is, ἑξάμετρος, for it is expressed with six feet of equal parts, dactyl and spondee, which are placed in every position, but nevertheless such that the dactyl always occupies the fifth spot. And if it is discovered to have been created otherwise, this tends to be commented upon as done with remarkable license by the poet, such as verses which are called σπονδαίζοντες.

Τόνδ' ἐπικερτομέων προσέφης Πατρόκλεις ἵππεῦ.

Aut leves ocreas lento ducunt argento.

Likewise those which are called ὑπέρμετροι and ὑπερκατάληκτοι, which are longer by one syllable, which generally tends to fall on the first vowel of the following verse.

Τρῶας ἀπώσασθαι καὶ ἐρυκέμεν εὐρύσπα Ζῆν'
αὐτοῦ.

In a different way:

Τοῦ φέρον ἐμπλήσας ἀσκὸν μέγαν, ἐν δὲ καὶ
ἥϊα κωρύκῳ.

Τρεῖς γὰρ τ' ἐκ κρόνου ἀδελφεοὶ οὔς τέκετο ῥέα.

*lactemur doceas, ignari hominumque locorumque
Erramus. —*

— quin protinus omnia

Perlegerent oculis. —

Likewise those which are called λαγαροὶ, as if they are weakened, because there seems to be a careless observance of the feet in the middle, as:

Ἦδὲ μέγ' ἰάχουσα ἀπὸ ἔο κάββαλεν υἰόν.

Φαιήκων, μήδ' οὔτω φίλον δι' πατρὶ γένοιτο.

Muneribus tibi pampineo gravidus autumnno.

Consilium ipse pater et magna incepta Latinus.

Likewise ἀκέφαλοι μείουροι which are lacking in an initial and final syllable. Such as:

Ἐπειδὴ νῆας τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἴκανε.

Φθινύθοισιν νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα δακρυχεοῦση.

Τρῶες δ' ἐρρίγησαν ὅπως ἴδον αἰόλον ὄφιν.

'Fluviorum rex Eridanus' is ἀκέφαλος.

Μείουροι from Livius are introduced by Terentianus.

Balteus et revocet volucres in pectore sinus.

Dirige odori sequos ad certa cubilia canes.

And Livius translated the line from Homer thus:

Attoniti Troes viso serpente pavitant.

Indeed, to set forth the types of meters, and the forms of dactyls one by one, would take too long, and the former are found collected everywhere by the Grammarians, while to seek out the latter would not seem to have profit in it. Moreover, they call this type of long verse heroic verses, as Ennius called it, because it is appropriate to the history of great and brave men, that is, τῶν ἡρώων, as Horace writes:

Res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella,

Carmine quo possint scribi monstravit Homerus.

They are also called ἔπη, according to the Etymologists, ὅτι τὰ ἐφεξῆς τοῖς πρώτοις ἔπεται, or from the succession of the words. They are also called πύθιοι because their origin is traced back to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, where this verse was said to have been put forth first of all:

Συμφέρετε περὰ οἰωνοὶ ἄνθη δὲ μέλισσαι.

This type of poem, moreover, is one of those which are called κατὰ στίχον or ἀμετάβολα because the things that follow are similar to those that precede, and the manner of the poem does not change.

Carmen for the Latins, is ὠδὴ for the Greeks, a general term from *canendo*, just like Camoenae, which at one time was Casmoenae, and Carmentis and Camilla, which for the ancients were Casmentis and Casmilla. But they properly call ὠδὰς and *carmina* those works which for the Greeks are μέλη, owing to the sweetness of the singing, and λυρικά, because they were sung with lyres, and χορικά, because a chorus sang them. χορὸς, moreover, is named ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς according to Plato. The type of the Homeric books, therefore, is of metrical speech, that is, they constitute a poem; and they have a dactylic meter, and a mixed narrative strategy ἐκ διηγήσεως καὶ δράματος.

ABOUT THE TITLE OF THE WORK

ποιητής is properly called a sort of craftsman of the muses; for the word is an appellative, κατ' ἐξοχὴν therefore poets are the workers of the muses, who makes verses, and compose poems, incited by a certain divine impetus of the spirits. ποιήσις is a complete work of the poet, such as The Iliad, The Aeneid. ποιήματα are particular sections of the work. The ποιήσις of Homer, therefore, contains two works, one titled The Iliad, the other The Odyssey. But I have announced that I shall interpret The Iliad. Therefore: this name is made in the patronymic form, in the possessive sense, in the Aeolic dialect, from Ilium, which was the name of the Trojan city, from Illus, the father of Laomedon, whose name in Homer is feminine, as in Ἴλιος Ἰρή. On the other hand, the Grammarians put together in the same author ἴλιον αἰπὺ ἔλοιεν. But there are also other poems which come to mind whose author was said to have been Homer. Such as: The expedition of the Amphiaraus; The Amazonia; The Lesser Iliad; The Returns; Ἐπικίχλιδες, which name is said to have been formed from the payment which Homer accepted from boys for his verses, namely, thrushes; The Battle of Frogs with Mice; The Battle of the Spiders; The Battle of the Cranes; The Margites; The Hymns. And let us leave for the Grammarians our doubts about these, especially since, aside from some hymns and the Battle of Frogs with Mice, nothing of them now survives; and nevertheless these too, I believe, could be considered Homeric without disgrace to him, just like the Culex and other playful verses of Maro. Some even ascribe a particular writing of the Thebaid to this author, on account of his preeminence, and Cyprian verses, which Herodotus judged not to be Homeric. I would like to recite a particularly elegant example from among certain short poems of Homer which are recounted by Herodotus, which is called the Εἰρесиῶνη. For the sight which these

verses seem to be have been applied to appears to some extent to be in agreement with present customs, and the consideration of the most humane customs of the ancients greatly pleases me. The song is said to have been sung by a group of young boys at houses of the wealthy, when a palm olive branch would be given forth. Homer himself was accustomed to lead in singing the versus, which I shall now recall:

ΕΙΡΕΣΙΩΝΗ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ποιημάτιον.

Δῶμα προσετραπόμεσθ' ἀνδρὸς μέγα δυναμένιο

Ἵος μέγα μὲν δύναται, μέγα δὲ βρέμει ὄλβιος ἀεὶ.

Αὐτὰρ ἀνακλίνεσθε θύραι, πλοῦτός γὰρ ἔπεισι

Πολλὸς, σὺν πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ εὐφροσύνη τεθαλυῖα,

Εἰρήνη τ' ἀγαθὴ, ὅσα δ' ἄγκεα μεστὰ μὲν εἶη.

Κυρβαίη δ' ἀεὶ κατὰ κάρδοπον ἔρπεο μάζα,

Νῦν μὲν κριθαίην εὐώπιδα σησαμόεσσαν.

Τοῦ παιδὸς δὲ γυνὴ κατὰ δίφρακα βήσεται ὕμμιν,

Ἕμίονοι δ' ἄξιοι κραταίποδες ἐς τόδε δῶμα,

Αὐτὴ δ' ἰστὸν ὑφαίνοι ἐπ' ἠλέκτρῳ βεβαυῖα.

Νεῦμαι τοι νεῦμ' αὖ ἐνιαύσιος, ἔστε χελιδῶν

Ἔστηκ' ἐν προθύροις ψιλὴ πόδας. ἀλλὰ φέρ' αἶψα.

Πάτερ σοὶ τῷ δ' Ἀπόλλων' ἀγυιεῖ τι δός.

Κεῖ μὲν τι δώσεις, εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐχ ἐστήξομεν,

Οὐ γὰρ συνοικήσοντες ἐνθάδ' ἦλθομεν.

There is a mention of the swallow because, with the arrival of that small bird in the

happier time of spring, these wanderings were cheerfully put into motion with songs. And there is also a mention of this from Athenaeus book 8, where iambic versus, too, are put forth, which were sung by boys, of which the final lines are:

Ἄνοιγ' ἄνοιγε τὸν θύραν χελιδόνι,
Οὐ γὰρ γέροντες ἐσμέν ἀλλὰ παιδία.

And it can be understood from this that they called the branch itself which was put forth (as I have mentioned) a swallow. But now I shall recite the Homeric verses translated into Latin.

LEMNISCI POEMATIIUM Homeri.

Hasce viri primis opulenti advenimus aedes,
Qui locuples multumque potest vivitque beatus.
Ostia nunc pateant, accedit copia dives
Gaudia quam, dulcisque quies comitantur euntem.
Omnia vasa bonis multis cumulata redundant.
Pollineae semper iaceant in corbe placentae.
Hordea sed nobis nitidam et nunc sesama reddant.
Pulcra nurus molli recubet subnixa sedili.
Quique vehant hanc mula trahat validungula currus.
Ipsa per ingrediens electrum stamina ducat.
Annus ecce tibi redeo annuus, interea istic
Vestibulum exilis posita ante resistet hirundo.

Nunc age si quid das age nunc astantibus offer.

O pater Apollinem vialem munere

Afficito, nos tibi gratias habebimus.

Sin das nihil, nos hic tamen non stabimus,

Neque tecum enim ut habitemus huc advenimus.

ABOUT THE PLAN OF THE AUTHOR

It was the plan and desire of the author to put forward in this work an outstanding example of bravery, and to honor and censure the Greeks, and certainly to defame the barbarians, and last to celebrate by his praise the history of Greece. For this reason Isocrates thinks that the greatest praise was given to the Homeric writings, and that it was therefore decided by earlier generations that young men continually read the poems of this poet, so that they be incited both toward prosecuting the barbarians with hatred and towards imitating the bravery of their own people. And it is also because of this desire that Homer seems to me to have been called ἄριστος καὶ θειότατος τῶν ποιητῶν by Plato, not only because of his preeminence in the craft or rather madness ἐνθέου of the Muses-- but I have discussed this issue elsewhere, as well as the Platonic rejection of Homer, or rather (as Plato sees it) the "seductions" of this poet.

ABOUT THE DIVISION OF THE WORK

The division of the work comes next. It is concluded, therefore, in 24 books, marked with signs of the Greek letters; not, however, thus edited by the author himself, but first brought together by Pisistratus, and then put in order by Aristarchus and Zenodotus. Cicero in fact attributed both of these activities to Pisistratus, with these words: "Quis doctior iisdem illis temporibus, aut cuius eloquentia literis instructor fuisse traditur quam Pisistrati? Qui primum Homerus libros, confusos antea, sic disposuisse dicitur, ut nunc habemus." Many others Greeks hand this down, and an epigram is passed along about it.

Plato writes that Hipparchus, the older son of Pisistratus, whom Harmonius and Aristogites killed, not only instructed his citizens with other teachings, but also first brought the poems of Homer into Attica and established them, so that in the Panathenaic festival they were sung by alternating singers who were called ῥαψωδοὶ. Before this time, therefore, the poems of this poet were dispersed in Greece, as he himself had performed some part of them in diverse locations. And I do not believe that poverty pushed Homer towards those perpetual wanderings, as many people claim, so much as the desire and urge to know all of not only Greece, which he planned to make renowned in his songs, but also the history of the Trojan war, which he had decided to use as his plot. The memory of these things, moreover, ought to have still been strong up to that point, if indeed, as it is almost agreed upon, he did not come more than 24 or 27 or even one hundred and sixty years later. Philostratus adds that Homer consulted the shade of Ulysses about the events at Troy, having set out to Ithaca to the Psychomanteum, and that from him he learned all that he would later bring together in verse, when Ulysses had agreed on the payment for his recollection:

the praise and celebration of his story and his name. But surely he made this story up; and even if he did bring the truth forward, what difference does it make? Appion the Grammarian observed that the first syllable of the first verse of the Iliad contains two letters by which the number 48 is designated, and thus he wished to prove that Homer, after all the Rhapsodies were completed, put this verse into the Iliad, in order to define and express the number of his own poems. And this is indeed an exceedingly trifling observation, as are many others from other authors. For an almost infinite crowd of Grammarians have attempted to demonstrate their own wisdom using the writings of this author, whence it also came about that, since these men most audaciously now and then changed these writings, Homer's books, which are the least in need of emendation, have been emended the most. And likewise this subtle point has been noted: that the first verse of the Iliad and the last are equal in number of syllables to the first and last of the Odyssey. But let these things be left to the inquisitive. Since I called the Homeric books Rhapsodies in the previous sentences, it is appropriate to add this, lest the significance of this word be unknown: those men who sang the songs of others in public gatherings were once called ῥαψωδοῦς, either because the songs were like those composed in turns, or because they patched together the collected verses of others. Sophocles writes in Oedipus Tyrannus ὄθ' ἡ ῥαψωδὸς ἐνθάδ' ἠγκύων, which he also slightly earlier called ποικιλῶδον. ῥαψωδία is a song, and ῥαψωδεῖν the verb. There are those who derive this from the word for stick, ὅτι ῥαβδούχοι ἠγωνίζοντο. The letter ψ, moreover, is doubled no less as βς than as πς, as Ἄραψ. Plato, in Ion, says that a rhapsode is an interpreter of the poet, who explains his aim and opinions to the listeners, and for this reason not only is an elegant recitation of the verses

customarily sought from him but also an explanation of the poem. And because the greatest number of these engaged their study in the Homeric songs, therefore we learn that they are called the Ὀμηριστὰς, from the verb ὀμηρίζω, which signifies the study of Homer.

The arguments, that is, the summaries of the books, and what the Greeks call περιόχαι, are most correctly put forth prior to the exposition of each single book. But he who wishes to know them separately can take them up from Ausonius, who described in prose the periochae of each of the Homeric works. And I have placed below, translated into Latin, Greek verses about the Iliad that were put forth in the place of an argument for each single book.

A. Alpha the prayers of Chryses, the evils of the plague, the arguments of the kings.

B. Beta tells of dreams, the assembly of the people and the ships.

Γ. Gamma each husband fights on behalf of his mate.

Δ. Delta the meeting of the Gods. The broken vow. The beginnings of the battle.

E. Ei the spears of Diomedes bloody Venus and Mars.

Z. Zeta narrates the conversation of Hector with his wife.

H. Hta Ajax fights alone against the power of Hector.

Θ. Theta Assembly of the gods. The power of Troy. The attempts of Hector.

I. Iota the embassy is sent in vain to the son of Peleus.

K. Cappa camps on both side leave to go exploring.

Λ. Lambda the Trojan youth strikes the leaders of the Danaans.

M. Mu. Difficulties. The Teucrians overturn the walls of the Greeks.

- N. Nu. Unknown to love, Neptune aids the Danaans with his power.
- Ξ. Xi Juno deceives her brother with sleep-bearing love.
- O. O Neptune and Juno feel the deep wrath of Jove.
- Π. Pi The spear of Hector kills the famous Patroclus in battle.
- P. Rho the Danaans and Trojans crowd in battle around the corpse.
- Σ. Sigma Thetis delivers the arms from Vulcan to her son.
- T. Tau Achilles ends his wrath and rushes into the battle.
- Φ. Phi Achilles pushed the battle towards the banks of the river.
- X. Chi Hector, fleeing three times around the walls, falls.
- Ψ. Psi Achilles puts on funereal games for the Danaans.
- Ω. O With the descent of Aeacus pacified, Hector is returned to his father.

Now that these things have therefore briefly been set forth, let us hasten towards the interpretation itself. And here it must be understood that the most ancient poets composed their verses according to the music with which they were performed. And so the times of the syllables are less accurate, since the voice sang everything consistently in time. And the later men who studied this art did not do so. Nor should this happen at all now, or be able to, except where the affectation of archaism has been taken up, in which practice Maro in particular merits praise. And I should not think that this was done by the ancients without intent, although Plutarch judges that they took less care about pronunciation, compared with their concern for plot, to the extent that Homer did not take care in order that he less frequently produce a verse that was ἄμετρον. And yet he must have seen how ἄμετρον a given verse was-- for I do not at all agree with Plutarch-- especially since we know that it was often with

particular care that he modified the usual meter. For how difficult would it have been to make this verse

Τρῶες δ' ἐρρίγησαν ὅπως ἴδον αἰόλον ὄφιν.

read thus: "ὅπως ὄφιν αἰόλον εἶδον"? Unless he wished, by strategy and design, to simulate by that strangeness of meter, the wondrous and terrible appearance of the snake? Likewise, it will have been exceedingly easy to emend other passages, in which there is no doubt that the audacity of the Grammarians has, as it were, profaned many of the sacred passages of antiquity. But I shall now narrate the summary of the first book of the Iliad. I would nevertheless like to first make known the names of some of the interpreters of Homer, which, it must be understood, are merely a few collected from a much larger number. But not a single person from out of these names is now extant, aside from Eustathius, whose works have not yet in fact reached me, so that he does not seem to me to be extant, either. From these interpreters, therefore, both the zeal and dedication of the ancients surrounding this author can be understood, and let my own attempts (I shall call them thus, rather than careful studies) be well tolerated, since nothing greatly sustains them aside from probity and promptitude of will.

ABOUT THE INTERPRETERS OF HOMER

They say that Zenodotus first collected and corrected the Homeric books, when Ptolemy Philadelphus was ruling in Egypt. And he was both responsible for the creation of the Alexandrian library, and also the curator of it. Here Philetas Criticus, and the group itself that was afterwards called Grammarians, are said to have

originated from Aristotle. And Cicero speaks thus to Dolabella: 'I am going to judge just as the ancient Critic would.' Zenodotus therefore studied under Philetas, whom Ptolemy retained as a teacher. Slightly younger than him was Callimachus, and the following who lived in those Ptolemaic times: Sosybius, Eratosthenes, Euphorion, Timarchus. Sosybius Lacon was called λυτικός, because he resolved in free and ranging speech those things which on the face of it appeared too difficult. Eratosthenes was in contact with πένταθλος and Ptolemy the fifth. Euphorion was in Syria with Antiochus.

Aristophanes studied under Zenodotus and Callimachus, the former when he was a boy and then the latter when he was a young man, and he also studied under Eratosthenes.

Apollonius himself also studied under Callimachus, and he succeeded Eratosthenes as curator of the Alexandrian Library. For there was a unique spirit of inquiry, and outstanding desire on the part of the Alexandrian kings, towards learned and good arts, and so they spared no expense in gathering these together and fostering and increasing them. And this most respectable zeal as if by heredity arrived along with the kingship for all of them, up to the seventh Ptolemy, whom the Egyptians called κακεργέτην because of the wickedness of his seizures and murders. And owing to the fear of this king, many learned men from every branch of the sciences set off into exile, and brought their arts and disciplines back to the Greeks, as they had been nearly extinguished by continual wars and revolutions. But to return to the Grammarians.

Aristarchus, the most famous of all, studied under Aristophanes. He set himself

to interpreting and emending Homer, and he ὠβέλισε many verses (that is, he marked them) which he did not recognize as Homeric, and he called them νόθους.

Apollodorus was his student, and Dionysus, a man of Thracian origin, whence he was named Thrax. Crates the Stoic Philosopher who was called a "Homeric" flourished in that same period. He composed nine books of emendations to each of the works of Homer. And next I shall put forth all together the names of the others, who, I have learned, worked on explicating the Homeric writings. And Ptolemy, the Second king of Egypt, who was called Euergetes, is said to have first produced emendations of Homer.

Even before him, Zeno Cittiensis is said to have composed commentaries on each of the Homeric works, and in addition on the Margites. Likewise, his student Persaeus is said to have interpreted the Homeric writings. Next Aristotle, not the famous one from Stagira, but someone else by that name. I have also encountered these names of other interpreters:

Aristonicus; six books on Homer.

Agathocles the Grammarian.

Ammonianus.

Apollonius the father of Herodian Dyscolus; about the rhetorical figures of Homer.

Archebius of Alexandra.

Apollonius the son of Archebius; about Homeric vocabulary, in alphabetical order.

Asclepiades Myrleanus.

Alexander Cosytæus, cognomen πολυμαθῆς.

Appion, cognomen μόχθος.

Aratus Solensis.

Artemio Clazomenius.

Alexander Milesius πολυῖστωρ. There was also another called Myndius, and another called Aetolus.

Archimedes Trallianus wrote commentaries on Homer.

Dio Prusensis, who defended Homer against Plato. His short panegyric writings on Homer are extant.

Demetrius, cognomen Ixion.

Didymus, cognomen χαλκέντερος, as if he had bronze innards, since his admirable zeal and assiduity towards reading and writing is said to have produced 3500 books. There were also other Grammarians after him who had the same name.

Demosthenes Thrax, who explicated the Iliad in prose.

Dioscurides; about government in Homer.

Epaphroditus Cheronensis, the student of Archebius.

Hippias Eleus, who, as Plato says, taught that the Iliad is superior to the Odyssey, and that Homer gave us Ἀχιλλέα μὲν ἄνδρα ἄριστον, Νέστορα δὲ σοφώτατον, Ὀδυσσέα δὲ πολυτροπώτατον.

Heracleon Aegyptius.

Heraclides Ponticus, student of Didymus; about the Homeric and Hesiodic age.

Heraclides Cilix.

Herodianus son of Apollonius.

Hephestion of Alexandria.

Hellanicus the Grammarian.

Longinus the teacher of Porphyrius, cognomen Cassius, wrote inquiries on Homer: whether Homer was a philosopher; two books about Homeric problems; about words with many definitions in Homer.

Maximus Tyrius; about ancient philosophy in Homer.

Meleager Gradarensis.

Mnasea Berytius.

Metaclides.

Nestor Lycius, father of the poet Pisander, composed an Iliad in which the known letter of each Rhapsody was not found in that Rhapsody. Tryphiodorus completed an Odyssey according to this method.

Naucrates Erythraeus; commentaries on Homer.

Philoxenus; about Homeric glosses, that is, obscure words. Also commentaries on the Odyssey.

Plutarchus μελέτας Ὀμηρικός.

Porphyrius Tyrius; about Homeric philosophy; about the cave of the nymphs in the Odyssey; what use kings are able to take from reading the books of Homer; 10 books about names omitted by Homer.

Parthenius Nicaensis, son of Dionysius Thrax. There is also mention of a Parthenius Chius, who was believed to have been of Homer's bloodline.

Someone named Posidonius, or perhaps there were more than one, for many people had this name. He is said to have devoted his entire life to the interpretation of

Homer.

Ptolemy of Alexandria, student of Aristarchus, cognomen Pindarius. He wrote three books of imitations of Homer; about oratory style in Homer; about Utides and Asteropaeus in Homer.

Pigres the brother of Artemisiae, the queen of Caria, is mentioned in the Suda, who, as if in explicating the Iliad, put a pentameter under each line, such as after ούλομένην:

Μοῦσα σύ γὰρ πάσης πείρατ' ἔχεις σοφίης.

Ptolemy the follower of Aristarchus; commentaries on the book in the Odyssey about the wanderings of Ulysses.

Ptolemy son of Aristonicus; 50 books on Homer.

Ptolemy of Alexandria, son, I believe, of Hephaestion, wrote Anthomerum, a work in 24 books.

Ptolemy Ascalonites; about the accents of Homer; about Aristarchus' correction of the Odyssey.

Proclus, student of Syrius; commentaries on Homer.

And of course the Platonics wrote about Homer.

Seleucus of Alexandria, cognomen Homericus.

Syrianus; Homeric problems; 7 books of commentaries on Homer.

Soterides Epidaurius wrote inquiries on Homer.

Theagenes about Homer.

Tyrannio Phoenix; about the accents of Homer; that later poets differ from Homer; corrections of Homer.

Tryphiodorus; an explication of Homeric similes.

Trypho; about dialects in Homer.

Of the ancients, Xenophanes Colophonius did not hesitate to reproach and rail against so great a poet. And it is said that at one time Hiero the Tyrant of the Sicily, son of Gelon, jokingly responded to him when he was complaining that he was having trouble feeding his two servant boys: "Why, therefore, do you rail against Homer, who feeds more than a thousand men, and does so while he is dead?" Daphides Telmisensis, who was also a hater of the gods, mocked Homer as well, and spoke poorly of him. Zoilus Amphipolites not only spoke ill of Homer but is said to have been in the practice of subjecting a statue of him to blows. And for this reason he was also called Ὀμηρομάστιξ. But each of these men came to a fate worthy of his deeds. For the king Attalus decreed that Daphides be killed by torture, and a crowd of Greeks from Olympus threw the persecuted Zoilus headfirst over a rock.

THE END OF THE PREFACE

THE ARGUMENT OF THE FIRST BOOK OF HOMER'S ILIAD

Chryses, a priest of Apollo who lost his daughter in the sack of Thebes, comes to the Greek camp to ransom her. She is called Chryses using a patronymic, like Bryseis, and their actual names are said to have been Astynome and Hippodamia. But not only does he not obtain from Agamemnon that his daughter be returned to him, but he is even sent away after being threatened. He therefore seeks the aid of his God, who,

moved by the prayers of his priest, inflicts the Greeks with a plague. While it is still raging, Achilles, after calling the Greeks together in a meeting, puts forth the opinion that they should inquire after and avert the source of this evil. When the cause has been put forth by Calchas, a disagreement arises between the leaders. And shortly thereafter, when the girl has been returned to the priest, Agamemnon snatches Briseis away from Achilles, whom he had taken by lot after the sack of Lyrnesus. Moved by anger and persuaded by his mother Thetis, he sets himself apart from the Greek battles. Thetis moreover begs from Jove that he avenge the insults to her son with victories for the Trojans. Juno, noticing this, upbraids Jove with insults. With the quarrel escalating, Vulcan moves the gods to laughter by his lameness, and consoles his mother. Thence the Muses sing in entertainment, and Apollo plays the lyre, and for the rest of the day they feast, and at night everyone goes to bed.

JOACHIM CAMERARIUS' COMMENTARY ON THE FIRST BOOK OF HOMER'S ILIAD.

Fabius judges that this first book of the Iliad, along with the ninth and the second, is most useful and praiseworthy. And there are, indeed, extraordinary examples of argument and of the type of language which is appropriate to trials and lawsuits, where spirits are agitated, incited, and inflamed. But no less useful is the *exemplum vitae*, that, concerning such a trivial matter, such great and destructive anger came to pass; therefore it is useful to recognize this, and, as Horace says, to see the angers of foolish kings and peoples, so that we might anticipate and take care. And this *exemplum* is most notable in this book. I will, moreover, most appropriately point

out in their own passages the remaining moral teachings, and those *exempla* which themselves contain an admirable instruction for living. To this, the first book of Homer, there is no equal, that is, παραβολή.

Μῆνιν ἄειδε]

Protagoras criticized this verse, because Homer used the imperative form of the word in the declaration of a prayer. Indeed, to command someone to do something or to not do something, is *imperare*. But, just as the indicative form in verbs not only demonstrates, but also defines, questions, responds, states, affirms, and negates, likewise also are the other forms or moods named for one particular meaning, although they have many-- since it would be inappropriate for them to entirely lack a name-- which nevertheless some people, without cause, expand up to ten different names. In this verse, with regard to the measurement of the meter, we pronounce the ηι in πηληιάδεω with a single syllable, so that it appears (incorrectly) to be a diphthong. The word πηλείδης is formed from the proper name πηλεὺς, πηλέως, and by ectasis it is πηλείδης, and by Ionic παρεκτάσει it is πηληιάδης, and by συνιζήσει, or συναιρέσει, it is πηληιάδης. Just as Νηρείδες, Νηρηίδες, Νηρηίδες, unless we prefer it to be συνιζήσιν τοῦ εω, such as χρυσέω ἀνὰ σκήπτρω.

THE ANCESTRY OF ACHILLES

(image)

Ἀχιλλεύς is missing one λ in this verse. He is called thus either because he is the

grief of Ilium, that is, he will be the ἄχος Ἰλίου, or he is named from the fact that as a child he did not touch food, as if ἄχιλος τίς ὦν; for they say that he did not taste milk, but was nourished by Chiron with the bone-marrow of a lion, or with honeycombs and the bone-marrow of a young stag.

It should be noted here that this work, Homer's Iliad, puts forth the narration of the things that were done in the tenth year of the Trojan war, but the exposition is woven in here and there of nearly every other deed that had been accomplished in the nine previous years. And this occurs in a manner worthy of praise, and by a certain οἰκονομικῶ of artifice, just as Horace says:

Ordinis haec virtus erit et venus, aut ego fallor,
Ut iam nunc dicat iam nunc debentia dici,
Pleraque differat et praesens in tempus omittat,
Hoc amet hoc spernat, promissi carminis autor.

This marvelous ordering of events is also seen in the Odyssey, and is expressed with the greatest craft of imitation by Maro. For having begun from the seventh year of the wandering of Aeneas, he most elegantly weaves through in succession the narration of all that had happened after the downfall of Troy and its destruction.

Ἄειδε θεᾶ]

He invokes the divine spirit of the Muses, for this is easily understood from the context, since he wishes for her 'to sing' (canere), and the Muses are the singing

goddesses. And by the mention of one of them he invokes them all, or he names Calliope in particular. A verse of the ancient poet Rhianus is passed down in which it is said that if one Muse is invoked, all of them hear it.

Πᾶσαι δ' εἰσαΐουσι μιᾷς ὅ τε τὸν ὄνομα λέξεις.

And even Maro appears to have thought this was the case, when he writes thus:

Vos o Calliope precor aspirate canenti.

Οὐλομένην]

"Destructive", and the reason for this adjective follows shortly: because he will inflict innumerable evils, that is, enormous destruction, upon the Greeks, who are here called the Achaeans *συνεκδοχικῶς*. For the Achaeans, Pelasgians in Thessalia, are properly named thus from Achaëus the son of Xuthus son of Aeolus, as in the catalog.

Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί.

The following Virgilian verses can be ascribed to this verse:

—iuvenum primos tot miserit Orco.

And:

Multa virum volitans dat fortia corpora leto.

Homer says that the souls of the Heroes were thrown into Orcus. He says also that the Heroes themselves were food for the birds, meaning their bodies, from which

life, that is, the soul, had just departed. And he writes Ἄϊδι here as πάριδι from the nominative ἄϊς; ἰάπτω is "I send", and προῖάπτω as if "I throw out ahead of time", so that we can understand that they would have been able to live longer in peacetime. Ἐλώρια are booty.

Οἰωνοῖσί τε]

Zenodotus set forth the line thus, as Athenaeus annotated, 'οἰωνοῖσί τε δαῖτα'. But incorrectly, as he himself says. For Homer called food of humans δαῖτα, not beasts, from their equal distribution, whence also comes δαιτρός, he who eats meat, ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίεσθαι, that is, from being distributed. Whence he also often says δαῖτα εἴσην.

Μοίρας δασσάμενοι δαίνυντ' ἔρικυδέα δαῖτα.

Διὸς δ'έτελείετο βουλή]

This must be traced back to the desire and plan, which will be spoken of afterwards, which Iuppiter took up: to avenge by the slaughter of the Greeks and the victories of the Trojans the injustices which were done to Achilles, just as he had promised to Thetis that he would do. Some simply take Διὸς βουλήν as 'fate', just as this: Sic fata Deum rex fortitur, and Hesiod μεγάλου δὲ Διὸς νοὸς ἐξετελείετο. Others believe it was Jove's plan that, when the war had been stirred up, he would unburden the heavy earth from the multitude of men. But although Euripides also said this, it nevertheless does not seem to fit in this passage, since certainly in so long a time of war many had already perished, and Homer begins, as has been observed, from things that were done in the final year. The Euripidean verses from Helena are:

Πόλεμον γὰρ εἰσένεγκεν Ἑλλήνων χθονί.

Καὶ Φρυξὶ δυστήνοισιν, ὡς ὄχλου βροτῶν

Πλήθοις τε κουφίσειε μητέρα χθόνα.

From these five verses Pallas jokingly mocked the Grammarians, who took their doctrine from the text of Homer, in an epigram composed of this sentiment:

Grammaticae sunt quinque artis primordia dirae,

unde opus incipiens explicat illa suum.

Quinque canunt istas de libro principe versus,

Prima furor quarum est, altera pernicies.

Tum post perniciem Danaum mala multa sequuntur,

Sed fortes animas tertia condit humo.

Quarta canes et praeda canum. Mox quinta volucres

Continet, irati est consiliumque Iovis.

Grammaticos igitur quinque inter tanta necesse est

Esse mala, et casus flebile quinque genus.

Ἐξ οὗ]

"From which", and "time" is understood, as ἐν βραχεὶ means "briefly". τὰ πρῶτα is adverbial. For neuters are used singularly and in the plural with an adverbial meaning, and the article is added or omitted indiscriminately. Plato:

Περὶ τούτου σφῶν ἐθέλω δοῦναι λόγον τὸ πρῶτον.

And Euripides:

Πρῶτον μὲν εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος

Oedipus Tyrannus:

Τοῦ τ' αὐτὸ νῦν μοῦ πρῶτ' ἄκουσον.

But examples of this are found everywhere. Latin writers also often used neuters adverbially: *multum; facile; perfidum ridens Venus*. And Horace in the plural:

Insanire putes solennia me neque rides.

And:

Stabat acerba fremens.—

Διαστήτην]

The word "dissenting" has this same meaning for the Latins. And Homer has used the dual number, and there are some who claim that it is first discovered here. He calls Agamemnon "Atriden", the son of Atreus; according to others he is the son of Pleisthenes, who was the brother of Atreus. For, as Pindar says, Pelops had six princes by Hippodamia, whose names are given thus: Atreus, Thyestes, Pittheus, Alcahous, Plisthenes, Chrysippus.

Ἀτρίδης τε ἄναξ.]

Homer makes Agamemnon and Menelaus sons of Atreus. Some claim that they

were the sons of Pleisthenes son of Atreus, and, their father having died, they were left to their grandfather, who raised them as sons, whence they were believed to be sons of Atreus. But it is usually thought that they were his sons from their Cretan mother Aerope, as Euripides says in Orestes.

The lineage of the famous clan.

(image)

Ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν]

A celebratory epithet, and ἄνδρες here does not indicate the sex, but the particular excellence of that sex. Just as:

Inter se coiisse viros et cernere ferro.

Καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς]

Just like "Diogenes" Laertius, and the same as this Hesiodic statement:

--ἐκ δὲ δῖος βασιλῆες.

Τίς τ' ἄρ]

Connected with what comes before it. For he asks that the following also be explained in divine song: exactly which divinity put them together and roused up such a contest. The theme of the poem has been stated up to this point. The narrative, or διήγησις, now follows.

Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς]

Periphrasis for 'Apollo'. And in the following ὃ is used in the place of ἐκεῖνος with a pronominal meaning, in the manner of Attic Greek. And here it must be understood that the ancient Ionic dialect is clearly Attic, but afterwards was changed according to the locations in which colonies were founded. Homer in particular uses this dialect, and other ancients such as Hesiod, Archilochus, etc.

Νοῦσον ἀνά.]

Ionic Παρένθεσις for νόσον. κακῆν] He says this as if Apollo were rousing up evil poisons and the evils of a dire plague. But he tells how Apollo was the originator of the destruction and death of the Greeks: because the disagreement of the kings came out of the plague sent forth by Apollo; thus he is actually referring to a more remote cause of the evils, but with a commonly used word he mentions a nearer one.

Λαοί]

Not only the Grammarians, but also Pindar, say that Λαοῦς is named ἀπὸ τῶν λαῶν, that is, from stones. Ὀλυμπ. θ.

Κτησάσθαι λίθινον γόνον, λαοί δ' ὀνόμασθαι.

Similar to this:

— — quo tempore primum

Deucalion vacuum lapides iactavit in orbem,

Unde homines nati durum genus. — —

The following verse is also passed along concerning this occurrence:

Ἐκ δὲ λίθων ἐγένοντο βροτοὶ λαοὶ δε καλεοῦνται.

Ovid describes the story fully in *Metamorphoses* I. Others hand down this explanation for the name: that Cecrops, the king of Attica, wished to know the number of his citizens, and commanded that each deposit a stone in a particular location, and with these counted, he discovered that his state was filled with 20 thousand people. And thence the people of Attica were called λαοὺς from the collected stones. οὐνεκα] Ionic for ἐπειδὴ, a causal conjunction, "because". Ἀρητήρα] He calls the priest this, as if he is a 'prayer-maker', because this class of person is accustomed to care for divine affairs and prayers and vows. Ἀραῖ] Prayers; *Iliad* ο.

Ἀράων αἴων Νηληιάδαο γέροντος.

Ἀπερεῖσι' ἄποινα]

"A large payment", or "the greatest price". The Grammarians render ἄποινα as if it were ἄφοινα, the price which is customarily made in payment for a murdered man. But this was the name given for whatever was paid on behalf of the freedom and life of another. Herodotus, Ἐρατοῖ: ἄποινα δὲ ἐστὶ πελοποννησίοισι δύο μνῆαι τεταγμέναι κατ' ἄνδρα αἰχμάλωτον ἐκτίθειν.

In the *Speech against Aristocrates* it is said that the ancients called money by this name, whence the verb ἀποινᾶσθαι, that is, "to exact payment".

Στέμματα]

Some read it thus, στέμματα Ἀπόλλωνος, so that the particular crown of that deity is understood, that is, the laurel. Others read it to be the ornaments of the temple and of the statue of Apollo.

Χρυσέω]

Crisis, since it must be pronounced χρυσῶ. Σκήπτρον] The scepter of bronze and ivory which the kings bore. Just as shortly thereafter:

σκήπτρον χρυσείοις ἤλοισι πεπαρμένον.

And Virgil writes:

— — Sceptroque innisus eburneo.

It is named moreover for the act of leaning, the verb for which is σκηρίπτεσθαι and σκήπτεσθαι. Ὅδ. ρ.

Σκηρίπτεσθ' ἐπειὴ φατ' ἀρισφαλέ' ἔμμεναι οὐδὸν.

And shortly afterwards:

Πτωχῶ λευγαλέω ἐναλίγκιον, ἢ δὲ γέροντι σκηπτόμενον.

Κοσμήτορε]

Κοσμεῖν and κόσμος mean "to decorate" and "decoration". And indeed, what is

more lovely than order? The meaning of the word is transferred, therefore, to that of τάξεως (order), and administration. ὡς τοὺς ἡγεμόνες διεκόσμεον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα. And κόσμει Σπάρταν ἄν ἔλαχες. And ἀκοσμοῦντες is "turbulent". Philoctetes: οἱ δ' ἀκοσμοῦντες βροτῶν διδασκάλων λόγοισι γίνονται κακοί.

Ἄτρεϊδαί]

The plural number also contains the dual. We are able therefore to correctly use the plural about two people, but we cannot on the contrary use the dual about many. For with this form two things are distinguished from a plurality, which nevertheless must by necessity contain these two things. And from this point τὰ ἀμοιβαία are now introduced, that is, the exposition is split between characters.

Ἕμεῖς μὲν θεοί]

How succinctly, how skillfully he seeks to obtain benevolence by praying for the destruction which they most greatly desire. Πριάμου πόλιν] He is saying Troy περιφραστικῶς.

At the same time he says εὖ δ' οἰκάδ' ἰκέσθαι as a stratagem of exciting the emotions. For he renews thus the memory of their wives and children, and thus he finds them all more benevolent towards his requests, aside from Agamemnon, whose mind is further apart from theirs, because of his love of Chryseis. Εὐκνημίδες] "Tall and with elegant body" συνεκδοχικῶς, just as ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς. Or, "conspicuous by their armor", ἀπὸ τῶν κνημίδων. Ὀλύμπια δώματα] "Heavenly dwellings".

Similar to:

Γαῖα δ'ἔτι ξυνή πάντων καὶ μακρὸς Ὀλυμπος.

The Etymologists render Ὀλυμπον as if ὄλον λαμπρὸν and οὐρανὸν, ὄρανὸν, from "light". Λύσατε] Ἔκτασις. Ἰλ. θ. Λύσαθ' ὑπ' ἐξόχέων.

Ἐπευφήμησαν]

That is, they approved of the priest's request with respectful silence. For Εὐφημεῖν means what "hold one's tongue" does for the Latins. And ἴσχειν εὐφημίαν is "to be silent" for Sophocles in Trachinia. Others take this to mean that they shouted out their assent, as ἀνευφημεῖν is "to cry out with wailing" in Phaedo.

Κρατερόν δ' ἐπί]

And he put harsh words to him in addition. ἐπίτελλε, "he rebuked", "he bore against," "he carried out".

Πρὶν μὶν]

Just as at Ἰλ. ο. πρὶν γ' ἠὲ κατακτάμεν: he says that there will not be fighting at a distance before they themselves kill the enemies, or Troy is captured; that is, there will be no ultimate end to the battle before one of the sides is victorious. And Ἰλ. σ:

Οὐδέ ποτ' ἐκπέρσει πρὶν μιν κύνες ἀργοὶ ἔδονται.

So he says here that he will never send Chryseis away as a free woman.

Ἐν ἄργει]

Mycenae is said to be the kingdom of Agamemnon, as he himself is called Mycenaeus, the leader of the greatest of Achaeans. And Sophocles makes him thus in Ἡλέκτρα. And here they take ἐν ἔργει to be "in the Peloponnese." Euripides, however, in Orestes, makes the city of Argos in the Peloponnese the royal seat of Agamemnon. The Grammarians say that both cities were called by either name.

Ἴστον ἐποιχομένον]

Tending to the loom, that is, covering and laying out the bed, or taking care of the bed, or standing at it. Neptune is also present in this manner for offerings among the Ethiopians, Ἀντιῶν ταύρων τε καὶ ἀρνειῶν ἑκατόμβης. And τηλόθι πάτρης means ἀπὸ πάτρης.

Ἄλλ' ἴθι]

He Ῥητορικῶς acts exasperated by the request of the most humble priest, as if it were the sort of request that one could be disturbed by. Σαώτερος] Used in the place of σῶς as in "*senior, senex*", and "His brother is more attentive to the situation."

Also:

Tristior et lacrymis oculos sussusa nitentes.

Βῆ δ' ἀκέων]

Silently, or muttering, as shortly thereafter ἦ. δ' ἀκέουσα καθῆστο. This is also used in Ἰ. λ. θ. Ἦτοι Ἀθηναίη ἀκέων ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκῆς, where it means "shocked" and

"motionless". Also in ἀκὴν δ' ἐγένοντο σιωπῆ. Πόλυφλοισβον] He describes the sea crashing on all sides πεπονημένως.

Πολλὰ δ' ἔπειτ']

At this point, alone, he prays earnestly to Apollo. Why does he pray for evils on the Greeks, who approved of his request? Because he hates the army as the originator of his loss of child. And a sentiment of Hesiod especially hints at this passage:

Saepe viri peccata luunt totae unius urbes.

Ὅς Χρύσην ἀμφ.]

These are the names of the places over which Apollo presides. Σμινθεῦ] A clan name ἀπὸ τῆς Σμίνθης. All of these places were in the Troad, and it is customary for poets to address the gods with names from the cities which were dedicated to them.

Dii patrii indigetes et Romule Vestaque mater,
Quae Tuscum, Tyberim, et Romana palatia fervas.

And:

O Venus regina Gnidi Paphique—

In Macrobius he is called Σμινθεὺς ὅτι ζεῖ θεῶν. And ἀμφιβέβηκας means "you hold fast". Ὅδ. δ.

μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβέβηκε.

Εἴ ποτε]

This is the form of a standard prayer. And they often have faith, as it were, in their own merits, just as they are accustomed to boldly ask for respect as if it were owed to them, as also this:

Εἴποτε δὴ τι ἢ ἔπει ὤνησας κραδίην διὸς ἠὲ καὶ ἔργω.

Virgil:

Si qua tuis unquam pro me pater Hirtacus aris

Dona tulit. Si qua ipsa meis venatibus auxi,

Suspendive tolo, aut sacra ad fastigia fixi.

Κασα πίονα μηρὶ ἔκηα, that is, κατέκαυσα πίονα μηριαῖα ὄσῳ. "Ἐρεψα] "If," he says, "I have maintained a woven roof for your temple, a deed which is most acceptable to you." Plato says this as well, and there is a paraphrase of this passage in the third book of the Politics: Καὶ ἀπαιτῶν εἴ τι πώποτε ἢ ἐν ναῶν οἰκοδομήσεσιν ἢ ἐν ἱερῶν θυσίαις κεχρισμένον δωρήσαιο, etc. The word means both 'to ransom' and 'to cover over.' In Oedipus at Colonus:

Ἦν κρᾶτ' ἔρεψον καὶ λαβὰς ἀμφιστόμους.

Κατὰ πίονα]

For they placed hip bones covered in fat upon the alters, and these were the parts belonging to the Gods. And he respects this act because Hesiod wrote that

Prometheus divided the sacrifice in this manner with Jove:

Ἐν τοῦ δ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ φύλ' αὐθρώπων,
καί οὐς' ὅστέα λευκὰ θυθέντων ἐπὶ βωμῶν.

Similarly shortly thereafter:

Μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον κατὰ δὲ κνίσσῃ ἐκάλυψαν.

Κρήνην] ἐπέκτασις, κρήνην νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ. Ὁ δ. υ. ἀπὸ τοῦ κραιίνω.

Τοῦ αἰ ἔκλυε]

He is said to be called Phoebus after his brightness and purity of light, ἀπὸ τῆς Φοίβης, who is his maternal Grandmother according to Hesiod. Plato variously explains the name of Apollo; ἀπὸ τῆς πολήσεως and ἀπὸ τῶν βολῶν he makes ἀπολούοντα and ἀπολλύοντα. Plutarch in περὶ τοῦ.εἰ.ἐν δελφοῖς ascribes all of the names of Apollo to a single entity:

Ἀπόλλων οἶονεὶ ἀρνούμενος τὰ πολλὰ. Ἴηϊος, ἰὸς ἡγουν μόνος. Φοῖβος δὲ ἀγνὸς καὶ καθαρὸς ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ ὠνόμαζον.

And Macrobius collects the reasons for the many names of this god, which all appear to point towards the power and effect of the sun. For there is no doubt that the sun is the originator and defender of life, and therefore, while it sends its rays onto the land through pure and simple air, everything is filled with wholesome light. But in those environments which are, as it were, tainted with thick poison, disease of every kind

and the most vicious pestilences arise. And it is for this reason that Homer says that Apollo goes along similar to the night, and that he shoots a blackened arrow into the Greeks. Nor is it untrue that in air of this kind a death-bearing sediment is dispersed from the earth towards the heat and warmth of the sun. And for this reason Homer writes that the dogs and pack animals feel it before the humans do. And λοιμικαὶ κατασάσεις, as the Greeks call them, occur shortly after the canicular days [the Dog Days], at which time the earth as it were breathes out the trapped heat. Regarding the plague itself, the following is found in the Troici of Philostratus, whether true or invented by him, as many other things are: When wolves from Mount Ida were tearing camp followers and soldier's servants to pieces, and were invading the pack herds which were pastured around the camp, Ulysses decided that the wild beasts needed to be driven away with arms. But this was not pleasing to Palamedes, who said that Apollo sent forth the wolves as the beginnings of a pestilence, and although he was accustomed to strike them down with his arrows, as among men he struck dogs and beasts, he nevertheless sent them beforehand to the men, moved by benevolence, in order that they be forewarned of future evil. Likewise he said that offerings were to be vowed to Apollo Phyxius and Lycius, (which names come from "fleeing" and either "wolf" (lupis) or "light") so that he would turn his spears against the beasts, and the afflictions against the she-goats. "Let us, O Friends," he said, "care for our health with great diligence. Meager rations are appropriate to avoiding the plague, as is frequent and vigorous movement. Indeed, I have not learned the art of medicine, but wisdom encompasses all arts." Saying this, he forbade that meat be sold in the camp, and forbade military rations: he demanded that the soldiers eat grain and vegetables. Nor

did anyone oppose him, since all judged that his voice must be obeyed as if it were the divine voice of an oracle. And this very pestilence is said to have invaded the towns of the Hellespont, and even to have touched the Trojans. It did not, however, harm the Greeks. Philostratus adds to these events stories of naval battles in which the primary goal was preserving the soundness of their bodies. But whether he made these things up, or took them from some other place, I cannot say. At any rate it is not surprising for a pestilence to have existed in war, because of the frequent lack of food and difficulty thereof, and it was able to attack at periodic intervals.

Βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλ.]

"From the peaks of Olympus", or, "toward the peaks of Olympus". For peaks and high places and pinnacles are called κάρηνα. Moreover, the Sun is situated toward the pinnacles of the sky, which are called "the Poles". And hence Plato says that the god is named Ἀπόλλωνα as if ὁμοπολοῦντα. The Sun, therefore, bending away from the Equinoctial circle, is seen to move downwards and upwards, towards the poles. And he walks "angrily", that is, he is harmful and destructive to the Greeks. κῆρ is crisis from κέαρ. In The Acharnians:

Ἐγ' ᾧ δ' ἐφ' ᾧ γε τὸ κέαρ εὐφράνθην ἰδών.

Τόξ' ὠμοισιν.]

A bow, but the Greeks frequently say τὰ τόξα in the plural. Moreover, Apollo is an archer because of the piercing of the rays of the Sun.

Ἔκλαγξαν δι' ἄρ.]

Either he is presenting the devastations of a storm that has not yet come to pass, using a common *σωματοποιία*; or, it is to be understood that in such a state of the atmosphere, thunders and storms also come into existence. And so we see therefore that there are frequent changes to the weather. He makes the bow itself silver because of the dimming and brightening beam of the light at such a time. Macrobius reports the cause of this general description of Apollo as carrying a silver bow: because the Sun, springing up through the highest circuit of the earth, is seen as if a sort of bow, with a white and silver aspect, and from this bow the beams shine forth in the manner of arrows. Ἀπάνευθε νεῶν] The sending of the pestilence into the Greeks is indicated thus. For Apollo places himself opposite the ships in ambush. Μετὰ is adverbial, meaning "afterward". Βιοῖο] "the bow", or "the bowstring"; for in this passage it must clearly be taken to mean "the bow". βίοιο would mean "of life". This form of the Ionic genitive is not unheard of. οὐρήας from the nominative ὀρέυς. "Mules" are named thus in Ionic. Ἀργούς κυνάς] Called thus for their swiftness, or, meaning "bright". Whence also ἀργήτι κεραυνῶ, and Ὁ δ.:

αἰετός ἀργήν χῆνα φέρων.

Αὐτοῖσι]

"To the Greeks themselves" of course, or "to the humans." And he says that the bodies burned in frequent pyres of the dead. For such were the funerary rites of the ancients. And at this time they act justly to their comrades, for it is possible to do so, nor

do the battles stand in their way; afterwards, though, while there is fighting, it is not possible to do so unless after agreements have been made. At that time, therefore, the heroes are often ripped apart by dogs and birds, as the opening states.

Ἐννῆμαρ.]

He says that the pestilence raged for nine days, and by this number of days Achilles was able to understand from the teachings of Chiron that the evil was not minor, but would continue on, since after a time of 168 hours, in which the moon moved through one quadrant of the sky, the pestilence did not leave off. But now, from the ninth day, it was clearly growing stronger, and this is a most important number. For it is a composite odd number, it divides into the primary shapes, it is the first cubed quadrilateral to come from an odd number, when it is multiplied by three it yields a perfect cube, and on the ninth day the moon is engaged in completing its third part. And accordingly the turning points of diseases tend to be on the seventh, the ninth, and the seventeenth day. Also, in τῆ δεκάτῃ the word ἡμέρα must be supplied.

Τῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσί]

They say that the name Ἥραν comes from the word ἀέρα. And Plato supposes that this was the intent of the one who first used this name, a supposition which can be understood if someone often pronounces the word ἥρα, ἥρα. But I have no doubt, after reading a sentiment in Herodotus which I will transcribe below, that both this and every other mention of names must be ascribed to an astrological system, and in fact that of the Egyptians, which the Greeks most greatly approved of. And nearly all of this system

of knowledge was barbarically and superstitiously taken from us, and searching for it now, we can just barely see it from afar, as if through a cloud. We cannot, therefore, come to know and understand these affairs clearly, especially since that system of thought is entirely unknown, the Greek writings which treated of it being lost. Such explanations are nevertheless occasionally obvious, in the way that even a blind man διακρίνει ἀμφοτέρων, just as Homer says: for example, the adultery of Mars, and the genesis of Hercules, and some others, which I will perhaps discuss elsewhere. Juno's zealous concern for the Greeks, therefore, must be ascribed to astrology, and similarly that of other divinities who care for the Greeks, and likewise of those who side with the Trojans. And also the births of the Heroes, who were the sons of Gods or Goddesses. For this power of celestial forces is either masculine or feminine. But I will not entangle this passage with such concerns. Here is the sentiment of Herodotus which I spoke of: Euterp.

Καὶ τάδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίωνσιν ἔστι ἐξευρημένα, μείς τε καὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη θεῶν ὅτευ ἔστί. καὶ τῇ ἕκαστος ἡμέρη γενόμενος ὅτεοισι ἐγκυρήσει, καὶ ὅκως τελευτήσει, καὶ ὁκοῖός τις ἔσται, καὶ τούτοισι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐν ποιήσει γενόμενοι ἐχρήσαντο.

Which I translate as: "These are also discoveries of the Egyptians: first, which day and month belongs to each god; then, what the fate will be of those who are born on each particular day, and what the end of their life will be like, and how they will live. And the Greek poets have taken these discoveries up and made use of them." It could not be more clearly stated that the Greek poets, similar to the Egyptians, wove the knowledge

of nature into their stories, and that they did not wish to profane the most sacred teachings; and this was the customary manner of those wise ancients. And I wish that it had been more pleasing to Plato to interpret and explain these things than to demonstrate and proclaim in words inexplicable mysteries, as it were. And I believe that we are moving too far afield from the desire for divine knowledge, the neglect and contempt of which will brand our age with the greatest charge of barbarity and inhumanity. Now then, I return to the matter at hand. He said λευκώλενον Ἥρην to mean "beautiful", by synecdoche with her white arms.

Τοῖσι δ' ἀνίστ.]

Then, rising, Achilles speaks thus. There is a deliberation. And he therefore rebukes the commander Agamemnon while deliberating in the open, and it appears that such an action was called for. And Homer writes that the kings themselves stand when they are addressing the populace; whereas Virgil writes thus:

—solio rex insit ab alto.

παλιμπλαγχθέντας must be formed from πλάγγω, similar to τοῦ τέγγω. Whence also the 'πλαγκταὶ *rupes*'; and in Odys. φ., πλαγτέ is said among cries of reproach. It means "I go astray". Achilles says therefore that now there is danger that their ships will be driven back and they will be led about in wanderings. The fact that he says πάλιν can be ascribed to the difficulty of the sea journey, for it is said that the Greek fleets were just barely landed at Troy after various wanderings.

Μάντιν]

Either this is ἐπεξήγησις, in which he says that they must consult someone who conducts sacrifices or someone who has visions in dreams, so that these two types of divination are understood to be put forth. Or three types are mentioned: Μαντεία, augury; ἱεροσκοπία, sacrifices or the inspection of entrails; and ὄνειροκρίτικη, that is, visions in dreams. Hippocrates at any rate clearly called the inspection of entrails μάντιν, with these words: "Ὅτι καὶ οἱ μάντιες τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρνιθα εἰ μὲν ἀριστερὸς εἶη ἀγαθὸν εἶναι νομίζουσιν, εἰδὲ δεξιὸς, κακὸν. By following him, therefore, as he uses the ancient Ionic dialect, we will be able to interpret the Homeric words most accurately. For Plato is being playful, as is his custom, when he makes μαντικὴν as if μανικὴν, and οἰωνιστικὴν as if οἰνοηστικὴν. In truth the phrase seems clearly to have been made ἀπὸ τῶν οἰωνῶν, which are birds, either in the basic sense, or, as some prefer, more grand ones, that is, specific birds of prophecy. Whence also the Homeric word τῶν οἰωνοπολῶν. But, as is true in Latin, "divination" is used of any kind of observation, and "to prophecy", "to foretell", and "to foresee" are taken as having any of these meanings. Thus οἰωνίζειν and οἰωνὸς and ὄρνις signify divinations of whatever sort. As in Iliad ὦ.

—μηδὲ μοι αὐτή

ἽΟρνις ἐνὶ μεγάροισι κακὸς πέλευ.—

And Euripides writes in Orestes regarding weeping:

Οὐκοῦν οὔτος οἰωνὸς μέγας.

And in The Phoenician Women:

Οίωνον ἐθέμην καλλίνικα σὰ στέφη.

And in Aristophanes Birds:

Ἔσμεν δ' ὑμῖν ἄμμων. δελφοὶ. δωδώνη. Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

Ἐλθόντες γὰρ πρῶτον ἐπ' ὄρνεις, οὕτω πρὸς ἅπαντα τρέπεσθε,

Πρὸς τ' ἐμπορίαν καὶ πρὸς βίотου κτήσιν, καὶ πρὸς γάμον ἀνδρός

Ἄρνιν τε νομίζετε πάνθ' ὅσα περ μαντείας διακρίνει,

Φήμη γ' ὑμῖν ὄρνις ἐστὶ ππαρμόντ' ὄρνιθα καλεῖτε,

Σύμβολον ὄρνιν. φωνήν ὄρνιν. θεράποντ' ὄρνιν. ὄνον ὄρνιν.

So although μάντιν is not incorrectly taken as signifying οἰωνιστοῦ, the type of divination they most greatly use and trust, nevertheless nothing prevents us from interpreting the word as an appellative from the context, as also in Iliad ὦ.

Ἦ οἱ μάντιες εἰσὶ θυσοσκόοι ἢ ἱερῆες.

But in this passage he calls a man ἱερῆα who by another name is called a θύτης, one who either tells the future or reveals mysteries, after inspecting the innards of slaughtered cattle.

Εἴτ' ἀρ ὄγ]

Whether he is angered by a vow that has been neglected, or a sacrifice that was incorrectly conducted, and if he can be pacified. He seeks therefore the cause of the

evil and the solution to it. Despairing in the brutality of the pestilence, they are accustomed to flee from human aid towards the supplication of the Gods, from whom they judge even these evils to have been sent and by whom they think human wickedness is being punished. I have spoken in other places and in *The Women of Trachis* about Hecatombs and the fact that to slaughter cattle that are lame or imperfect for the Gods was against sacred law.

Ἀντιάσας]

Because it was the custom for ancients to burn the bones up with the fat, and the divine spirits, for whom the sacrifice occurred, grazed, as it were, upon this savor.
Iliad δ.

Οὐ γάρ μοι ποτε βωμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτός εἴσης,
Λοιβῆς τε κνίσσης τε· τὸ γὰρ λάχμεν γέρας ἡμεῖς.

Aristophanes jokes about this in *Birds*, when he says that they will easily kill the Gods by starvation if they do not allow τῶν μηρίων τὴν κνίσσαν to rise into the air.

Τοῖσι δ' ἄν.]

Then Calchas comes forward into the middle of them, or ἐπὶ τοῖσι that is, μετὰ ταῦτα. They say that he is called κάλχαντα from the depth of his intelligence and counsel, ἀπὸ τῆς κάλχης, which is a sea shell of purple color, and which lives in the depths of the sea, but which when it is brought out of the water supplies the most pleasant color for dying clothing.

Ὅχ' ἄριστος] From ἔξοχα through apheresis. Ody. ο.

ὅς κ' ἔξοχα μὲν φιλένοϊ ἔξοχα δ' ἐχθαίρησιν.

Latin speakers also say "too much" in place of "completely, fully". This is said to be the lineage of Calchas:

Ὁ Κάλχας, τοῦ θέστορος, τοῦ Ἴδμονος καὶ λαοθόης. τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἀστερίας τῆς κορωνοῦ.

ὅς ἤδη]

Quae sint, quae fuerint, quae mox ventura trahantur.

σύ δὲ σύνθεο]

Either "hear" or "see", that is, grasp with your mind, as in Ody ρ.

—ἐμεῖο δὲ σύνθεο μῦθον.

Or "give your word", whence also συνθήκαι (covenants).

ἦ μιν]

An affirmative particle, more commonly it is said ἦ μὴν, which was customarily used in swearing oaths and in other declarations.

Κρείσων γὰρ]

Especially noteworthy sentiments are called γνῶμαι. These are the sort of sentiments that are acknowledged by the judgment and approval of all men, and for that reason they are used in argumentation in the place of actual proofs.

καταπέψη] Metaphorically "he swallows down". And χόλος means "the fury of indignation". κότος] Severity and bitterness, καὶ τὸν ζηλόν. θεοπρόπιον means "a prophecy".

οὔτις ἐμεῦ]

All those who strive after eloquence always follow this practice: they say the same thing with different words, either explaining what has been said, or strengthening their case, or even adorning their speech with such prolixity. And the highest praise of eloquence tends to be present in this practice. And such are ἐξηγήσεις and ἐπεξηγήσεις and αὐξήσεις, as the Grammarians name them; figures of speech which must be employed and expressed with particular attention by those who strive after eloquence. But this is not the time for discussing such things; it seemed right, nevertheless, to point out the passage. βαρέας: "he puts hostile or violent hands on". And δερκομένοιο is "as long as I look upon" or "as long as I am seen".

οὐ δ' ἦν Ἄγαμ.]

And this is an allusion to pre-eminence, that is, τῆς ἐξοχῆς. Yet Plato argues

that the name Agamemnon comes from remaining and enduring, on account of the duration of the siege of Troy. Ἑλικωπίδα κούρη] A comely girl with black eyes, for they say that ἔλικά means "black". πεπίθοιμεν] Perhaps we shall charm his pacified spirit or take hold of hope after he has been pacified. As in Il. ξ.

Τεῖχος μὲν γὰρ δὴ κατερήριπεν ᾧ ἐπέπιθμεν.

that is, "on which we have relied."

Ἥρωος Ἀτρείδης]

Plato argues that ἥρωος is derived ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος, because Heroes are the progeny of Gods or Goddesses who have been seized by a desire for mortals. Or, he says, they are called thus similar to εἴρωος, that is, eloquent ῥήτορας and orators. He also says that the name Atreus comes ἀπὸ τῆς ἄτης, an origin which coincides with the stories about him.

ἀμφιμέλαιναι]

He calls the disturbed mind "black", as the sea grows black from dark storm clouds. As in Ody. μ.:

Σύνδε νεφέεσσι κάλυψε γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντος.

And Virgil writes:

—ponto nox incubat atra.

Conversely, a calm sea appears white. As in Ody. κ.:

—Λευκή δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ γαλήνη.

For Homer μέλαινα φρένες also means a steadfast and serious mind, a meaning which is opposite to the one that Pindar intended with a description of whiteness, that of a base and frivolous mind, with the metaphor taken from the tips of waves, and foaming, frothy whiteness. Next he says that Agamemnon speaks looking angrily at Calchas, with shining and, as it were, flaming eyes. This Virgilian line in book 12 is of the same sort:

—totoque ardentis ab ore

Scintilla absistunt, oculis micat acribus ignis.

Μάντι κακῶν.]

With a great outburst Agamemnon calls the soothsayer wicked, saying that he has put forth this prophecy out of hatred of him, not out of love of truth. This figure of speech tends to be put forth generally as ἐνάρθρως, like Σωκράτης τῶν ἀγαθῶν, that is, ἀγαθὸς Σωκράτης. But the poets often extend it along these lines: Sophocl.

Philoct.:

τοῖσι σώφροσι βροτῶν.

And in Antigone:

Οὐδεὶς φίλων στενάζει.

And also Thucy. β.: Τοὺς βοηθήσαντας Λοκρῶν μάχη ἐκράτησε.

Τὸ κρήγυον.]

'True', 'proper'. οὐδὲ κρήγυοι διδάσκαλοί εἰσι τούτων. Plato in Alcibiades á.

"Neither are teachers capable", that is, they are unable to speak the truth.

προβέβουλα] I value her more, he says, than Clytemnestra, my wedded wife. For they called those daughters who had been legally given over to men in marriage from families μνηστὰς and κουριδίας ἀλόχους. And ἀνὴρ κουρίδιος is also said, meaning "legal husband". And so Herodotus puts together in his fifth book παλλακὰς καὶ τὰς κουριδίας γυναῖκας.

Βούλομ' ἐγὼ]

Different people explain this passage in different ways, but nearly in two different directions: first, it is interpreted so that Agamemnon says he wishes by his own death to ransom the safety of the army. Thus ἢ was used in the place of καὶ. As if he speaks thus: that he does not wish to live, or that it is better for his men to be safe. Or the passage is explained otherwise, so that the sense is: I prefer of course that my men are safe than that they die. And this interpretation is indeed more accurate. For Homer writes thus in Iliad. ρ.:

Ἕμῖν δὲ Ζεὺς μὲν πολὺ βούλεται ἢ Δαναοῖσι.

And in the Odyssey:

βούλομ' ἅπαξ πρὸς κύμα χανῶν ἀπὸ θύμον ὀλέσθαι,

ἢ δῆθα στρεύγεσθαι ἐὼν ἐν νήσῳ ἐρύμη.

And this common saying:

Θέλω τύχης σταλαγμὸν ἢ φρενῶν πίθον.

Ἄλλὰ καὶ ὥς]

But although this is the case, I nevertheless do not wish to send her back. And next, λεύσετε is either: all of you see to it that a prize is prepared for me from somewhere. Or: for you all see that a prize will be brought to me from somewhere ἀπειλητικῶς. But they say that ὅμοι is ὅτι μοι through apocope.

Ἄτρείδη κύ.]

This is the start of the harsh words, which grow as the meeting goes on, until, as tends to happen, they are concluded in a rage. κύδιστον] Achilles addresses Agamemnon as commander. He calls him φιλοκτεανώτατον as if noting his greed and reprehending him for it. But this is the most important point of his speech: "Equal". For, although the collected booty could be divided anew, nevertheless this should not happen, since it would appear unfair to force each man to put back in common that which had been given to him by lot.

Ξυνήια]

Ξυνά means "in common", that is, not yet distributed. ξύνεια through diaresis and exstasis becomes ξυνήια.

Τὰ δέδασται]

Ἐκεῖνα, "those things," have been distributed. δαίζω conjugates as δεδάϊσται and δέδασται.

Λαοὺς δ' οὐκ]

It is wrong to demand that the multitude give back those things which they were given long ago by lot.

Θεοεἰκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ]

The ancients used epithets of praise as if they were permanent. Therefore they did not deprive even their rivals and enemies of them, as I have pointed out elsewhere. θεοεἰκελος means "to be compared with the Gods", either in form or in bravery, for Homer has introduced Achilles as easily superior to all the rest in either respect.

Κλέπτενόω]

Do not, he says, hope that you will be able to deceive me. For κλέπτειν means "to conceal" as if καλύπτειν, whence also κλέπται are those who secretly carry off the possessions of others, and such people are also called φῶρες. But in order that this figure of speech will be more clearly perceived, I shall add some similar passages. In The Women of Trachinia: εἰ μὴ συμφοραὶ κλέπτουσί με, that is "they deceive me". In Electra: δόλοεσι κλέψας χειρὸς ἐνδίκου σφαγᾶς, "to cover a just slaughter with deceptions". And shortly thereafter: "Ὅπως λόγῳ κλέπτοντες ἠδεῖαν φάτιν φέρομεν

αὐτοῖς, "in order that, with a speech imitated or invented, we might bring a favorable announcement to them." Pindar in πυθίων.δ κλέπτων δὲ θυμῷ δειῖμα, "concealing fear with his mind". Likewise, therefore, in the passage under consideration. Do nothing, he says, through treachery, for you shall not deceive me. παρελεύσεαι] That is, you will not pass by, but you will be caught in your deception. Or, you will not conquer me in this contest. For those who leave the other runners behind their back obtain the palm of victory.

Ἡὲ θέλεις]

Εἰρωνικῶς. Clearly it is pleasing to you, that you enjoy your own prize, although I, being deprived of mine, should sit thus empty handed by the ships. For he is ridiculing Achilles' opinion with this accusation: that he appears to have looked after himself and that he does not care what happens to the others so long as he can keep his prize, Briseas.

Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν]

The utterance is incomplete, lacking a conclusion, in the Attic manner, which they call ἀνανταπόδοτον. Similar passages are found in Aristophanes Pluto:

— κὰν ἀποφήνω μόνην

Ἄγαθῶν ἀπάντων οὖσαν αἰ πάν ἐμέ

Ἵμῖν, δι' ἐμέ τε ζῶντας ὑμᾶς.

For this is understood: send me away, or, I will have been victorious. And Thucy. Book

3: Καὶ ἦν μὲν συμβῆ ἡ πείρα. εἰ δὲ μὴ, Μιτυληναίοις εἰπεῖν, ναῖς τε παραδοῦναι καὶ τεῖχη καθελεῖν, that is, If the endeavor will have proceeded, and one must supply that it will be as they wished. And the current passage is of this same sort: If the Greeks will supply another prize that is no worse than this, then I will ask for nothing further, or, I will bear it easily. But if they give me nothing, I myself will take the prize. And this is a kingly sentiment, since he says that he will have another lover whether they are willing or not.

Ἦ τέον ἢ Αἴαντος]

It is known that Tegmaea was the consort of Ajax, and Briseis that of Achilles. Laodice the daughter of Cygnus is said to be the consort of Ulysses.

Ἐπιτηδὲς ἀγείρ.]

"Let us choose rowers aptly," that is, let us choose apt and suitable ones. ἀγείρομεν is used in the place of ἀγεροῦμεν or ἀγείρωμεν, with the mood changed. As in Iliad θ:

— τῶδε δὲ νῶϊ

Τρωσὶν ἐφ' Ἴπποδάμοισιν ἰθήνομεν,

And:

Νηυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῆσιν ἐγείρομεν ὄξην ἄρηα.

Ἄν δὲ καὶ]

The compound is split up, and ἄν is used in the place of ἀνὰ by Doric apocope,

as παρὰ becomes πάρ: πάρ δε μοι αὐτῇ στήθι. The word is ἀναβήσομεν.

Ἐκπαγλότατ']

"Most powerfully" or "of the most violent mind". For vehemence of either type is meant by this word. II. γ. ὡς νῦν ἔκπαγλ' ἐφίλησα.

Ὅφρ' ἡμῖν]

This also appears to be said ironically. For he thinks the entire explanation of the cause of the plague is fabricated and false.

He calls Apollo Ἐκαεργόν, either "he who repels from afar those who are approaching him," ἀπὸ τοῦ πόρρωθον εἶργεσθαι, for the senses cannot bear such a powerful flame. Or, (which is more accurate) this word means the same thing as τοῦ ἐκηβόλου, "he whose works are done at a distance." For the Sun, sending its rays into the land from above, nourishes and warms them with its power.

Τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα]

A frequent saying in Homer, it means a contortion of the eyes towards him with whom we are angered. "Looking angrily at him, thus speaks Achilles." And he says that Agamemnon is full of shamelessness, and has a greedy mind, either of which is a great insult, and especially for a leader, of whom nothing is more befitting than authority and generosity; Achilles says that Agamemnon is clothed in shamelessness, that is, he is entirely shameless, just as wild beasts that have taken human form.

Πῶς τίς τοι]

Τοι in the place of σοῦ, "your words," that is, your command and order. There are many such things all over the place in the writings of the ancients, such as this: ἐσθίεται μοι οἶκος and Il. ο. θέμιστι δὲ καλλιπαρήω δέκτο δέπας, that is παρὰ τῆς θέμιδος.

And if one should so desire, it is possible to collect others of this sort from the writings of the authors of either language. For this Ciceronian line is of the same sort: "Whatever are enclosed within the marrow for me", that is, "enclosed within my marrow". And this from Pro Quintio: "It is appropriate for all of the ornaments of life for this man, [in the place of "of this man"], who is poor, absent, ignorant of his own fortunes, to be torn away through the greatest disgrace and ignominy."

Ἦ ὁδὸν ἐλθέμεναι]

"To arrive at the destined journey." Either for the purpose of occupying some place, or looting booty, or besieging an enemy town, or for engaging in treachery.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ Τρώων]

Why it is that no one will wish to obey Agamemnon if he acts in this manner: Because, Achilles says, they have been moved to follow him, and to commit themselves to him and his brother, out of respect for the two of them, not out of hatred for the Trojans. And so Achilles says that the men, when they have been alienated by the misdeeds of Agamemnon and Menelaus, will in no way be as readily willing and obedient. Αἰχμητάων] Warriors, συνεκδοχικῶς; for the point of a spear is called the

αίχμη as in II. θ. πάροιθε δὲ λάμπετο δουρὸς αἰχμη χαλκείῃ.

Οὐ γὰρ πώποτε]

He lists the causes of wars, which are the devastation of fields and the leading off of herds and cattle. Αἴτιοι] There is no reason why I should accuse them, they are entirely free from fault against me. For αἰτία means an accusation rather than a bad deed, and an αἴτιος person is one against whom some accusation is brought. But αἰτία is also "a cause" in a more simple sense, and αἴτιος indicates the responsible party, that is, he who is said to be the cause of why something happened. Plato.

Πολιτ. β.

Οὐδὲ ἄρα ὁ Θεὸς ἐπειδὴ ἀγαθὸς πάντων ἂν εἶη αἴτιος, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγων μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἴτιος, πολλῶν δὲ ἀναίτιος· πολὺ γὰρ ἐλάττω τάγαθὰ τῶν κακῶν ἡμῖν.

"Therefore, since God is good, the cause of all things cannot be ascribed to him, as is commonly thought, but we shall argue that he is responsible for little in human affairs, and we shall free him from blame for much: for there is less by far that is good on earth than there is bad." Φθίαν] He calls Pthia ἐριβώλακα, that is, fertile from its rich soil. And βωτιάνειραν, "man-nourishing", that is, fruitful. Phthia was a Thessalian coastal city, the homeland of Achilles.

Ἐπειὴ μάλα·

For wars and disputes arise most greatly among neighbors, about the activities which were mentioned above. Naso expresses this sentiment somewhere in the Tristia

with these verses:

Innumeri montes inter me teque, viaeque,

Fluminaque et campi, nec freta pauca iacent.

And Cicero in Phil. 13. "But if the seas, the mountains, the expanses of countryside were in between, you would hate him whom you don't see."

Τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι]

"Winning your honor from the Trojans", or "seeking revenge from the Trojans, and the penalty which they owe to you and Menelaus." Od. α.

Ἄρνύμενος ἦν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἑταίρων.

"While he maintained his own life and secured a return for his friends". And in The Women of Trachinia: Ἦν ἐγὼ μεθύστερον ὅτ' οὐκέτ' ἀρκεῖ τὴν μάθησιν ἄρνυμι, "the understanding of which I now grasp", that is, now I finally understand, when it does not help. Plato Νόμων. ζῶν αἰσχροὺς ἀρνύμενον. Whence also the compound word μισθαρνεῖν is used as "to get pay"; whereas Plato says the same thing using two words in πολιτ. α. τὸν μισθὸν ἀρνυμένους. τιμὴ moreover is also τὴν τιμωρίαν, that is, it also means "penalty". As in Iliad γ.

Τιμὴν δ' Ἀργείοις ἀποτινέμεν ὡς ἐπέοικεν.

Τῶν οὕτι]

This must be referred back to when he said: ἀλλὰ σοὶ ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδὲς ἐπισπόμεθα. For it is not uncommon that in speaking about themselves individually,

they use the plural number: "we have followed you, and now we are undervalued and disregarded."

Καὶ δὴ μοι]

This is the root of Achilles' anger: he is held in such little esteem by Agamemnon that Agamemnon does not hesitate to threaten Achilles that he will take away his possession by force. Since Achilles does not therefore hold Briseis in such low esteem, can a hero famed for his manly courage be expected to bear so great an insult? For men of this sort grow enraged easily and with great fury, and can suffer death more easily than insults.

ᾠ ἔπι]

Ἀναστροφῇ, ἐφ' ᾧ, "for whom I greatly labored". υἷες Ἀχαιῶν] περίφρασις, that is, the Greeks. As παῖδες ἰατρῶν is "*Medici*". And in Od. λ.

παῖδες δὲ Τρώων δίκασαν.

"And the judges were Trojans."

Πολυαἶκος πολ.]

From the verb αἴσσω, which indicates a quick movement, and a general confusion. τοῖδε σκιαὶ αἴσσουσι means "they are carried about with quick movements," or "they are carried about at random." He calls battle "turbulent".

Νῦν δ'εἶμι]

"Now I am going." But the future is understood here, for he is threatening that he will return home. He calls the ships κορωνίδας, either "beaked", ἀπὸ τῆς κορώνης, or black, as they say, ἀπὸ τοῦ κόρου, black. Whence also they derive κόρη, the pupil of the eye.

Ἐνθάδ' ἄτιμος ἐὼν]

The case is changed, so that it is either nominative in the place of genitive, as this line in Iliad γ.

Ἄμφω δ' ἐζομένω γεραρώτερος ἦεν Ὀδυσσεύς.

that is ἀμφοῖν ἐζωμένοι. Or it is nominative in the place of the accusative, which is more pleasing to me. And this line in Iliad ζ. is of such a sort:

Ὅδε ἀγλαΐῃφι πεποιθως ρίμφα ἔ γούνατα φέρει.

that is: τὸν δὲ πεποιθότα. From this passage: ἄτιμον ἐόντα. I don't think, he says, that you are going to gain great wealth when you are left without glory by my departure. For there is a common bond between those cases, whence in the dual number, and always in neuter words, and among some Latin authors sometimes in the plural number, there is a single form for both of these cases, such as τῷ λόγῳ, τὰ ξύλα, *fortes viri*, and *fortes viros*. Similarly, there seems to be an affinity between the genitive and the dative, and there is a single termination in the dual number for these cases as well, such as τοῖν λόγοιν. Similarly in Iliad β.:

Φημὶ, γὰρ οὖν κατανεῦσαι ὑπερμενέα Κρονίωνα

Ἄστράπτων ἐπιδέξια. --

And this line of Aristophanes' Clouds:

Τοὺς κριτὰς ἃ κερδανοῦσιν ἦν τι τόνδε τὸν χορόν;

ἽΩφελῶσ' ἐκ τῶν δικαίων βουλόμεσθ' ὑμῖν φράσαι.

And in Ody. α':

Μητέρα δ' εἴ οἱ θυμὸς ἐφορμᾶται γαμέεσθαι

Ἄψ ἴτω εἰς μέταρον πατρὸς. --

For these are in place of κριταὶ and μητήρ.

Ἄφενος καὶ]

The Grammarians say that ἄφενος is yearly income. Or, however much of resources and goods would be enough for one year. But Hesiod seems to have used it simply to mean resources and goods in a general sense: εἰς ἄφενον σπεύδοντα.

Likewise in Iliad ψ.:

Μέγα γὰρ οἱ ἔδωκε Ζεὺς ἄφενος, that is, "great wealth". And that doubling of words, ἐξηγητικὴ, which I have spoken of, is common for the ancients, so it does not seem at all necessary to seek out such differences in meaning, or rather, to twist them out from words that are unwilling.

Φεῦγε μάλα]

How greatly should we expect Achilles to be incited, when Agamemnon does

not order him merely to leave, but to flee, so that he appears not only to in no way delay Achilles' departure, but in fact to accuse him of being afraid? For he says that Achilles is not leaving him, but rather fleeing from the enemy. And that which follows is said by a haughty king. Cicero most appropriately inserted some sentiments from this passage into a letter to Appius, in this manner: "But if you are aiming that, while I am away, you are less indebted to me, than I am to you, free yourself from this concern: πάρ ἐμοίγε καὶ ἄλλοι οἴκε με τιμήσουσι, μάλιστα δὲ μητιέτα Ζεὺς." Some say that in μητιέτα Ζεὺς the case has been changed, as this: Αὐταρ ὁ αὖτε Θυῆς Ἄγαμέμνονι λείπε φορτιῦαι. Others say that this is the Boetian dialect, according to which the nominative is expressed in this manner, as ποιητῆς, poet.

Εἰ μάλα καρτερὸς]

According to the Peripatetics, goods which we do not acquire by our own zeal, our work, and our labor are not τῶν ἐπαινετῶν. Why, he says, should your strength make you proud, since it is a divine gift, and not your own property?

Ἀπειλήσω]

The tense has been changed, since he threatens in the present, but he means that he is going to make good on his threat in the future. He will similarly shortly afterward say ἄγω in the place of ἄξω. He expresses this ἐλλειπτικῶς. And the comparative particle οὕτως must be understood, that is, "I will thus take away yours, as Apollo has taken away mine." And this is παρεντεθέν.

τὴν μὲν ἐγὼ σὺν νηίτ' ἐμῇ καὶ ἐμοῖς ἐτάροισι.

Πέμψω.-- So that the entire sentiment is somewhat like this:

Ἄπειλῶ δέ σοι ὧδε ποιήσεις, ὥστε ἀπάξειν τε σὺν Βρισηίδα οὔτως, ὥσπερ ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν ἐμὴν Χρυσήϊδα ὁ Ἄπόλλων, ἣν δὴ ἐκείνῳ προπέμψω ἐν τε τῇ ἐμῇ νηί καὶ σὺν ἐμοῖς ἐταίροις.

τὸ σὸν γέρας is in apposition to Briseis.

Στήθεσσι λασίοισι]

Πατροκλῆος λασίον κῆρ also appears; for spirited men are thought to be hairy. Or, having a hairy chest is thought to be manly.

Ἦ ὄγε]

"Or he himself" in the place of αὐτὸς, and shortly thereafter πλεονάζει he repeats ὁδ' Ἀτρείδην, that is, Ἀτρείδην δὲ. χόλος and χόλη are bile, to which wrath, fury, and all severity of the emotions are ascribed. ἕως] συνίζησις: this must be pronounced with a single syllable, as —sceptroque innisus eburneo.

Κατὰ φρένα καὶ]

Φρένα is interpreted as mind, θυμὸν as the emotional spirit. But the same thing seems to have been said twice ἐξηγητικῶς. For there is no doubt that Homer locates the mind, thinking, counsel, and reasoning in the chest. Although those who wish, as Plato does, to prove that this power is situated in the head, even in the Homeric verses, make great use of this passage. For they say that it is for that reason that

Minerva is introduced by Homer as pulling on that man's hair: because he believes that reasoning, which they call ἡγεμονικὸν, resides in the brain. And it is clearly possible that this passage provided the grounds for this belief to Plato or to Pythagoras before him. But this is not the place for these considerations, especially since they cannot be explained briefly, and so perhaps I shall discuss them elsewhere at greater length.

Ἔλκετο δ' ἐκ]

And he was just beginning to pull the sword from the sheath when Minerva arrived. This is an active meaning of a verb in the middle voice. And δὲ is a superfluous conjunction παραπληρωματικῶς. Or, ἀντὶ τοῦ δὴ, as in the Attic dialect.

Πρὸ γὰρ ἦκε]

Τμήσις, for προῆκε γὰρ. These are σωματοποιίαι of divinities, either ἠθικῆς, or ἀστρονομικῆς, or, as it appears to me, allegories for either of these.

Φιλέουσα τε κηδομένη]

An incongruous construction, which often happens in ancient authors. As this Virgilian line:

— — nec veterum memini, laetorve malorum.

For it is not said κήδομαι σε, but σοῦ; neither does one say *laetor malorum*.

Ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης]

For he renders Achilles as exceedingly attractive, as well as exceedingly brave.

As in:

Νιρεὺς ὅς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθεν.

Τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα. For although some argue that this signifies τὸ τοῦ ἥρωος ξανθόχολον, and this could clearly be demonstrated, it nevertheless appears too far fetched.

Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην]

Minerva is Ἀθήνη, Ἀθηνᾶ, and Ἀθηναία, named thus because she did not make use of nurses; just as one who suckles milk is called γαλαθηνός. For when Μητις (a word which means "counsel") was pregnant, she is said to have been consumed by Jove, and thus afterwards the fully grown maiden sprang armed from his head. But Plato in Cratylus makes Ἀθηνᾶν as if θεονόην or ἠθονόην. Minerva, moreover, means "she who menaces" or "she who diminishes", as Cicero says; the epithet τῆς Παλλάδος seems best interpreted ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλλεσθαι, which means "to be shaken", such that warlike gestures are understood. Achilles recognizes her divinity from the extraordinary flashing of her eyes, which are exceedingly bright, even in a corporeal body. In Iliad v., Ajax, son of Oileus, recognizes a divinity from its gait. But overall, as it is said there, ἀρίγνωτοι δὲ θεοί περ. Shortly thereafter: ἔπεα πτερόεντα means "swift words" μεταλήψει. For things that fly are said to be extremely swift, as in this line:

—volat irrevocabile verbum.

Αἰγιόχοιο]

"Aegis bearing". And the poets equip Jove with this shield, made by Vulcan. II.

ο.

—ἔχε δ' αἰγίδα θοῦριν,

Δεινὴν, ἀμφιδάσειαν ἀριπρεπεῖ, ἣν ἄρα χαλκεύς

Ἥφαιστος Διὶ δῶκε, φορήμεναι ἐς φόβον ἀνδρῶν.

It is appropriate that ἥφαιστος ὁ τοῦ φάεος ἴστωρ, as Plato says, arms Jove who wields lightning and thunder. And indeed he is a chief and a leader, for the η remains long, so that this god is known as "The Smelter" (Mulciber), ἡγησιφαιστός τις ὢν. For which of these things is able to exist without the power of fire? And in fact αἰγίς means "the turbulence of storms", whence also καταιγίς means a hail storm, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰίσσω. Whence also ἄιξ, "the dancing animal" appears to have been derived. The story, however, is told thus: when Jupiter was saved by the counsel of Rhea, who gave a stone in his stead to be eaten by his father Saturn, he was then carried down into Crete, and was given over to be raised by Themis and the goat Amalthea. The Saturnian gods, who are called the Titans, were plotting against the youth Jove, but they had a kind of deadly fear of Amalthea. When they had finally taken up open war against Jove, by the persuasion of Themis Jupiter carried forth for a shield the removed skin of Amalthea, and because the Titans were thus terrified and conquered by the sight of it, he is said to have been named "Aegiochus" (aegis bearer). εἰλήλουθας] Homer prefers the Ionic, in the place of ἐλήλυθας. The first and penult are drawn out through παρένθεσιν. And ξείνος, μοῦνος, κεινός, νοῦσος are of this sort.

ἤς ὑπεροπλίησι]

Ἠαῖς αὐτοῦ, Ionic in the place of ἑαῖς. The poetic word ὑπεροπλία means disdain, pride, and wickedness.

Τεὸν μένος]

This word means "animosity," that is, the power of the spirit. Iliad ζ.

Ἄνδρὶ δεκεκμηῶ τι μένος μέγα οἴνος ἀέξει.

Maro appears to have called this "violence".

Talibus exarsit dictis violentia Turni.

Λῆγ' ἔριδος]

These Horatian lines are similar, in book 2 of the Odes: Desine mollium Tandem querelarum. And in book 3: Mox Ubi lusit satis, abstineto Dixit irarum.

Ἵς ἔσεται]

Ὅπως ἔσται δὴ τοῦτο. Attack as you wish, she says, with words. "How this will turn out", that is, "what is going to happen". τρίς τόσσα: Plautus says something similar in Pseudolus: "As if it is not customary for six times as much to be entrusted to me alone."

Εἰρύσασθαι]

"To guard," and εἰρύματα are defenses. Therefore he says that the commands of

the gods should be firm and effective for all, and thus they must be respected even by him, although he is angry. And he adds that those men are dear to the Gods who freely obey them. χεῖρα βαρεῖαν here means large or powerful.

Ἄταρτηροῖς]

He accosts the son of Atreus again with biting or insulting statements. For this deliberation, in which Achilles chooses the divine counsel of reason rather than an attack of anger, was placed into the middle, but he nevertheless returns to quarreling.

Οἶνοβαρὲς]

These are grave insults, especially against a king, whom it most greatly befits to be sober, serious, and brave. He says now with many words, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, what he said a little earlier with one word, κυνῶπα. Moreover, it is widely known that the deer is the most fearful of animals. He calls Agamemnon οἶνοβαρὲς, either drunk or given to drunkenness. Agamemnon himself says the same, when he has finally regretted his actions. Iliad i.:

Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀασάμην φρεσὶ λευγαλήσι πιθήσας,

Ἦ οἴνω μεθύων ἤμ' ἔβλαψαν θεοὶ αὐτοὶ.

For Dioscurides the student of Isocrates is said to have recited this passage with the same interpretation. And this most famous sentiment is found there, that there is no difference between drunkenness and insanity, as Athenaeus says in his first book.

Τὸδε τοι κήρ.]

When this word has an acute accent, it means "death"; when it has a circumflex, "heart", that is, κέαρ. You fear as worse than death, he says, to meet with danger, and to attack the enemy, either by fighting with them in the battle line or by setting up an ambush.

Ἦ πολὺ]

"Clearly this is much more productive", εἰρωνικῶς. And ὅστις is understood as "of him who has dared to say something contrary to your will."

Δημοβόρος]

He says this bitterly and mutinously, desiring to incite the spirits of others against Agamemnon by accusing the army of cowardice. This word means "an embezzeler" and "an abuser" of the Republic, and one who takes possessions away from his subjects. ἦ γὰρ] is an affirmative particle. For certainly, he says, if there were any courage in those men whose power you have seized, we would be inflicted now with your final insult.

Ἐκ τοι ἐρέω]

τμήσις. This means "to confirm" or "to affirm" for the poet. ἐπομοῦμαι must likewise be reconnected. And ναὶ μὰ is a pleonasm for νῆ τὸ δὲ σκῆπτρον. The Virgilian interpretation of this passage is found in the twelfth book:

Ut sceptrum hoc dextra. sceptrum nam forte gerebat,

Nunquam fronde levi fundet virgulta nec umbras,
Cum semel in sylvis imo de stirpe recisum
Matre caret posuitque comas et brachia ferro.
Olim arbos, nunc artificis manus aere decoro
Inclisit, patribusque dedit gestare Latinis.

Τομήν ἐν ὄρ.]

περιφραστικῶς, that is, after it was felled in the mountains. And shortly Περὶ γὰρ ῥάε χαλκὸς ἔλεψε φύλλα τε καὶ φλοιὸν. Tmesis for: Περιέλεψε γὰρ αὐτὸ χαλκὸς κατὰ τε φύλλα καὶ φλοιὸν. That is, bronze stripped it of leaves and bark. For the most ancient men used bronze tools, not iron. Wherefore it is worth noting the following in the Virgilian interpretation: that he makes it "iron". λέπος means "shell" or "bark." Whence λεπίς, scale. And Herodotus, in his second book, used the word ἐκλέπειν about the eggs of crocodiles, that is, "to render something bare of scales by sitting upon it".

Πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται]

Ionic for εἰρύαται, "they guard". By the most sacred idea in antiquity he makes legitimate commands of divine law.

Ἦ ποτε]

He affirms by sworn oath that it will come to pass that his aid will be required in the war, and he says Ἀχλῆος ἐμφατικῶς. As in this passage:

Aeneae magni dextra cadis.—

And:

Nulla mora in Turno est.— —

Σύδ' ἔνδοθι θυμὸν]

"Your spirit will be consumed from within, and will be torn by pain and indignation, because of your contempt for the most brave of men." And he once again shows that he is speaking with true feeling, and even, in anger, being boastful.

Ποτὶ δὲ]

A Doric preposition, and τμήσις. προσέβαλε τῇ γῆ τὸ σκήπτρον. "He throws it to the ground."

Ἀνόρουσε]

As this is an important and dangerous affair, Homer does not make the old man rise peacefully, but makes him spring forth as well. And the description of him as sweet and mild is especially skillful, for this was appropriate to Nestor's old age.

Τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο]

When Hercules had taken Pylos, the fatherland of Nestor, he was at that time a young man, as Ovid also sang in Met. 12. After the men and elders had been killed, two generations of men had perished, thus Nestor was the foremost of the third generation of boys who had been left. But Ovid, in the book which I have mentioned,

considers a generation to be one hundred years, for he introduces Nestor as speaking thus:

— Vixi

Annos bis centum, iam tertia vivitur aetas.

Herodotus, though, writes thus in his second book: Γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν, ἑκατὸν ἔτεα ἐστὶ. And this does not differ much from the opinion of those who consider a generation to be 30 years. And thus it is understood that Nestor was then somewhat more than 63 years old. They say that men are called μέροπας because of their faculty of speech, which is distinct from other all the other races.

Οἳ οἱ πρόσθεν]

In order that this appear more realistic, the Grammarians broke it up thus, οἳ ἄμα οἱ ἐτράφησαν, ἢ δὲ οἳ πρόσθεν ἐγένοντο, so that it says that some men had died previously, and then some of those men died who had come of age along with Nestor. But I have taken the line more simply, as it was put down. τριτάτοισι is superlative in form, but does not mean anything other than "three".

ᾠ πόποι]

Σχετλιαστικὸν, of this sort: "Immortal gods!" Or "Alas for me!". ἀχαΐδα γαῖαν, a figure of speech which the Rhetors call ὑπαλλαγὴν, because, as Cicero says, "words as it were are substituted for words, and the Grammarians call it μετωνυμίαν". Such as:

Africa terribili tremu horrida terra tumultu.

Εἰ σφῶϊν τάδε]

That is, *περὶ σφῶν μαρναμένοι*, for in the Ionic dialect each *ἐκτέταται*. And *ἀρείοσιν ἢ ὑμῖν* is the same as *ἀρείοσιν ὑμῶν*. For the comparative construction is formed either with the genitive or with a conjunction, such as the Latin *quam*.

Ἄθερίζον]

'Nor did these men ever ignore me or reject my advice.' Apollonius uses this word with the genitive:

Οὐδὲ μὲν οὐ δε βίην κρατερόφρονος Ἡρακλῆος,
Πευθόμεθ' αἰσονίδαο λιλαιομένου ἀθερίζαι.

Οἶον Πειρίθοον]

Pirithous, the son of Ixion by Dia, daughter of Eionis. He is related to the Centaurs, who themselves were begotten by Ixion with a phantom of Juno. He was the king of the Lapiths, a people in Thessalia, who are said to be named after Lapith, the son of either Apollo and the nymph Stible, or Periphans. And some of their leaders are named in this passage. It is said that they waged a war with the Centaurs, who were their neighbors and closely related to them by similarity of race, when a dispute arose in the drinking bouts during the wedding of Pirithous, when he had led Hippodamia, the daughter of Butada or Adrastus, to his home. Homer charges Eurytion with insane drunkenness in *Ody. φ*.

Οἶνος σε τρώει μαλιηδῆς, ὅστε καὶ ἄλλους

Βλάπτει ὅς ἂν μιν χανδὸν ἔλημήδ' αἰσίμα πῆ.
Οἶνος καὶ Κένταυρον ἀγάκλυτον Εὐρυτίωνα,
Ἦασεν ἐν μεγαρῶ μεγαθύμου Πειριθόοιο
Ἔς Λαπίθας ἐλθόντ'. ὁδ' ἐπεὶ φρένας ἄασεν οἴνω
Μαινόμενος κᾶκ' ἔρεξε δόμου κατὰ Πειριθόοιο.
Ἦρωας δ' ἄχος εἶλε, δι' ἐν προθύρου δὲ θύραζε
Ἦλκον ἀναίξαντες, ἀπ' οὐατα νηλείϊ χαλκῶ
Ἦρῖνές τ' ἀμήσαντες. ὁδὲ φρεσὶν ἦσιν ἀασθεῖς
Ἦιε ἦν ἄτην ὀχέων ἀεσίφροσι θυμῶ.
Ἦξ οὐ Κενταύροισι καὶ ἂν δράσι νεῖκος ἐτύχθη.
Οἶ τ' αὐτῶ πρώτῳ κακὸν εὕρετο οἰνοβαρείων.

And this is the sense of these verses:

*Scilicet instigare mero, solet omnibus illud
Immodice et nulla potum ratione nocere.
Vinum inter cunctos quondam Eurytiona bimembres
Eximium, scelera et vesanas egit in iras
Pirithoi acceptum Lapitharum principis aede,
Non tamen Heroes furias impune tulere
Insultusque feri, magno incensique dolore
Protraxere foras uno simul impete cuncti
Vesanum, mox aere metunt cum naribus aures.
Nec tulit Eurytion tacitus mala tanta, suoque
Insuper illa animo exagitans augensque querelis*

Aeternum excivitate suo generi atque virorum

Bellum, ac ebrius ipse malum sibi flebile primo.

Later poets expansively described this fight, taking advantage of the opportunity provided by this passage, as Ovid does in book 12. They say that the centaurs are called φῆρας, that is, wild beasts, as if θῆρας through μετάληψιν or ἀντίθεσιν. Pindar writes of Chiron in the fourth Pythian: Φῆρ δέ με θεῖος Ἰάσονα κικλήσκων προσήυδα. ὄρεσκώους] He says "wooded" with the poetic word ὄρεινους. ποιμένα λαῶν] Homer tends to call kings and princes by this name, using the word for those who watch after herd animals. For just as those men look after herd animals with regard to their pasturage, just as they care for them and feed them, and ward off all violence from them; thus is it the duty of princes to nourish their subjects with every available benefit, and defend them from every injury. ἐκπάγλως] "Boldly and fiercely". ἐξ Ἀπίης γαίης] "From afar". For Nestor was Peloponnesian, whereas they were Thessalians. And so some believed that the Peloponnesian was referred to by the word Apias in this passage as well, which comes from, Apides the son of Phoroneus. Thus also Iliad. γ. ἐξ Ἀπίης γαίης can be understood to refer to the Peloponnesian. But it is a far off land in this passage from Odys. ἦ:

Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ξεῖνος ταλαπεῖριος ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνω

Τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀπίης γαίης. --

Κατ' ἑμαυτὸν]

"To the best of my ability." "Nor is there anyone of those who are alive today

who would dare to trade blows with them. And those men attended to my counsels." By using the example of the most outstanding men, he hopes that Agamemnon and Achilles will likewise obey him, as he is advising them against committing any further disgrace. And he offers in addition a consideration of profit, when he says that it is much more profitable for them to heed his advice than it certainly is for them to reject it.

Πηλείδη θέλε, or Πηλεῖδ' ἤθελε] Crasis, in the place of Πηλεῖδα ἔθελε.

ὦ τε Ζεὺς Κύδος]

This can be taken two ways: either generally, so that every kingship is understood to be a divine gift, and outstanding in renown. Or, it can be taken so that only that kingship is foremost in renown which has been divinely bestowed upon someone, so that some men hold a kingship that has not been accepted from God, such as one that is held by force and the oppression of the people, and which is contrary to justice and laws. But the first sentiment is more accurate and ὀμηρικωτέρα.

Κατὰ μοῖραν]

"You have spoken truthfully", "you have said how things are". This word means that which *res* means, but with the additional meaning that it is something that must be done. It means "duty", as in *The Women of Trachinia*: Ἄνῆρ ὁδ' ἔοικεν οὐ νέμειν γ' ἐμοὶ θανόντι μοῖραν. It does not appear, he says, that he will do his duty, nor will he give to me the gift which I have asked for. It also especially means "fate", for it is understood to be the divinely destined lot. And Herodotus said all of this in book 1: τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποφυγέειν οὐδὲ θεῶ.

Θεοὶ αἰὲν ἑόντες]

That is, ἀθάνατοι, the immortal gods. And the sense is: If he is a warrior by divine providence, then for that reason are insults and abusive language at hand? that is, "is it appropriate that he be impudent and abusive?"

Ἐποβλήδην]

After Agamemnon was interrupted; that is, Achilles, quickly making a response, spoke thus. Thus he said in Il. τ. Οὐδ' ἔοικε ὑβάλλειν, that is, ὑποβάλλειν in the Doric dialect. "It is not appropriate to interrupt someone who is speaking."

Σήμαινε]

"Do not exercise your power against me any further." Il. β.:

Τοῖσιν ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ σημαίνεται οἷσι περ ἄρχει.

"Each man orders what must be done to those of whom he is the leader." οὔτε τῷ τινί in the Attic dialect.

Χερσὶν μὲν]

"I will not fight with my hands", that is, I will not trade blows with you over a girl.

Εἰδ' ἄγε μὴν]

Words of exhortation, and those who have been angered tend to fiercely provoke their adversaries with words in this manner: Go on, he says, try it. As this in

Iliad ζ.

Ἄσσον ἴθ' ὡς καὶ θᾶσσον ὀλέθρου πείρατ' ἴκηαι.

ἐρωήσει "will drip". And shortly thereafter: ἀνστήτην; the dual form ἀναστήτην with Doric apocope of the preposition.

Νῆας εἴσας]

He calls the ships, which have been constructed by an agreed-upon plan of work, "equal".

Ἐς δ' ἐρέτας]

Either the prepositions must be taken ἐλλειπτικῶς, so that it is ἐσδ' αὐτὴν τὴν νῆα and ἀνὰ αὐτὴν. Or they must be connected with the words, so that it becomes ἐσέκρινε and ἐσέβησε and ἀνεῖσε.

Καὶ εἰς ἄλα λύματα]

It was the custom among the ancients in times of plague, famine and squalor to perform particular rites in order to avert the evil. They were called καθάρσεις and καθάρματα and καθαρμοί, and even περιψήματα, which are here called λύματα. (Homer uses this word with the simple meaning of "dirtiness" in Il. λύματα πάντ' ἐκάθηρε.) At times superstition so worked its way into these rites that they would kill a man who had been dressed and wrapped up in a long garment, and throw him into the sea. For, as it is written in Euripides Iphigenia at Tauris, Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα

τάνθρώπων κακὰ. "The sea washes away all the wicked deeds of men." It is written that men were buried alive in the earth through a similar belief among the Romans as well, unless perhaps he is calling purificatory offerings λύματα. Just as the Athenian assembly is said to have been customarily cleansed by a slaughtered pig, which itself was called κάθαρμα, as in The Acharnians, ὡς ἂν ἐντὸς ἦτε τοῦ καθάρματος, because the blood of the victim would be sprinkled around the seats.

Ἄτρυγέτοιο]

Either "of the immense sea", or "the unwearying" or "the sterile" or "the echoing". For the ἔτυμα of all of these can be found in the word. ἀπὸ τοῦ τρύω τοῦ καταπονῶ, ἀπὸ τοῦ τρυγητοῦ καὶ ἀστερητικοῦ, ἀπὸ τοῦ τρύζειν καὶ ἀύξητικοῦ.

Κνίσση]

Here this means the savor which rises from the fat when it gives off its odor. πένοντο means "they work." Whence the servant class of the Thessalians are called πενέσται, "workers". Ὀτρηρῶ] Hard-working. δυϊκῶς.

Χειρὸς ἐλόντ' ἀγέμεν]

Either this is, in the Attic manner, an infinitive with the meaning of an imperative. And this passage in Iliad β. is of the same sort:

πάντα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορευέμεν.

Priscian seems to say ἐλλειπτικῶς that nothing is more common than this

among the Greeks: that the finite verb such as *iubeo*, *volo*, *impero* is absent. But it can also be taken as follows, so that the infinitive is in apposition to the finite verb, ἔρχεσθον ἀγέμεν "go to lead", just as this slightly afterwards: Δῶκε δ' ἄγειν. And Terence uses a similar construction in *Hecyra*, "he goes in to see". And in *Phormio*: "you want us to go see". In later Latin the supine is frequently used in this form, so that it becomes "let's go see". ἔρχεσθον κλισίην in place of κλισίηνδε 'towards the tent'.

Οὐ δ' ἄρα τῷ γε]

The Greeks call this figure of speech 'Ἀντίφρασιν'.

Nec vero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem

Accepisse lacu.—

For this means "the greatest pain".

Χαίρετε κήρυκες]

The tribe of heralds is held to be sacrosanct, and in the judgment of all races, that is, in the judgment of nature itself, it is thought to be a crime against divine law to commit violence against them. And at one time they were interpreters and messengers not only of human affairs but also of divine ones. It is more for this reason that the poet calls them "messengers of Jove and men", than because their bloodline is ascribed to a certain κήρυκα, the son of Mercury, taken up by Pandrosus daughter of Cecrops, the granddaughter of Jove. Achilles' speech is elegant and well spoken. For at this point his anger has resided and his mind and reason have returned to him. Therefore he

does not reproach the heralds, nor does he bear ill-will towards the duty of the heralds, who are deeply sorrowful; unlike Hercules, who, in a fury, swung Licha into the ocean and the rocks, screaming (as we have it in Ovid):

Tune Licha feralia dona tulisti?

But Achilles addresses them kindly, and furthermore orders that the girl whom they have come to take away be handed over to them, and he makes them witnesses of the violence and injustice of Agamemnon. μάρτυροι like φύλακοι, in the place of μάρτυρες and φύλακες by an Ionic variation.

Τοῖς ἄλλοις]

For he has no concern for the king himself, ἦγαρ ἄν ὄγε ὀλοῆσι φρεσὶ θύει "who indeed has been corrupted by madness and fury of the mind". The verse is one of those which are called λάγαροι that is, "weakened", for the numbers are less fixed in the middle. Θύει] In this passage this word means "he rages", whence the term θυάδες, who are also called μαινάδες, the female attendants of Bacchus.

Οὐδέ τι οἶδε]

Achilles, using this periphrasis, says that Agamemnon is being foolish, and that he does not know how to look after the state. For the prudent man makes judgments about the future based on a consideration of the past. Thus Alitherses says about the most prudent of men in Ody ω.:

—ὁ γὰρ οἶος ὄρα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω.

And Cicero, writing to wise Caesar, bestows this praise, with these words: "And the aged Praecilius greatly praises this verse, and says the same one can see forward and backward."

Λιασθεῖς]

Soon, Homer says, having turned away from his friends, Achilles sits alone on the shore looking at the foamy sea; as Virgil says in book 8, "the foamy wave". He calls the sea οἴνοπα, darkening, from the color of wine. And he most frequently applies the epithet αἶδοπα to wine: so that he calls it "darkening", as if it seems burnt.

Χεῖρας ὀρεγνύς]

For the gesture of those who are most ardently calling upon the gods is to hold up the hands.

Ὀλύμπιος]

Celestial and Thundering Jupiter. ἐγγυαλίξαι "to be preeminent". ἀπούρας "Agamemnon has my prize, which has been snatched away". And in the midst of such hostilities, he nevertheless does not deprive Agamemnon of his honorific title; such is the magnanimity of excellent men, that they do not wish to avenge injustices with words. This can be observed everywhere in Homer, as I have said more abundantly elsewhere.

Ἐν βένθεσιν]

In the deepest parts of the sea, at the house of her aged father, that is, Nereus. His fifty daughters who were begotten of Doris, the daughter of Oceanus, are enumerated by Hesiod. And the most illustrious of them are found in Iliad σ. Moreover they call him "old man", οὔνεκα νημερτής τε καὶ ἦπιος, as Hesiod says.

Χειρὶ κατέρεξεν]

She comes to him, touches him gently, and calls him by name. εἶδομεν; the mood is changed in place of ἵνα εἰδῶμεν.

Ἰχόμεθ' ἐς Θήβην]

Homer here calls Cilicia "Thebes", which is also Hypoplaciae, where the king was Etion, father of Andromache. Some have handed down that this was the city which was later called Adramyttion or Attramyttion. But Pliny writes that the city of Pedasus was once called Adramyttion, and he locates it in the Troad. Moreover, Chrysa was also nearby, where Chryses was engaged in the priestship; or, with the war starting, he had fled with his people into Thebes, clearly a better defended city.

Ἐπασσύτεροι]

He says that the corpses were heaped upon corpses. ὄδη: ἐκεῖνός τε ἦδη, or ὅς δῆ, with the σ coalescing. As in Iliad θ.

Ἦώς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πάσαν ἐπ' αἶαν.

And κλῦθι αἶ ἄναξ ὅστις ἐσσί.

ἐλίκωπες] "Noteworthy because of dark eyes". δῶρα ἄνακτι] They carry sacrifices to Apollo, in order that by their slaughter his anger will be pacified. They correctly call Apollo 'king'; for what is superior to the light of the Sun? Similar to this: ᾠ ἄνα Λητοῦς υἱέ and Φοῖβε ἄναξ, in Theognis.

Περίσχεο παιδός]

"Take care for your son". ἐήος is either ἐαυτῆς, that is, "your son", or ἐήος "excellent and dear", as the following is interpreted: Ἰλ.τ. τέκνον ἐμὸν δὴ πάμπαν ἀποίχεται ἀνδρὸς ἐήος. Or even, by a singular grammatical irregularity, from εἷς ἐευσ.

Πολλάκι γὰρ σέο]

Σέο must be joined with εὐχομένης, so that what is left means "I heard in my father's house." For the possessive is generally understood, although only "father" or "mother" is said. Just as: "Then respect for my father." And: "Then I suppose that I will find either my mother or my wife to be at fault."

Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη]

The reading καὶ φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων is appended in place of the above in some exemplars of Homer, which clearly seems more appropriate if one ascribes it to a story or even an allegory.

Ὀν Βριάρεων]

Of the δῶνυμα which are found in Homer, the name which is said to be used by

the gods must be considered to be the more ancient, whereas the more recent is that which is said to be used by men. As in Iliad υ.:

“Ὀν Ξάνθον καλέοισι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον.

The poet himself puts forth the origin of the name Αἰγαίονος as preeminence in courage, so that the αι occurs by augmentation, or ἀεὶ γαίων, that is, γαυριῶν. Hesiod writes that Briareus, Cottos, and Gyges are sons of Earth and Sky: τῶν δ' ἑκατὸν μὲν χεῖρες ἐπ' ὤμων αἴσσοντο ἄπλαστοι, κεφαλαὶ δ' ἑκάστῳ πεντήκοντα. Some Greeks have handed down that these are the gods who are called τριτοπάτερες, to whom the Athenians offer vows during nuptials for a propitious yield of offspring. Indeed, stories hand down that the gods conspired against Jove when he treated them ungenerously after his ascension to kingship, but Homer, using this story as if it were a covering of some kind, certainly concealed and hid in it some aspect of natural history, either about the conflicting movements and actions of the celestial sphere, or even about occurrences on earth. Yet although I can ruminate about these things, I cannot yet explain them. Let us return therefore to other matters.

Λάβε γούνων]

A gesture of supplication, about which we will speak more abundantly shortly hereafter. ἔλσαι] To force the dying Greeks among the ships and toward the sea.

Apollonius I. (about sheep):

Πρὸ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐνὶ σταθμοῖσι νομῆες ἔλσαν.

And II. λ.

“Ἐλσαν δ' ἐν μέσσοισι μετὰ σφισὶ πῆμα τιθέντες.

ὄτ' ἄριστον, since, deeply disturbed in his spirit, he does not shun arrogance.

Or, he wishes for his own bravery to be made obvious by the failure of others, similar to this:

Ζῶν ἀτιμήσαντες, ἀποφθίμενον ποθέουσι. That is:

Spemabant vivum, nunc cassum luce requirunt.

Your fate, she says, hangs over you shortly hereafter. For it was fated that after the ransom of Hector, Achilles too would meet his death, and that time was close at hand because of the anger of Achilles. He calls Jove *τερπικέραυνον*, the one who lightens, and who is delighted by sending lightning into the earth. It has been noted that lightning and thunder are ascribed to Jove as their creator.

Ἄγάννιφον]

Ἄγάννιφον, if it is ἄγαν νιφόμενον, means "snowy". Yet how can he say that Olympus is "snowy" here, and elsewhere say that it is always gleaming with serenity, and that it is not buffeted by winds, or made wet with rains? Therefore it is either "from where the snow falls", or even "from where the snow is absent", so that it is ἄνευ νιφετῶν; or it is *niveum*, that is, shining and bright, such that here Olympus is called by this epithet, αἰγλήεις, as it is called elsewhere.

Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐπ' ὠκεανὸν]

Although there is no doubt that this passage must also be ascribed to astronomy, I have nothing to offer in the way of explanation. Clearly some celestial

force hinders Achilles' will, and he is not able to immediately obtain his wish. Jupiter is to be identified with the celestial force, but who are the Ethiopians? Even Neptune sets off for them, leaving from the council of the Gods who are looking after Ulysses' safety. For my own part, as I have said, I do not know what to make of these things; and nevertheless I am certain that they are astronomical in nature. And this conviction of mine is not impeded by the interpretation of the Platonics, who fashion inscrutable Theological doctrines out of all of this. For they say this about the Ethiopes: that they are the light itself of divinity, when the divine spirit brings itself toward certain harmonized principles, and in its own intellect it as it were feasts upon intelligence, whence it is filled with uniform and extraordinary delights. And they say it is this Ocean running from the font of understanding, whence comes the mind itself, the creator of things, and all the Gods are as it were dependent upon this. And I will not spurn these notions, for they are indeed singular, but certainly they are forced upon this poet, and do not seem to stem from him. For me, at any rate, these things are and will always be astronomical phenomena, albeit, as I have said, unknown and obscure. Therefore, leaving these things as if they were in the shadowy realms of the Muses, let us traverse what remains. He says μετὰ δαίτα as if it were ἐπὶ δαίτα. And shortly τότε ἔπειτα, somewhat πλεοναστικῶς, just as "what then afterwards" and "then next". Ἐυζώνοιο γυναικός] Synecdoche, for I take this to mean "graceful" and "beautiful", from the elegance of that part of the body where women are customarily girded, which is especially noteworthy in maidens.

Αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεύς]

Now he returns to what came before, and explains what happened in the voyage in which Ulysses was carried as Diplomat with Chryseis and the gifts which were offered to Apollo. For the conversations between mother and son were narrated in the meantime while the embassy was sailing. Now, therefore, they have arrived at Chrysa, whither they had been sent. And Homer explains next in detail, as he is accustomed, what happened there, and in what order each thing was done. He embellishes the port with the epithet τοῦ πολυβενθέος; for ships become stuck in shallow places. He says that they στείλαντο the sails, that is συνέστειλαν, using the simple form in place of the composite, "they selected them" that is, they collected them.

Ἴστον δ'ἴστοδόκη]

He says that the mast is laid down and set back into its particular place, as the compound word τῆς ἴστοδόκης indicates, as in Od. α. δουροδόκη, which holds a spear. ἴστός means a web of textiles, and a mast in a ship. ἴστία are sails, which are the same thing as ἄρμενα. πέλασαν is "to set back", as in Od. κ. κτήματα δ' ἐν σπήεσσι πελάσσομεν. πρότοιαι are ropes, by which the mast is stretched out on both sides, as in Odys. μ.

Ἴστοῦ δὲ προτόνους ἔρρηξ' ἀνέμοιο θύελλα

Ἄμφοτέρους —

Ἐκ δ'εὐνάς ἔβαλον]

That is, ἐξέβαλον δὲ τὰς εὐνάς ἤγαν τὰς ἀγκύρας. He has separated the compound word, which is called τμησις. But εὐνή here means "anchor", because the

ship is fixed to it and sits at rest, since εὐνή is "a bed". Il ί. σύ δ'αὐτοθι λέξεο μίμων
έυνῆ ἐνὶ μαλακῆ. There are four τμήσεις in a row at the beginning of each of these
verses.

Ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι]

He says "shore" by similar reasoning to that which Cicero hands down in
Topica: that a "shore" is whatever a wave breaks against; the word comes from the
verb ῥήπτειν, which means "to break" and "to dash against".

Χερνίψαντο]

The word is made ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τοῦ νίπτω. Whence also χέρνιψ, water
which is poured over the hands, as in:

χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχόω ἐπέχευε φέρουσα.

And χέρνιβος is the vessel or bowl itself, as in Iliad. ώ.:

Χέρνιβον ἀμφίπολος πρόχονθ' ἅμα χερσὶν ἔχουσα.

Καὶ οὐλοχύτας]

Grain, as they say, sprinkled with salt, which was customarily thrown on
sacrificial victims, as a reminder of early food, when they fed upon corn that was not
ground, since ground grain had not yet been discovered. And so they say that οὐλάς
is said as if it were σώας, that is, whole, as: οὐλε τε καὶ μέγα χαίρει. Homer himself
explains this in Odys. μ., where he says that the Ulysses' comrades put plucked fronds

onto the bulls.

Οὐ γὰρ ἔχον κρῖ λευκὸν εὐσέλμῳ παρὰ νηΐ.

And there is no sacred rite performed among the Latins without "salted grain", that is, it was the custom, as it is explained, to complete the rite with ground spelt, whence the word *immolo* appears to have been created. And Virgil writes thus:

Sparge molam et fragiles incende bitumine lauros.

And elsewhere:

— mihi sacra parari,

Et salsae fruges et circum tempora vittae.

οὐλόχυται are therefore καταχυθεῖσαι οὐλαί, as in Od. γ.

--ἐτέρη δ' ἔχεν οὐλάς. And shortly thereafter:

Χέρνιβατ' οὐλοχύτας τε κατήρχετο.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' εὔξαιτο]

Now he next describes the practice and procedure of the entire divine rite, and then he does the same regarding the feasts, touching on and explaining everything. For this poet tends, in the exposition of any subject, to compose such that he records even the most minute and subtle things, so that they be illuminated and there will be a clear understanding of them. αὐ ἔρυσαν] There are those who hand down that the particle αὐ has no meaning in this passage except to fill out the meter. But others, much more correctly, have taught that it refers to the sacrificial rite, for αὐερεύειν is

εὐχενίζειν, that is, 'to strike into the neck'. And Gellius seems to refer to this when he puts this word forth as an example of a compound. And Homer says more clearly in Ody. γ. that this was done before the victim was killed:

Πέλεκυς δ' ἀπέκοψε τένοντας αὐχενίους. And next:

Οἱ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀνελόντες ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης

Ἐχον, ἀτὰρ σφάξεν Πεισίστρατος ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν.

They add this, that the ancients customarily bent back the necks of the victims, so that they were looking up toward the sky. Or at least, they did this to those whom they sacrificed to the gods above, since those whom they sacrificed to please the shades and the gods below the earth were customarily killed with their head pushed downward, that is, ἀποδειροτομῆσθαι. And they call these ἰνρεῖα ἔντομα, as Apollonius in his first book says that the Argonauts, having venerated the shades of Dryopis, burned ἔντομα μήλων.

Μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον]

Thigh bones, as we have said, which are both μῆρα and μηρία, as in Ody. γ. κνίσση moreover here means "fat". "Savor" is also meant by this same word, which comes from out of the smoke of the meat. He says that the "fat" or the "fatty tissue" is doubled over, δίπτυχα, so that the bones are covered on all sides.

᾽Ωμοτέθησαν]

They put out the raw pieces of flesh, as they say, which have been furnished from the

individual limbs, and place them on the fat, so that the entire victim appears to be burnt as an offering to the gods.

It was a ritual to taste the innards, which are called σπλάγχνα in Greek, from out of the sacrifice, as in Plautus: *De extis sum intus satur*. And Maro writes:

Vescitur Aeneas simul et Troiana iuventus,

Perpetui tergo bovis et lustralibus extis.

And slightly before:

Viscera tosta ferunt taurorum. —

Καίε δ' ἐπὶ σχίζης]

He calls cuttings of wood σχίζας. πεμπώβολα] They say that this indicates a particular form of roasting spit, the five points of which stick out from a single handle. But Herodotus interprets this in the life of Homer as meaning 5 spits, and he declared that this was evidence that Homer was one of the Aeolians, who alone of all the Greeks do not burn up the loins in sacrifice, and are accustomed to roast the innards with five spits; and indeed they say πέμπε, which the other Greeks say as πέντε. κατὰ μῆρ' ἐκάη] Τμησίς for κατεκαύθησαν οἱ μηροί. μίστυλλον] ἐμίστυλλον, "they cut it into bits," and based on this passage Maro writes:

Pars in frusta secant, verubusque trementia figunt.

Martial, using this verse, jokingly mocks some ostentatious man who shows off by reciting Homer; the man incorrectly uses the verb as if it were a noun referring to a

cook, whom he calls Mistyllus. Martial writes:

Si tibi Mistyllus cocus Aemiliane vocatur,
Dicetur quare non Taratalla mihi?

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ]

Postquam exempta fames epulis, mensaeque remotae,
Crateras magnos statuunt, et vina coronant.

Ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο] They fill them with drink, so that the wine appears as if it were a small disk at the top of the cup, or so that it touches the rim of the cup, which is also called στεφάνη: he either says that the cup is actually crowned with leaves, or that it is encircled, intertwined with drinking cakes. δαῖτα moreover are said to be εἴσην; τὴν ἴσην καὶ ἰσομοίρως διανεμηθεῖσαν. There are even some who have interpreted this as τὴν ἀγαθὴν, since this is written in Il. ἰ. δαιτὸς μὲν εἴσης οὐκ ἐπιδευεῖς, for Ulysses appears to say that he does not require extravagant food. Now then, why does Virgil write: "The removed tables"? For the Grammarians inquire whether, among the ancients, tables were carried away from the dinner, and some judge that this did not happen, and neither does anything found in Homer stand opposed to this interpretation, unless this in Iliad ω.:

Ἔσθων καὶ πίνων ἔτι καὶ παρέκειτο τράπεζα.

which sounds as though the tables had not yet been taken away, but would be

eventually. But the Grammarians in question also found a solution to this objection, for they say that this line must be read differently, in this manner:

Ἔσθων καὶ πίνων ἔτι, καὶ παρέκειτο τράπεζα.

And yet Maro, dismissing these ineptitudes, freely expresses the custom of the ancients in his verses, particularly in agreement with the custom of his own people. Plautus' *Asinaria*: "Put down the tables, young men". And Xenophon also clearly says in *Συμποσίῳ*: ὡς δ' ἀφηρέθησαν αἱ τράπεζαι. ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο] Τμησις; he also calls τὸν ἔρωτα ἔρον.

Παιήονα]

Both a παιάν and a παιών are a hymn in which Apollo is praised, and it is called παιήων in this passage with an enlarged word. Whence παιανίσας, which means both an outcry prior to a battle and a celebration of victory after the enemy has been routed. Or, it can mean Apollo, as in *Apollonius β.* with a compound word: καλὸν ἰηπαιήονα ἰηπαιήονα Φοῖβον μελπόμενοι.

Ἦμος δ' ἡέλιος]

Χρονογραφεῖ both night and day, for the sun leaves behind the former when setting, and returns the latter when rising. καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθε is καὶ ἐπῆλθε τὸ κνέφας. The fog of night, as if κινούν τὰ νέφη. πρυμνήσια] Ropes with which the ships are tied to the earth from the prow, which is πρύμνα. Ovid appears to have joked about these ropes in *Fasti 4*:

Nox aderat querno religant de stipite funem,
Dantque levi somno corpora functa cibo.
Lux aderat, querno soluunt de stipite funem,
Ante tamen posito tura dedere foco.

Ἡριγένεια]

He calls dawn "rosy". Maro calls her saffron-colored, and says she is carried in on rosy chariots, by which is indicated the appearance of the illuminated sky prior to the rising of the sun. ἠριγένεια means "of the morning", either because she rises then, or because she gives birth to that which we call "the morning". The Latins call it "morning" (*matutinum*) after the brightness that occurs when the light shines forth from the darkness. For *matuta* is for them what λευκσθέα is for the Greeks.

Καὶ τότε ἔπειτ' ἀνάγοντο]

Ἀνήγοντο ἢ ἀνήχθησαν, which is a nautical word, and is found to have come from ships themselves and sailors. Xenophon, in Ἑλληνικῶν. α.: Ὅτι αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἀνηγμένας εἶεν. Xenophon also writes: ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀναχθέντες. ἴκμενον οὖρον] A following wind. ἐν δ' ἄνεμος πρήσεν] ἐνέπρησε δ' ἄνεμος; the verb is πρήθω, which is τὸ φυσῶ; he says therefore that the sail has swelled up from the wind. στείραν] They say that the keel is named thus because it is so firm, as if it is called στερῶν. διαπρήσσουσα κέλευθα] Running through the waves, which elsewhere are called ὑγρά κέλευθα. But he uses the same word even with regard to horses, ρίμφα πρήσσετε κέλευθον. ὑπὸ δ' ἔρμα

τα μακρὰ τάνυsson] ὑπετάνυsson; he calls the beams which support the ships that have been dragged onto the shore ἔρματα.

Αὐτὰρ ὁ μήνιε]

Now the narrative returns to Achilles and his plea, which his mother was to take up with Jove. Jove himself has now returned to the heavens from the Ethiopians after the 12th day. Homer calls the battle Ἀϋτήν, that from which shouting is not absent. He says πτόλεμον παρεμππόσει τοῦ τ in the place of πτόλεμον. ἐκ τοῖο] In the place of τοῦτου that is, "since that time", which is to say, afterwards. ἡερίη before light, that is, the morning.

Πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμποιο]

Αειράς means neck, and is transferred to mean "highest places". But what, indeed, are meant to be the ἐξοχαῖ of the sky, which nothing is lighter than? Homer appears to refer to the division of the sky, both into the portions of the twelve constellations, and perhaps also into the zones which are designated by those circles which they call παραλλήλους. And indeed, in reality the sky is not as it were "marked" by them, but nevertheless these present its appearance to us thus, as if it were engraved [*caelatam*], from which it is likely that the Latin name [*caelum*] was also created.

Καὶ λάβε γούνων]

Γούνα, τὰ γόνατα, γόνα, and μεταθέσει γούνα, whence also γούνασι.

ἀνθερεῶν] This is the lowest part of the chin, since the beard "sprouts out" from there. And in this passage Homer describes the gesture of supplication. For suppliants customarily grab the knees, that is, they fall prostrate before them, whence the word γουνοῦμαι, which means "I supplicate". And Pliny says that there was once a certain reverence for the knees among some races, and he puts forth the explanation that the spirit of life was thought to reside in a particular hollow part of the joints in the knee. He also writes that the ancients touch the beard in supplication. And this is clear as well from this very passage of Homer. But to return: knees are often discussed elsewhere in this author. Iliad ζ.:

Ἄδρηστος δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἐλλίσσατο γούνων. Ἴλ. φ.:

Ὅδ' οἱ σχεδὸν ἦλθε τεθηπῶς γούνων ἄψασθαι μεμαῶς.

Homer also adds to Priam's supplication the kissing of the hand (which Pliny mentions) in these verses:

-- ἄγχι δ' ἄρα στάς,

Χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος λάβε γούνατα καὶ κύσε χεῖρας.

And in Ὀδ. ζ.: γουνοῦμαί σε ἄνασσα. Ulysses speaks thus, when he has judged that he must resist the sight of the maiden, and must not touch her knees. Likewise in Ody χ. ἐπεσσύμενος λάβε γούνων, and γουνοῦμαι σ' Ὀδυσσεῦ.

Τῖσον Ὀλύμπιε]

"But you, O Jupiter, give honor to him who has been spurned by Agamemnon."

And shortly thereafter, she specifies the manner of the honor.

Ἐπεὶ οὐτοὶ ἔπι]

It is said that this means: "For there is no one whom you would be restrained by fear of." So, she says, who is it that you fear? But to me she seems to say this more εἰρωνεύουσα, using a common figure of speech, so that she is the one saying that she does not have any fear, nor, even if Jupiter should refuse her requests, is she worried that she will no for certain that she is the most despised of all the gods. And shortly afterward: μετὰ πᾶσιν, "among all the gods", or, as others prefer, "among all the mortals". λοίγια] ἀπὸ τοῦ λιογοῦ, "of destruction and ruin". And this statement indicates the danger he is in by giving her audience: Certainly, he says, this is a most terrible business, since you are pushing me towards entering into hostilities with Juno.' αὐτῶς] "as it is", that is, although she has not been instigated. Latin speakers use this particle in the same way as the Greeks. νοήση] "lest she notice that you are here: so that she does not see you." εἴδ' ἄγε τοι] as above, εἴδ' ἄγε μὴν πείρησαι. As if he is saying, "if you please, if you wish". τέκμωρ] The most trustworthy signal, which is also τεκμήριον.

ἦ καὶ κυανέησι]

ἦ means "he said". This is an Atticism, most often seen in Plato, as ἦν δ' ἐγώ; ἦ δ' ὄς, which are "I said" and "he said". Virgil writes:

—breviter

Annuit, et totum nutu tremente fecit Olympum.

Διέτμαγον, "they departed from one another". And the Gods move toward Jove, or, they stand opposite him. For the orbits, which are the ἔδου of the gods, move opposite the rotation of the sky itself, which is clearly Jovian.

Αὐτίκα κερτομίοισι]

Ἐλλειπτικῶς, κερτομίοισι ῥήμασιν or λόγοις, "with angry words, harsh words", just as τὸ κέαρ, that is, τέμνουσιν the soul, as the Grammarians ἐτυμολογοῦσι. This word is used of reproachments, insults, and mockery. δικάζέμεν] δικάζειν, "to judge", "to decide".

Χαλεποί τοι ἔσονται]

"Heavy", that is, you would not be able to bear them. And shortly thereafter ὄν δ' ἄν ἐγὼν, and the words that follow, have an incongruous grammatical structure, for Homer moves from the masculine to the neuter plural, μή τι συ ταῦτα. But such constructions appear regularly in the works of the ancients, and in particular in the works of this poet. μετάλλα] To inquire, to carefully seek out. And perhaps it is more likely that the term τὰ μέταλλα comes from this word, than from μετά ἄλλα, as Pliny (I believe) says. For the word seems to be derived from the fact that those who are looking for something seek and search out one thing from another. εὐκηλος] That is, ἔκουλος, "peacefully", that is, unbothered. δέδοικα κατὰ φρένα] πλεοναστικῶς, for where is our fear located if not in the mind? This is a statement of the same sort as "think this over in your mind". παρέιπη] "She has run a circle around you with her

flattery"; for παρειπεῖν means "to speak flatteringly", "to persuade", and finally "to address with crafty language". As in Il. μ.:

Παρειπῶν, ἀγαθὴ δὲ παραίφασις ἐστὶν ἐταίρου.

and again in Il. ξ.:

ἐν δ' ὀαριστὺς, πάρφασις.-

Ἄλλ' ἀπὸ θυμοῦ]

"You will be all the more hateful to me", that is, my mind will be more hostile to you. As in Demosthenes κατὰ Τιμοκράτους: ἔσται καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος. And in Women of Trachinia: καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης λέγεις. The preposition in each of these indicates aversion. ῥίγιον] "sad"; "mournful". This is a comparative form, and the positive form of the adjective is not attested, as ἄλγιον, λῶον, βέλτιον, φέρτερον.

Ἄλλ' ἀκέουσα κάθησο]

Homer writes this here from ἀκέων as if it were feminine, although slightly earlier he used it about Jove. And in fact he even uses the same word in an adverbial sense, as in: ἀλλ' ἀκέων δαίνυσθε καθημένοι. And in Il. θ.: ἦτοι Ἀθηναίη ἀκέων ἦν. And slightly earlier he says εἰ δ' οὕτω τοῦτ' ἔστι etc., in an arrogant manner: "If the situation is thus, as you suspect it to be regarding Thetis, then certainly it is going to be pleasing to me." And this is as if to say, "this is my desire", "this is my command". ἄσσο

ίόντε] "Coming into combat with me". άάπτους] "harmful", that which it would be harmful to touch. Just as the "inaccessible" palace of Circe, which one could not enter into without coming to some harm.

Έπιγνάμψασα]

Clearly reflecting her mind, which is fearful, although it was previously filled with rage. ώχθησαν] "They are moved in their hearts"; "they groan mournfully".

Έπίηρα φέρων]

Pleasing her, wishing to enter into the good graces of his mother. As in Odys. γ.:

Αὐτίς ἐπ' Ἀτρείδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἦρα φέροντες.

κολφόν έλαύνετον] "you rouse up turmoil", "you incite an uproar".

Όλύμπιος]

Jupiter is referred to by epithets, as when he is called "thunderer" and "father of men" and "king of the gods". And Jupiter, says Hephaestus, if he so desired, could easily overturn everything; so that the line is read στυφελίξειεν άν; or it is "he could throw you from your seat". καθάπτεσθαι έπεσι μαλακοίς] περιφραστικώς, that is, pacified, or soothed, with words.

Δέπας άμφικύπελλον]

Δέπας is an Ionic word meaning "cup", άμφικύπελλον indicates the shape, so

that the genus is given in the first term, the species in the latter. The word κυπέλλου is also found as a name elsewhere in Homer. In Iliad. ί.:

Τοὺς μὲν ἄρα χρυσεοῖσι κυπέλλοις υἷες Ἀχαιῶν,
Δειδέχατ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἀνασταδόν.--

They say that this comes ἀπὸ τῆς κυφότητος, because they are curved. And the same thing is to be thought of the compound word ἀμφικυπέλλου, as if it meant κυρτὸν and ἀμφίκυρτον. Others prefer to take it as either meaning "having a handle", or "wreathed with art and engraving", as in ἀμφίθετον φιάλην. And the Grammarians themselves investigate this same topic, in which they follow various paths as if lost in rough terrain. Even I have my own conjectures, or perhaps I should say fancies: that we take ἀμφικύπελλον to mean a double cup, the individual parts of which are often placed upon one another, such that each of these parts has the shape and function of a cup. And cups of this sort are even now the wondrous possessions of wealthy and ostentatious princes. θεινομένην] "flogging". ἀργαλέος ἀντιφέρεσθαι] He says with great subtlety that it is a grave and serious undertaking to oppose Jove, for he recognizes that the affair is fraught with great danger, as he soon demonstrates with a personal example. And this is a Greek figure of speech, of this sort: θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι, and γεγωνέμων ἀμφοτέρωσε, and other similar expressions. τεταγών] This is a form of the Ionic indefinite second person past tense; hurled by the foot, he says, he was thrown down from heaven. He says βηλὸν θεσπέσιον, divine threshold, περιφραστικῶς. κάππεσον] κατέπεσον.

Κάππεσον ἐν Λήμνῳ]

Regarding the fall of Vulcan φυσικῶς ἀλληγοροῦσι, for they say that he represents the sort of fire which tends to cling to matter, and which is far removed from the purity of the heavenly flame. He was brought down to Lemnos, where there are said to have been ancient workshops in which the most powerful weapons were forged; some hand down that the populace was called Σίντιας from these weapons. Others contend that colonists of the Tyrrhenians, who were pirates, were named thus when they had occupied Lemnos ἀπὸ τοῦ σίνεσθαι, because they were "people who did harm". For this reason they are elsewhere called ἀγριοφώνους. ὀλίγος δὲ τι θυμὸς ἐνήεν] περιφραστικῶς he says ἐλειποψύχουν, "when I was just giving up the ghost, the Sintians appeared in time, and they nursed me back to health." Plato ἐτυμολογεῖ in Cratylus that Ἥφαιστον comes from Φαῖστον with the letter U placed in front.

Ὡς φάτο μείδης]

The Platonics interpreted the laughter of the Gods as a playful and as it were joyous effect of the divine works, in response to the preservation of all things, and they played most delightfully in this as it were possession of their own nature. Proclus added two verses to this passage:

Δάκρυα μὲν σέθεν ἐστὶ πολυτλήμον γένος ἀνδρῶν,
Μειδῆσαν δὲ θεῶν ἱερὸν γένος ἐβλάστησεν.

Ἐνδέξια]

"In order", that is, on the right side, which is said thus because the Greeks believed that all things associated with the right side were lucky. Therefore Vulcan, having risen from the right side, passed around the cup. ὤνοχόει] The verb means "to be a cupbearer", that is, to draw up the wine. For Vulcan draws up Nectar for the Gods from a crater, a word which itself indicates a mixture of wine, for they did not drink it straight, but tempered it with the appropriate mixture or κράσει. The appropriate vessels for this activity are called κρατήρες, κρητήρες in Ionic. ἄσβεστος γέλως] "boundless"; the sense [lit. "unquenchable"] is transferred from fire, which is so internally strong that it cannot be snuffed out. πομπύοντα] "serving, waiting upon". Homer says that it is the very earnestness of Vulcan that gives rise to the laughter of the Gods. But how is it possible that the Sun sets for them? This line must be referred to events which happen for us humans. For at that point the Gods retire to their own as it were private houses, that is, each star appears to humans from their own point in the sky, although previously by day they could not be seen. Poets speak of Jove and Juno as married, although they are of the same blood, having both come from the same father and mother. Stories tell of how Jove fell in love with his sister, whom he was afraid to approach, since he knew that she was forbidding and severe. At last he contrived to make an attempt with the following plan: When a storm chanced to break with great rains, Jove, changing himself into a Cuckoo, appeared to Juno, soaked and trembling. Juno, pitying the creature, straight away drew it to herself and nurtured it, at which time Jupiter seized her. I believe that this story was once popular as an old-wives tale; for even Theocritus speaks thus on one occasion:

Πάντα γυναῖκες ἴσασι καὶ ὡς Ζεὺς ἠγάγεθ' Ἥρην.

EPILOGUE

You have now an explication of the first book of Homer's Iliad. It should, in my own judgment, not be considered of any great importance, but neither, I hope, will it be entirely rejected and despised. Unless something should stand in the way of my zeal, I shall interpret and explain the following books, as many as possible, according to this model, and for the present I shall take up the second book, which offers the greatest pleasure and utility to the students of good arts and literature.

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