

Homer and the Aiakid cousins Kinship celebrated or overlooked in the *Iliad*

Kinship networks are a feature of the *Iliad*. They are preserved anecdotally and in the use of patronyms, and in the process anomalies may occur. This paper will consider some anomalies in the Aiakid line and offer some suggestions as to their cause.

Achilleus, whose anger famously begins the epic, is identified by his name and patronym: Πηλείδης, also rendered as Πηλείων or more rarely Πηληϊάδης.¹ He is unique in being referred to by his mother's name: Θέτιδος πάϊς ἠὲκόμοιο.² He is also known by his father's patronym: Αἰακίδης, although careful examination will show that when Peleus is meant he is designated as such: Αἰακίδης Πηλεύς (16.15, 18.433, 21.189).³ This refers to Peleus' father Aiakos, who is mentioned only once in the poem, in a passing reference in 21.188-9 as Achilleus brags over the dying Asteropaios:

*τίκτε μ' ἀνὴρ πολλοῖσιν ἀνάσσων Μυρμιδόνεσσι,
Πηλεύς Αἰακίδης· ὁ δ' ἄρ' Αἰακὸς ἐκ Διὸς ἦεν.
My father was a man who ruled many Myrmidons;
Peleus son of Aiakos; but Aiakos was a son of Zeus.*

The attention paid to Achilleus' ancestry is appropriate; but other connections of Aiakos are not identified as such, namely Aias Telamonios and Patroklos. Aias' prominence is in no doubt, but Patroklos⁴ stays quietly in Achilleus' entourage after 1.306-7:

*Πηλείδης μὲν ἐπὶ κλισίας καὶ νῆας εἴσας
ἦϊε σὺν τε Μενoitιάδῃ καὶ οἷς ἐτάροισιν·
The son of Peleus went to his tents and balanced ships
with the son of Menoitios and his companions.*

Designated as the son of Menoitios, he continues in this unremarkable way till suddenly, in Book 8, his fate is set into the fabric of the poem as firmly as that of Achilleus.

In Book 8 Zeus is enraged by the defiance of Athena and Hera. In the process of asserting himself he announces the forthcoming demise of Patroklos (8.472-77) with the words *ὡς γὰρ θέσφατόν ἐστι*—*as is decreed* (8.477). There is no intimation, however, as to how this is to come about. Book 8 concludes with the Trojans joyfully

¹ See Geoffrey Horrocks, 'Homer's Dialect' (Morris, I, and B. Powell, ed., *A New Companion to Homer* (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1997), 212-7, for discussion of this and other 'Characteristic Ionic innovations, or choices from inherited options.'

² It should also be noted that Achilleus is the only hero in Homeric poetry to be designated by reference to his mother; even Aeneas is *πάϊς Ἀγχίσαιο* 2.819 etc, or *Ἀγχισιάδης* 17.754, 20.160, though his full parentage is explained 2.820-1. The only other hero thus distinguished is Herakles, but not until tragedy, for example Aeschylus, *Ag.* 1040 *παῖς Ἀλκμήνης*, or Sophocles, *Tr.* 19, 181 etc. In Homer *διογενής* refers only to descendants of Zeus.

³ Hainsworth, Kirk, G. S., *The Iliad: a Commentary* (Cambridge, 1985-93), vol. III p. 81, is mistaken in saying that 'It is a question whether Homer knew that genealogy; the patronymic *Αἰακίδης* always refers to Akhilleus'.

⁴ Adam Parry, 'Language and Characterization in Homer' *HSCP* 76 (1972) 1-22, discusses the exceptional handling of his character 9-15.

at their fires, and Book 9 brings a bleak dawn for Agamemnon and some anomalies for the reader, including the treatment of Patroklos and Aias.

Patroklos is presented in Book 9 without reference to Zeus' assertion in Book 8. He stands politely while Achilles greets his two guests, then prepares the meal and, later on, Phoinix' bed. Achilles is Patroklos' *φίλος ἑταῖρος* (9.205); Patroklos is Achilles' *ἑταῖρος* (9.220), and godlike (*ἰσόθεος φῶς*), but there is no hint of his approaching fate,⁵ and no hint that these two have an ancestor in common—Aiakos, since Patroklos is the grandson of Aktor, brother of Aiakos. Aias Telamonios fares little better; as son of Telamon, the brother of Peleus, it could be expected that he would play an important role in this delegation, but his contribution to the discussion, though useful, is small and the implications of his lineage are entirely passed over. Instead, the focus passes to Phoinix, who is introduced into the *Iliad* as mentor of the young Achilles with a fine disregard both for the tradition concerning Cheiron, attested 11.832 and 16.143, and for the text itself, with the famous dual verb forms (9.168-9, 182, 192).

Book 8 makes clear the paradox of Book 9, which is that if Patroklos is to fight and die, and if the Trojans are to be driven back from the ships of the Achaeans as Zeus has promised, the embassy must fail. Yet the narrative of Book 9, with its ragbag of mixed material, is entirely without irony;⁶ it proceeds, without any reference to Patroklos' fate, with the over-arching concern of the poem: that Achilles should relinquish his anger. It is the portrayal of Achilles himself at this crucial moment that gives Book 9 its force. Achilles remains obdurate, and the focus returns to the Aiakids.

Book 11 brings the change: the action begins with the call from Strife (1-12), and Aias Telamonios becomes conspicuous in the action, fighting alone or in tandem with little Aias (the Aiante). As the battle rages Achilles calls to Patroklos (11.596ff.) and sends him for intelligence. The poet notes (11.604):

*ἔκμολεν ἴσος Ἄρηϊ, κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή.
He stepped forward, a man like Ares, and evil began for him...*

a clear reference to Zeus' edict in Book 8. There is nothing like this in Book 9.

Nestor is irritated by Patroklos' errand (11.655ff.) and recounts the latest disasters. After recalling the exploits of his youth he reminds Patroklos of his father Menoitios' injunctions to him in Peleus' house (11.783-4) when he left for Troy. Nestor refers to Patroklos' father as *Μενοίτιος Ἄκτορος υἱός* (11.785); this is the sole indication in the *Iliad* of Menoitios' ancestry. Nestor then encourages Patroklos to put on Achilles' armour and lead the Myrmidons (11.794-801), thus resuming the narrative that places importance on the death of Patroklos. Patroklos sets off, but stops to tend Eurypylos' wound (11.837-43).

It seems, then, that there are two major narrative threads seeking resolution in the poem. On the one hand Thetis requires compensation for the insult to her son; on the other Patroklos must die before Zeus will relent and give respite to the Achaians.

In Books 15-17 there is a shift of focus as Zeus awakes, sees the rout, and is furious (15.1-13). He insists again that Patroklos must fight and die (15.62). In 15.390 Patroklos, tending the wound of Eurypylos, is brought back into the narrative. He sees

⁵ Irene de Jong, 'Homer and Narratology' (Morris and Powell, 1997) 320, notes that 'the death of Patroklos is announced no fewer than eight times in the *Iliad*, but never to the hero himself or to other mortal characters'.

⁶ For thorough exposition and discussion see Hainsworth's commentary on Book 9 (Kirk, 1985-93).

the Trojans storming the wall, and leaves his patient to run to Achilles. Telamonian Aias and Teukros fight on until the clash between Hektor and Aias. Telamonian Aias, by this stage effectively replacing Achilles, rallies the Greeks as the Trojans approach the ships (15.674ff.). This is the situation at the end of Book 15.

Patroklos now comes to the fore once more. It should be noted that he is still distinguished, as before, by the patronymic *Menoitiades*. The episode opens with Patroklos reproaching Achilles, who responds in defiance, noting that their fathers, Menoitios son of Aktor and Peleus son of Aiakos, are still living (16.7-19). This is the first time Aktor has been mentioned, and there is still no hint of any connection between Menoitios and Peleus. Now Patroklos begs Achilles to lend him his armour (*τὰ σὰ τεύχεα* 16.40). The lines 16.36-43 are a neat and careful recapitulation of Nestor's words 11.794-801.

In 16.112-3 the poet pauses and invokes the Muse in order to describe the crisis. As the poet brings his audience to the *aristeia* of Patroklos, Aias is pivotal between Books 15 and 16 as he confronts Hektor; when his spear falls uselessly away he knows that Zeus is favouring the Trojans (16.114-21). Aias' spear falls to the ground, fire explodes from the ships, and instantly Achilles slaps his thighs and tells Patroklos to put on the armour (124-9):

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
μηρῶ πληξάμενος Πατροκλήα προσέειπεν·
“ὄρσεο, διογενὲς Πατρόκλεες, ἵπποκέλευθε·
λεύσσω δὴ παρὰ νηυσὶ πυρὸς δηΐοιο ἰωήν·
μῆ δὴ νῆας ἔλωσι καὶ οὐκέτι φνκτὰ πέλωνται·
δύσεο τεύχεα θάσσον, ἐγὼ δέ κε λαὸν ἀγείρω.”
then Achilleus
slapping both thighs said to Patroklos,
Up you go, god-born Patroklos, driver of horses!
I see the terrible glow of fire at the ships!
They mustn't take the ships and bring on what is no longer escapable!
faster! put on the armour! and I'll urge on my people.

The episode of the Arming follows. Patroklos dons breastplate, greaves and helmet—*τεύχεα*—as prefigured in 11.40. In addition to the armour there is also Peleus' spear, given to him by Cheiron (16.141-4=19.388-91). In 16.148-54 Achilles' horses are Xanthos and Balios, immortal, sired by the wind on Podarge, with Pedasos running alongside. These are designated as belonging to Peleus. They are a gift from the gods (16.380-3), and again in 867(=381):

... οὗς Πηληϊ θεοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα
... which as glorious gifts the gods gave to Peleus

In putting on the armour of Peleus, Patroklos does so not as Achilles' kinsman, but as his friend. The armour seals his fate, and his arming and *aristeia* then form the theme of Book 16. Patroklos, as the unlucky wearer of Peleus' armour, goes to his death in a way that prefigures the death of Hector,⁷ who dons the armour only to die at the hands of its owner.

The account of Patroklos' *aristeia* and death is a set piece distinguished by exceptional features. First, it is exceptional in the way the poet addresses him as

⁷ Malcolm Willcock, (Morris and Powell, 1997) 176-8, notes that the death of Patroklos in the *Iliad* is modelled on the death of Achilles in the *Aithiopsis*.

Πατρόκλεες ἵππευ: (20, 744, 787, 812, 843); also exceptional is the way the poet calls directly to him (16.692-3, 744, 787). This is new in this section and does not happen elsewhere in the poem. Then there seems to be confusion in the descriptions of various modes of fighting, such as the odd story of Pedasos.⁸ Antilochos, preparing Achilles' chariot for Patroklos, puts Xanthos and Balios to the yoke and adds Pedasos as trace-horse (16.153-4):

*τόν ῥά ποτ' Ἡετίωνος ἐλὼν πόλιν ἤγαγ' Ἀχιλλεύς,
ὄς καὶ θνητὸς ἐὼν ἔπεθ' ἵπποις ἀθάνατοισι.
The one that Achilles took when he sacked the city of Eetion,
running with immortal horses although he was mortal.*

Men fall beneath his wheels, and his horses are able to leap the ditch (16.380-83):⁹

*ἀντικρὺ δ' ἄρα τάφρον ὑπέρθρον ὠκέες ἵπποι
ἀμβροτοι, οὓς Πηληϊθεοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,
πρόσω ἰέμενοι, ἐπὶ δ' Ἔκτορι κέκλετο θυμὸς·
ἴετο γὰρ βαλεῖν τὸν δ' ἔκφερον ὠκέες ἵπποι.
and the swift horses leapt straight over the ditch,
the immortals, which the gods gave as a glorious gift to Peleus,
flying onward, and his longing urged him after Hektor,
eager to strike him; but the swift horses carried him on.*

Patroklos summons the Aiante (16.555-61). Then there seems to be a new thread of narrative, beginning at 16.692, an *aristeia* for Patroklos. So brilliantly does Patroklos fight that Apollo must intervene to prevent him from taking Troy there and then (16.698-9), and finally must strike him down (16.787ff.):

*ἐνθ' ἄρα τοι, Πάτροκλε, φάνη βιότιο τελευτή·
Then for for you, Patroklos, there appeared the end of your life*

The death of Patroklos and triumph of the victor (16.855-63) are vividly recalled at the death of Hector (22.361-9). For the current purpose we should note that at the conclusion of this episode Patroklos is still merely *Μενoitίου ἄλκιμος νῖός* while Achilles is referred to as *Ἀχιλλῆος ἀμύμονος Αἰακίδαο* (16.854), *Θέτιδος παῖς ἠὺκόμοιο* (16.860) and *ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο* (16.865), and no familial link is made between the two warriors. Even now, it is not made clear exactly who Patroklos is.

Aias Telamonios

Not even at this key point, or at any other point in the narrative, is anything made of a connection between Aktor and Aiakos and thus between Aias, Patroklos, and Achilles himself. In the Catalogue of ships Aias is *Τελαμώνιος Αἴας* (2.528) or simply *Αἴας* bringing ships from Salamis (2.557). Otherwise he is *Τελαμώνιος Αἴας* with or without the addition of *μέγας*, or *Αἴας μέγας* (9.169). There is no intimation that Peleus and Telamon were brothers. Patroklos is not mentioned in the Catalogue at all, and elsewhere his patronymic associates him with Menoitios. Nowhere in the *Iliad* is there any hint of a connection of these two with Peleus. The closest that the poet comes is the scene mentioned above, 11.764-805, and 16.15, where Menoitios is

⁸ Kurt Raaflaub's discussion 'Homeric Warriors and Battles: Trying to Resolve Old Problems' CW 101, 469-83, especially on chariots p. 482, is useful in this context.

⁹ This is not possible for Hektor's mortal horses (*Il.* 12.49-59) in spite of his earlier boast (8.179).

designated as son of Aktor.¹⁰ This Aktor is not to be confused with Aktor, father of Kteatos and Eurytos, mentioned in the Catalogue at 2.621.¹¹

To confuse the issue still more, after Aias' *aristeia* in Book 16 there is a short section (16.168-97) which contrasts with the Catalogue of ships, where Achilles is mentioned twice; the first is 2.681-88:

*Nῦν αὖ τοὺς ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον,
οἳ τ' Ἄλον οἳ τ' Ἀλόπην οἳ τε Τρηχίνα νέμοντο,
οἳ τ' εἶχον Φθίην ἠδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,
Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί,
τῶν αὖ πεντήκοντα νεῶν ἦν ἀρχὸς Ἀχιλλεύς.
ἀλλ' οἳ γ' οὐ πολέμοιο δυσηχέος ἐμῶοντο,
οὐ γὰρ ἔην ὅς τις σφιν ἐπὶ στίχας ἠγήσαστο·
κεῖτο γὰρ ἐν νήεσσι ποδάροχης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς...
Now those who inhabited Pelasgian Argos,
who ruled Alos and Alope and Trachis,
and who held Phthia and Hellas of the lovely women,
called Myrmidons and Hellenes and Achaians—
Achilleus was captain of their fifty ships.
But they had no thought of evil-sounding war,
for there was no one to lead them to the battle-ranks,
as swift-footed glorious Achilleus stayed among the ships...*

In this passage the Myrmidons are *not* among those who swarm along the shore at the behest of Athena; their leader has retired in anger to his tent. The entry itself is interesting as it is one of two, both referring to Achilles, that make direct reference to the content of the poem, the second being the entry for Telamonian Aias as best of the men while Achilles remained angry (2.768-79). This direct reference is exceptional; the Catalogue itself provides numerous contextual details about the raiders, for instance the account of Tlepolemos (2.653-70) or Philoktetes (2.716-25), but these are details external to the narrative of the poem, like the reference to the beauty of Achilles in the entry for Nireus (2.671-4).

The passage 16.168-97 on the other hand does have the style of an entry in the Catalogue:¹²

*Πεντήκοντ' ἦσαν νῆες θοαί, ἦσιν Ἀχιλλεύς
ἔς Τροίην ἠγείτο Διὸ φίλος...
There were fifty fast ships, which Achilleus,*

¹⁰ After Aigina bore Aiakos to Zeus, the tradition takes her to Thessaly, where she bore Menoitios to Aktor. The connection with Aiakos is noted by Eustathius, in Hom. p. 122. 44 sq. (Hesiod fr. 212 (a) M-W). Hainsworth, Kirk (1985-1993) vol. III, ad loc. pp. 288-9, supplies comment and references, noting 'if Homer knew this genealogy in any form he is careful to suppress it'. West (1985) pp. 162-3, notes this omission and suggests that 'this genealogy ... was drawn into and absorbed in the Trojan saga at a fairly late stage in the latter's development'.

¹¹ The name *Aktor* is found in different contexts: an Aktor is mentioned once as son of the mysterious Azeides (2.513). The only use of the patronymic Aktorides (16.189) refers to Echeekles. The Aktorione of Bouprasia are Amphimachos son of Kteatos, mentioned again 13.185, and Thalpios son of Eurytos (2.621). Then there are the Aktorione Molione 11.750. Bouprasia is mentioned again 23.631, Aktorione 23.638. Clearly the Catalogue and the accounts of the Aiakids were drawn up according to different, and separate, priorities.

¹² Janko, Kirk (1985-1993) vol. IV, pp. 339-44, closely analyses this section, as a 'well-disguised remodelling of a standard Myrmidon muster-list headed by Achilleus and his erstwhile kinsman Patroklos, whom Homer did not invent'.

beloved of Zeus, led to Troy...
τῆς μὲν ἰῆς στιχὸς ἦρχε Μενέσθιος αἰολοθώραξ...
υἱὸς Σπερχειοῦ...
Menesthios of the glittering corselet, son of Spercheios, led one rank...
Τῆς δ' ἐτέρης Εὐδωρος ἀρήϊος ἡγεμόνευε...
Warlike Eurydoros led the other...
τῆς δὲ τρίτης Πεισάνδρος ἀρήϊος ἡγεμόνευε...
and warlike Peisander led the third...
τῆς δὲ τέταρτης ἦρχε γέρον ἰππηλάτα Φοῖνιξ...
and the ancient horseman Phoinix led the fourth...

The passage begins with Achilles' fifty ships and five captains, but the material is oddly curtailed. The first captain is the otherwise obscure Menesthios, son of the river Spercheios and husband to Peleus' daughter. He is not to be confused with Menestheus, son of Areithoos (7.9). His marriage connections are given full credit (16.173-8). The next ship is under the command of the equally obscure Eudoros, son of Hermes and Polymele, who likewise is given full credit for his breeding (16.180-92). The last three inclusions are perfunctory by contrast: three lines for Peisandros, and only one line each for Phoinix and Alkimedon (16.196-7). The first three captains appear nowhere else in the *Iliad*,¹³ and Alkimedon's appearance is of short duration, in Book 17, where he is also apparently known as Alkimos.¹⁴

Given the anomalies noted so far, this section seems to be an attempt to offer the kind of detail lacking in Achilles' entry in the Catalogue itself, and even to give substance to the intrusion of Phoinix into the saga.

At this point, it may be useful to turn to lyric poetry.

Lyric poetry

Bacchylides records Aias' *aristeia* in Ode 13,¹⁵ composed for Pythias of Aigina in 485 or 483 BC: in 77 he refers to Aigina as daughter of Asopos, and invokes her and her offspring 94-104: [11]

ὦ

δέσποινα παγξε[ίνου χθονός,]
Ἐνδαΐδα τε ῥοδό[παχυν,]
ἄ το[.]. [. .]ων ἔτι[κτε Πηλέα]
καὶ Τελαμ[ῶ]να [κρᾶ]τ[α]ίων,]
Αἰακῶ μιχθεῖς' ἐν ἐν[νᾶ·

τῶν νῆας ἀερόσιμαχ[ους,
ταχύν τ' Ἀχιλλέα
εὐειδέος τ' Ἐριβοίας
παῖδ' ὑπέροθυμον βοά[σω
Αἴαντα σακσεφόρον ἦρ[ω...]
O [Aigina], mistress of a hospitable land,
I shall celebrate Endaïs of the rosy arms,

¹³ Peisander is not to be confused with the Peisander described in Book 11.122, 143 as son of Antimachos, but in 13.601ff. has no patronym; he is a Trojan apparently killed twice by Menelaos.

¹⁴ See Janko, Kirk, 1995, vol. 4, p. 344, and Edwards *ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 109-10. I think Janko is mistaken in referring to Alkimos as Achilles' charioteer vol. 4, p. 316; Alkimos/Alkimedon certainly helps Automedon yoke the horses, but ὁ δέ (19.395) clearly refers to Automedon (19.397).

¹⁵ Quotations are from the Snell/Maehler edition, 1970.

who gave birth to Peleus,
and mighty Telamon,
joined to Aiakos in marriage,
and their sons who stir up war,
swift Achilles,
and of lovely Eriboia
the spirited son swift in battle,
Aias, the shield-bearing hero...

This leads to the scene of Aias resisting Hector at the storming of the ships, and gives an account of Achilles' refusal to fight and its reason. The account follows that of the *Iliad* and makes direct reference to the episode in *Iliad* 15, explicitly referring, however, to the Aiakid connection. The Trojans will turn Scamander red, dying at the hands of the wall-toppling Aiakids: *Αιακίδαϊς ἐρεϊψ[ι]τοί[χοις]* (167).

It will be seen that Bacchylides takes for granted that Peleus and Telamon are sons of Aiakos. He notes as well the connection between Achilles and Aias, and later mentions Thetis as mother of Achilles (123). He does not, however, mention Patroklos.

Pythias, patron of Bacchylides, was also a patron of Pindar, who composed *Nemean* 5 for him, also on the subject of the Aiakids. Pindar only mentions Patroklos once, in *O.* 9, written for Epharmostos of Opous, the home of Menoitios, father of Patroklos. Pindar notes, *O.* 9.69, at the beginning of his compliment to Patroklos 70-9, that Menoitios, father of Patroklos, is the son of Aktor and Aigina. This detail does not appear in the *Iliad*. Menoitios belongs to the tradition linking Aigina to Aktor, brother of Aiakos, the father of Peleus. Hesiod, however, makes Menoitios and Peleus brothers, and Aiakos is generally considered the son of Zeus and Aigina. It is not surprising that it has been thought that Homer invented Patroklos.¹⁶

Finally, it should be noted that references to the Aiakids are scarce in the other lyric poets. Alkaios refers to Peleus as son of Aiakos fr. 120.5, Alkman mentions bragging Aias in fr. 60 and Aias and Memnon in fr. 71. Pindar and Bacchylides are exceptional, and it is important to note that these detailed references to the Aiakids are found in odes commissioned by citizens of Aigina.

Aigina

Above all, the dynastic connection between Aiakos and the island of Aigina does not exist in the *Iliad*. In the Catalogue Diomedes leads the ships from Aigina and Telamonian Aias those from Salamis. The name of Aigina itself, as Strabo notes, may refer to a place in Epidauros. In spite of this, Peleus has a powerful role in the structure of the *Iliad*, based on his connection with Thetis, his parentage of Achilles to the point of apparently sharing the patronymic *Aiakides*, and the influence of his armour and chariot team. The armour is talismanic, not always serving to the advantage of the wearer, and the horses themselves have a supernatural aspect, their immortality allowing them to cross the generations, and one of them endowed with speech and prophecy.

Conclusion

In short, Peleus is important to the compiler of the *Iliad*, but Aiakos is not. The *Iliad* is a fine example of Ionian epic, constructed to give prominence to Achilles;¹⁷ on the

¹⁶ See Janko, Kirk, 1995, vol. 4, pp. 313-4.

¹⁷ Geoffrey Horrocks, 'Homer's Dialect' (Morris and Powell, 1997), 193-216.

other hand the saga of the Aiakids belongs to the Dorian tradition, as Pindar notes repeatedly, as for example *Nemean* 3, written for Aristokleides of Aigina, line 3:

ἴκεο Δωρίδα νᾶσον Αἴγινα
Come to the Dorian island, Aigina

or *O.* 8.30:

Δωριεὶ λαῶ ταμεινομέναν ἐξ Αἰακοῦ...
Overseen by the Dorian people since the time of Aiakos...

This is the ode, written for Alkimedon of Aigina, that celebrates the myth of Aiakos assisting Apollo and Poseidon at the founding of Troy, the first in a series of Aiakid associations spanning three generations: the founding, then Telamon with Herakles in the first Trojan war, then Aias, Patroklos and Achilles in the second. The emphasis on the Aiakid line seems to be due to the requirements of Aiginetan sponsorship.

In the *Iliad* as we have it the poet looks forward, not back, from the third generation, and the Aiakid line has less significance. Patroklos is of no further importance. On the other hand Peleus is vital to the epic as the mortal who makes Zeus and the Hellenic pantheon secure. This, I suggest, is reflected in the use of the form *Πηληϊάδης*, used of Achilles in the first line of the epic and at important moments thereafter.¹⁸ The interest of the poet turns to the generations after Troy; as the son mightier than his father, Achilles adds his father's patronym to his own and as a Son of Aiakos comes to epitomise the temperament and virtues of the implacable warrior.

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¹⁸ These moments are: the invocation of the muse (1.1); when Agamemnon sends an embassy to Achilles' tent to bring away Briseis (1.322); another embassy to his tent (9.166) but this time to make amends; Patroklos exhorting the Myrmidons, companions to Achilles, son of Peleus (16.269), Zeus musing on the destruction of Achilles' protégé Patroklos (16.653), Patroklos forgetting the warnings of Achilles (16.686), as he must; Priam's errand to Achilles and conversation with Hermes (24.406, 431), and Hermes bringing Priam to Achilles' tent 24.448.

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