|  |  |  |
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|  |  |  *Introduction* |
|  *to Homer’s* |
|  *Iliad* |
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# Passages to Read

# (Outlines of the *Iliad*)

## Major Characters in the *Iliad*

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Pronunciation Key

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ă | pat | ī | pie | ōō | boot | ə | about, item |
| ā | pay | îr | pier | ou | out | ər | butter |
| âr | care | ŏ | pot | th | thin | œ | *Fr*. feu, *Ger*. schön |
| ä | father | ō | toe | *th* | this | ü | *Fr*. tu, *Ger*. über |
| ĕ | pet | ô | for, paw, hoarse | ŭ | cut | kh | *Scot*. loch, *Ger*. ich |
| ē | bee | oi | noise | ûr | term, firm | n | *Fr*. bon |
| ĭ | pit | ŏŏ | took | zh | vision, garage |  |  |

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| ***Name*****(*English*)** | ***Name*****(*Greek*)** | ***Pronun-ciation*** |  ***Etymology*** |

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| GREEKS |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| Achilleus (Achilles) | Ἀχιλλεύς | Äkhĭlyœs´ | “lipless” (never suckled/put lips to breast) or from *achos* (grief, because he caused so much) |
| Agamemnon | Ἀγαμέμνων | Ägämĕm´nōn | “very resolute,” “he who stands very fast” (*agan* very + *menes* resolve) |
| Aias(Ajax) | Αἴας | Ī´äs | from *aietos* (eagle: his father saw one before Aias’ birth), or “of the earth” (*aia*, poetic for *gaia* earth) |
| Antilochos | Ἀντίλοχος | Äntē´lŏkhŏs | “one in ambush against” (*anti* + *lochos* ambush) |
| Diomedes | Διομήδης | Dĭŏmā´dās | “divine ruler” (*dios* gen. god + *medon* ruler) or “divine cunning” (*dios* + *medos* cunning) |
| Idomeneus | Ἰδομενεύς | Ēdōmĕnyœs´ | from *idmon* (practiced, skilled, knowledgeable), or from *meneus* (might)? |
| Menelaos (Menelaus) | Μενέλαος | Mĕnĕ´läŏs | “withstanding men” (*meno* remain + *laos* people) or “might of the people” (*menos* force + *laos*) |
| Meriones | Μηριόνης | Mārĭŏ´nās | “divider” (*merizo* divide: an archer, so divide a target, or divide a prize [he won at archery in Patroklos’ funeral games]) |
| Moliones, the | Μολιονίδαι | Mŏlĭŏnē´dī | “they who come” (*molo* to come) or “battlers” (*molos* battle) |
| Neoptolemos | Νεοπτόλ­εμος | Nĕŏptŏl´ĕmŏs | “young warrior” (*neos* young + *ptolemos* war) |
| Nestor | Νέστωρ | Nĕs´tōr | “he who brings back safely” (*nes*- to save + -*tor* an agent) |
| Odysseus (Ulysses) | Ὀδυσσεύς | Ŏdœsyœs´ | “angry one” or “troublemaker” (*odyssomai* to be angry) |
| Patroklos (Patroclus) | Πάτροκλος | Pät´rŏklŏs | “glory of the father” (*pater* father + *cleos* glory) |
| Phoinix (Phoenix) | Φοῖνιξ | Foi´nĭks | “blood-red” (*phoinos*, probably referring to the moon) |
| Thrasymedes | Θρασυμή­δης | Thräsœmā´dās | “bold in plan,” “audacious” (*thrasu* bold + *mecho* make) |
| Tydeus | Τυδεύς | Tœdyœs´ | “fast one” (*thyo* rush along, dart along) |
|  |  |  |  |
| TROJANS |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| Agenor | Ἀγήνωρ | Ägā´nôr | “very manly” (*agan* very + *aner* man) |
| Aineias (Aeneas) | Αἰνείας | Īnā´äs | “praiseworthy” (*aineo* to praise) |
| Antenor | Ἀντήνωρ | Äntā´nôr | “anti-man” (*anti* + *aner* man) (a traitor, friendly to the Greeks?) |
| Automedon | Αὐτομέδων | Outŏmĕ´dōn | “independent ruler,” “one who rules himself” (*autos* + *medon* ruler) |
| Bellerophontes | βελλερο­φόντης | Bĕlərŏfŏn´tās | “slayer of Belleros” (a tyrant) (Belleros + *phone* murder), or “bearing darts” (*belos* dart + *phoreo* to bear) |
| Dolon | Δόλων | Dŏ´lōn | “craft,” “cunning” (*dolos*) |
| Glaukos | Γλαῦκος | Glou´kŏs | “gray-green” (*glaukos*, usually referring to the sea) |
| Hektor (Hector) | Ἕκτωρ | Hĕk´tôr | “defend,” “hold fast,” “uphold” (*echo*) |
| Pandaros | Πάνδαρος | Păn´dărŏs | “he who flays all” (*pan* all + *dero* to flay) |
| Paris | Πάρις | Pä´rĭs | “leather bag” (*pera*; exposed as an infant, suckled by a bear, retrieved in a leather bag by a shepherd) |
|  (Alexandros) (Alexander) | Ἀλέξανδρος | Älĕks´ändrŏs | “protector of men” (*alexo* repel + *aner* man) |
| Priam | Πρίαμος | Prē´ämŏs | from *priamai* (buy: as a child, he was ransomed from Herakles) |
| Sarpedon | Σαρπηδών | Särpādōn´ | from *harpage*, “seizure” (he abducted his mother Europa) |
| Sthenelos | Σθένελος | Sthĕn´ĕlŏs | “strong one” (*sthenos* strength) |
| Teukros (Teucer) | Τεῦκρος | Tyœk´rŏs | ‘craftsman” (*teucho* to make), or from *deuo* “to wet” |
| Troilos | Τρωΐλος | Trō·ē´lŏs | “Trojan,” “descendant of Tros” |
|  |  |  |  |
| PRO-GREEK GODS |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| Athene (Athena) | Ἀθήνη | Äthā´nā | “protectress” (Linear B *a*-*ta*-*na*; -*na* is a non-Greek suffix) |
| Hephaistos (Vulcan) | Ἥφαιστος | Hā´fīstäs | “made to shine” (*he*- [uncertain] + *phaino* shine + *istemi* make) |
| Hera (Juno) | epic Ἥρη,Ἥρα | Hā´rā | “protectress” (from *heros* hero but originally protector) |
| Herakles (Hercules) | Ἡρακλῆς | Hāräklās´ | “Hera’s glory” (*Hera* + -*cles* glory—though she had it in for him) |
| Hermes (Mercury) | Ἑρμῆς | Hĕrmās´ | from *herma* (rock, stone: as messenger, Hermes was god of roads; roads had frequent rock heaps [later busts] as shrines) |
| Thetis | Θῆτες | Thā´tĕs | “one who deposits” (*the*- is from *tithemi* put, make fast)? |
|  |  |  |  |
| PRO-TROJAN GODS |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| Aphrodite (Venus) | Ἀφροδίτη | Äfrŏdē´tā | “born of the sea” (*aphros* foam [of Ouranos’ genitals thrown in the sea by Kronos]), or “foam walker” (*aphros* + *eimi* to go), or from *aphrosune* (folly, thoughtlessness; *aphrōn* foolish) |
| Apollo | Ἀπόλλων | Äpŏl´lōn | “destroyer” (*apolluo* destroy, kill); or from Hittite god Apulunas; or from IE *apel*- (excite, procreate) |
| Ares (Mars) | Ἄρης | Ä´rās | from *aner* (man), *arren* (male), *arete* (prowess), *eris* (strife), or *era* (earth) |
| Poseidon (Neptune) | Ποσειδῶν | Pŏsādōn´ | “husband of Da” (earth goddess, became Demeter [q.v.]), or from *po*- (root for drinking and water, cf. “potion”) |
|  |  |  |  |
| OTHER GODS |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| Artemis (Diana) | Ἄρτεμις | Är´tĕmĭs | from *artemes* (safe, i.e. her virginity), or *temno* (cut up [animals]), or *ari* (very) + *Themis* (Titaness goddess of order) |
| Asklepios (Asclepius) | Ἀσκληπιός | Äsklāpēŏs´ | from *scallo* (stir up, originally “cut,” cf. scalpel), or from *scalapazo* (turn round and round, cf. the caduceus) |
| Ate | Ἄτη | Ä´tā | “delusion” (*ate*) |
| Eos (Dawn) | Ἠώς | Āōs´ | “dawn” (*eos*) |
| Demeter (Ceres) | Δημήτηρ | Dāmā´tār | “earth mother” (*de* [from *ge* earth] + *meter* mother) |
| Dionysos (Dionysus) | Διόνυσος | Dĭ·ŏ´nœsŏs | *dio*- (of the gods) + *neos* (new), or (less likely) *Dios* (gen. of Zeus, his father) + *Nysa* (city of his childhood) |
|  (Bacchos) (Bacchus) | (Βάκχος) | Bäk´khŏs | “shouting ecstatically” (*iacho* shout) |
| Hades | epic Ἀΐδης,Ἅιδης | Ä·ē´dās | “unseen” (*a*- not + *eido* see), or “everlasting,” “wearisome,” “horrible” (*aianes*) |
| Helios | Ἥλιος | Hā´lēŏs | “sun” (*helios*, from *hele* bright, hot) |
| Iris | Ἴρις | Ē´rĭs | “rainbow” (*iris*) |
| Muses | Μούσαι | Mōō´sī | from *men*- (whence *mnesis* memory, mind, required by poets) |
| nymphs | Νύμφαι | Nœm´fī | “bride” (*nymphe* young marriageable woman) |
| Okeanos (Oceanus) | Ὠκεανός | Ōkĕ·änŏs´ | “quick flowing” (*ocys* quick + *nao* flow), or related to Sanskrit *asayanas* (lying over against [because encircling land]) |
| Persephone (Proserpine) | Περσεφόνη | Pĕrsĕfŏ´nā | “bringer of death” (*phero* bring + *phone* murder), or “showerer (of fruit)” (*phero* bring + *phaino* shine) |
| Skamandros (Scamander) | Σκάμαν­δρος | Skä´mändrŏs | “limping man” (*skazo* limp + *aner* man, because many bends in the river); later called the “Maeander” (hence “to meander”) |
|  (Xanthos) | Ξάνθος | Ksän´thŏs | “yellow” (*ksanthos*) |
| Themis | Θέμις | Thĕ´mĭs | “law,” “right” (*themis*, from *tithemi* set, settle) |
| Zeus(Jove, Jupiter) | Ζεύς | Zœs´ | “sky,” “day,” “god” (*zeus*, cf. *deus* and *Diu* god + *pater* father) |
|  |  |  |  |
| WOMEN |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| Andromache | Ἀνδρομάχη | Ändrŏmä´khā | “she who fights men” (*aner* man + *mache* battle) |
| Briseis | Βρισηίς | Brĭsā·ēs´ | “she who prevails” (*britho* be heavy, outweigh) |
| Chryeis | Χρυσηίς | khrœsā·ēs´ | “golden girl” (*chrysos* gold) |
| Hekabe | Ἑκάβη | Hĕkä´bā | “influence from a distance” (*hecas* far off)? |
| Helen | Ἑλένη | Hĕlĕ´nā | “light,” “heat” (*hele*), or “taker of ships” (*helein* take + *naus* ship) |
| Kassandra | Κασσάνδρα | Käsän´drä | “man snarer” (*cassyo* concoct a plot + *aner* man) |

## Passages to Read in the *Iliad*

Read passages in regular typeface. Skip passages in italics.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *Passage:* | *No. of Lines**Included:* | *No. of Lines**Omitted:* |  | *Passage:* | *No. of Lines**Included:* | *No. of Lines**Omitted:* |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1.1-611 | 611 |  |  | *14.361-522* |  | *162* |
| 2.1-483 | 483 |  |  | 15.1-280 | 280 |  |
| *2.484-877* |  | *394* |  | *15.281-703* |  | *423* |
| 3.1-461 | 461 |  |  | 15.704-46 | 43 |  |
| 4.1-219 | 219 |  |  | 16.1-123 | 123 |  |
| *4.220-544* |  | *325* |  | *16.124-418* |  | *295* |
| 5.1-453 | 453 |  |  | 16.419-507 | 89 |  |
| *5.454-710* |  | *257* |  | *16.508-683* |  | *176* |
| 5.711-909 | 199 |  |  | 16.684-867 | 184 |  |
| 6.1-529 | 529 |  |  | *17.1-761* |  | *761* |
| *7.1-420* |  | *420* |  | 18.1-64 | 64 |  |
| 7.421-482 | 62 |  |  | *18.65-164* |  | *100* |
| 8.1-77 | 77 |  |  | 18.165-238 | 74 |  |
| *8.78-336* |  | *259* |  | *18.239-355* |  | *117* |
| 8.337-565 | 229 |  |  | 18.356-616 | 261 |  |
| *9.1-88* |  | *88* |  | 19.1-153 | 153 |  |
| 9.89-713 | 625 |  |  | *19.154-424* |  | *271* |
| *10.1-298* |  | *298* |  | 20.1-74 | 74 |  |
| 10.299-579 | 281 |  |  | *20.75-503* |  | *429* |
| *11.284-847* |  | *847* |  | *21.1-210* |  | *210* |
| *12.1-471* |  | *471* |  | 21.211-520 | 310 |  |
| 13.1-135 | 135 |  |  | *21.521-611* |  | *91* |
| *13.136-837* |  | *702* |  | 22.1-505 | 505 |  |
| *14.1-152* |  | *152* |  | *23.1-897* |  | *897* |
| 14.153-360 | 208 |  |  | 24.1-804 | 804 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  *Total Included*: |  7,536 |  |  |
|  |  |  *Total Omitted*: |  8,145 |  |  |

## Overview of the *Iliad*

Line numbers refer to Lattimore’s translation.

Do not read italicized sections.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1.1-303 | Chryses, priest of Apollo, asks for the return of his daughter Chryseis, now Agamemnon’s spoil of war; Agamemnon refuses. Apollo sends a plague on the Greeks; Agamemnon returns Chryseis but takes Achilleus’ war prize, the girl Briseis, to replace Chryseis. Achilleus withdraws from the war. |
| 1.351-611 | Achilleus asks his mother, the sea goddess Thetis, to ask Zeus to favor the Trojans, so the Greeks will see how necessary is Achilleus’ help. Zeus agrees. |
|  |  |
| 2.1-431 | Agamemnon tests the Greeks by suggesting they go home. |
| 2.432-483 | The Greeks assemble. |
| *2.484-785* | *listing of Greeks* |
| *2.786-877* | *listing of Trojans* |
|  |  |
| 3.1-120 | Paris and Menelaos decide to duel. |
| 3.121-258 | From the Trojan wall, Helen points out to Priam various Greek leaders. |
| 3.259-382 | Paris loses the duel but is rescued by Aphrodite. |
| 3.383-448 | Paris and Helen are in their bedroom. |
| 3.448-461 | Menelaos searches for Paris, and Agamemnon demands Menelaos’ winnings. |
|  |  |
| 4.1-67 | Zeus and Hera argue on Olympos. |
| 4.68-182 | Pandaros, a Trojan archer, wounds Menelaos. |
| 4.183-219 | Machaon treats Menelaos’ wound. |
| *4.220-421* | *Agamemnon marshals his troops*. |
| *4.222-544* | *The war resumes*. |
|  |  |
| 5.1-453 | Diomedes’ *aristeia* (a period when a single warrior dominates the battlefield) |
| *5.454-710* | *The Trojans advance and the Greeks retreat*. |
| 5.711-909 | Hera and Athene prompt Diomedes to wound Ares, thus stopping the Trojan advance. |
|  |  |
| 6.1-74 | The Greeks advance and the Trojans retreat. |
| 6.75-592 | Hektor with the Trojan women (includes Diomedes and Glaukos, 6.119-236) |
|  |  |
| *7.1-223* | *Hektor and Aias prepare to duel*. |
| *7.224-72* | *Hektor and Aias duel*. |
| *7.323-420* | *Greeks and Trojans negotiate a cease-fire*. |
| 7.421-482 | Both sides bury their dead, and the Greeks build a protective wall and ditch. |
|  |  |
| 8.1-77 | Zeus, warning the gods to stay out of the fighting, causes the Trojans to dominate. |
| *8.78-336* | *Fighting by individuals; the Greeks rally*. |
| 8.337-484 | The Trojans rally; Hera and Athene come to rescue the Greeks but are chastised by Zeus. |
| 8.485-565 | The Trojans build many watchfires. |
|  |  |
| *9.1-88* | *The Greeks post 700 sentries*. |
| 9.89-713 | The “embassy to Achilleus”: Odysseus, Phoinix, and Aias try to persuade to Achilleus to help. |
|  |  |
| *10.1-298* | *At a night council of Greek leaders, Diomedes and Odysseus volunteer to spy on the Trojans*. |
| 10.299-331 | At a night council of Trojan leaders, Dolon volunteers to spy on the Greeks. |
| 10.332-579 | Diomedes and Odysseus capture Dolon, learn of king Rhesos’ horses, and steal them. |
|  |  |
| *11.1-83* | *The battle is even*. |
| *11.84-283* | *The Greeks advance and the Trojans retreat: Agamemnon’s* aristeia. |
| *11.284-847* | *The Trojans advance and the Greeks retreat*. |
|  |  |
| *12.1-471* | *The Trojans breach the Greek wall*. |
|  |  |
| 13.1-135 | Zeus looks elsewhere, allowing Poseidon, disguised as the seer Kalchas, to rally the Greeks. |
| *13.136-837* | *Zeus supports the Trojans and Poseidon supports the Greeks*. |
|  |  |
| *14.1-152* | *Poseidon and the leaders rally the Greeks*. |
| 14.153-360 | Hera seduces Zeus. |
| *14.361-522* | *The Greeks dominate*. |
|  |  |
| 15.1-280 | Wrangling among the gods results in Trojan dominance. |
| *15.281-703* | *Through fierce fighting, the Trojans reach the Greek ships*. |
| 15.704-46 | Aias defends Protesilaos’ ship. |
|  |  |
| 16.1-100 | Patroklos asks Achilleus if, disguised in Achilleus’ armor, he might lead the Myrmidons in battle. |
| 16.101-123 | The Trojans set fire to Protesilaos’ ship. |
| *16.124-256* | *Patroklos prepares for battle*. |
| *16.257-418* | *Patroklos’* aristeia. |
| 16.419-507 | Patroklos kills Sarpedon. |
| *16.508-683* | *the fight for Sarpedon’s body* |
| 16.684-867 | Hektor kills Patroklos. |
|  |  |
| *17.1-761* | *the fight for Patroklos’ body* |
|  |  |
| 18.1-64 | Achilleus learns of Patroklos’ death. |
| *18.65-164* | *Thetis comforts Achilleus; Hektor struggles to capture Patroklos’ body*. |
| 18.165-238 | Achilleus routs the Trojans. |
| *18.239-355* | N*ight falls; the Trojans deliberate, the Greeks grieve*. |
| 18.356-616 | Achilleus’ new armor |
|  |  |
| 19.1-153 | Achilleus and Agamemnon reconcile. |
| *19.154-364* | *Agamemnon sends gifts; Briseis and Achilleus mourn Patroklos*. |
| *19.355-424* | *The Greeks move out*. |
|  |  |
| 20.1-74 | Zeus tells the gods they can help Greeks or Trojans as they please, and the gods pair off for combat. |
| *20.75-339* | *Achilleus and Aineias fight*. |
| *20.340-503* | *Achilleus’* aristeia *begins*. |
|  |  |
| *21.1-210* | *Achilleus’* aristeia *continues*. |
| 21.211-382 | Achilleus and the river Skamandros fight. |
| 21.383-520 | The pro-Greek and pro-Trojan gods fight. |
| *21.521-611* | *Achilleus continues to rout the Trojans*. |
|  |  |
| 22.1-505 | Achilleus kills Hektor and drags him around Troy. |
|  |  |
| *23.1-257* | *funeral rites for Patroklos* |
| *23.257-897* | *funeral games for Patroklos* |
|  |  |
| 24.1-804 | the ransom and funeral of Hektor |

## Outline of the *Iliad*

Line numbers refer to the Lattimore translation.

Do not read italicized sections.

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| 1.1-303 | Chryses, priest of Apollo, asks for the return of his daughter Chryseis, now Agamemnon’s spoil of war; Agamemnon refuses. Apollo sends a plague on the Greeks; Agamemnon returns Chryseis but takes Achilleus’ war prize, the girl Briseis, to replace Chryseis. Achilleus withdraws from the war. |
| 1.351-611 | Achilleus asks his mother, the sea goddess Thetis, to ask Zeus to favor the Trojans, so the Greeks will see how necessary is Achilleus’ help. Zeus agrees. |
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|  | Agamemnon tests the Greeks by suggesting they go home. |
| 2.1-15 |  Zeus sends Dream to Agamemnon, to tell Agamemnon that he can defeat Troy if he attacks now. |
| 2.16-34 |  Dream appears in the guise of Nestor and repeats the message to Agamemnon. |
| 2.35-47 |  Agamemnon awakens, dresses, and goes out. |
| 2.48-52 |  The Greeks are assembled. |
| 2.53 |  To the leaders, Agamemnon repeats the message: Troy will fall if attacked now. |
| 2.73-75 |  But Agamemnon proposes first to test the Greeks by urging them to flee to their ships. |
| 2.76-83 |  Nestor tells the other kings to agree to attack Troy. |
| 2.84-100 |  The Greeks are assembled. |
| 2.100-108 |  Agamemnon stands, holding his sceptre; the narrator lists previous owners of the sceptre. |
| 2.109-141 |  Agamemnon tells the Greeks that Zeus has betrayed him and that they should all sail home. |
| 2.142-154 |  The Greeks gladly prepare the ships to leave. |
| 2.155-165 |  Hera tells Athene to persuade the Greeks to remain. |
| 2.166-181 |  Athene tells Odysseus to persuade the Greeks. |
| 2.182-206 |  Odysseus, with Agamemnon’s sceptre, persuades the leaders and those shouting. |
| 2.207-210 |  The Greeks reassemble. |
| 2.211-242 |  Thersites tells Agamemnon the Greeks should leave. |
| 2.243-264 |  Odysseus speaks against Thersites. |
| 2.265-277 |  Odysseus whacks Thersites with Agamemnon’s sceptre; Thersites weeps, and the Greeks laugh. |
| 2.278-332 | Odysseus reminds the Greeks of their promise to Agamemnon, and of an event at Aulis: a snake ate a sparrow and her eight chicks, and Kalchas interpreted that to mean the Greeks would win after nine years (in the tenth year, which it now is). |
| 2.333-368 | Nestor urges staying, recalling Zeus’ lightning at his right as he left Argos. He urges Agamemnon to divide the army to fight by tribes. |
| 2.369-393 |  Agamemnon urges the Greeks to prepare for day-long fighting. |
| 2.394-401 |  The Greeks shout approval and individually sacrifice and eat supper. |
| 2.402-431 |  Agamemnon and seven leaders sacrifice to Zeus and feast. |
| 2.432-440 | Nestor recommends to Agamemnon that heralds assemble the Greeks. |
| 2.441-444 | The heralds assemble the Greeks. |
| 2.445-454 | Athene with the aegis sweeps through the army, making battle seem sweet. |
| 2.455-483 | The Greeks assemble on the plain of Skamandros. |
| *2.484-760* | *catalog of ships: the Greeks* (*the catalog mentions* “*29 contingents, 44 leaders* [“*of whom ten are killed in the course of the* Iliad*, three by Hektor,*” *34*]*, 175 named towns or other localities, 1,186 ships, and* . . . *about 100,000 men*”*—Willcock 22-23, 34*) |
| *2.761-785* | *catalog of men and horses* |
| *2.786-815* | *Iris warns the Trojans that the Greeks have amassed, and the Trojans assemble on the plain.* |
| *2.816-877* | *catalog of ships: the Trojans* |
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| 3.1-10 | The two armies face each other. |
| 3.15-20 | Paris challenges the Greeks. |
| 3.21-29 | Menelaos accepts Paris’ challenge. |
| 3.30-37 | Paris retreats. |
| 3.38-57 | Hektor rebukes him. |
| 3.58-75 | Paris tells Hektor he’ll fight Menelaos one-on-one, with victory in the war to go to the winner. |
| 3.76-94 | Hektor announces Paris’ offer to both armies. |
| 3.95-110 | Menelaos accepts the offer of single combat. |
| 3.111-115 | The armies dismount and remove armor. |
| 3.116-120 | Lambs for sacrifice are sent for. |
| 3.121-138 | Iris, disguised as Laodike, tells Helen, who is weaving, of the single combat. |
| 3.139-244 | Helen, with Priam and Troy’s elders at the Skaian gates, points out Agamemnon, Odysseus, Aias, and Idomeneus, but cannot see her brothers Kastor and Polydeukes. |
| 3.245-258 | A herald tells Priam that he is wanted on the plain to witness the oaths before combat. |
| 3.259-309 | Priam with Antenor meets Agamemnon and Odysseus, and the oaths, with sacrifices, are made. |
| 3.310-360 | Paris’ lot wins, so he throws his spear first, but neither succeeds in killing the other. |
| 3.361-368 | Menelaos hacks with his sword, but it breaks. |
| 3.369-382 | Menelaos strangles Paris by the helmet strap, but Aphrodite in a mist whisks him to his bedroom. |
| 3.383-426 | Aphrodite, disguised as an old woman, brings Helen to Paris. |
| 3.427-436 | Helen chastises Paris. |
| 3.437-448 | Paris suggests love-making and leads Helen to bed. |
| 3.448-461 | Menelaos searches for Paris, and Agamemnon demands Menelaos’ winnings. |
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|  | Zeus and Hera argue on Olympos. |
| 4.1-20 |  Zeus suggests to Hera that perhaps the gods could agree to send peace, thus saving Ilion. |
| 4.21-29 |  Hera says that Zeus can do it, but not all the gods will agree. |
| 4.30-49 |  Zeus agrees to let Hera destroy Ilion, but reminds her he will want to destroy a city someday. |
| 4.50-67 |  Hera agrees and urges him to make the Trojans be first to offend against the oaths (of 3.259-309). |
|  | Pandaros, a Trojan archer, wounds Menelaos. |
| 4.68-106 |  Athene, disguised as Antenor’s son Laodokos, persuades Pandaros to shoot an arrow at Menelaos. |
| 4.107-126 |  Pandaros shoots the arrow. |
| 4.127-152 |  Athene diverts the arrow so it barely wounds Menelaos. |
| 4.152-182 |  Agamemnon says Ilion will fall because the Trojans broke the oath; he warns of shame if Menelaos dies and the Greeks leave. |
| 4.183-207 | Agamemnon sends his herald to bring Machaon, son of Asklepios. |
| 4.208-219 | Machaon treats Menelaos’ wound. |
| *4.220-222* | *The war resumes*. |
| *4.223-230* | *Agamemnon marshals his troops.* |
| *4.231-239* |  *Agamemnon marshals the mounted Danaans.* |
| *4.240-250* |  *Agamemnon marshals those who hang back.* |
| *4.251-271* |  *Agamemnon compliments Idomeneus and the Kretans.* |
| *4.272-291* |  *Agamemnon compliments the Aiantes and their men.* |
| *4.292-325* |  *Agamemnon watches Nestor marshal his troops and compliments him.* |
| *4.326-348* |  *Agamemnon scolds Menestheus and his Athenians, and Odysseus beside the Kephallenians.* |
| *4.349-363* |  *Odysseus retorts angrily, and Agamemnon apologizes.* |
| *4.364-402* |  *Agamemnon scolds Diomedes, comparing him unfavorably to his father Tydeus.* |
| *4.403-421* |  *Sthenelos rebukes Agamemnon, but Diomedes silences Sthenelos.* |
| *4.422-456* | *The armies clash.* |
| *4.457-504* | *Kills by Antilochos (457-472), Telamonian Aias (473-489), Odysseus (489-504).* |
| *4.505-516* | *The Trojans retreat and the Greeks advance. Apollo rallies the Trojans, Athene rallies the Greeks.* |
| *4.517-538* | *Kills by Peiros (Trojan, 517-526) and Thoas (Greek, 527-538).* |
| *4.538-544* | *Summary of the slaughter.* |
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| 5.1-8 | Book 5’s subject is Diomedes’ *aristeia* (a period when a single warrior dominates the battlefield). |
| 5.9-26 | Diomedes kills Phegeus, but Hephaistos sweeps Phegeus’ brother Idaios away in darkness. |
| 5.27-36 | The Trojans are angry at Phegeus’ death, but Athene persuades Ares to stay neutral. |
| 5.37-83 | Kills by Greek leaders: Agamemnon (38-42), Idomeneus (43-48), Menelaos (49-58), Meriones (59-68), Meges (69-75), and Eurypylos (76-83). |
| 5.84-94 | Diomedes scatters the Trojans. |
| 5.95-105 | Pandaros shoots an arrow in Diomedes’ shoulder. |
| 5.106-132 | Sthenelos removes the arrow, Diomedes prays to Athene, and Athene heals Diomedes. Athene warns him to wound no god but Aphrodite. |
| 5.133-143 | Diomedes rages among the Trojans. |
| 5.144-165 | Diomedes kills 4 pairs of Trojans. |
|  | Diomedes and Sthenelos vs. Aineias and Pandaros |
| 5.166-178 |  Aineias urges Pandaros to shoot Diomedes with an arrow. |
| 5.179-216 |  Pandaros tells Aineias his bow is worthless: he has shot Menelaos and Diomedes, without harm. |
| 5.217-228 |  Aineias persuades Pandaros to ride in Aineias’ chariot. |
| 5.229-238 |  Pandaros insists that Aineias be driver, so Pandaros can fight Diomedes. |
| 5.239-250 |  Sthenelos sees the two Trojans coming and warns Diomedes to lessen his fighting. |
| 5.251-273 |  Diomedes refuses to flee, and urges Sthenelos to steal Aineias’ god-given horses if he can. |
| 5.274-296 |  Pandaros throws at Diomedes but does not wound; Diomedes throws and kills Pandaros. |
| 5.297-310 |  Diomedes’ boulder breaks Aineias’ hip. |
|  | Aphrodite intervenes and Diomedes wounds her. |
| 5.311-318 |  Aphrodite, Aineias’ mother, rescues him by enfolding him in her white robe. |
| 5.319-327 |  Sthenelos captures Aineias’ horses. |
| 5.328-351 |  Diomedes cuts Aphrodites’ hand; she drops Aineias, but Apollo rescues him. |
| 5.352-367 |  Iris leads Aphrodite to Ares. Ares loans Aphrodite his chariot, and the women go to Olympos. |
| 5.368-380 |  Aphrodite tells her mother, Dione, that Diomedes wounded her. |
| 5.381-417 |  Dione tells of other gods harmed by mortals, then heals Aphrodite. |
| 5.418-430 |  Hera and Athene tease Aphrodite, and Zeus gently tells Aphrodite to stick to love matters. |
| 5.431-445 | Diomedes attacks Aineias in Apollo’s hands four times, but Apollo warns him, and he retreats. |
| 5.445-448 | Artemis and Leto heal Aineias at Apollo’s Pergamos temple. |
| 5.449-453 | War rages round an image of Aineias that Apollo has made. |
|  | *The Trojans advance and the Greeks retreat.* |
| *5.454-459* |  *Apollo asks Ares to restrain Diomedes.* |
| *5.460-469* |  *Ares disguised as Akamas stirs the Trojans.* |
| *5.470-492* |  *Sarpedon chides Hektor that his relatives flee while his companions defend him.* |
| *5.493-511* |  *Hektor rallies the Trojans, and the armies clash.* |
| *5.512-518* |  *Apollo returns Aineias to the fighting.* |
| *5.519-532* |  *The Greeks rally.* |
| *5.533-540* |  *Agamemnon kills Deïkoön.* |
| *5.541-560* |  *Aineias kills Orsilochos and Krethon.* |
| *5.561-575* |  *Menelaos and Antilochos recover the bodies of Orsilochos and Krethon.* |
| *5.576-589* |  *Menelaos and Antilochos kill Pylaimenes and his charioteer.* |
| *5.590-626* |  *Hektor and the Trojans attack, and the Greeks give way; various kills.* |
| *5.627-667* |  *Sarpedon kills Herakles’ son Tlepolemos as Tlepolemos spears Sarpendon’s left thigh.* |
| *5.668-678* |  *Odysseus kills 7 Trojans.* |
| *5.679-688* |  *Sarpedon asks Hektor to defend him but Hektor enters the fray.* |
| *5.689-698* |  *A companion removes the spear from Sarpedon’s thigh.* |
| 5.699-702 |  Summary: the Trojans advance and the Greeks retreat. |
| 5.703-710 |  Hektor kills 6 Greeks. |
|  | Hera and Athene prompt Diomedes to wound Ares, thus stopping the Trojan advance. |
| 5.711-766 |  Hera and Athene ride a chariot to Zeus and ask if they may stop Ares. |
| 5.767-782 |  The goddesses come to the Greeks. |
| 5.783-791 |  Hera disguised as Stentor rallies the Greeks. |
| 5.792-834 |  Athene chides Diomedes to fight Ares. |
| 5.835-863 |  With Athene as charioteer, Diomedes spears Ares in the stomach. |
| 5.864-887 |  Ares at Olympos complains to Zeus. |
| 5.888-906 |  Zeus silences Ares but orders him healed. |
| 5.907-909 |  Hera and Athene return to Olympos. |
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| 6.1-4 | The battle swings back and forth. |
| 6.5-36 |  14 kills by 9 Greeks. |
| 6.37-65 |  Menelaos captures Adrestos, who begs to be ransomed; but Agamemnon dissuades Menelaos. |
| 6.66-74 |  Nestor rallies the men of Argos, and the Trojans retreat. |
|  | Hektor and the Trojan women |
| 6.75-86 |  Helenos, augur and Priam’s son, tells Hektor (his brother) and Aineias to rally the Trojans. |
| 6.86-101 |  Helenos tells Hektor to have their mother Hekabe gather women to propitiate at Athene’s temple. |
| 6.102-118 |  Hektor rallies the Trojans, then returns to Troy. |
|  | Diomedes and Glaukos |
| 6.119-143 |  Diomedes tells the Trojan Glaukos the story of Lykourgos’ blinding for opposing Dionysos. |
| 6.144-211 |  Glaukos tells Diomedes the story of his ancestor Bellerophontes. |
| 6.212-231 |  Diomedes tells Glaukos they are guests and friends and should exchange armor. |
| 6.232-236 |  Glaukos gets the bad end of the exchange, trading gold armor for bronze. |
|  | Hektor and the Trojan women |
| 6.237-241 |  The Trojan women ask Hektor about their men. |
| 6.242-250 |  Priam’s palace, with 50 rooms for his sons and 12 for his daughters, is described. |
| 6.251-262 |  Hekabe, Hektor’s mother, urges Hektor to rest and have wine. |
| 6.263-285 |  Hektor tells Hekabe to sacrifice to Athene and wishes Paris were dead. |
| 6.286-312 |  Hekabe and the Trojan women propitiate Athene. |
| 6.313-331 |  Hektor goes to Paris’ house and rebukes him. |
| 6.332-341 |  Paris accepts the rebuke and says he is coming to fight. |
| 6.342-358 |  Helen tells Hektor that she despises herself and Paris, and invites Hektor to rest. |
| 6.359-368 |  Hektor refuses. |
| 6.369-389 |  Hektor goes to his house, and the housekeeper says Andromache and his son are at the city wall. |
| 6.390-439 |  Andromache tries to persuade Hektor to defend Troy from inside the city. |
| 6.440-465 |  Hektor refuses and tells of his fear that Andromache will one day be enslaved. |
| 6.466-481 |  Hektor frightens, then plays with and prays for his son. |
| 6.482-502 |  Andromache returns home, mourning. |
| 6.503-592 | Paris meets Hektor at the wall, ready to return to battle. |
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| *7.1-16* | *Kills by Paris, Hektor, and Glaukos*. |
| *7.17-43* | *Athene and Apollo decide to cause one-on-one combat between Hektor and a Greek champion*. |
| *7.44-91* | *Helenos, overhearing Athene and Apollo, tells Hektor, and Hektor challenges the Greeks.* |
| *7.92-122* | *Menelaos intends to accept, but Agamemnon dissuades him.* |
| *7.123-160* | *Nestor shames the Greeks, recalling his own combat long ago with Ereuthalion.* |
| *7.161-189* | *Lots are cast for nine volunteers, and the lot falls to Aias.* |
| *7.190-223* | *Aias arms himself and the Greeks pray to Zeus.* |
| *7.224-272* | *Hektor and Aias fight with spears and stones*. |
| *7.273-312* | *Heralds stop the fighting at dusk*. |
| *7.313-322* | *Agamemnon hosts a sacrificial feast*. |
| *7.323-335* | *Nestor suggests that the Greeks ask the Trojans the next morning for time to cremate their dead*. |
| *7.336-344* | *Nestor suggests that the Greeks build a wall and a ditch with stakes to protect their ships*. |
| *7.345-353* | *In Troy, Antenor suggests that the Trojans return Helen to the Greeks.* |
| *7.354-364* | *Paris refuses but offers to return all the other possessions he took.* |
| *7.365-378* | *Priam suggests that at dawn a herald ask the Greeks for time to cremate the Trojan dead.* |
| *7.379-397* | *At dawn a herald tells the Greeks Paris’ offer and Priam’s request.* |
| *7.398-411* | *Diomedes and Agamemnon refuse Paris’ offer but grant Priam’s request.* |
| *7.412-420* | *The herald repeats the Greeks’ response.* |
| 7.421-432 | The Trojans and Greeks burn their dead. |
| 7.433-441 | The Greeks build the walls and the ditch. |
| 7.442-463 | At Olympos, Poseidon objects to the construction but Zeus pacifies him. |
| 7.464-482 | At night, the Greeks share wine and sleep. |
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| 8.1-40 | Zeus tells the gods to stay out of the fighting, and reminds them he is stronger than all combined. |
| 8.41-52 | Zeus drives his chariot to Mount Ida, above Troy. |
| 8.53-65 | The Greeks and Trojans battle all morning. |
| 8.66-77 | Zeus assesses both groups’ fates, and the Greeks’ side of the balance sinks. |
| *8.78-183* | *The Greeks flee; Hektor endangers Nestor, but Diomedes saves him, and Zeus saves Hektor.* |
| *8.184-197* | *Hektor urges his horses forward, that he might capture Nestor’s shield and Diomede’s breastplate.* |
| *8.198-211* | *Hera urges Poseidon to help the Greeks, but for fear of Zeus he refuses.* |
| *8.212-244* | *Agamemnon rallies the Greeks but prays that Zeus at least let them escape in their ships.* |
| *8.245-252* | *Zeus accedes and sends as sign an eagle that drops a fawn by Zeus’ altar. The Greeks rally.* |
| *8.253-272* | *Diomedes and 8 fellow champions lead the charge.* |
| *8.273-315* | *Aias protects his brother, the archer Teukros, as he kills 10 Trojans.* |
| *8.316-336* | *Hektor kills Teukros with a stone.* |
| 8.337-349 | The Trojans rally and press the Greeks against the ditch. |
| 8.350-396 | Hera and Athene drive their chariot from Olympos to rescue the Greeks. |
| 8.397-438 | Zeus sends Iris to warn back Hera and Athene, and they return to Olympos. |
| 8.439-484 | Zeus at Olympos chastens Athene and Hera, foretelling Patroklos’ death and Hektor and Achilleus’ encounter. |
| 8.485-565 | At night, Hektor commands the Trojans to build many watchfires, lest the Achaians sail away. |
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| *9.1-28* | *Agamemnon tells the Greek leaders that the Greeks should go home*. |
| *9.29-51* | *Diomedes tells Agamemnon he can go, but the Greeks will continue fighting*. |
| *9.52-78* | *Nestor advises Agamemnon to set sentries and to hold a feast for the Greeks*. |
| *9.79-91* | *700 sentries settle between wall and ditch, and Agamemnon hosts the Greeks*. |
|  | the embassy to Achilleus |
| 9.92-113 |  Nestor advises Agamemnon to make peace with Achilleus. |
| 9.114-161 |  Agamemnon agrees, listing the gifts he will offer. |
| 9.162-181 |  Nestor recommends Phoinix, Aias, and Odysseus as emissaries to Achilleus; all agree. |
| 9.182-224 |  The emissaries reach Achilleus, who greets and feeds them. |
| 9.225-306 |  Odysseus’ speech emphasizes the threat (225-251) and Agamemnon’s offered gifts (262-299). |
| 9.307-431 |  Achilleus refuses, questioning the heroic code. |
| 9.432-605 |  Phoinix tells: of his conflict with his own father (447-495); the Parable of the Prayers (502-512); and the story of Meleagros (529-599). |
| 9.606-622 |  Achilleus advises Phoinix to stay the night with Achilleus and the Myrmidons. |
| 9.622-642 |  Aias reminds Achilleus that even murderers are pardoned after paying the blood price. |
| 9.643-655 |  Achilleus replies that he will not fight again till Hektor fires the Greek ships. |
| 9.656-668 |  The emissaries leaves, and Achilleus, Patroklos, and Phoinix retire. |
| 9.669-694 |  Odysseus tells Agamemnon and the Greeks of Achilleus’ refusal. |
| 9.695-713 |  Diomedes advises Agamemnon to forget Achilleus, to sleep well, and to form for battle at dawn. |
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|  | (Book 10 is the *Doloneia*) |
| *10.1-71* | *Agamemnon and Menelaos decide to gather leaders for a council, while checking on the sentries.* |
| *10.72-136* | *Agamemnon gets Nestor.* |
| *10.137-179* | *Agamemnon and Nestor get Odysseus and Diomedes, and Diomedes gets Aias and Meges.* |
| *10.180-193* | *The sentries are found awake.* |
| *10.194-217* | *Nestor asks the council members (Agamemnon, Menelaos, Nestor, Odysseus, Diomedes, Idomeneus, Aias, Meriones, and Thrasymedes) who will volunteer to spy on the Trojans*. |
| *10.218-226* | *Diomedes volunteers but suggests that two spies would be better*. |
| *10.227-253* | *Agamemnon tells Diomedes to pick his companion, and Diomedes chooses Odysseus, who accepts*. |
| *10.254-271* | *Diomedes and Odysseus arm themselves*. |
| *10.272-298* | *After leaving, Odysseus and Diomedes pray to Athene*. |
| 10.299-312 | Hektor asks a Trojan council for a volunteer spy. |
| 10.313-331 | Dolon volunteers, so long as Hektor promises him Achilleus’ chariot; Hektor agrees. |
| 10.332-348 | Dolon arms himself and sets forth, but Odysseus hears him and tells Diomedes. |
| 10.349-381 | Odysseus and Diomedes chase Dolon, who finally stops and asks to be ransomed. |
| 10.382-445 | Odysseus questions Dolon, who tells the layout of the Trojan camp. Dolon mentions the special horses and chariot of Rhesos, king of the Thracians, who have recently joined the Trojans. |
| 10.446-468 | Diomedes kills Dolon, and Odysseus dedicates his armor to Athene, then hides it. |
| 10.469-525 | Diomedes kills Rhesos and 12 Thracians, while Odysseus frees the horses; they escape. |
| 10.526-579 | Pausing to recoup Dolon’s armor, Odysseus and Diomedes return and tell what happened. |
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|  | The battle is even. |
| *11.1-14* |  *Zeus sends Hate to inspire the Greeks to battle.* |
| *11.15-46* |  *Agamemnon puts on his armor, which is described.* |
| *11.47-55* |  *The Greeks form a line at the ditch.* |
| *11.56-66* |  *The Trojans form a line at the ditch.* |
| *11.67-83* |  *The lines clash as the gods look on.* |
|  | The Greeks advance and the Trojans retreat: Agamemnon’s *aristeia*. |
| *11.84-147* |  *Agamemnon kills three pairs of Trojans.* |
| *11.148-180* |  *Agamemnon leads the Greeks in a Trojan rout.* |
| *11.181-209* |  *Zeus sends Iris to tell Hektor that when Agamemnon is wounded, Zeus will empower Hektor.* |
| *11.210-217* |  *Hektor rallies the Trojans.* |
| *11.218-247* |  *Agamemnon kills Iphidamas.* |
| *11.248-263* |  *Koön wounds Agamemnon, who then kills Koön.* |
| *11.264-283* |  *Agamemnon returns to the Greek ships.* |
|  | The Trojans advance and the Greeks retreat. |
| *11.284-298* |  *Hektor rallies the Trojans*. |
| *11.299-309* |  *Hektor kills many fleeing Greeks*. |
| *11.310-335* |  *Odysseus and Diomedes stand against the Trojans, killing many*. |
| *11.336-400* |  *Diomedes kills 2 Trojans and stuns Hektor, but Paris hits his foot with an arrow, and he retires*. |
| *11.401-488* |  *Odysseus kills 6 Trojans but is wounded, and Aias and Menelaos rescue him*. |
| *11.489-497* |  *Aias kills 5 Trojans*. |
| *11.498-503* |  *Hektor and Paris are overcoming the Greeks (led by Nestor and Idomeneus) on the left flank*. |
| *11.504-520* |  *Paris wounds Machaon, the healer, and Nestor takes Machaon back to the ships*. |
| *11.521-530* |  *Kebriones, Hektor’s charioteer, advises moving from the left to the center*. |
| *11.531-573* |  *Aias slowly retreats*. |
| *11.574-594* |  *Eurypylos helps Aias but is wounded, and Aias and other Greeks defend Eurypylos*. |
| *11.595-616* |  *Achilleus sends Patroklos to see whom Nestor has brought back*. |
| *11.617-642* |  *Nestor and Machaon take refreshment*. |
| *11.643-802* |  *Patroklos arrives but declines to stay*. *Nestor tells him of a war between people of Nestor’s city of Pylos and Elis. He suggests that Patroklos wear Achilleus’ armor into battle*. |
| *11.803-847* |  *On his return to Achilleus, Patroklos encounters Eurypylos, wounded, and tends to him*. |
|  |  |
|  | The Trojans breach the Greek wall. |
| *12.1-33* |  *The narrator tells how the Greek wall, after the war, will be destroyed by the gods*. |
| *12.34-59* |  *Hektor presses the Greeks at their ditch*. |
| *12.60-79* |  *Poulydamas advises Hektor that the Trojans should leave their horses and advance on foot.* |
| *12.80-107* |  *The Trojans form five battalions and attack the Greeks.*  |
| *12.108-194* |  *Asios chooses to attack by chariot, but two Lapithai (Polypoites and Leonteus) resist him.* |
| *12.195-250* |  *A portent (an eagle bitten by the snake in its talons, which it drops) makes Poulydamas advise retreat.* |
| *12.251-264* |  *Hektor scorns Poulydamas and leads the charge against the Greeks’ wall.* |
| *12.265-277* |  *The two Aiantes rally the Greeks.* |
| *12.278-289* |  *Both sides volley stones.* |
| *12.290-328* |  *Sarpedon and Glaukos lead a Trojan attack on a gate.* |
| *12.329-377* |  *Menestheus, defender of the gate, sends for Aias and Teukros, and they come.* |
| *12.378-436* |  *Sarpedon weakens the gate, but the battle remains even.* |
| *12.437-471* |  *Hektor, throwing a massive stone, smashes in the center gate*. |
|  |  |
| 13.1-135 | Zeus looks elsewhere, allowing Poseidon, disguised as the seer Kalchas, to rally the Greeks. |
| *13.136-205* | *The Trojans attack, but the Greeks withstand them.* |
| *13.206-239* | *Poseidon, disguised as Thoas, encourages Idomeneus.* |
| *13.240-294* | *Idomeneus and Meriones discuss their valor.* |
| *13.295-332* | *Idomeneus and Meriones fight on the left flank.* |
| *13.333-344* | *The fight on the left flank is fierce.* |
| *13.345-360* | *Zeus supports the Trojans and Poseidon supports the Greeks*. |
| *13.361-454* | *Idomeneus’* aristeia*: he kills Othryoneus, Asios, and Alkathoös.* |
| *13.455-672* | *Greeks (Idomeneus, Meriones, Antilochos) vs. Trojans (Aineias, Deïphobos, Helenos, Paris).* |
| *13.673-764* | *Poulydamas prompts Hektor to gather the best Trojans for a concerted attack at the center of the wall; but those he looks for (Deïphobos, Helenos, Adamas, Asios, Othryoneus) are dead or wounded.* |
| *13.765-808* | *Hektor brings Paris, and the Trojans attack.* |
| *13.809-837* | *Aias and Hektor exchange words, and the Trojans and Greeks clash.* |
|  |  |
|  | the rallying of the Greeks |
| *14.1-26* |  *Nestor sees Greeks fleeing and the wall breached.* |
| *14.27-134* |  *Diomedes, Odysseus, and Agamemnon, all wounded, meet Nestor and decide to return to the battle.* |
| *14.135-152* |  *Poseidon, disguised as an old man, heartens Agamemnon, then the Greek troops.* |
|  | Hera seduces Zeus (“the deception of Zeus”) |
| 14.153-165 |  Hera conceives of seducing Zeus to divert his attention from the battle. |
| 14.166-186 |  Hera perfumes herself and dresses. |
| 14.187-223 |  Hera asks Aphrodite for desirability, telling her she is on her way to reconcile her quarreling step-parents, Okeanos and Tethys. Aphrodite lends Hera her passion-producing sash. |
| 14.224-279 |  Hera persuades Sleep to make Zeus drowse after she makes love to him. |
| 14.280-291 |  Hera and Sleep travel to Ida, where Sleep hides. |
| 14.292-351 |  Hera seduces Zeus. |
| 14.352-360 |  Sleep drowses Zeus, then tells Poseidon to rally the Greeks. |
| *14.361-387* | *Poseidon rallies the Greeks*. |
| *14.388-401* | *The armies clash*. |
| *14.402-439* | *Aias knocks Hektor out of commission with a rock, and he is driven back to the city*. |
| *14.440-507* | *Kills by Greeks and Trojans.* |
| *14.508-522* | *The Trojans retreat.* |
|  |  |
| 15.1-77 | Zeus awakens, sees Poseidon routing the Trojans, and accuses Hera; she swears she did not motivate Poseidon. Zeus sends her to get Apollo, to rouse Hektor, and to get Iris. |
| 15.78-112 | Hera at Olympos mentions in Ares’ hearing that his Greek son Askalaphos has been killed. |
| 15.113-142 | Athene persuades Ares not to rush to the Trojans to avenge Askalaphos. |
| 15.143-148 | Hera tells Iris and Apollo that Zeus wants them. |
| 15.149-167 | Zeus instructs Iris to tell Poseidon to desist from helping the Greeks. |
| 15.168-219 | Iris tells Poseidon, and he, quite angry, desists. |
| 15.220-235 | Zeus instructs Apollo to frighten the Greeks with Zeus’ aegis and to strengthen Hektor. |
| 15.236-280 | Apollo strengthens Hektor, who begins to rout the Greeks. |
| *15.281-305* | *On Thoas’ advice, the Greek champions face Hektor while the Greek rank and file to retreat.* |
| *15.306-327* | *The battle is joined, and the Greeks lose all heart.* |
| *15.328-342* | *Various Trojan kills.* |
| *15.343-389* | *The Trojans reach the ships*. |
| *15.390-405* | *Patroklos, still tending Eurypylos’ wound (11.803-847), sees the rout and heads for Achilleus*. |
| *15.406-413* | *The fighting by the ships is even.* |
| *15.414-435* | *Hektor and Aias contend.* |
| *15.436-483* | *Teukros kills Kleïtos and aims at Hektor, but Zeus breaks his bowstring.* |
| *15.484-514* | *Hektor stirs the Trojans and Aias stirs the Greeks.* |
| *15.515-591* | *Generalized fighting, with kills on both sides.* |
| *15.592-652* | *Hektor presses the Greeks but they resist him.* |
| *15.653-695* | *Nestor (653-673) and Aias (674-688) rally the Greeks, and Hektor (689-695) presses them.* |
| *15.696-703* | *The battle becomes fierce.* |
| 15.704-725 | Hektor reaches the ship of Protesilaos. |
| 15.726-746 | Aias defends the boats. |
|  |  |
| 16.1-100 | Patroklos asks Achilleus if, disguised in Achilleus’ armor, he might lead the Myrmidons in battle. Achilleus tells Patroklos to beat the Trojans back from the ships, but not to press them to Troy. |
| 16.101-123 | Aias’ weariness allows Hektor to behead his spear, and the Trojans set fire to Protesilaos’ ship. |
| *16.124-154* | *Patroklos, donning Achilleus’ armor, prepares for battle.* |
| *16.155-220* | *Achilleus prepares the Myrmidons for battle, with descriptions of their five battalion leaders.* |
| *16.220-256* | *Achilleus prays to Zeus for Patroklos’ safety.* |
|  | Patroklos’ aristeia. |
| *16.257-305* |  *Patroklos kills Pyraichmes, a leading Trojan, thus pressing the Trojans from the ships.* |
| *16.306-363* |  *Various kills by Greek champions, as the Trojans try to make a stand.* |
| *16.364-418* |  *Patroklos routs the Trojans, killing many*. |
|  |  Patroklos kills Sarpedon. |
| 16.419-430 |  Patroklos and Sarpedon square off. |
| 16.431-461 |  Zeus and Hera discuss whether Zeus should save Sarpedon. |
| 16.462-476 |  Patroklos kills Sarpedon’s charioteer, and Sarpedon kills Patroklos’ trace horse. |
| 16.477-507 |  Patroklos kills Sarpedon. |
|  |  *the fight for Sarpedon’s body* |
| *16.508-553* |  *Glaukon, after praying to Apollo, rallies the Trojans to defend Sarpedon’s body.* |
| *16.553-607* |  *The Greeks and Trojans battle evenly, with alternating kills.* |
| *16.608-631* |  *Meriones and Aineias miss each other.* |
| *16.632-643* |  *The battle above Sarpedon’s body is fierce.* |
| *16.644-665* |  *Zeus prompts Hektor to flee; the Trojans break, and the Greeks take Sarpedon’s armor.* |
| *16.666-683* |  *Zeus sends Apollo to transfer Sarpedon’s body to Lykia for burial.* |
| 16.684-711 |  Patroklos leads the Greeks to Troy’s walls, but Apollo beats him back. |
| 16.712-725 |  Apollo, disguised as Asios, tells Hektor to attack Patroklos. |
| 16.726-750 |  Patroklos and Hektor fight, and Patroklos kills Hektor’s charioteer, Kebriones. |
| 16.751-782 |  Greeks and Trojans battle over Kebriones’ body. |
| 16.783-867 |  Patroklos, struck by Apollo and pierced by Euphorbos’ javelin, falls to Hektor’s spear thrust. |
|  |  |
|  | *the fight for Patroklos’ body* |
| *17.1-60* |  *Menelaos, defending Patroklos’ body, kills Euphorbos.* |
| *17.61-139* |  *Hektor leads Trojans toward Menelaos, who, retreating, gets Aias; they force Hektor to retreat.* |
| *17.140-235* |  *Glaukos chides Hektor (140-168), who puts on Achilleus’ armor and leads the Trojan attack.* |
| *17.236-425* |  *The Greeks rally around Patroklos’ body, and the fighting is fierce and even.* |
| *17.426-455* |  *Achilleus’ horses mourn the death of their charioteer Patroklos.* |
| *17.456-542* |  *Hektor and Aineias try to take Achilleus’ horses, but Automedon, with help, saves them.*  |
| *17.543-581* |  *Athene, disguised as Phoinix, stirs Menelaos.* |
| *17.582-593* |  *Apollo, disguised as Phainops, stirs Hektor.* |
| *17.593-596* |  *Zeus shifts victory toward the Trojans*. |
| *17.597-625* |  *The Greeks are routed*. |
| *17.626-655* |  *Aias tells Menelaos to send Antilochos to Achilleus, informing him that Patroklos has fallen*. |
| *17.656-714* |  *Menelaos finds Antilochos and sends him to Achilleus.* |
| *17.715-761* |  *Menelaos and Meriones retreat with Patroklos’ body while the Aiantes protect them.* |
|  |  |
| 18.1-21 | Antilochos tells Achilleus of Patroklos’ death. |
| 18.22-64 | Achilleus grieves; Thetis and the Nereids grieve. |
| *18.65-126* | *Thetis comes to Achilleus and comforts him.* |
| *18.127-147* | *Thetis tells Achilleus she will be back with new armor for him, and leaves for Olympos.* |
| *18.148-164* | *Hektor struggles to capture Patroklos’ body.* |
| 18.165-201 | Hera sends Iris to urge Achilleus to retrieve Patroklos’ body. |
| 18.202-238 | Achilleus cries out and routs the Trojans, and the Greeks bring Patroklos’ body to the ships. |
| *18.239-314* | *Night falls; Poulydamas wants the Trojans to fight from Troy, but Hektor urges staying by the ships.* |
| *18.314-355* | *Achilleus and the Myrmidons grieve for Patroklos and prepare his body.* |
|  | Achilleus’ new armor |
| 18.356-467 |  Zeus and Hera argue; Thetis goes to Hephaistos and asks him to make Achilleus new armor. |
| 18.468-477 |  Hephaistos prepares to make Achilleus’ armor. |
| 18.478-607 | the shield of Achilleus, decorated with scenes of: earth and sky (483-489); the two cities (city at peace, 491-508; city at war, 509-540); activities of country life (ploughing, 541-549; reaping, 550-560; vintage, 561-571); further scenes of country life (cattle, 573-586; sheep, 587-589; dance, 590-605; ocean, 606-607) |
| 18.608-616 |  Hephaistos makes Achilleus’ breastplate, helmet, and greaves; Thetis leaves with it all. |
|  |  |
| 19.1-39 | Thetis gives Hephaistos’ armor to Achilleus and urges him to reconcile with Agamemnon. |
| 19.40-153 | Achilleus and Agamemnon reconcile; Agamemnon attributes his error to Delusion (*Ate*). |
| *19.154-237* | *Odysseus urges that the Greeks eat before fighting; Agamemnon agrees, but Achilleus is impatient.* |
| *19.238-249* | *Odysseus and Nestor’s sons bring Agamemnon’s promised gifts to Achilleus.* |
| *19.249-268* | *Agamemnon, sacrificing a boar, swears he has not touched Briseis.* |
| *19.268-281* | *Achilleus accepts the gifts.* |
| *19.282-302* | *Briseis mourns Patroklos.* |
| *19.302-339* | *Achilleus refuses to eat and mourns Patroklos.* |
| *19.340-355* | *Zeus has Athene put nectar and ambrosia in Achilleus’ breast, to prevent weakness.* |
| *19.355-364* | *The Greeks move out from the ships.* |
| *19.364-391* | *Achilleus puts on Hephaistos’ armor*. |
| *19.392-424* | *Achilleus’ chariot is readied, and Achilleus converses with his horse Xanthos*. |
|  |  |
| 20.1-40 | Zeus tells the gods they can help Greeks or Trojans as they please. |
| 20.41-74 | After joining the Greeks and Trojans, the gods pair off in combat. |
| *20.75-111* | *Apollo, disguised as Lykaon, strengthens Aineias against Achilleus*. |
| *20.112-155* | *Hera wants to fight for Achilleus, but Poseidon advises watching; the gods all take their seats*. |
| *20.156-258* | *Achilleus and Aineias trade speeches*. |
| *20.259-287* | *Achilleus and Aineias trade spear casts*. |
| *20.289-339* | *Poseidon rescues Aineias*. |
| *20.340-362* | *Achilleus rallies the Greeks.* |
| *20.363-380* | *Hektor rallies the Trojans.* |
|  | *an* aristeia *of Achilleus* |
| *20.381-418* |  *Achilleus kills 4 Trojans, including Hektor’s youngest brother.* |
| *20.419-454* |  *Hektor faces Achilleus, but Apollo rescues him.* |
| *20.455-489* |  *Achilleus kills 10 Trojans.* |
| *20.490-503* |  *general description of Achilleus’ attack* |
|  |  |
| *21.1-33* | *Achilleus pursues half of the Trojans into the river Skamandros; he kills many and captures 12 youths as a later sacrifice for Patroklos’ death*. |
| *21.34-135* | *Achilleus kills Lykaon*. |
| *21.136-204* | *Achilleus kills Asteropaios*. |
| *21.205-210* | *Achilleus kills 7 Paionians*. |
| 21.211-327 | The river Skamandros attacks Achilleus. |
| 21.328-382 | At Hera’s bidding, Hephaistos aims fire on the Trojan corpses, then Skamandros; Skamandros yields.  |
|  | the theomachy (the fight between the pro-Greek and the pro-Trojan gods) |
| 21.383-414 |  Athene bests Ares. |
| 21.415-434 |  Aphrodite helps Ares, and Athene chastises Aphrodite |
| 21.435-469 |  Poseidon challenges Apollo, who declines; Artemis chastises him. |
| 21.470-496 |  Hera boxes Artemis’ ears, and she flees. |
| 21.497-504 |  Hermes suggests to Leto that they not fight; Leto retrieves Artemis’ bow and arrows. |
| 21.505-513 |  Artemis goes to Zeus on Olympos to complain about Hera, but he is only amused. |
| 21.514-520 |  Apollo goes to Troy and the other gods return to Olympos. |
| *21.520-525* | *Achilleus continues to rout the Trojans*. |
| *21.526-543* | *Priam has the gates opened as Achilleus presses the Trojans toward Troy*. |
| *21.544-598* | *Agenor turns and casts at Achilleus, but Apollo rescues Agenor.* |
| *21.599-611* | *Achilleus chases Apollo, disguised as Agenor, allowing the Trojans to escape inside the city*. |
|  |  |
| 22.1-6 | The Trojans recover in the city, but Hektor remains outside the gates. |
| 22.6-24 | Apollo reveals himself to Achilleus, who returns to Troy. |
| 22.25-78 | Priam entreats Hektor not to fight Achilleus. |
| 22.79-89 | Hekabe entreats Hektor. |
| 22.90-130 | Hektor debates whether to retreat to the city, make a deal with Achilleus, or fight; he chooses to fight. |
| 22.131-138 | As Achilleus approaches, Hektor flees. |
| 22.139-166 | Achilleus chases Hektor around the city three times (“three times” is accidentally omitted from 165). |
| 22.167-187 | Zeus wants to rescue Hektor, but permits Athene to do as she wills. |
| 22.188-223 | Achilleus continues chasing Hektor. Zeus weighs their lives: Hektor’s sinks toward death. |
| 22.224-247 | Athene, disguised as Hektor’s brother Deïphobos, persuades Hektor they can stand against Achilleus. |
| 22.248-259 | Hektor swears to Achilleus that, if he wins, he will give Achilleus’ body to the Greeks. |
| 22.260-272 | Achilleus refuses to make the same oath. |
| 22.273-277 | Achilleus make a vain spearcast, but Athene returns Achilleus’ spear without Hektor’s knowledge. |
| 22.278-305 | Hektor makes a vain spearcast, turns to Deïphobos for another, and realizes Athene has tricked him. |
| 22.306-329 | Achilleus and Hektor close, and Achilleus spears Hektor through the neck. |
| 22.330-354 | Hektor pleads that his body be sold to Priam for ransom, but Achilleus refuses. |
| 22.355-375 | Hektor dies, and many Greeks stab him and mock him. |
| 22.376-394 | Achilleus proposes attacking the Trojans, but decides to bury Patroklos first. |
| 22.395-404 | Achilleus decides to drag Hektor by the heels behind a chariot. |
| 22.405-429 | Priam mourns Hektor. |
| 22.430-436 | Hekabe mourns Hektor. |
| 22.437-505 | Andromache learns of the tragedy and mourns Hektor. |
|  |  |
|  | funeral rites for Patroklos |
| *23.1-23* |  *Achilleus and the Myrmidons ride round Patroklos’ body three times.* |
| *23.24-56* |  *Achilleus lays Hektor beside Patroklos’ bier. At Agamemnon’s hut, Achilleus refuses bathing till Patroklos’ burning the next morning; he provides the funeral feast.* |
| *23.57-107* |  *Patroklos’ ghost appears to Achilleus, sleeping on the beach, and asks that his burial be quick and that his ashes be in the same urn as Achilleus’.* |
| *23.108-126* |  *In the morning, the Greeks hew down trees for the pyre.* |
| *23.127-137* |  *The Myrmidons carry Patroklos in procession, putting locks of their hair on him.* |
| *23.138-153* |  *Achilleus cuts a long lock and puts it in Patroklos’ hands.* |
| *23.154-163* |  *At Achilleus’ prompting, Agamemnon dismisses all but the Myrmidons and the Greek leaders.* |
| *23.164-183* |  *The pyre is built, and Achilleus loads it with sacrifices: oil, honey, dogs, sheep, cattle, horses, and twelve Trojan youths.* |
| *23.184-191* |  *Aphrodite and Apollo protect Hektor’s corpse from being eaten or decomposing.* |
| *23.192-215* |  *Iris takes Achilleus’ prayer to the winds Boreas and Zephyros, and they make the pyre blaze.* |
| *23.216-225* |  *Achilleus pour libations of wine by the blaze throughout the night.* |
| *23.226-257* |  *At dawn the blaze dies down; Achilleus, after a brief sleep, has the leaders put Patroklos’ ashes in a golden urn and build a burial mound over the pyre.* |
|  | funeral games for Patroklos |
| *23.257-61* |  *Achilleus brings out prizes for the funeral games*. |
| *23.261-650* |  *two-horse chariot race. The contestants are Eumelos, Diomedes, Menelaos, Antilochos (at length advised by his father, Nestor, 306-350), and Meriones. The winners (in order) are: Diomedes, Antilochos, Menelaos*. |
| *23.651-699* |  *boxing. The contestants are Epeios and Euryalos. The winner is Epeios*. |
| *23.700-739* |  *wrestling. The contestants are Aias and Odysseus. Achilleus declares the contest a draw*. |
| *23.740-797* |  *foot race. The contestants are Aias son of Oïleus, Odysseus, and Antilochos. The winner is Odysseus*. |
| *23.798-825* |  *fight in armor. The contestants are Aias and Diomedes. The Greeks stop the fight, but Achilleus gives first prize to Diomedes*. |
| *23.826-849* |  *discus* (*a shotput, but thrown by whirling*). *The contestants are Polypoites, Leonteus, Aias, and Epeios. The winner is Polypoites*. |
| *23.850-883* |  *archery. The contestants are Teukros and Meriones. The winner is Meriones*. |
| *23.884-897* |  *spear throwing. The contestants are Agamemnon and Meriones. Achilleus recommends that Agamemnon, whom all acknowledge as best, graciously give first prize to Meriones, and he does*. |
|  |  |
|  | the ransom and funeral of Hektor |
|  |  Priam goes to Achilleus to ransom the body |
| 24.1-21 |  Through the night Achilleus grieves for Patroklos, dragging Hektor’s body round his grave mound. |
| 24.23-54 |  Twelve days after Hektor’s death, Apollo suggests that the gods steal Hektor’s body and return it. |
| 24.55-63 |  Hera disagrees. |
| 24.64-119 |  Zeus sends Iris to bring Thetis; he sends Thetis to Achilleus, to tell him to accept ransom for Hektor. |
| 24.120-142 |  Thetis gives Achilleus the message, and Achilleus acquiesces. |
| 24.142-188 |  Zeus sends Iris to Priam, to tell him to ransom Hektor. |
| 24.189-227 |  Priam enters the storeroom; Hekabe, hating Achilleus, fears for Priam but cannot dissuade him. |
| 24.228-237 |  Priam gathers gifts for Achilleus. |
| 24.237-264 |  Priam in his grief rails at his remaining nine sons, grieving for his three dead ones. |
| 24.265-281 |  The wagon and its mules are prepared; a chariot and horses are prepared for Priam. |
| 24.281-298 |  Hekabe advises Priam to pour a libation to Zeus and ask for an eagle as a propitious sign. |
| 24.299-321 |  Priam prays, and Zeus sends the eagle. |
| 24.322-331 |  At night, with only his herald Idaios as wagon driver, Priam leaves Troy. |
| 24.331-348 |  Zeus tells Hermes to prevent the Greeks from seeing Priam; Hermes goes. |
| 24.349-439 |  Hermes, disguised as Achilleus’ charioteer, approaches Priam on the plain. |
| 24.440-468 |  Hermes guides Priam to Achilleus. |
|  |  Priam with Achilleus |
| 24.469-512 |  Priam entreats Achilleus to let Priam ransom Hektor’s body, and both weep. |
| 24.513-551 |  Achilleus sympathizes with Priam, referring to Zeus’ two urns of happiness and sorrow. |
| 24.552-571 |  Priam refuses the chair Achilleus offers, and Achilleus shows anger; so Priam acquiesces. |
| 24.572-595 |  Achilleus’ attendants Automedon and Alkimos unload the ransom, and servant girls prepare Hektor’s body. Achilleus loads the body and asks Patroklos’ forgiveness for returning it. |
| 24.596-620 |  Achilleus invites Priam to eat, reminding him of Niobe, who ate though her 12 children died.  |
| 24.621-632 |  They eat, and gaze at each other in wonder. |
| 24.633-655 |  Priam requests a place to sleep, and Achilleus has it prepared. |
| 24.656-676 |  Achilleus asks how long the funeral will be; Priam requests 12 days; Achilleus grants it. All sleep. |
|  |  Priam’s return to Troy and Hektor’s funeral |
| 24.677-694 |  Hermes wakens Priam and drives Priam and Idaios into the plain. |
| 24.695-708 |  Kassandra sees Priam returning and alerts the Trojans. |
| 24.709-722 |  The Trojans mourn Hektor at the gate, then mourn beside a bed in the palace where he lies. |
| 24.723-746 |  Andromache addresses a speech to Hektor, mentioning the probable fate of their son. |
| 24.747-760 |  Hekabe addresses a speech to Hektor, mentioning the gods’ love of him and his handsomeness. |
| 24.761-776 |  Helen addresses a speech to Hektor, mentioning his consistent kindness to her. |
| 24.777-787 |  The Trojans gather timber for nine days for the funeral, then light Hektor’s pyre. |
| 24.788-804 |  Hektor’s bones are put in an urn and the urn buried under a mound; Priam hosts the funeral feast for all in his palace. |

# Background for the *Iliad*

## Maps for the *Iliad*

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| Aegean |
| 120 Homer map 02 W Anatolia |

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| 130 Homer map 03 Troad |
| 140 Homer map 04 Troy |

## Historical Background to the *Iliad*

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*the bronze age* (3000-1200)

 *the chalcolithic age* (copper-stone age), first stage of the bronze age

 6500 copper is used in E Anatolia for small precious objects

 3500 cast copper tools and weapons are a factor in urbanizing Mesopotamia

 by 3000 copper use has extended into the Mediterranean and begins to enter Europe

 3000 *the bronze age proper* (bronze is a copper-tin alloy)

 increased specialization

 invention of the wheel

 invention of the ox-drawn plow

*Minoan civilization*

 4000 The Minoan (pre-Hellenic) civilization “be­gins in the Neolithic stage at about 4000 b.c. . . .” [20] Minoans “were of the slight, dark-skinned, black-haired ‘Mediterranean’ stock which originated in North Africa.” (Kitto 20-21)

 2800 Minoan civilization “has reached the Bronze Age by 2800, and thereupon flourishes . . . this civilization was one of great elegance, vigour, gaiety and material well-being [20] . . . a gay, aristocratic culture, with hunting, bull-baiting and ac­ro­batics well to the fore.” (Kitto 20-21)

 3000-1400 Crete, and especially its capital Knossos, is “the centre of a brilliant civilization which gradually [spreads] over the Aegean world.” [17] Minoan civilization “be­gins in Cnossos, then spreads to other sites in Crete, then gradually to the islands of the Aegean and to many parts not only of southern and central Greece but also to the coasts of Asia Minor . . .” (Kitto 20)

 1700 Linear A develops, a Cretan writing system that represents a still-undeciphered non-Greek language. (Mallory 69)

 1500 The volcano on the island of Thera erupts (origin of the Atlantis legend?). Earthquakes shatter Knossos, and tsunamis wrack N Crete and probably Greece. But Minoan culture soon recovers. (Hood & Vermeule)

*the Achaeans* (1800-1450)

 1800-1600 “. . . the first Achaean peoples (the name usually given to these early Greek-speakers) . . . came down into Attica [the territory controlled by Athens] and the Peloponnese and established towns and cities there . . .” (Roberts 96)

 Whereas the Minoans depicted themselves with “dark hair . . . and slender figures.” (Hood & Vermeule), Homer describes the Achaeans as “brown-haired” (Kitto 22), and their graves have “tall, rugged skeletons with large hands and feet . . .” (Hood & Vermeule)

 Proofs of the invasion: many Minoan sites are destroyed and abandoned; houses with semicircular ends appear—first in the Balkans, then in W Anatolia, then in S Greece; perforated stone battle-axes appear; Minyan ware (pottery) appears. (Mallory 70)

 Their “deities were predominantly male.” [18] “. . . it is roughly true to say that the god-conception is European and the goddess-conception Mediterranean; the goddesses come down in straight descent from Minoan Crete.” [20] (Kitto 18, 20) “Athene,” “Hera,” and “Aphrodite” are non-Greek names. (Mallory 67)

 Mainland Greece reverts to a much simpler agricultural society. But Crete escapes the destructions. (Mallory 70-71)

 In Albania (NW of Greece) the horse appears. (Mallory 70)

 In the simpler agricultural society, at first impoverished graves inside settlements are typical.

 But later, status burials under a tumulus indicate a jump in social complexity. (Mallory 69)

*the Mycenaeans* (1450-1100) (“the period which we call Mycenaean [was] about 1400-1200 bc.” Griffin 7)

 by 1450 The Achaeans evolve into the Mycenaeans; perhaps new Greeks arrive also.

 The Mycenaeans have a warrior aristocracy, based upon horse (now in Greece) and chariot. [69] Burials are now in rich shaft graves containing swords and body shields. (Mallory 69-70)

 Great citadels (palaces) becomes the centers of Myceanaean chiefdoms. (Mallory 69) Principal sites are Mycenae, Pylos, Argos, and Athens. (Kitto 18) (Mycenae, in NE Peloponnesus, was, according to legend, Agamemnon’s capital. Pylos was in W Peloponnesus. Argos, in NE Peloponnesus, was powerful until the rise of Sparta. *American Heritage Dictionary*, q.v.)

 1450 The Mycenaeans invade Crete: “sites in central and southern Crete were destroyed by fire. Destruction was not confined to palaces and towns but extended to country houses, farms, and rural shrines. Many settlements were never inhabited again . . . [That palaces] were not rebuilt suggests a total overthrow of the existing social order.” (Hood & Vermeule)

 1400 The Mycenaeans burn Knossos; it never recovers.

 during 1300s Linear B, a syllabic script, develops from Linear A. 3000 clay tablets from Mycenae, Pylos, and Knossos are the earliest recorded Greek. (Mallory 69)

 *an inscription in Linear B* (Mallory 67):

Linear B 

Transliteration pu-ro i-je-re-ja do-e-ra e-ne-ka ku-ru-so-jo i-je-ro-jo woman14+

Greek πύλος ἱερείāς δοέλαι ἕνεκα χρυσοῖο ἱεροῖο woman14+

Transliteration Pylos hiereias doelai heneka khrysoio hieroio woman 14+

Translation Pylos: priestess’ slaves on account of gold sacred 14+ women

 *the date of the Trojan War*:

 1260-1240 Troy VIIa (probably the Troy of the Trojan War) is captured, looted, and burnt. (“Troy”)

 1200 “. . . the Siege of Troy took place about 1200 bc.” (Roberts 98)

 1184 “When Greeks became scholars and historians, centuries after Homer’s time, they discussed the date of the fall of Troy; 1184 bc was the year most generally accepted.” (Griffin 2)

*the iron age* (1200-700)

 3000 in the Middle East iron is used as a scarce and precious metal

 1200-1000 rapid and widespread export of the knowledge of iron metallurgy

*the Greek dark age* (1200-900)

 1200-900 “The period between the catastrophic end of the Mycenaean civilization and about 900 BC is often called a Dark Age.” (Hamilton)

 pre-1200 “Toward the end of the 13th century, the mainland palaces were burned” (Hood & Vermeule), resulting in the collapse of Mycenaean civilization. (Mallory 66)

 The reasons for the dark age are unknown, but possible reasons include:

 “climatic change and drought, harvest failure, starvation, epidemic” (Hood & Vermeule)

 “the breaking off of trade with the east after the clash of the Hittites and Egyptians at the Battle of Kadesh [in 1275]” (Hood & Vermeule)

 “civic unrest . . . general frictions caused by universally failing economies and alliances” (Hood & Vermeule)

 iron weapons put arms in the hands of the masses for the first time and set off a series of large-scale movements of peoples

 “roving piratical bands of both local peoples and immigrants around the coasts of the eastern Mediterranean (known in the Egyptian records as the Peoples of the Sea) who were hired as temporary allies by several states” (Hood & Vermeule)

 by 900 “By the end of the . . . Dark Age (lasting perhaps from 1100 to 1000 in some places, or 900 in others), new peoples had arrived and settled, as, for example, the Dorians in southern Greece and Crete [and] the Phrygians in central Anatolia.” (Hood & Vermeule)

 The Greeks saw the Dorian invasion as the legendary “return of the descendants of Heracles.” (Hamilton)

 Perhaps the Aeolians (E Greeks) and Ionians (from around Athens) colonized Anatolia during the dark age because they were escaping the Dorians.

 900 Attica becomes the first Greek *polis* (city-state) (Hamilton)

 1200-750 Cavalli-Sforza et al.’s dates for the Greek dark age (Cavalli-Sforza, Menozzi, & Piazza 262)

*classical Greece* (800 on)

 700s “a number of areas, such as Corinth and Megara, began to define their borders, deny autonomy to their constituent villages, and generally act as separate states.” (Hamilton)

 776 “The first “date” in Greek history is 776 bc, the year of the first Olympic Games. It was computed by a 5th-century-bc researcher called Hippias. This man originally came from Elis, a place in the western Peloponnese in whose territory Olympia itself is situated. This date [is] likely to be reliable . . .” So already there was record keeping (and therefore literacy) and inter-community organized activity at this date. (Hamilton)

 750-700 Homer

 730 “the reintroduction of writing into Greece [was] about 730 bc, after centuries of illiteracy” (Griffin 13)

 725 “Various [5] considerations of language, archaeology, and history suggest that it was about 725 bc, somewhere on the coast of Asia Minor or on one of the Aegean islands, that a great poet conceived the plan of the *Iliad*, and perhaps a generation later that the second poet created the *Odyssey*, setting out to create a poem which in scale and inclusiveness should rival the *Iliad*.” (Griffin 5-6)

## Archaeology of Troy

“Troy.” *Encyclopædia Britannica 2003 Deluxe Edition CD-ROM*. Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 2003.

 “The nine major periods of ancient Troy are labeled I to IX, starting from the bottom . . .”

 “Troy I to V corresponds roughly to the Early Bronze Age (c. 3000 to 1900 bc).”

 Troy I only 300 feet across

 “a massive wall with gateways and flanking towers”

 20 rectangular houses

 Troy II 600 feet across

 “higher, sloping stone walls protecting an acropolis on which stood the king’s palace and other princely residences”

 destroyed by fire

 Troy III slightly larger than II, and fortified; but the houses inside are small and closely packed

 Troy IV slightly larger than III, and fortified; but the houses inside are small and closely packed

 Troy V slightly larger than IV, and fortified; but the houses inside are small and closely packed

 “Troy VI and VII may be assigned to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (c. 1900 to 1100 bc).”

 Troy VI “new and vigorous settlers who introduced domesticated horses”

 the city is enlarged; the citadel alone is 650 feet by 450 feet

 cut limestone walls are 17 feet tall and 15 feet thick, with watchtowers

 just after 1300: destroyed by a violent earthquake

 Troy VIIa all of the walled area is full of close-set houses, and each house has a huge storage jar; so apparently they expected a seige

 “Troy VIIa probably lasted little more than a generation.”

 1260-1240: captured, looted, and burnt

 “The Cincinnati expedition [1932-1938] under [Carl W.] Blegen concluded that Troy VIIa was very likely the capital of King Priam described in Homer’s *Iliad*, which was destroyed by the Greek armies of Agamemnon.”

 Troy VIIb post-1240: new settlers with a lower material culture rebuild but vanish by 1100

 1100-700: Troy is abandoned

 Troy VIII 700: Greek settlers reoccupy Troy and give it the Hellenized name, “Ilion.”

 85: the Romans sack Ilion

 Troy IX 85: the Roman general Sulla partially rebuilds Ilion (Latin *Ilium*).

 Augustus and his immediate successors give Ilium fine public buildings (since they traced their ancestry back to Aeneas, offspring of Aphrodite and of the Trojan, Anchises)

 324: “After the founding of Constantinople . . ., Ilion faded into obscurity.”

## The Chronological Framework of the *Iliad*

(Episodes Mentioned in the *Iliad* but Before or After Its Events)

Graf, Fritz. *Greek Mythology: An Introduction*. Trans. Thomas Marier. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1993. (German: *Griechische Mythologie*. München: Artemis, 1987.) BL 782 .G6713 1993

Willcock, Malcolm M. *A Companion to the Iliad: Based on the Translation by Richmond Lattimore*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1976.

“[The *Iliad*] poses as a kind of history: it is governed by a fictive, reasonably coherent chronology. The fathers of those who fought at Troy belonged to the generation of Heracles, who attacked Troy under Priam’s father Laomedon (that it is Priam’s sons, not Priam himself, who fight against the Greeks does not strain the chronology beyond credibility); to that generation also belonged those who fought at Thebes and the Argonauts. Myths not about the Trojan War tend to be introduced as memories. [76] . . . This kind of historicization is characteristic of those mythical tales, such as the epic poem, which combine diverse, and originally independent, mythical subjects into a single tale that encompasses them all. If such an imposing mass of data is to be organized, it must be imbued with rationalism; what emerges from the rationalization of the data is a chronology of the myths. Rationalism is also characteristic of the narrative style of the Homeric poems, in which the excessively fantastic, fabulous, and magical is studiously avoided. . . . The epic tradition ends with the generation of the sons of those who fought at Troy.” (Graf 76-77)

(Numbers in parentheses are to Lattimore’s translation; “>” means “begat.”)

Zeus defeated the (human-shaped) Titans (14.197-210).

Zeus defeated the (human-shaped) giants. (Willcock 34)

Zeus’ thunderbolts cast his last opponent, Typhoeus (a monster, not human-shaped) beneath the earth (2.782-83). “. . . his stirring there, on his hard bed of stone, served to explain local earth tremors and volcanic activity. When there was a thunderstorm in the mountains, people would say that Zeus was “lashing the earth” in anger against Typhoeus.” (Willcock 34)

Zeus ejected various gods from Olympos (1.591, 15.22-24, 15.18-33, 19.126-31).

Phoinix (not Achilleus’ friend) was the eponymous ancestor of the Phoenicians (14.321).

Minos of Krete and Rhadamanthys were brothers; they were kings and lawgivers (14.322).

There once was a war between African pygmies and cranes (3.4-7, “cranes escape the winter time and the rains unceasing / and clamorously wing their way to the streaming Ocean, / bringing to the Pygmaian men bloodshed and destruction: / at daybreak they bring on the baleful battle against them”). “The story of the war between the cranes and the pygmies is a folktale reflecting some knowledge of a diminutive African people. It probably arose from the sight of cranes flying south in formation, uttering loud cries.” (Willcock 39)

Perseus killed the Medousa, used her head to kill Polydektes, then gave the head to Athene (5.738-42).

A Perseid dynasty ruled at Mykenai: Perseus > Sthenelos > Eurystheus (19.115-16).

Then Atreus’ dynasty ruled at Mykenai: Atreus > Agamemnon and Menelaos.

Herakles wounded Hera and Hades with arrows (5.392-404).

Herakles attacked Pylos (5.392-402, 11.689-90).

Herakles did twelve labors for Eurystheus, the king of Mykenai (15.638-52, 19.133).

Herakles cleaned the stables of Augeias, a king of Elis (11.700).

Herakles brought up the dog Kerberos from the underworld (8.362-69).

Herakles attacked and destroyed Troy a generation before the Trojan War (5.640-42, 5.648-51).

Apollo and Poseidon had built a great wall around Troy for King Laomedon, Priam’s father (7.452).

“When Poseidon was cheated by Laomedon of his reward for building the city walls of Troy (21.441-57), he sent a sea monster, which Herakles offered to get rid of, for a reward . . . [Lines 20.145-48] refer to the preparations for Herakles’ exploit.” (Willcock 226)

“Laomedon, king of Troy, had promised Herakles the famous horses [5.265-67] as a reward if he saved his daughter, Hesione, from the sea monster . . . But when Herakles fulfilled his side of the bargain, Laomedon refused the reward.” (Willcock 62)

Bellerophontes fought the Amazons (female warriors) in Asia Minor, the third of his labors (6.186).

Jason and the Argonauts sailed to the Black Sea (“a quite separate cycle of legends,” Willcock 83). The Argonauts stayed “on the island of Lemnos, which was occupied only by women, all the men having been killed. Jason himself was the guest of the queen of the island, Hypsipyle.” Their son was Euneos, king of Lemnos, a Greek soldier in the *Iliad* (7.467-69, 21.40-43, 23.745-47). Euneos bought the Trojan Lykaon from Achilleus and sold him for ransom (21.40-41).

Zeus carried off Ganymedes to Olympos for his beauty, to be his wine-bearer (5.265-66).

To compensate Ganymedes’ father, Tros (Zeus’ great-grandson and king of Troy), Zeus gave Tros mythical horses.

Laomedon, Tros’ grandson and Priam’s father, inherited the horses (5.265-72).

Anchises secretly bred six horses from Laomedon’s, giving two to Aineias (5.265-72). Aineias’ two were captured from him by Diomedes and Sthenelos during battle (5.319-27).

Theseus’ mother, Aithra, was kidnapped.

“Helen was carried off by Theseus and Peirithoös, some time before she married Menelaos . . .” (This is not in the *Iliad*.) (Willcock 41)

Helen’s brothers, Kastor and Polydeukes, rescued her; “while doing so, [they] carried off in reprisal Theseus’ mother Aithra [wife of Aigeus, king of Athens], who thus became a slave of Helen.” Both went with Paris to Troy (3.144). (Willcock 41)

Pelops > Atreus and Thyestes; Atreus > Agamemnon and Menelaos; Thyestes > Aigisthos. Pelops ruled, then Thyestes, then Agamemon. (2.104-8) “Of the family feud between Atreus and Thyestes and between their children, Agamemnon and Aigisthos, Homer in the *Iliad* says nothing.” (Willcock 19)

The city of Pylos (Nestor, young, was in its army) fought the Arkadians (7.132-53).

Before the war, Lykourgos had killed Areïthoös; old, Lykourgos gave his armor to Ereuthalion.

During the war, Nestor killed Ereuthalion.

Pylos (Nestor, young, was in its army) fended off the Epeians (11.669-760).

The Phrygians fought the Amazons (Priam claimed he was present) (3.184-89).

Peirithoös (son of Zeus and father of Polypoites [a Greek present at Troy]) defeated, with Leonteus’ help, the centaurs (2.742-46).

the Seven against Thebes: seven southern Greek heroes attack Thebes in the generation before the Trojan War, but fail to take it. (This was “the main event in the Theban (as opposed to the Trojan) cycle of legends.” Willcock 50)

Kadmos had founded Thebes (4.365-400). “Orchomenos and Thebes were the two great cities of Boiotia in the Mycenaean Age.” (9.381-84) (Willcock 102)

Oidipous > Polyneikes and Eteokles. (*Iliad* 23.679-80 and *Odyssey* 11.275-76 suggest that Oidipous reigned after his incest with Iokaste became known, and that he died in battle.) Eteokles exiled Polyneikes; Polyneikes went to Argos (4.365-400).

Oineus > Tydeus and Meleagros (9.543).

Tydeus left his home in Aitolia and went to Argos.

“Tydeus’ embassy to Thebes [was] before the main Argive army arrived” (4.382-98, 5.803-8, 10.285-90).

Tydeus “challenged the young Thebans (807) to athletic contests . . .” (Willcock 64)

“The grim deeds which Tydeus did on the way back refer to his killing all except one of an ambush laid for him by the Kadmeians (Thebans).” (Willcock 119)

Polyneikes and Tydeus “married daughters of Adrastos, king of Argos, and collected an army from the Peloponnese with which to attack Thebes.” (4.365-400) (Willcock 50)

Adrastos and his mythical horse Arion (23.346-48) led the expedition against Thebes.

Tydeus died in the expedition against Thebes (4.370-400).

the Sons of the Seven against Thebes (2.505, 4.405-10)

The sons of the Seven were the *Epigonoi*. They attacked and destroyed Thebes.

Three leaders from Argos in the *Iliad* are Epigonoi:

(Tydeus >) Diomedes, (Kapaneus >) Sthenelos, (Mekisteus >) Euryalos.

“We know next to nothing of the incidents of that second expedition.” (Willcock 51)

Peleus (human) and Thetis (sea goddess), Achilleus’ parents, married (18.84-85, 24.60-63).

According to one story, “Peleus was the most righteous of men, and the gods rewarded him by giving him a sea goddess, Thetis, for his wife.” (Willcock 204)

According to another story (Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* 907-27; Pindar, *Eighth Isthmian* 26-45), “Zeus and Poseidon were rivals for Thetis but were put off by a prophecy that she would bear a child stronger than his father.” (Willcock 204)

The gods gave special armor as a wedding present; Achilleus wears it at Troy (17.195-96).

the judgment of Paris

Eris (the goddess Strife), not invited to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, threw a golden apple in the guests’ midst; it was labeled, “For the Fairest.” Hera, Athene, and Aphrodite claimed it and asked Zeus to decide, but he refused and told Paris (tending sheep on Mt. Ida at the time) to decide instead. Hera offered him power (all of Asia); Athene offered him wisdom and victory in battles; Aphrodite offered him the love of the most beautiful woman, who happened to be Helen, Menelaos’ wife. Paris chose Aphrodite’s gift.

“Hera’s and Athene’s extreme animosity toward Paris and the Trojans in the *Iliad* reflects their resentment at Paris’ decision.” (Willcock 267)

The judgment of Paris is explicitly mentioned only at 24.28-30; but it is implicit in, e.g., 4.31-36, 5.422, and 20.313-17.

the “rape” (kidnapping) of Helen (3.46-49)

Paris returned to Troy, then with a fleet of ships visited Menelaos. Violating Menelaos’ hospitality, Paris persuaded Helen to accompany him back to Troy. They slipped away stealthily, taking much treasure as well.

“It was not only the rape of Helen which brought on the Greek expedition, but all those possessions of Menelaos which were carried off with her.” (7.350, 363; 22.114-16) (Willcock 242)

Paris and Helen make love for the first time on a rocky island on the return journey (3.443-45).

Paris, Helen, and their retinue stopped at Sidon on their way home to Troy (6.290-92).

“Patroklos was living with Peleus in Phthia, having had to leave his own home of Opous when he had the misfortune to kill another child in a game (23.85-88).” (Willcock 136)

Odysseus and Nestor went round Greece raising an army for the war (7.127, 9.252-53, 11.764-88).

Homer says that Achilleus’ son, Neoptolemos, was growing up on the island of Skyros (19.326-27). This implies the story (it’s not in the *Iliad*) that Peleus hid Achilleus at Skyros “to avoid the summons to the Trojan War” (9.664-68, 19.326-27) [111] and that during his stay “Deïdameia, daughter of Lykomedes, king of Skyros, had a child by Achilleus . . .” [220] (Willcock 111, 220)

The Greeks gather at Aulis (2.303).

“Agamemnon, the great king of Mykenai, took action to support his brother [Menelaos]; the other Greeks are present out of deference to Agamemnon.” (Willcock 7)

In 9.145, Homer mentions a living daughter of Agamemnon, Iphianassa. “. . . if “Iphianassa” is a variant of “Iphigeneia,” then Homer appears to be ignorant of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia before the Greeks sailed for Troy . . .” (Willcock 97)

Kalchas, the prophet, guided the Greeks to Troy by his seercraft (1.71-72, 2.300).

There was an “abortive expedition which the Greeks were said to have mounted before they eventually got to Troy; on that former occasion they reached Mysia, where their chief adversary was Telephos.” (Willcock 275)

When the Greeks first arrived at Troy, Menelaos and Odysseus went to the city to demand Helen’s return (3.205-24, 11.140). “That they stayed with Antenor led eventually to the legend that he had private relations with the Greeks and was spared when the city was taken.” (Willcock 42)

For nine years the Greeks besieged Troy, before the *Iliad* begins (2.134, 295).

The Trojans never came out of their gate to fight (5.788-90, 9.352-53). (Willcock 102)

So the Greeks “made a number of expeditions against nearby towns” (1.125). (Willcock 7)

Achilleus led successful attacks on twenty-three towns (9.328-29).

One of them was an attack on Lesbos (9.129, 664-68). (Willcock 96)

Achilleus led an attack on Skyros (9.129, 664-68).

Achilleus led an attack on Pedasos. There he obtained the horse Pedasos (16.152-53).

Achilleus led an attack on Lyrnessos, where he “captured [Briseis] after killing her husband and brothers” (2.689-93, 19.291-96, 20.90-96). (Willcock 8)

On the same expedition Achilleus drove Aineias from Ida (20.90-92).

On the same expedition Achilleus led the sack of Hypoplakian Thebe (1.366-69, 2.691). There he obtained a lyre (9.186-88); he killed Eëtion, the king of Thebes and father of Chryseis (23.827-29); the Greeks “made numerous captives, including Chryseis (1.366)”; and they “killed the father and brothers of Hektor’s wife Andromache (6.416-24).” (Willcock 8)

the *Iliad*: the events of the Trojan War

day 1: Agamemnon and Achilleus argue, and Chryseis is returned to Chryse (1.1-476).

day 2-13: Achilleus sends Thetis to ask Zeus to favor the Trojans (1.493-611).

day 14: (2.48-49)

tenth year: “in the tenth year we shall take the city” (2.329, Kalchas’ prophecy in Aulis)

Etc.

Shortly after the end of the *Iliad*, Antilochos will substitute for Patroklos in Achilleus’ affections. The *Iliad* prepares for that eventuality by putting Antilochos and Achilleus in contact in 17.651-55, 18.16-34, 23. 541-56, and 23.785-97. (Willcock 199)

Soon afterward, Nestor is “cut off at the front of the battle, his horse shot by an arrow from Paris . . .” [87] Memnon will approach to kill him (see the similar story where Hektor threatens Nestor, 8.78-100), but Antilochos, Nestor’s son, will rescue his father. Antilochos’ fate is then similar to Patroklos’: he is “killed by the chief enemy hero (Memnon) and avenged by Achilleus” (*Aithiopis*; Pindar, *Sixth Pythian* 28-42). [199] (Willcock 87, 199)

“Philoktetes [2.718-25] was brought by the Greeks to Troy from Lemnos soon after the end of the *Iliad* story. They had received a prophecy that Troy could not be taken without the bow and arrows of Herakles, which were in his possession. He killed Paris.” (Willcock 33)

Achilleus will be killed “by Apollo and Paris at the Skaian gates” (22.359-60). The fight over the body of Achilleus—Odysseus held off the Trojans while Aias held Achilleus’ corpse aloft and carried it back—is mentioned in *Odyssey* 5.309-10, 24.41. (Probably Homer modeled the fight over Patroklos’ body [17.1-761] on that more famous episode; and probably that more famous episode influenced Homer’s depiction of Achilleus learning of Patroklos’ death [18.1-71]. Willcock 201)

The wrestling of Telamonian Aias and Odysseus (23.700-39), a bout won by Odysseus, “is almost certainly a reflection . . . of their contest for the arms of Achilleus after the end of the *Iliad* [*Od*. 11.543-551], a contest that led to the suicide of Aias when the arms were awarded to Odysseus.” (Willcock 261) (“How and why Aias died Homer does not tell us, even in the Odyssey; but according to the Cycle, he went mad and killed himself.” Lattimore 53)

Homer may allude to the trojan horse.

“The *designs of Athene* which will help to capture Troy [15.71] probably include the Wooden Horse; Athene was said (in later sources) to have advised the craftsman.” (Willcock 167, emphasis altered)

The craftsman, maker of the wooden horse, was Epeios, and he’s mentioned in 23.665.

Achilleus’ son, Neoptolemos, will participate in the sack of Troy.

“Toward the end of the war—after the end of the *Iliad* and the death of Achilleus—the Greeks sent for Neoptolemos to come from Skyros, and he helped them to capture and sack Troy, personally killing the old king, Priam, who had taken refuge at the altar in the courtyard of his palace.” (Willcock 221)

Neoptolemos also throws Hektor’s son, Astyanax, from the wall of Troy (a story told in the *Little Iliad* and mentioned in Euripides’ *Trojan Women*), as foretold by Astyanax’ mother, Andromache (24.734-37). (Willcock 274-75)

Homer says that Agamemnon’s three daughters were “Chrysothemis and Laodike and Iphianassa” (9.145). “. . . the names of the three daughters in this line reflect aspects of the majesty of the great king (they might be translated “Divine Right,” “Justice over the People,” and “Dominion”), which is not true of the names Elektra or Iphigeneia.” (Willcock 97)

Homer’s list differs from the daughters “as we meet them in the Attic [96] tragedians . . . Elektra is not mentioned here; [and] “Iphianassa” [may be] a variant of “Iphigeneia” . . . The *Odyssey* knows of the vengeance of Orestes (named here in [9.142]) for his father, but it, too, is silent about both Elektra and Iphigeneia.” (Willcock 96-97)

The wall that the Greeks built was destroyed after they left (7.461-63, 12.13-33). (Willcock 83)

# Rhetorical Devices in the *Iliad*

## Some Metaphors and Similies in *Iliad*, Books 1-6

A fine metaphor is like a fine liqueur: you should sip it,

and savor it, till your being is concentrated in it.

1.1-5, Achilleus’ anger caused “bodies to be the *delicate feasting* of dogs, of all birds . . .”

1.43-44, 47, Apollo heard Chryses’ prayer and from Olympos “came *as night comes down* . . .”

1.102-4, “Agamemnon [fumed], *the heart within* *filled black to the brim* with anger from beneath, but *his two eyes showed like fire in their blazing*.”

1.225, Achilleus insults Agamemnon: “You *wine sack*, with a *dog’s eyes*, with a *deer’s heart*.”

1.357, Achilleus’ mother Thetis “heard him as she sat in the depths of the sea at the side of her aged father, and lightly she emerged *like a mist* from the grey water.”

1.481-83, “the wind *blew* into the middle of the sail, and at the *cut*water a blue wave rose and *sang* *strongly* as the ship went onward. She *ran* swiftly *cutting* across the swell her pathway.” See 2.159, “the wide *ridges* of the sea . . .”

2.780, the Achaians “went forward, *as if all the earth with flame were eaten* . . .”

3.53, Helen is Menelaos’ “*blossoming* wife . . .”

3.292-94, “with *pitiless* bronze he [Agamemnon] cut the lambs’ throats, letting them fall gasping again to the ground, the life breath going away, since the *strength of the bronze had taken it* from them.” (“Pitiless bronze” is a stock epithet: it occurs seven times [3.292, 4.348, 5.330, 13.501, 13.553, 16.761, 19.266].)

5.476, the Trojans “slink away *like hounds who circle the lion* . . .”

5.503-4, “the feet of the horses drove [the dust] far into the *brazen* sky . . .” (“Brazen sky” is also in 17.425.)

5.778-79, having snuck out of Olympos to visit the Achaians, Hera and Athene “walked forward in little steps *like shivering doves* . . .”

6.105, Hektor was “stirring them up to fight and *waking* the ghastly warfare.”

(See 10.8, Zeus “drives on somewhere on earth the huge edge of tearing battle . . .”)

## Homeric Similes in the *Iliad*: Some Examples

1. **plant**: 8.306-307, “He [Gorgythion, struck by an arrow,] bent drooping his head to one side, *as a garden poppy bends beneath the weight of its yield and the rains of springtime* . . .”
2. **insects**: 2.84-90, “the army thronged behind them [the leaders]. *Like the swarms of clustering bees that issue forever in fresh bursts from the hollow in the stone, and hang like bunched grapes as they hover beneath the flowers in springtime fluttering in swarms together this way and that way* . . .”
3. **fish**: 23.692-694 (the boxing match), “*As in the water roughened by the north wind a fish jumps in the weeds of the beach-break, then the dark water closes above him*, so Euryalos left the ground from the blow . . .”
4. **snake**: 3.33-36, “*As a man who has come on a snake in the mountain valley suddenly steps back, and the shivers come over his body, and he draws back and away, cheeks seized with a green pallor*; so in terror of Atreus’ son godlike Alexandros lost himself again in the host of the haughty Trojans.”
5. **birds**: 22.139-143, “*As when a hawk in the mountains who moves lightest of things flying makes his effortless swoop for a trembling dove, but she slips away from beneath and flies and he shrill screaming close after her plunges for her again and again, heart furious to take her*; so Achilleus went straight for him [Hektor] in fury . . .”
6. **deer**: 11.113-121, “*And as a lion seizes the innocent young of the running deer, and easily crunches and breaks them caught in the strong teeth when he has invaded their lair, and rips out the soft heart from them, and even if the doe be very near, still she has no strength to help, for the ghastly shivers of fear are upon her also and suddenly she dashes away through the glades and the timber sweating in her speed away from the pounce of the strong beast*; so there was no one of the Trojans who could save these two from death, but they themselves were running in fear from the Argives.”
7. **cow**: 17.4-5, Menelaos “bestrode the body [of Patroklos], *as over a first-born calf the mother cow stands lowing, she who has known no children before this*.”
8. **donkey**: 11.556-563, “*As when a donkey, stubborn and hard to move, goes into a cornfield in despite of boys, and many sticks have been broken upon him, but he gets in and goes on eating the deep grain, and the children beat him with sticks, but their strength is infantile; yet at last by hard work they drive him out when he is glutted with eating*; so the high-hearted Trojans . . . kept after great Aias . . .”
9. **horse**: 6.506-511 (= 15.263-270), “*As when some stalled horse who has been corn-fed at the manger breaking free of his rope gallops over the plain in thunder to his accustomed bathing place in a sweet-running river and in the pride of his strength holds high his head, and the mane floats over his shoulders; sure of his glorious strength, the quick knees carry him to the loved places and the pasture of horses*; so from uttermost Pergamos came Paris . . .”
10. **boar and dogs**: 17.725-729, the Trojans “made a rush against them [Menelaos and Meriones] *like dogs, who sweep in rapidly on a wounded wild boar, ahead of the young men who hunt him, and for the moment race in raging to tear him to pieces until in the confidence of his strength he turns on them, at bay, and they give ground and scatter for fear one way and another*; so the Trojans . . .”
11. **lion**: 17.132-136, “Aias covering the son of Menoitios under his broad shield stood fast, *like a lion over his young, when the lion is leading his little ones along, and men who are hunting come upon them in the forest. He stands in the pride of his great strength hooding his eyes under the cover of down-drawn eyelids*.”
12. **threshing**: 5.499-504, “*As when along the hallowed threshing floors the wind scatters chaff, among men winnowing, and fair-haired Demeter in the leaning wind discriminates the chaff and the true grain and the piling chaff whitens beneath it*, so now the Achaians turned white underneath the dust the feet of the horses drove far into the brazen sky . . .”
13. **carpentry**: 23.711-713 (the wrestling match), Aias and Odysseus “grappled each other in the hook of their heavy arms, *as when rafters lock, when a renowned architect has fitted them in the roof of a high house to keep out the force of the winds’ spite*.”
14. **boy and sand castles**: 15.361-364, the Trojans “wrecked the bastions of the Achaians easily, *as when a little boy piles sand by the sea-shore when in his innocent play he makes sand towers to amuse him and then, still playing, with hands and feet ruins them and wrecks them*.”
15. **girl crying to be picked up**: 16.6-10 (Achilleus to Patroklos), “Why then are you crying *like some poor little girl, who runs after her mother and begs to be picked up and carried, and clings to her dress, and holds her back when she tries to hurry, and gazes tearfully into her face, until she is picked up*?”
16. **quarreling wives**: 20.251-255 (Aineias to Achilleus), “But what have you and I to do with the need for squabbling and hurling insults at each other, *as if we were two wives who when they have fallen upon a heart-perishing quarrel go out in the street and say abusive things to each other, much true, and much that is not, and it is their rage that drives them*.”
17. **wind on sea**, **forest fire**, **trees**: 14.393-395, “The two sides closed together with a great war cry. *Not such is the roaring against dry land of the sea’s surf as it rolls in from the open under the hard blast of the north wind; not such is the bellowing of fire in its blazing in the deep places of the hills when it rises inflaming the forest, nor such again the crying voice of the wind in the deep-haired oaks, when it roars highest in its fury against them*, not so loud as now the noise of Achaians and Trojans in voice of terror rose as they drove against one another.”
18. “**all flesh is grass**”: 6.146-50, “*As is the generation of leaves*, so is that of humanity. / *The wind scatters the leaves on the ground, but the live timber* / *burgeons with leaves again in the season of spring returning*. / So one generation of men will grow while another / dies.”
	1. See 21.464-466, “mortals . . . are *as leaves are, and now flourish and grow warm with life, and feed on what the ground gives, but then again fade away and are dead*.”
	2. See Ps 103:14-16, “he [Yahweh] knows how we were made; he remembers that we are dust. 15As for mortals, their days are like grass; they flourish like a flower of the field; 16for the wind passes over it, and it is gone, and its place knows it no more.”
19. **wind on sea**: 4.422-427, “*As when along the thundering beach the surf of the sea strikes beat upon beat as the west wind drives it onward; far out cresting first on the open water, it drives thereafter to smash roaring along the dry land, and against the rock jut bending breaks itself into crests spewing back the salt wash*; so thronged beat upon beat the Danaans’ close battalions . . .”
20. **wind on sea**: 7.63-65, the armies, being seated, “shuddered into a bristle of spears, of shields and of helmets. *As when the shudder of the west wind suddenly rising scatters across the water, and the water darkens beneath it*, so darkening were settled the ranks of Achaians and Trojans in the plain.”
21. **fear at river’s edge**: 5.596-600, “Diomedes of the great war cry shivered as he saw him [Hektor], *and like a man in his helplessness who, crossing a great plain, stands at the edge of a fast-running river that dashes seaward, and watches it thundering into white water, and leaps a pace backward*, so now Tydeus’ son gave back . . .”
22. **quick thoughts**: 15.79-83, Hera “went back to tall Olympos from the mountains of Ida. *As the thought flashes in the mind of a man who, traversing much territory, thinks of things in the mind’s awareness, ‘I wish I were this place, or this’, and imagines many things*; so rapidly in her eagerness winged Hera, a goddess.”
23. **dream**: 22.199-201, “*As in a dream a man is not able to follow one who runs from him, nor can the runner escape, nor the other pursue him*, so he could not run him down in his speed, nor the other get clear.”
24. **celestial phenomena**: 8.555-560, “*As when in the sky the stars about the moon’s shining are seen in all their glory, when the air has fallen to stillness, and all the high places of the hills are clear, and the shoulders out-jutting, and the deep ravines, as endless bright air spills from the heavens and all the stars are seen, to make glad the heart of the shepherd*; such in their numbers blazed the watchfires [of] the Trojans . . .”

## Similes Longer Than One Line in the *Iliad*

 In the *Iliad*, there are 193 similes longer than one line (called “epic similes” or “Homeric similes”). Since comparative figures of speech (similes and metaphors) have both a literal term (what the narrator is actually talking about) and a figurative term (what the narrator compares the literal term to), one way to classify comparative figures is by the areas of experience from which the figurative terms are drawn. The world of Homer’s narrative—war—no doubt determined to some extent the figurative terms he chose; this may explain, for example, the predominance of predatory animals. Still, a survey of the areas of experience from which Homer chose his figures can reveal a great deal about the world he lived in (see, e.g., the human occupations) and about what in his world most interested him (see, e.g., wind on sea). (Line numbers are to Lattimore’s translation; they include literal terms as well as figurative terms.)

classification

plants (4 similes) (2.147-150, 8.306-307, 21.464-466, 23.597-599)

insects (8): flies etc. at a milk pail (2.469-473, 16.640-643), mosquito (17.569-572), cicadas (3.150-152), locusts (21.12-16), bees and wasps (2.84-90, 12.167-172, 16.259-265)

wild animals (55)

 non-predatory (9): fish (23.692-694), snake (3.33-36, 22.92-96), birds (2.459-465, 3.2-5, 9.323-325, 21.491-495), deer (4.243-45, 11.113-121, 13.102-104)

 predatory (46)

 birds (9): vultures (16.428-430), hawk (13.62-64, 16.582-585, 17.755-759, 22.139-143), eagle (15.690-693, 17.673-678, 21.252-253, 22.307-311)

 boar (7) (11.324-325, 11.412-420, 12.41-49 [also lion], 12.146-152, 13.471-475, 17.20-23, 17.281-283)

 lions vs. farmers (11) (5.554-558, 11.547-555, 12.299-307, 13.197-201, 15.630-637, 16.751-753, 17.61-69, 17.108-112, 17.657-666, 18.161-164)

 lions hunted, in wild, etc. (13) (5.161-163, 5.782-784, 10.485-487, 11.171-178, 11.473-481, 12.41-49 [also boar], 16.486-491, 16.756-758, 16.823-828, 17.132-136, 18.318-323, 20.164-173, 24.41-43 [see also 17.20-23])

 other (6): dolphin (21.22-26), leopard (21.573-580 [see also 17.20-23]), wolves (16.156-166, 16.352-356), “wild beasts” (15.323-326, 15.586-588)

domesticated animals (18)

 sheep (2) (4.433-436, 13.490-494)

 dog (5) (8.338-341, 10.181-187, 10.360-364, 17.725-729, 22.188-192)

 equine (5): donkey (11.556-563), mule (17.742-746), horse (6.506-511, 15.263-270, 23.517-522)

 bovine (6) (2.480-482, 13.570-572, 13.703-708, 17.4-5, 20.403-406, 20.495-499)

human occupations (39)

 agriculture (6): arguing over a boundary line (12.421-425), irrigation (21.257-264), gardening (21.­346-349), reaping (11.66-71), threshing (5.499-504, 13.588-592)

 animal husbandry (3): goat herding (2.474-477), ox herding (23.845-847), killing an ox (17.519-523)

 woodcutting (7) (3.59-62, 4.482-487, 11.86-90, 13.177-180, 13.389-391, 16.482-484, 16.633-636)

 carpentry (2) (15.410-413, 23.711-713)

 sailing (3) (7.4-7, 15.624-629, 19.375-380)

 hunting (4) (3.23-3.26, 11.292-295, 15.271-280, 15.579-581 [see also “lions hunted”])

 war (3) (18.205-214, 18.219-221, 21.522-525)

 other, women’s work (5): cooking (21.362-367), curdling milk (5.902-904), weaving (12.430-435, 23.760-763), making cheek pieces for horses (4.141-147)

 other, men’s work (5): pottery (18.599-601), carrying a fleece (12.451-453), stretching leather (17.389-395), building a retaining wall (16.212-214), chariot racing (22.22-23, 22.162-165), standing horseback-riding (15.679-686)

domestic scenes (6): birth pangs (11.269-272), mother brushes fly from child (4.130-131), boy and sand castles (15.361-364), girl cries to be picked up (16.6-10), wives quarreling (20.251-255), funeral (23.221-225)

wild nature (18)

 river (5) (4.452-456, 5.87-92, 11.493-496, 17.263-266, 21.281-283)

 trees (3) (12.131-134, 16.765-770, 17.52-60)

 forest fire (5) (2.455-458, 11.155-159, 14.396-397, 15.605-606, 20.490-493 [see also 17.737-739])

 other (5): rock ridge (17.747-751), sea against cliff face (15.618-621), water down rock face (9.13-15, 16.3-4), boulder bounding down hill (13.136-145)

meteorological phenomena (31)

 wind on sea (12) (2.144-146, 2.208-210, 2.394-297, 4.422-427, 7.63-65, 9.4-8, 11.297-298, 11.305-308, 13.795-801, 14.16-20, 14.393-395, 15.381-384)

 snow storm (4) (12.156-158, 12.278-287, 15.169-172, 19.357-360)

 other storms (6) (2.780-783, 4.275-279, 5.864-567, 10.5-10, 14.398-402, 16.384-393)

 lightning (3) (13.242-245, 14.384-387, 14.414-418)

 other (6): dust devils (13.334-337), mist (3.10-14), clear air (16.297-302), clouds (5.522-526, 16.364-366), rainbow (17.547-552)

celestial phenomena (6): meteor (4.75-78), stars (5.4-6, 8.555-560, 11.61-63, 22.26-31, 22.317-319)

other similes (7): man gazing out to sea (5.770-772), man stepping back from river’s edge (5.596-600), Ares (13.298-303 [see 15.605-606]), quick thoughts (15.79-83), tombstone (17.434-436), chasing someone in a dream (22.199-201), wonder at an exile (24.480-483)

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## Stock Epithets in Book 1 of the *Iliad*

All stock epithets that occur in Book 1, with all of their occurrences in that book, are listed. In addition, occurrences in all other books are given for some of the stock epithets in Book 1; in those cases, entries end with the notation, “(done).”

*patronyms*:

“Atreides” (Agamemnon) 1.224, 1.246

“Atreus’ son” (Agamemnon) 1.7, 1.11, 1.24, 1.102, 1.313, 1.369, 1.387, 1.411

“Atreus’ two sons” 1.16, 1.375

“Kronion” (Zeus) 1.405, 5.906, 21.230 (done)

“Kronos’ son/son of Kronos” (Zeus) 1.398, 1.498, 1.502, 1.528, 1.539, 1.552, 2.102, 2.111, 2.375, 2.403, 2.419, 2.670, 3.302, 4.5, 4.25, 4.166, 4.249, 5.419, 5.522, 5.753, 5.756, 6.139, 6.234, 6.268, 7.69, 7.194, 7.200, 7.209, 7.315, 7.481, 8.31, 8.141, 8.175, 8.211, 8.414, 8.462, 8.471, 9.18, 9.172, 9.236, 9.511, 11.27, 11.52, 11.78, 11.288, 11.336, 11.406, 13.226, 13.242, 13.319, 13.783, 14.247, 14.330, 14.346, 15.91, 15.152, 15.254, 16.440, 16.845, 17.209, 17.268, 17.441, 17.593, 18.118, 18.361, 18.431, 19.120, 19.340, 20.30, 20.301, 20.306, 21.193, 21.216, 21.570, 22.60, 24.98, 24.142, 24.241, 24.290, 24.611 (done)

“lord of men” (Agamemnon) 1.7, 1.172, 1.442, 1.506

“Peleus’ son” (Achilleus) 1.1, 1.223, 1.245, 1.306, 1.322, 1.489

“son of Atreus” (Agamemnon) 1.59, 1.122, 1.191, 1.203, 1.282, 1.308, 1.355

“son of Peleus” (Achilleus) 1.146, 1.277

“sons of Atreus” (Agamemnon and Menelaos) 1.17

“Theseus, Aigeus’ son” 1.265

*other stock epithets*:

“Achilleus beloved of Zeus” 1.74

“Achilleus of the swift feet” 1.58, 1.84

“Apollo beloved of Zeus” 1.86

“archer” (Apollo) 1.96, 1.147

“archer” (Apollo) 1.96, 1.147, 1.385, 1.438, 9.404 (done)

“balanced ships” 1.306

“barren salt sea” 1.316, 1.327-28, 14.204 (cf. “barren bright air” 17.425) (done)

“beloved companion” 1.345, 9.205, 10.522, 11.615, 16.491, 17.642, 19.345, 20.426, 22.390, 23.178, 23.556, 23.563, 24.4, 24.51, 24.591, 24.755 (done)

“beloved companions” 4.523, 5.413, 5.694, 13.549, 13.653, 17.636, 23.78, 24.123 (done)

“best of the Achaians” 1.227, 1.244, 1.412, 2.82, 5.103, 5.414, 16.274, 17.689 (done)

“black blood” 1.303, 11.844, 18.583, 20.470, 21.119 (done)

“black ship” 1.141, 1.300-1, 1.329, 1.433, 1.485

“blameless seer” (Kalchas) 1.92

“blameless” 1.192 (Kalchas), 1.423 (Aithiopians), 2.770 (Achilleus), 4.89 (Pandaros), 4.194 (Machaon), 5.9 (Dares), 5.169 (Pandaros), 5.248 (Anchises), 6.22 (Boukolion), 6.155 (Bellerophontes), 6.171 (convoy), 6.190 (Bellerophontes), 6.217 (Bellerophontes), 8.273 (Teukros), 8.292 (Teukros), 8.303 (Gorgythion), 9.129 (women’s handiwork), 9.181 (Achilleus), 9.271 (women’s handiwork), 9.698 (Achilleus), 10.323 (Achilleus), 11.834 (healer), 12.88 (Poulydamas), 12.109 (Poulydamas), 13.451 (Deukalion), 13.640 (Menelaos), 13.775 (Alexandros: “I am blameless”), 13.790 (Poulydamas), 14.115 (Agrios, Melas, and Oineus), 14.426 (Glaukos), 16.119 (Aias’ heart), 16.140 (Aias), 16.197 (Alkimedon), 17.9 (Patroklos), 17.186 (Achilleus), 17.280 (Achilleus), 17.379 (Patroklos), 17.699 (Laodokos), 19.245 (women’s handiwork), 20.206 (Peleus), 20.236 (Laomedon), 20.484 (Rhigmos), 21.546 (Antenor), 22.113 (Achilleus), 22.278 (Achilleus), 23.523 (Antilochos), 24.85 (Achilleus) (done)

“blessed” 1.99 (hecatomb), 1.339 (gods), 1.406 (gods), 1.599 (immortals)

“bright sea” 1.141, 2.152, 15.161, 15.177, 15.223, 21.219 (done)

“brilliant Achilleus” 1.7, 1.121, 1.292, 2.688, 5.788, 6.414, 6.423, 9.199, 9.209, 9.667, 11.598, 15.68, 16.5, 18.228, 18.305, 18.343, 19.40, 19.364, 19.384, 20.160, 20.177, 20.413, 20.445, 21.49, 21.67, 21.138, 21.149, 21.161, 21.250, 21.265, 21.359, 22.102, 22.172, 22.205, 22.326, 22.330, 22.364, 23.136, 23.140, 23.193, 23.333, 23.534, 23.555, 23.828, 23.889, 24.668 (done)

“broad-browed” 1.498 (Zeus), 10.292 (heifer) (done)

“bronze blade” 1.236, 2.417, 5.74, 13.612 (done)

“bronze-armoured Achaian/s” 1.371, 2.47, 2.163, 2.187, 2.437, 3.127, 3.131, 3.251, 4.199, 6.454-55, 7.275, 7.444, 8.71, 10.136, 10.287, 10.367, 12.352, 13.272-73, 15.56-57 (“bronze-armoured people of the Achaians”), 17.414, 18.105, 23.575, 24.225

“bronze-armoured Argives” 4.285, 12.354 (see 4.537-38, 11.693, “bronze-armoured Epeians”; 5.180, 17.485, “bronze-armoured Trojans”; 5.699, “bronze-armoured Hektor”; 12.255, “bronze-armoured Kretans”; 15.330, “bronze-armoured Boiotians”; 17.268, “bronze-armoured shields”; )

“bronze-founded” (Zeus’ house on Olympos) 1.426, 21.505 (done)

“child of Zeus” (Athene) 1.202

“crafty Odysseus” 1.311

“curved ships” 1.170

“echoing sea” 1.157

“fair cheeks” (Chryseis) 1.143, 1.310, 1.369

“fair hair” (Achilleus) 1.197

“fair-cheeked Briseis” 1.184, 1.323, 1.346

“fair-girdled” 1.429 (Briseis), 6.647 (Astyanax’ nurse), 7.139 (women of that time), 9.363 (women Achilleus has captured), 9.590 (Meleagros’ wife), 9.667 (Iphis), 23.266 (women, Agamemon’s gifts to Achilleus), 23.761 (seamstress, in a simile), 24.698 (no woman) (done)

“fair-spoken” (Nestor) 1.248

“fast ship/s” 1.308, 1.371, 1.390

“fast ships” 1.12

“father of the gods” (Zeus) 1.544, 4.68, 5.426, 5.764, 8.49, 8.132, 11.182, 15.12, 15.47, 16.458, 20.56, 22.167, 24.103 (done) (see 1.533-35, “all the gods rose up / from their chairs to greet the coming of their father, not one had courage / to keep his place as the father advanced, but stood up to greet him.”)

“father Zeus” 1.503 (direct address), 1.578-79 (our father), 2.371 (direct address), 3.276 (direct address), 3.320 (direct address), 3.365 (direct address), 4.288 (direct address), 5.421 (direct address), 5.757 (direct address), 5.762 (direct address), 5.872 (direct address), 6.259, 7.132 (direct address), 7.179 (direct address), 7.202 (direct address), 7.446 (direct address), 8.236 (direct address), 8.438, 13.631 (direct address), 15.372 (direct address), 15.637, 16.97 (direct address), 17.19 (direct address), 17.46, 17.630, 17.645 (direct address), 19.120 (direct address), 19.270 (direct address), 21.273 (direct address), 22.221 (our father Zeus), 24.308 (direct address) (done)

“fragrant smoke” 1.66

“glancing-eyed Achaians” 1.389, 3.190, 3.234, 16.569, 17.274, 24.402

“glancing-eyed girl” (Chryseis) 1.98

“gleaming wine” 1.462-63, 4.260, 23.237, 23.250, 24.641-42, 24.791 (done)

“godlike Achilleus” 1.131

“gods who live forever” 1.494, 21.518, 24.99

“great sword” 1.194, 5.147, 16.115, 20.459, 23.824 (done)

“great-hearted Achaians” 1.123, 1.135

“grey sea” 1.350, 1.359 (“grey water”), 4.248, 12.284, 13.682, 14.31, 15.190, 16.34, 19.268, 21.58, 23.374 (done)

“grey-eyed Athene” 1.206

“He in kind intention toward all stood forth and addressed them” 1.73, 1.253

“Hera of the gold throne” 1.611, 15.5 (done)

“heralds, messengers of Zeus and of mortals” 1.334, 7.274

“hero” (Agamemnon) 1.102

“Hephaistos the renowned smith” 1.571, 18.391, 18.393, 18.462, 18.587, 18.590, 18.613 (done)

“hollow ships” 1.26-27, 1.89

“house of Zeus” (Olympos) 1.222, 1.426, 1.570, 5.398, 8.375, 14.173, 15.85, 15.101, 20.10, 21.438 (done)

“in the sight of mortal men” 1.339-40, 2.285-86, 15.662 (“in the sight of other men”) (done)

“in the sight of the blessed gods” 1.339, 7.412 (“in the sight of all the gods”), 20.314 (“in the sight of all the immortals”) (done)

“King Apollo, whom Leto of the lovely hair bore” 1.36

“Leto of the lovely hair” 1.36

“lord in strength over Tenedos” (Apollo) 1.38, 1.452-53 (done)

“lord of Olympos” (Zeus) 1.508, 19.108 (done)

“lord of the counsels” (not Zeus) 12.414 (Sarpedon), 13.255 (Idomeneus), 17.485 (Aineias) (done)

“lord of the silver bow” (Apollo) 1.37, 1.451

“lucid speaker of Pylos” (Nestor) 1.248, 4.293

“man-slaughtering Hektor” 1.242

“messenger of Zeus” 2.26-27, 2.63-64, 2.94, 24.169, 24.173-74 (done)

“most terrifying of all men” (Achilleus) 1.146

“murmuring sea beach” 1.34

“of the aegis” (Athene) 1.202

“of the counsels” (Zeus) 1.175, 1.508, 2.197, 2.324, 6.198, 7.478, 8.170, 9.377, 10.104, 11.278, 12.279, 12.292, 15.377, 15.599, 16.249, 24.314 (done)

“of the white arms” (Hera) 1.55, 1.195, 1.208, 1.572, 1.595, 3.121 (Helen), 5.314 (Aphrodite), 5.711, 5.755, 5.767, 5.775, 5.784, 6.371 (Andromache), 6.377 (Andromache), 8.350, 8.381, 8.484, 14.277, 15.78, 15.92, 15.130, 19.407, 20.112, 21.377, 21.418, 21.434, 21.512, 24.55, 24.723 (Andromache) (done)

“Olympian, the” (Zeus) 1.580, 1.583, 1.589, 1.609, 4.160, 6.282, 8.335, 18.79, 22.130, 24.140, 24.175 (done)

“ox-eyed” (Hera) 1.551, 1.568, 4.50, 8.470, 14.159, 14.222, 14.263, 15.34, 15.49, 16.439, 18.239, 18.357, 18.360, 20.309 (done)

“ox-eyed” (not Hera) 3.144 (Klymene), 7.10 (Phylomedousa), 18.40 (Halia)

“Phoibos Apollo” 1.43

“Phthia where the soil is rich” 1.155

“powerful Agamemnon” 1.130

“pure wine” 1.470, 9.175 (done)

“rich thigh pieces” 1.40

“rose/rosy fingers” (Dawn) 1.477, 6.175, 9.707, 23.109, 24.788

“sacred” 1.252 (Pylos), 1.366 (city of Eëtion), 1.431 (hecatomb), 1.443 (hecatomb), 1.447 (hecatomb), 2.305 (altars), 2.535 (Euboia), 2.625 (Echinai), 4.46 (Ilion), 4.103 (city of Zeleia), 4.121 (city of Zeleia), 4.164 (Ilion), 4.192 (herald), 4.378 (bastions of Thebe), 4.416 (Ilion), 5.446 (the keep of Pergamos where was built his own temple), 6.89 chamber [of Athene’s temple]), 6.96 (Ilion), 6.133 (Dionysos’ Nyseian hill), 6.277 (Ilion), 6.448 (Ilion), 7.20 (Ilion), 7.82 (Ilion), 7.413 (Ilion), 7.429 (Ilion), 8.66 (daylight), 8.556 (Ilion), 10.56 (duty of the guards), 10.315 (herald), 11.84 (daylight), 11.196 (Ilion), 11.725 (stream of Alpheios), 13.657 (Ilion), 15.169 (Ilion), 15.432 (Kythera), 16.658 (Zeus’ balance), 17.194 (Ilion), 18.270 (Ilion), 18.504 (circle [of the elders’ assembly]), 20.216 (Ilion), 21.58 (Lemnos), 21.79 (Lemnos), 21.128 (Ilion), 21.515 (city of Ilion), 24.27 (Ilion), 24.143 (Ilion), 24.383 (Ilion) (done)

“sacrosanct” (towns) 1.37-38 (Chryse and Killa), 1.452 (Chryse and Killa), 2.508 (Nisa), 2.519-20 (Kyparissos, Pytho, and Krisa), 2.722 (Lemnos), 9.151 (Pherai), 9.293 (Pherai) (done)

“scattering barley, the” 1.449, 1.458, 2.410-11, 2.421 (done)

“shadowy mountains” 1.157

“shameful destruction” 1.341, 1.398, 16.32 (done)

“sharp sword” 1.190, 4.530, 12.190, 14.497, 21.116, 21.173, 22.306, 22.311 (done)

“shining gifts” 1.213

“shining ransom” 1.112

“shining ransom” 1.23

“shining” 1.23 (ransom), 1.112 (ransom), 1.200 (Athene’s eyes), 1.213 (gifts), 1.377 (ransom)

“Smintheus” (Apollo) 1.39

“sons of the Achaians” (= Achaians) 1.162, 1.237, 2.240, 1.276, 1.368, 1.392, 2.72, 2.83, 2.129, 2.193, 2.195, 2.234, 2.253, 2.281, 2.370, 2.562, 2.722, 3.82, 3.183, 4.114, 6.255, 7.403, 9.30, 9.40, 9.50, 9.248, 9.403, 9.670, 9.695, 10.49, 10.165, 11.655, 11.799, 12.56, 13.145, 13.172, 13.220, 13.367, 14.105, 14.421, 14.505, 15.675, 16.42, 16.56, 16.698, 17.645, 18.76, 18.200, 18.444, 19.156, 19.206, 20.317, 21.376, 21.544, 22.156, 22.369, 24.495 (done)

“strong order” 1.25, 1.326, 1.379 (done)

“strong-founded” 1.448 (altar), 2.501 (citadel), 2.505 (citadel), 2.546 (citadel = Athens), 2.569 (citadel = Mykenai), 2.570 (Kleonai), 2.712 (Iolkos), 4.33 (Ilion), 5.489 (citadel), 5.543 (Phere), 6.13 (Arisbe), 6.415 (citadel = Thebe), 8.288 (citadel = Ilion), 9.129 (Lesbos), 9.271 (Lesbos), 9.402 (citadel = Ilion), 12.36 (wall), 12.155 (bastions), 13.380 (Ilion), 13.815 (citadel = Ilion), 14.255 (Kos), 15.28 (Kos), 16.572 (Boudeion), 17.611 (Lyktos), 18.374 (Hephaistos’ dwelling), 21.40 (Lemnos), 21.433 (Ilion), 21.516 (Ilion) (done)

“strong-greaved Achaians” 1.17

“strong-walled citadel of Troy” 1.129

“swift feet, Achilleus of the” 1.148, 1.215, 1.364, 1.489

“swift messenger” 16.671, 16.681, 18.2 (“swift-footed messenger”), 23.199 (“went swiftly as messenger”), 24.292 (“rapid messenger”), 24.310 (“rapid messenger”) (done)

“swift ships” 1.421, 1.488, 2.8, 2.17, 9.332, 10.309, 10.396, 16.547, 19.160 (done)

“swift-footed Achilleus” 1.121

“tearing arrow” 1.51, 4.129

“the daughter of the sea’s ancient” (Thetis) 1.538, 1.556, 24.562 (done)

“the gods . . . who have their homes on Olympos” 1.18

“the marshals of the people” (Agamemnon and Menelaos) 1.16, 1.375

“Thetis the silver-footed” 1.538, 1.556, 16.222, 16.574, 18.381, 19.28, 24.89 (done)

“two-handled” (cup, goblet, urn, jar) 1.584, 9.656, 23.91, 23.170, 23.219, 23.615, 23.656, 23.663, 23.667, 23.699 (done)

“well-founded citadel” 1.163

“who handles the lightning” (Zeus) 1.580, 7.443 (see “lord of the lightning,” 1.609) (done)

“who strikes from afar” (Apollo) 1.14-15, 1.75, 1.110, 1.370, 1.374

“who works from afar” (Apollo) 1.474, 1.479

“wide camp” 1.478, 1.484 (done)

“wide host of the Achaians” 1.384, 2.439-40, 19.196

“wide-ruling Agamemnon” 1.102, 1.411, 7.31, 16.273 (done)

“widespread host of the Achaians” 1.229, 4.209 (done)

“winged words” 1.200

“Zeus of the aegis” 1.222

“Zeus of the counsels” 1.175

“Zeus who delights in the thunder” 1.420, 11.772, 12.252, 16.232

“Zeus who gathers the clouds” 1.511, 1.517, 1.560, 4.30, 5.888, 7.280, 7.454, 8.469, 10.552, 14.293, 14.312, 14.341, 15.220, 16.666, 17.198, 20.19, 20.215, 21.499, 24.65 (done)

“Zeus’ son who strikes from afar, Apollo” 1.21

# Some Themes in the *Iliad*

## Examples of Gore in the *Iliad*

1. 4.459-461, “the bronze spearpoint fixed in his forehead and drove inward through the bone; and a mist of darkness clouded both eyes . . .”
2. 4.518-526, Diores “with a jagged boulder was smitten beside the ankle . . . The pitiless stone smashed utterly the tendons on both sides with the bones . . . the stone’s thrower ran up beside him, Peiros, and stabbed with his spear next the navel, and all his guts poured out on the ground . . .”
3. 5.65-58, “Meriones pursued and overtaking him struck in the right buttock, and the spearhead drove straight on and passing under the bone went into the bladder. He dropped, screaming . . .”
4. 5.73-75, Meges “struck him with the sharp spear behind the head at the tendon, and straight on through the teeth and under the tongue cut the bronze blade, and he dropped in the dust gripping in his teeth the cold bronze.”
5. 5.80-83, Eurypylos struck Hypsenor “in the shoulder with a blow swept from the sword and cut the arm’s weight from him, so that the arm dropped bleeding to the ground, and the red death . . . took hold of both eyes.”
6. 5.112-13, Sthenelos “standing beside him [Diomedes] pulled the sharp arrow clean through his shoulder and the blood shot up spurting through the delicate tunic.”
7. 5.147-148, Diomedes cut him “beside the shoulder through the collar-bone with the great sword, so that neck and back were hewn free of the shoulder.”
8. 5.290-293, “Pallas Athene guided the weapon to the nose next to the eye, and it cut on through the white teeth and the bronze weariless shore all the way through the tongue’s base so that the spearhead came out underneath the jawbone.”
9. 5.584-588, “Antilochos charging drove the sword into his temple, so that gasping he dropped from the carefully wrought chariot headlong, driven deep in the dust his neck and shoulders; and there, since he chanced to light in a depth of sand, he stuck fast while his horses trampled him into the dust with their feet.”
10. 8.303, 306-308, “Gorgythion the blameless [was] hit in the chest by an arrow . . . He bent drooping his head to one side, as a garden poppy bends beneath the weight of its yield and the rains of springtime; so his head bent slack to one side beneath the helm’s weight.”
11. 10.454-457, Dolon “was trying to reach his chin with his strong hand and cling, and supplicate him, but he [Diomedes] struck the middle of his neck with a sweep of the sword, and slashed clean through both tendons, and Dolon’s head still speaking dropped in the dust.”
12. 11.95-98, “Agamemnon stabbed straight at his face as he came on in fury with the sharp spear, nor did helm’s bronze-heavy edge hold it, but the spearhead passed through this and the bone, and the inward brain was all spattered forth.”
13. 11.145-147, “Hippolochos sprang away, but Atreides killed him dismounted, cutting away his arms with a sword-stroke, free of the shoulder, and sent him spinning like a log down the battle.”
14. 13.202-205, “the son of Oïleus, in anger for Amphimachos, hewed away his head from the soft neck and threw it spinning like a ball through the throng of fighters until it came to rest in the dust at the feet of Hektor.”
15. 13.442-444, “the spear in his heart was stuck fast but the heart was panting still and beating to shake the butt end of the spear.”
16. 13.506-508, “Idomeneus hit Oinomaos in the middle belly and broke the hollow of the corselet, so that the entrails spurted from the bronze, and he fell clawing the dust in his fingers.”
17. 13.567-573, “Meriones dogging him threw with the spear and struck between navel and genitals where beyond all places death in battle comes painfully to pitiful mortals. There the spear stuck fast driven and he, writhing about it, gasped as an ox does when among the mountains the herdsmen have bound him strongly in twisted ropes and drag him unwilling. So he, stricken, gasped for a little while, but not long . . .”
18. 13.615-618, “Menelaos struck him as he came onward in the forehead over the base of the nose, and smashed the bones, so that both eyes dropped, bloody, and lay in the dust at his feet before him.”
19. 13.650-655, “Meriones let fly at him with a bronze-shod arrow, and hit him beside the right buttock, so that the arrow was driven on through under the bone to fix in the bladder. There, sitting among the arms of his beloved companions, he gasped out his life, then lay like a worm extended along the ground, and his dark blood drenched the ground in its running.”
20. 14.465, “He hit him at the joining place of head and neck, at the last vertebra, and cut through both of the tendons, so that the man’s head and mouth and nose hit the ground far sooner than did the front of his legs and knees as he fell.”
21. 14.493, “Peneleos caught [Ilioneus] underneath the brow, at the bases of the eye, and pushed the eyeball out, and the spear went clean through the eye-socket and tendon of the neck, so that he went down backward, reaching out both hands, but Peneleos drawing his sharp sword hewed at the neck in the middle, and so dashed downward the head, with helm upon it, while still on the point of the big spear the eyeball stuck. He, lifting it high like the head of a poppy, displayed it to the Trojans . . .”
22. 16.307-311, “the strong son of Menoitios, threw and struck Areïlykos in the thigh, as he turned back, with the sharp point of the spear, and drove the bronze clean through. The spear smashed in the bone and he fell to the ground headlong on his face.”
23. 16.321-324, “Thrasymedes was in with a thrust before he [Maris] could stab, nor missed his quick stroke into the shoulder, and the spearhead shore off the arm’s base clear away from the muscles and torn from the bone utterly.”
24. 16.332, “Aias, Oïleus’ son, in an outrush caught Kleoboulos . . ., hewing with the hilted sword at the neck, so all the sword was smoking with blood and over both eyes closed the red death and the strong destiny.”
25. 16.339-341, “Peneleos cut at the neck underneath the ear, and the sword sank clean inside, with only skin left to hold it, and the head slumped aside, and the limbs were loosened.”
26. 16.345, “Idomeneus stabbed Erymas in the mouth with the pitiless bronze, so that the brazen spearhead smashed its way clean through below the brain in an upward stroke, and the white bones splintered, and the teeth were shaken out with the stroke and both eyes filled up with blood, and gaping he blew a spray of blood through the nostrils and through his mouth . . .”
27. 16.404-410, Thestor “huddled inside his chariot . . . Patroklos coming close up to him [Thestor] stabbed with a spear-thrust at the right side of the jaw and drove it on through the teeth, then hooked and dragged him with the spear over the rail, as a fisherman who sits out on the jut of a rock with line and glittering bronze hook drags a fish, who is thus doomed, out of the water. So he hauled him, mouth open to the bright spear, out of the chariot, and shoved him over on his face . . .”
28. 16.411-413, “he struck Erylaos, as he swept in, with a great stone in the middle of the head, and all the head broke into two pieces inside the heavy helmet . . .” (See 16.577-579.)
29. 16.739-743, “The sharp stone hit him [Kebriones] in the forehead and smashed both brows in on each other, nor could the bone hold the rock, but his eyes fell out into the dust before him there at his feet, so that he vaulted to earth like a diver from the carefully wrought chariot, and the life left his bones.”
30. 17.294-298, Aias “struck him [Hippothoös] at close quarters through the brazen cheeks of his helmet . . . and the brain ran from the wound along the spear by the eye-hole, bleeding.”
31. 17.617-618, Hektor “hit him [Koiranos] under the jaw by the ear, and the spearshaft pushed out his teeth by the roots from the base, and split the tongue through the middle.”
32. 20.396-400, “Achilleus stabbed him [Demoleon] in the temple through the brazen sides of the helmet, and the brazen helmet could not hold, but the bronze spearhead driven on through smashed the bone apart, and the inward brain was all spattered forth.”
33. 20.413-418, “Achilleus hit him [Polydoros] with a spear thrown in the middle of the back . . . [It] came out by the navel, and he dropped, moaning, on one knee . . . and caught with his hands at his bowels in front of him.”
34. 20.470-471, “the liver was torn from its place, and from it the black blood drenched the fold of his tunic . . .”
35. 20.472-474, “he thrust at Moulios with the pike at the ear, so the bronze spearhead pushed through and came out at the other ear.”
36. 20.481-483, “Achilleus struck with the sword’s edge at his neck, and swept the helmed head far away, and the marrow gushed from the neckbone . . .”

## Death in the *Iliad*

1.3, Achilleus’ anger “hurled in their multitudes to the house of Hades strong souls / of heroes . . .”

1.60, “escape death” (also 2.401, 17.714, 21.103, 21.565)

1.88-89, Achilleus to Kalchas, “no man so long as I am alive above earth and see daylight / shall lay the weight of his hands on you . . .”

2.301-2, Odysseus to the Greeks, “you . . . / the spirits of death have not carried away from us . . .”

2.418, “go down headlong into the dust, teeth gripping the ground soil.”

2.699, “now the black earth had closed him [Protesilaos] under . . .”

2.831-34, “Merops of Perkote . . . beyond all men / knew the art of prophecy, and tried to prevent his two sons / from going into the battle where men die. Yet these would not / listen, for the spirits of dark death were driving them onward.”

2.872-73, “Nastes came like a girl to the fighting in golden raiment, / poor fool, nor did this avail to keep dismal death back . . .”

3.236-43, Helen says to Priam, ““nowhere can I see . . . / [Kastor and Polydeukes], / my own brothers . . .” / So she spoke, but the teeming earth lay already upon them . . .”

3.292-94, “with pitiless bronze he [Agamemnon] cut the lambs’ throats, / . . . the life breath / going away . . .”

3.322, “be killed and go down to the house of Hades.”

3.360, “he bent away to one side and avoided the dark death.”

4.10-11, “laughing Aphrodite forever / stands by her man [Paris] and drives the spirits of death away from him.”

4.150-52, wounded by Pandaros, “Menelaos the warlike himself shuddered in terror; / but when he saw the binding strings and the hooked barbs outside / the wound, his spirit was gathered again back into him.”

4.169-70, Agamemnon to Menelaos at his wounding, “I shall suffer a terrible grief for you, Menelaos, / if you die and fill out the destiny of your lifetime.”

4.460-61, “the bronze spearpoint fixed in his [Echepolos’] forehead and drove inward / through the bone; and a mist of darkness clouded both eyes . . .”

4.469-70, Agenor “stabbed [Elephenor] with the bronze-pointed spear and unstrung his sinews. / So the spirit left him . . .”

4.501-3, “Odysseus struck him . . . / in the temple, and the bronze spearhead drove through the other / temple also, so that a mist of darkness clouded both eyes.”

4.522-26, Diores “was hurled into the dust backwards / gasping life out; . . . / and a mist of darkness closed over both eyes.”

4.531, Thoas struck Peiros “in the middle of the belly, and so took the life from him . . .”

4.543-44, “For on that day many men of the Achaians and Trojans / lay sprawled in the dust face downward beside one another.”

4.522-23, Idaios “could not have escaped the black death-spirit / but Hephaistos caught him away . . .”

5.47, “He [Phaistos] dropped from the chariot, and the hateful darkness took hold of him.”

5.68, “He [Phereklos] dropped, screaming, to his knees, and death was a mist about him.”

5.82, “the arm [of Hypsenor] dropped bleeding to the ground, and the red death / and destiny the powerful took hold of both eyes.”

5.119-20, Diomedes says that Pandaros “boasts over me, saying / I cannot live to look much longer on the shining sunlight.”

5.155-56, Diomedes “killed these two [Xanthos and Thoön] and took away the dear life from them . . .”

5.176, Aineias to Pandaros, “many and great are those whose knees he [Diomedes] has broken.”

5.249-50, Sthenelos to Diomedes, “no longer storm on / so far among the champions, for fear you destroy your heart’s life.”

5.296, “there his life [Pandaros’] and his strength were scattered.”

5.316-17, Aphrodite protected Aineias “lest some fast-mounted Danaan / strike the bronze spear through his chest and strip the life from him.”

5.345-46, Apollo rescues Aineias, “for fear that some fast-mounted Danaan / might strike the bronze spear through his chest and strip the life from him.”

5.553, “now fulfilment of death was a darkness upon them [Orsilochos and Krethon].”

5.646, Tlepolemos to Sarpedon, “beaten down by my hands [you] will pass through the gates of Hades.”

5.652-54, Sarpedon to Tlepolemos, “what you will win from me here will be death / and black destruction; and broken under my spear you will . . . / give your soul to Hades . . .”

5.657-58, “over his [Tlepolemos’] eyes was mantled the covering mist of darkness.”

5.690-91, Hektor has “eagerness . . . / [to] strip the life out of many.”

5.694-, “Pelagon, one of his beloved companions, / pushed perforce through and out of his thigh the shaft of the ash spear. / And the mist mantled over his eyes, and the life left him, / but he got his breath back again, and the blast of the north wind / blowing brought back to life the spirit gasped out in agony.”

5.848, Ares “cut him down and [took] the life away from him [Periphas] . . .”

5.853, Ares was “furious to take the life from him [Diomedes].”

6.10, “a mist of darkness clouded both eyes.”

6.16-19, “there was none . . . to stand before him [Axylos] and keep off / the sad destruction, and Diomedes stripped life from both of them, / Axylos and his henchman Kalesios . . . / so down to the underworld went both men.”

6.284, Hektor to Hekabe, “If only I could see him [Paris] gone down to the house of the Death God . . .”

## Morality in the Early Greeks

Ferguson, John. *Moral Values in the Ancient World*. London: Methuen, 1958.

Piggott, Stuart. *Ancient Europe: From the Beginnings of Agriculture to Classical Antiquity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP; Chicago: Aldine, 1965.

“Perhaps not enough stress is laid on the features of Homer’s world that are common to those of the Irish hero-tales, Beowulf or the Sagas, and must have been a commonplace of the lost oral literature of the whole of ancient barbarian Europe. ‘The noblest behave like savages in battle’; emotionally unstable, ‘the manliest warriors weep copiously and publicly’; seeking women is ‘an avowed aim and approved prize of war’, as are sacking cities and killing or enslaving the men and children, and dragging the girls into concubinage. ‘Piracy, raiding at large for human and other booty, is an honourable trade’ (as it was to Thucidides [*sic*]), and ‘successful theft and perjury are admired’. [Quotations are from R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought* (1954) 3-5.] Agamemnon systematically strips his victims of their equipment as he smites them to the earth with as little compunction as the legendary Indian brave dealt with a Paleface cowboy biting the dust; indeed, the atmosphere of the *Iliad* is often distressingly like that of a Western . . .” (Piggott 140)

In Homer, “There is no clear distinction between what is immoral and what is inexpedient. . . . Autolycus is described as *esthlos* [“good”] in that he is a thief and perjurer [*Odyssey* 19.395]; the word obviously denotes efficiency or even success.” ( Ferguson 12)

“The general ideal of life has been described by Burckhardt as ‘agonistic’—αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἀλλων [“to be always among the bravest, and hold my head above others” (*Iliad* 6.208); “to be always best in battle and pre-eminent beyond all others” (*Iliad* 11.784, Lattimore 11.783)]. It has to come out on top. If it points forward to anything, it is to Aristotle’s *megalopsuchia*. There is in fact no word except perhaps *aidos* [αἰδώς] which expresses what is unequivocally a moral concept. [12] . . . *Aidos* is conventionally translated ‘sense of shame’ . . .” [14] ( Ferguson 12, 14)

“. . . we can rightly and properly mark off certain periods as having an integrity or completeness of their own. Such is the Graeco-Roman civilization, and . . . Christianity can thus be seen as the culmination and conclusion of the old order as well as the beginning of the new. The method by which Christianity spread suggests that it served to fulfil the aspirations of the world to which it came. One potent factor in helping it to spread was the concept of Christian love or *agape*. . . . [*Agape*] gave satisfaction where they [earlier moral systems] had failed . . . the question becomes inescapable: what has *agape* got that the rest haven’t got? [9] . . . the human mind seeks for a single ethical principle, or at least to reduce ethics to its simplest proportions, and principles of limited application do not satisfy. . . . Thinking man rejects unethical religion . . . I have tried to show that *agape* satisfied because it was comprehensive, and have assumed it to be a defect in earlier evaluations [i.e., moral systems] that they were not.” (Ferguson 9-10)

## Aspects of the Heroic Code in the *Iliad*

1. **the code in summary**
	1. “A statement of the competitive heroic code” is found in the advice of two fathers to their sons, on sending them to the Trojan war. (Willcock 136)
		1. 6.208-9, Hippolochos says to Glaukos, “be always among the bravest, and hold my head above others, / not shaming the generation of my fathers . . .”
		2. 11.783, Peleus says to Achilleus, “be always best in battle and pre-eminent beyond all others.”
	2. Odysseus summarizes the code in a soliloquy: 11.408-10, “I know that it is the cowards who walk out of the fighting, / but if one is to win honour in battle, he must by all means / stand his ground strongly, whether he be struck or strike down another.’”
	3. See also 22.70-72, “for a young man all is decorous when he is cut down in battle and torn with the sharp bronze, and lies there dead, and though dead still all that shows about him is beautiful . . .”
2. **shame**: see the handout on “shame culture and guilt culture.”
3. **hospitality**
	1. 21.76: “The giving and receiving of hospitality has in many societies involved an obligation between host and guest. . . .” (Willcock 235)
	2. Lykaon says to Achilleus, “I am . . . a suppliant who must be honoured / for you were the first beside whom I tasted the yield of Demeter [i.e., wheat]” (21.75-76). Since they “have “broken bread” together,” Achilleus must honor Lykaon. (Willcock 235)
	3. Diomedes and Glaukos
		1. At 6.119-20, Diomedes (a Greek) and Glaukos (a Trojan) engage one another in battle. But they discover that Diomedes’ grandfather (Oineus) hosted Glaukos’ grandfather (Bellerophontes) as a “guest friend”; therefore, they suspend their engagement and instead exchange armor.
		2. 6.215-20 (Diomedes to Glaukos), “you are my guest friend from far in the time of our fathers. / Brilliant Oineus once was host to Bellerophontes / the blameless, in his halls, and twenty days he detained him, / and these two gave to each other fine gifts in token of friendship. / Oineus gave his guest a war belt bright with the red dye, / Bellerophontes a golden and double-handled drinking-cup . . .”
		3. On the phrase “guest friend”: “In those far-distant days of separate communities, in which a stranger might be in considerable danger, some security was provided by a system of family friendship, or “guest friendship.” The tie of having been entertained in somebody’s house, and of having exchanged gifts, was remembered into the following generations, and even the actual gifts exchanged were remembered . . .” (Willcock 72)
	4. 13.620-39: “Menelaos [is] the chief victim of the Trojans’ offense against the laws of hospitality and so finds it difficult to understand why Zeus, god of hospitality, does not destroy them.” (Willcock 152)
	5. See also 4.259-60; 7.299-305; 7.471; 9.71; 17.250.
4. **gifts**
	1. “. . . the Homeric heroes are materialists and prize the accumulation of property both for its own sake and for the honor and status it brings.” See, e.g., 6.234-36; 9.602-5. (Willcock 72, emphasis omitted)
	2. 9.121-56: “The magnificence of the reparation offered to Achilleus by Agamemnon is a measure of Achilleus’ honor. Achilleus has been insulted; but if he accepts compensation such as this, his status will be higher than before the insult.” (Willcock 96)
	3. “As may be seen from the compensation offered to Achilleus in Book 9, honor is seen by these heroes in material terms. A public collection and presentation of gifts would add status to anybody.” (Willcock 117)
	4. 10.212-17: Nestor asks for a volunteer for a dangerous mission, then adds that “huge and heaven-high would rise up his glory / among all people, and an excellent gift would befall him; / [all the princes] will give him a black sheep, / female, with a lamb beneath; there shall be no gift like this one, / one that will be forever by at the feasts and festivals.”
	5. “There has been considerable criticism of Book 19 on [the ground] that the reconciliation between Agamemnon and Achilleus is not necessary, and that it would be more heroic for Achilleus [after learning of Patroklos’ death] to rush straight into battle, without caring for anything else . . . [But], as the quarrel broke out in a public assembly of the Achaian army, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a public reconciliation. It is even necessary that Achilleus should get, and be seen to get, the gifts of compensation offered by Agamemnon in Book 9; if this did not happen, his status (honor) would be less (compare what Phoinix says in 9.602-5 and what Achilleus himself says in 16.84-86 and 90). In fact, therefore, Book 19 is an important stage in the dramatic plot of the Anger of Achilleus; it is the moment when he renounces the quarrel initiated in Book 1.” (Willcock 215)
5. **difficulty apologizing** (Phoinix’ “parable of the Prayers”)
	1. 9.496-512: “. . . Achilleus, beat down your great anger. It is not / yours to have a pitiless heart. The very immortals / can be moved; / . . . men turn back even the immortals / in supplication, when any man does wrong and transgresses. / For there are also the spirits of Prayer, the daughters of great Zeus, / and they are lame of their feet, and wrinkled, and cast their eyes sidelong, / who toil on their way left far behind by the spirit of Ruin: / but she, Ruin, is strong and sound on her feet, and therefore / far outruns all Prayers, and wins into every country / to force men astray; and the Prayers follow as healers after her. / If a man venerates these daughters of Zeus as they draw near, / such a man they bring great advantage, and hear his entreaty; / but if a man shall deny them, and stubbornly with a harsh word / refuse, they go to Zeus, son of Kronos, in supplication / that Ruin may overtake this man, that he be hurt, and punished. / So, Achilleus: grant, you also, that Zeus’ daughters be given / their honour, which, lordly though they be, curbs the will of others.”
	2. ““Prayers,” although the usual term in English, . . . means “requests for forgiveness,” i.e., apologies.” (Willcock 106)
	3. 9.503 (“they are lame of their feet, and wrinkled, and cast their eyes sidelong”): “It is not easy for an offender to say that he is sorry; his handicaps are symbolically transferred to the Prayers.” (Willcock 106)
6. **blood feud**
	1. “A killer, whether the killing was intentional or accidental, was guilty of the blood of the dead man, and this used to oblige the relatives to avenge the death and kill in their turn, thus leading to an unending vendetta unless the murderer fled the country, which he frequently did . . .” See 9.632-42; 13.659. (Willcock 111)
	2. Among the killers in exile are Phoinix (9.478-82), Patroklos (23.84-88), Tlepolemos (2.661-66), Medon (13.685-722; 15.335), Lykophron (15.431-32), and Epeigeus (16.570-76).
	3. 2.661-66: “The killing of a relation is commonly put forward in the myths as a reason for tribal movement, blood guilt compelling the killer to leave home.” (Willcock 32)
	4. “A relaxation of this otherwise insoluble problem [the unending vendetta] was eventually achieved by the acceptance of “blood money” by the relatives of the dead. Honor was then satisfied, and the killer could continue to live in the community.” (Willcock 111)
		1. 9:632-36: “a man takes from his brother’s slayer / the blood price, or the price for a child who was killed, and the guilty / one, when he has largely repaid, stays still in the country, / and the injured man’s heart is curbed, and his pride, and his anger / when he has taken the price . . .”
		2. 13.658-59: killed in battle, Harpalion is brought back to Troy, “and his father, weeping tears, walked beside them, / and no man-price came his way for his son’s slaying.”
		3. On Achilleus’ shield are two scenes of a city at peace. “The second [18.497-508] is of a primitive legal process of considerable historical interest. It reflects the time when the old inescapable blood guilt for killing (often leading to exile, as in many of the biographies of the fighters), may be commuted to the payment of a sum of money to the dead man’s relatives . . .” (Willcock 211)
	5. The simile at 24.480-82 is “taken from the commonly mentioned situation of a killer leaving home and coming as a suppliant to the king of another land . . .” (Willcock 270-71) “As when dense disaster closes on one who has murdered / a man in his own land, and he comes to the country of others, / to a man of substance, and wonder seizes on those who behold him, / so Achilleus wondered as he looked on Priam . . .”
	6. Similar to the blood feud is Achilleus’ compensating for Patroklos’ death by sacrificing twelve Trojan youths.
		1. He states his intention in 18.336-37 (“Before your . . . pyre I shall behead twelve glorious children of the Trojans”), and he carries it out in 21.27-33 and 23.175-76.
		2. “Behead” is an incorrect translation: “Achilleus’ intention is to cut their throats, to slaughter them like animals.” (Willcock 207)
		3. “This is the only instance of human sacrifice in the *Iliad* . . .” (Willcock 207)
		4. “There can be no question of Homer’s approving such behavior (in fact, he condemns it as evil in 23.176 [“evil were the thoughts in his heart against them”]), but it is not culpable in the “shame-culture” heroic code of the *Iliad*, provided the hero himself is of sufficient standing to get away with it. Nothing that Achilleus does—neither this nor his refusal to fight nor his treatment of Hektor’s body—is blamed as immoral by the other Greeks.” (Willcock 207)
7. **trash talking**
	1. taunting
		1. taunts between Agamemnon and Achilleus in Book 1 (words of braggadocio or having to do with honor are emphasized)
			1. 1.118-19, Agamemnon says to the assembled Greeks, “Find me then some prize that shall be my own, lest I only / among the Argives go without, since that were *unfitting* . . .”
			2. 1.90-91, Achilleus says, “Agamemnon / . . . now *claims* to be far the greatest of all the Achaians.”
			3. 1.122, Achilleus calls Agamemnon (using irony) “most lordly, greediest for gain of all men . . .”
			4. 1.126, Achilleus responds, “it is *unbecoming* for the people to call back things once given.”
			5. 1.131-39, Agamemnon: “Not that way, good fighter though you be, godlike Achilleus, / strive to *cheat*, for you will not *deceive*, you will not persuade me. / What do you want? To keep your own prize and have me sit here / lacking one? Are you *ordering* me to give this girl back? / Either the great-hearted Achaians shall give me a new prize / chosen according to my desire to atone for the girl lost, / or else if they will not give me one *I myself shall take her*, / your own prize, or that of Aias, or that of Odysseus, / going myself in person; and *he whom I visit will be bitter*.”
			6. 1.149-71, Achilleus: “O wrapped in shamelessness, with your mind forever on profit / . . . o great shamelessness, we followed, to do you *favour*, / you with the dog’s eyes, to win your *honour* and Menelaos’ / . . . Never / . . . do I have a prize that is *equal* to your prize. / Always the greater part of the painful fighting is the work of / my hands; but when the time comes to distribute the booty / yours is far the *greater* reward, and I with some *small* thing / yet dear to me go back to my ships when I am weary with fighting. / Now *I am returning to Phthia*, since it is much better / *to* *go home* again with my curved ships, and I am minded no longer / to stay here *dishonoured* and pile up your wealth and your luxury.’”
			7. 1.173-87, Agamemnon: “*Run away* by all means if your heart drives you. I will not / *entreat* you to stay here for my sake. There are others with me / who will do me *honour*, and above all Zeus of the counsels. / To me you are the most hateful of all the kings whom the gods love. / Forever quarrelling is dear to your heart, and wars and battles; / and if you are very strong indeed, that is *a* *god’s gift*. / *Go home* then with your own ships and your own companions, / be king over the Myrmidons. I care nothing about you. / *I take no account* of your anger. But here is my *threat* to you. / . . . I shall take the fair-cheeked Briseis, / your prize, *I myself* going to your shelter, that you may *learn well* / how much *greater* I am than you, and another man may *shrink back* / *from likening himself to me and contending against me*.”
			8. 1.223-44, “Peleus’ son once again in words of derision / spoke to Atreides, and did not yet let go of his anger: / ‘You wine sack, with a *dog’s eyes*, with a *deer’s heart*. Never / once have you taken *courage* in your heart to arm with your people / for battle, / . . . for in such things *you see death*. Far better to your mind / is it, all along the widespread host of the Achaians / to take away the gifts of any man who speaks up against you. / . . . some day *longing for Achilleus* will come to the sons of the Achaians, / all of them. / . . . And *then you will eat out the heart within you* / in sorrow, that you did no *honour* to the best of the Achaians.’”
			9. When Achilleus considers killing Agamemnon for his insults, Athene intervenes (1.210-11): “do not take your sword in your hand, keep clear of fighting, / though indeed with words you may abuse him . . .” See 1.290-91, where Agamemnon remarks, “the everlasting gods / . . . have not given him the right to speak abusively.”
			10. 1.304-5, “these two after battling in words of contention / stood up, and broke the assembly . . .”
			11. 5.633-43, Tlepolemos to Sarpedon, “Man of counsel of the Lykians, Sarpedon, why must you / be skulking here, you who are a man unskilled in the fighting? / They are liars who call you issue of Zeus, the holder / of the aegis, since you fall far short in truth of the others / who were begotten of Zeus in the generations before us: / such men as, they say, was the great strength of Herakles, / my own father, of the daring spirit, the heart of a lion: / . . . but yours is the heart of a coward and your people are dying.”
		2. “Speeches of intimidation . . . before beginning the fight are common” (e.g., 5.633-54). (Willcock 62)
		3. Sometimes warriors taunt fellow warriors, to urge their fellows to greater exploits.
			1. Agamemnon scolds Menestheus and his Athenians, then scolds Odysseus beside the Kephallenians (4.326-48).
			2. Agamemnon scolds Diomedes (4.364-402).
			3. Sarpedon taunts Hektor (5.471-92).
		4. Taunts often come in a sequence. Examples:
			1. 13.374 + 414 + 446.
			2. 14.454-57 + 470 ff. + 479 ff. + 501 ff. (Willcock 164)
		5. 11.389-90 (“witless child, woman, useless man, no fighter”): “The fighter at close quarters scorns the archer, who keeps out of the thick of the battle.” (Willcock 128)
		6. “It is a common threat in the *Iliad* that one will give the enemy’s body to the dogs and birds to eat, not allowing his friends to bury him.” (Willcock 4)
			1. See 1.4-5; 2.393; 4.237; 8.379; 16.836; 17.126-27; 18.177; 22.335, 339, 348-49, 354.
			2. “In practice, however, no corpses are specifically said to be eaten by these scavengers; and in Book 7 the two sides . . . make a truce for the burial of the dead.” (Willcock 4)
		7. giving an opponent a last chance to run
			1. 17.13, 31-32; 20.196-98.
			2. Such “words are not so much a friendly warning as an attempt to frighten; they are thematic in this sort of speech before a duel . . .” (Willcock 226)
		8. 21.441-60: “Poseidon tries his hand at a speech of aggravation—like a human.” (Willcock 239)
		9. During the boxing match (23.653-99), “one of the most extraordinary indications that human nature remains the same is that Epeios here [23.667-75], before his fight, speaks in terms similar to those that are notoriously used by modern professional boxers: “Who is going to be second?” (667); “I am the greatest” (669); “I’ll murder him” (673).” (Willcock 260)
	2. vaunting (boasting over a fallen foe)
		1. “The boast over a fallen foe is a regular feature in the fighting [149] . . . [an] almost obligatory “vaunting speech” after the kill.” (Willcock 149, 189)
		2. Examples are 13.373-82 (see 446) and 16.745-50.
		3. Hektor vaunts over Patroklos (16.830-54), but Achilleus vaunts over Hektor (22.331-36, 22.356-66). “Hektor, so proud here, is the dying man there.” (Willcock 190)
		4. Athene tries her hand at a speech of vaunting, like a human.
			1. 5.800-12.
			2. 21.428-33: “This speech of triumph, imitating the victory speeches of human warriors, does little credit to Athene.” (Willcock 239)
	3. war cry
		1. 15.718 (“give single voice to the clamour of battle”) means “raise the war cry.” (Willcock 174)
8. **stripping armor**
	1. “. . . often, the thick of the battle is around the corpse of a fallen leader. Each side wants to get possession of it, the one to strip off the armor, the other to prevent that from happening; cf. 194.” (Willcock 150)
	2. Stripping of armor (or threatening or attempting to strip it) occurs in 2.875; 4.466; 4.532; 5.48; 5.164; 5.435; 5.618-22; 5.842-44; 6.28; 6.417; 7.78; 7.82; 7.146; 8.194-95; 10.343; 10.387; 10.457-59; 11.100-1; 11.110; 11.246-47; 11.334; 11.368, 373-75; 11.432; 11.579-80; 12.195; 13.182; 13.201-2; 13.509-11; 13.550-51; 13.619; 13.640-41; 15.343; 15.427-28; 15.518; 15.524-25; 15.544-45; 15.583; 16.500; 16.545; 16.560; 16.650; 16.782; 16.846; 17.60; 17.85; 17.125; 17.186-87; 17.204-5; 17.537; 18.83; 18.93; 19.89; 21.182-83; 22.258; 22.323; 22.367-69; 23.561; 23.800; 23.808.
	3. In 17.204-5, Zeus says to Hektor, “you have killed [Patroklos], / and taken the armour, as you should not have done . . .” But “There is evidently no general impropriety in taking the armor of your dead foe. What Zeus means is that Hektor does not have the stature to wear the immortal armor of Achilleus.” (Willcock 195)
9. **heroic games**
	1. The funeral games of Patroklos (23.257-897) include eight events (the two-horse chariot race, boxing, wrestling, a foot race, a fight in armor, the discus, archery, and spear­throwing). All are intended to demonstrate—and reward—heroic prowess.
	2. “Athletic contests were very popular in classical Greece. In particular, the four national games (Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, Nemean) provided one of the few unifying factors in the normally divisive Greek political life . . . The four national games . . . had legends which attributed their origin to funeral games held to honor a great hero. There is also evidence that funeral games were a common topic of heroic poetry.” (Willcock 253)
	3. “The Olympian games (at Olympia in Elis) were recorded as having been founded (or refounded) in 776 b.c., not far from the time of the composition of the *Iliad*.” (Willcock 253)
	4. “If we compare the action [of the boxing match, 23.653-99] with other ancient descriptions of a boxing bout (found in Theocritus, Apollonius, and Virgil), we discover that Homer is far the most civilized . . . his victor even helps the defeated opponent to his feet.” (Willcock 260)
10. **Hektor’s speech to himself as Achilleus approaches** (22.99-130)
	1. “Hektor’s speech follows the thoughts that pass through his mind. It is a soliloquy like those of Odysseus (11.403-10), Menelaos (17.90-105), and Agenor (21.552-70), all spoken in critical situations of personal danger.” (Willcock 242)
		1. “His first thought is of what people (especially Poulydamas) will say if he goes to safety in the city . . . [In 22.105] even Hektor is motivated by the heroic code of honor—the sense of *shame* about what people will say—rather than by a patriotic wish to fight for his country . . .” (Willcock 242, emphasis altered)
		2. “. . . then he wonders if there is any way of making a compact with Achilleus, perhaps offering massive compensation to the Greeks for the war.” (Willcock 242)
		3. “But he sees that this is hopeless, and he ends with the realization that there is nothing to do but fight. In the event, however, his nerve fails: when Achilleus comes near, he runs.” (Willcock 242)
	2. Finally, in 22.304-5, “Hektor comes to true heroism and nobility. He ran from Achilleus before; but now, before the watching armies—and knowing it to be hopeless—he attacks like an eagle (308).” (Willcock 246)
11. **Achilleus’ speech to Lykaon** (21.106-13)
	1. 21.106-18: “‘So, friend, you die also. Why all this clamour about it? / Patroklos also is dead, who was better by far than you are. / Do you not see what a man I am, how huge, how splendid / and born of a great father, and the mother who bore me immortal? / Yet even I have also my death and my strong destiny, / and there shall be a dawn or an afternoon or a noontime / when some man in the fighting will take the life from me also / either with a spearcast or an arrow flown from the bowstring.’ / So he spoke, and in the other the knees and the inward / heart went slack. He let go of the spear and sat back, spreading / wide both hands; but Achilleus drawing his sharp sword struck him / beside the neck at the collar-bone, and the double-edged sword / plunged full length inside.”
	2. “These are among the most sublime lines in the *Iliad*. Achilleus the killer shows a comradeship for the man he is about to kill, addressing him as “friend.” He associates him with Patroklos and with himself, for he knows perfectly well that his own death will come soon (cf. 18.96). He has no particular hatred for the enemy; indeed he feels bound to him by the common bond of death.” (Willcock 235)
	3. 21.115-16 (“sat back, spreading wide both hands”): “In a gesture of hopelessness, Ly­kaon offers his neck to the blow.” (Willcock 235)
12. **Sarpedon’s** “**speech about courage and duty**” (12.310-28) (Willcock 142)
	1. 12.310-28, “Glaukos, why is it you and I are honoured before others / with pride of place, the choice meats and the filled wine cups / in Lykia, and all men look on us as if we were immortals, / and we are appointed a great piece of land by the banks of Xanthos, / good land, orchard and vineyard, and ploughland for the planting of wheat? / Therefore it is our duty in the forefront of the Lykians / to take our stand, and bear our part of the blazing of battle, / so that a man of the close-armoured Lykians may say of us: / ‘Indeed, these are no ignoble men who are lords of Lykia, / these kings of ours, who feed upon the fat sheep appointed / and drink the exquisite sweet wine, since indeed there is strength / of valour in them, since they fight in the forefront of the Lykians.’ / Man, supposing you and I, escaping this battle, / would be able to live on forever, ageless, immortal, / so neither would I myself go on fighting in the foremost / nor would I urge you into the fighting where men win glory. / But now, seeing that the spirits of death stand close about us / in their thousands, no man can turn aside nor escape them, / let us go on and win glory for ourselves, or yield it to others.”
	2. “This famous speech of Sarpedon to his friend Glaukos is a clear statement of the principle of *noblesse oblige*. The king is under an obligation to his people to fight bravely because they believe in him.” (Willcock 142)
	3. “The heroic code led men to treat their lives as of less significance than their honor. [103] . . . [Sarpedon] rationalizes the heroic willingness to win honor even at the risk of one’s life. “If it were possible to live for ever,” he says, “I should not think these risks worthwhile; but seeing that death will come one way or another, we may as well try for glory.” (Willcock 103, 142)
13. **Achilleus questions the heroic code** (9.308-429)
	1. 9.318-22, 405-18: “Fate is the same for the man who holds back, the same if he fights hard. / We are all held in a single honour, the brave with the weaklings. / A man dies still if he has done nothing, as one who has done much. / Nothing is won for me, now that my heart has gone through its afflictions / in forever setting my life on the hazard of battle. / . . . Of possessions / cattle and fat sheep are things to be had for the lifting, / and tripods can be won, and the tawny high heads of horses, / but a man’s life cannot come back again, it cannot be lifted / nor captured again by force, once it has crossed the teeth’s barrier. / For my mother Thetis the goddess of the silver feet tells me / I carry two sorts of destiny toward the day of my death. Either, / if I stay here and fight beside the city of the Trojans, / my return home is gone, but my glory shall be everlasting; / but if I return home to the beloved land of my fathers, / the excellence of my glory is gone, but there will be a long life / left for me, and my end in death will not come to me quickly. / And this would be my counsel to others also, to sail back / home again . . .”
	2. Compare Eccl 9:1-10, “All this I laid to heart, examining it all, how the righteous and the wise and their deeds are in the hand of God; whether it is love or hate one does not know. Everything that confronts them 2is vanity, since the same fate comes to all, to the righteous and the wicked, to the good and the evil, to the clean and the unclean, to those who sacrifice and those who do not sacrifice. As are the good, so are the sinners; those who swear are like those who shun an oath. 3This is an evil in all that happens under the sun, that the same fate comes to everyone. Moreover, the hearts of all are full of evil; madness is in their hearts while they live, and after that they go to the dead. 4But whoever is joined with all the living has hope, for *a living dog is better than a dead lion*.[[1]](#footnote-1) 5The living know that they will die, but the dead know nothing; they have no more reward, and even the memory of them is lost. 6Their love and their hate and their envy have already perished; never again will they have any share in all that happens under the sun. 7Go, eat your bread with enjoyment, and drink your wine with a merry heart; for God has long ago approved what you do. 8Let your garments always be white; do not let oil be lacking on your head. 9Enjoy life with the wife whom you love, all the days of your vain life that are given you under the sun, because that is your portion in life and in your toil at which you toil under the sun. 10Whatever your hand finds to do, do with your might; for there is no work or thought or knowledge or wisdom in Sheol, to which you are going.”
	3. “Achilleus’ reply to Odysseus is the most powerful speech in the *Iliad*.” (Willcock 101)
	4. “Achilleus has been a simple hero, embodying the perfection of the qualities of the heroic age. In other words, he has lived for “honor”—for his standing in the eyes of other people. His aim (and achievement) has been to surpass all others.” (Willcock 101)
	5. “Now, in the bitterness of the public insult he has received from Agamemnon, he questions the whole basis of his life; he questions whether honor is indeed more valuable than life, whether heroic achievements, with all their attendant risk and strain, are worthwhile, when he, after all he has done, can be treated like this.” (Willcock 101)
	6. 9.318-22 are “A succession of more or less proverbial comments on the uselessness of heroic effort.” (Willcock 102)
	7. In 9.405-9, Achilleus, “at the climax of his speech, raises the question whether any marks of honor (i.e., possessions) are worth risking one’s life for. He is questioning the whole basis of the heroic code.” (Willcock 103)

## Shame Culture and Guilt Culture

Benedict, Ruth. *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*. 1946. Rpt. New York: New American Library, 1974.

Dodds, E.R. *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Sather Classical Lectures 25. Berkeley: U of California P, 1951. (Ch. 2, pp. 28-63, is “From Shame-Culture to Guilt-Culture.”)

 “. . . certain American anthropologists have lately taught us to distinguish “shame-cultures” from “guilt-cultures,” [here there is a footnote referring to Ruth Benedict] and the society described by Homer clearly falls into the former class. Homeric man’s highest good is not the enjoyment of a quiet conscience, but the enjoyment of *time* [τιμῆ, pronounced “*tih-MAY*”] public esteem: “Why should I fight,” asks Achilles, “if the good fighter receives no more τιμῆ than the bad?” And the strongest moral force which Homeric man knows is not the fear of god, but respect for public opinion . . . In such a society, anything which exposes a man to the contempt or ridicule of his fellows, which causes him to “lose face,” is felt as unbearable.” (Dodds 18)

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 In Japan, “The strong identification of circumspection with self-­respect includes, therefore, watchfulness of all the cues one observes in other people’s acts, and a strong sense that other people are sitting in judgment. ‘One cultivates self-respect (one must jicho),’ they say, ‘because of society.’ ‘If there were no society one would not need to respect oneself (cultivate jicho).’ These are extreme statements of an external sanc­tion for self-respect. They are statements which take no ac­count of internal sanctions for proper behavior. Like the popular sayings of many nations, they exaggerate the case, for Japanese sometimes react as strongly as any Puritan to a private accumulation of guilt. But their extreme statements nevertheless point out correctly where the emphasis falls in Japan. It falls on the importance of shame rather than on the importance of guilt.

 “In anthropological studies of different cultures the dis­tinction between those which rely heavily on shame and those that rely heavily on guilt is an important one. A so­ciety that inculcates absolute standards of morality and re­lies on men’s developing a conscience is a guilt culture by definition, but a man in such a society may, as in the United States, suffer in addition from shame when he accuses him­self of gaucheries which are in no way sins. He may be ex­ceedingly chagrined about not dressing appropriately for the occasion or about a slip of the tongue. In a culture where shame is a major sanction, people are chagrined about acts which we expect people to feel guilty about. This chagrin [222] can be very intense and it cannot be relieved, as guilt can be, by confession and atonement. A man who has sinned can get relief by unburdening himself. This device of confession is used in our secular therapy and by many religious groups which have otherwise little in common. We know it brings relief. Where shame is the major sanction, a man does not experience relief when he makes his fault public even to a confessor. So long as his bad behavior does not ‘get out into the world’ he need not be troubled and confession appears to him merely a way of courting trouble. Shame cultures therefore do not provide for confessions, even to the gods. They have ceremonies for good luck rather than for expia­tion.

 “True shame cultures rely on external sanctions for good behavior, not, as true guilt cultures do, on an internalized conviction of sin. Shame is a reaction to other people’s crit­icism. A man is shamed either by being openly ridiculed and rejected or by fantasying to himself that he has been made ridiculous. In either case it is a potent sanction. But it re­quires an audience or at least a man’s fantasy of an audi­ence. Guilt does not. In a nation where honor means living up to one’s own picture of oneself, a man may suffer from guilt though no man knows of his misdeed and a man’s feel­ing of guilt may actually be relieved by confessing his sin.” (Benedict 222-23)

## Hybris in the *Iliad*

introduction

1. **the concept of *hybris***
	1. “A mortal gets above himself and challenges the gods; the result is always disastrous.” (Willcock 28)
	2. Hybris was the characteristic of those “who, through forgetfulness of their own insignificance as mortals, entered into competition with the gods.” (Willcock 71)
	3. The *Iliad* contains stories of “humans who came to an evil end because, forgetting the limitations of their state, they entered into competition with the gods . . .” (Willcock 273)

stories of “humans who came to an evil end”

1. **Thamyris** (Book 2)
	1. 2.594-600, “Dorion [is] where the Muses / encountering Thamyris the Thracian stopped him from singing . . .; / for he boasted that he would surpass, if the very Muses, / daughters of Zeus who holds the aegis, were singing against him, / and these in their anger struck him maimed, and the voice of wonder / they took away, and made him a singer without memory . . .”
	2. “The story of Thamyris, a singer (i.e., poet), exemplifies [hybris].” (Willcock 28)
2. **Pandaros** (Books 4-5)
	1. Pandaros wounds two Greeks who are greater than he, Menelaos (4.132-40) and Diomedes (5.95-100).
	2. Pandaros “must die now. He has done a deed above his stature . . .” (Willcock 193)
	3. Sure enough, he dies gruesomely (a spear through teeth, tongue, and jaws, 5.290-93).
3. **Diomedes** (Book 5)
	1. Book 5 tells of Diomedes’ *aristeia* (period when a single warrior dominates the battlefield). During it, Diomedes “even wounds two gods [Aphrodite (311-51) and Ares (835-63)]—an achievement which would send a thrill of fear through the mind of a believer of old.” (Willcock 54)
	2. 5.381-404: The goddess Dione comforts Aphrodite by relating that mortals have wound­ed gods in the past: Ephialtes and Otos once chained Ares in a cauldron for 13 months; Herakles once shot Hera in the breast with an arrow; and Herakles once shot Hades in the shoulder with an arrow.
	3. 5.405-13, Dione tells Aphrodite, “It was the goddess grey-eyed Athene who drove on this man [Diomedes] / against you; poor fool, the heart of Tydeus’ son knows nothing / of how that man who fights the immortals lives for no long time, / his children do not gather to his knees to welcome their father / when he returns home after the fighting and the bitter warfare. / Then, though he be very strong indeed, let the son of Tydeus / take care lest someone even better than he might fight with him, / lest for a long time Aigialeia [Diomedes’ wife] / mourning wake out of sleep . . .”
		1. “ Dione makes an essentially Greek point: a person who fights against the gods does not live to a peaceful old age. The reference to Diomedes’ mourning wife is an evident threat . . .” (Willcock 59)
		2. “. . . but although various stories were told of Diomedes’ experiences after he returned home, none of them conforms to the picture in Dione’s words here. We must take her to be describing what *can* happen to those who attack the gods, not what *will* happen to Diomedes.” (Willcock 59)
4. **Lykourgos** (Book 6)
	1. 6.123-24, 128-43, Diomedes says to Glaukos, “Who among mortal men are you, good friend? . . . / if you are some one of the immortals come down from the bright sky, / know that I will not fight against any god of the heaven, / since even the son of Dryas, Lykourgos the powerful, did not / live long; he who tried to fight with the gods of the bright sky, / who once drove the fosterers of rapturous Dionysos / headlong down the sacred Nyseian hill, and all of them / shed and scattered their wands on the ground, stricken with an ox-goad / by murderous Lykourgos, while Dionysos in terror / dived into the salt surf, and Thetis took him to her bosom, / frightened, with the strong shivers upon him at the man’s blustering. / But the gods who live at their ease were angered with Lykourgos, / and the son of Kronos struck him to blindness, nor did he live long / afterwards, since he was hated by all the immortals. / Therefore neither would I be willing to fight with the blessed / gods . . .”
5. **Bellerophontes** (Book 6)
	1. 6.179-83, 179-83, 200-5, “To Bellerophontes the gods granted beauty and desirable / manhood . . . [The king of Lykia] sent him away with orders to kill the Chimaira / none might approach; a thing of immortal make, not human, / lion-fronted and snake behind, a goat in the middle, / and snorting out the breath of the terrible flame of bright fire. / He killed the Chimaira, obeying the portents of the immortals. / . . . But after Bellerophontes was hated by all the immortals, / he wandered alone about the plain of Aleios, eating / his heart out, skulking aside from the trodden track of humanity. / As for Isandros his son, Ares the insatiate of fighting / killed him in close battle against the glorious Solymoi, / while Artemis of the golden reins killed the daughter in anger.”
	2. “It is not explained why he [Bellerophontes] was hated by all the immortals. Fortunately Pindar (in the *Thirteenth Olympian* and the *Seventh Isthmian*) gives us sufficient information. . . . In a fine allegorical image, like that of Ikaros flying too high and too near the sun, Bellerophontes is said to have tried to fly Pegasos to heaven; he was unseated by Zeus and wandered about alone and mad.” (Willcock 71, emphasis omitted)
6. **Hektor** (Book 8)
	1. 8.539-40, Hektor enraptured with fighting exclaims, “Oh, if I only / could be as this in all my days immortal and ageless / and be held in honour as Athene and Apollo are honoured . . .”
	2. “Even to consider such a possibility shows dangerous presumption in a human being. Hektor often displays this sort of lack of judgment.” (Willcock 92)
7. **Euphorbos** (Book 16)
	1. In Book 16, after Apollo stuns Patroklos with a slap on the back, Euphorbos (a minor Trojan warrior) spears Patroklos in the back, then runs and hides (16.806-15); Hektor then finishes off Patroklos.
	2. “By the inherent assumptions of epic poetry, Euphorbos must die now. He has done a deed above his stature, in taking part in the death of Patroklos . . .” (Willcock 193)
8. **Niobe** (24.602-9)
	1. 24.601-19, Achilleus says to Priam, “you and I must remember our supper. / For even Niobe, she of the lovely tresses, remembered / to eat, whose twelve children were destroyed in her palace, / six daughters, and six sons in the pride of their youth, whom Apollo / killed with arrows from his silver bow, being angered / with Niobe, and shaft-showering Artemis killed the daughters; / because Niobe likened herself to Leto of the fair colouring [mother of Apollo and Artemis] / and said Leto had borne only two, she herself had borne many; / but the two, though they were only two, destroyed all those others. / Nine days long they lay in their blood, nor was there anyone / to bury them, for the son of Kronos made stones out of / the people; but on the tenth day the Uranian gods buried them. / But she remembered to eat when she was worn out with weeping. / And now somewhere among the rocks, in the lonely mountains, / in Sipylos, where they say is the resting place of the goddesses / who are nymphs, and dance beside the waters of Acheloios, / there, stone still, she broods on the sorrows that the gods gave her. / Come then, we also, aged magnificent sir, must remember / to eat . . .”
	2. “The story of Niobe, originating in part from an imagined human likeness in a rock face, is the extreme case of the mourning mother. In mythology she was the daughter of Tantalos.” (Willcock 273)

addenda on hybris

1. **the number three**
	1. In 8.169-70, Diomedes considers three times whether to fight or to flee with the rest of the Greeks. “The number three is typical in this sort of situation, of a man trying to assert himself against the will of heaven or the restrictions of fate.” (Willcock 88)
	2. 16.702-9: “Three times Patroklos tried to mount the angle of the towering / wall, and three times Phoibos Apollo battered him backward / with the immortal hands beating back the bright shield. As Patroklos / for the fourth time, like something more than a man, came at him / he called aloud, and spoke winged words in the voice of danger: / ‘Give way, illustrious Patroklos: it is not destined . . .’”
2. **Apollo’s speech to Aineias** (Book 17)
	1. 17.327-32: Apollo (in the form of the herald Periphas) says to Aineias, “how could you be the men to defend sheer Ilion / even against a god’s will, as I have seen other men do it / in the confidence of their own force and strength, their own manhood / and their own numbers, though they had too few people for it? / But now Zeus wishes the victory far rather for our side / than the Danaans’, only yourselves keep blenching and will not fight them.”
	2. “The speech of Apollo is a little unclear. He means, “How could you emulate famous heroes, who have fought to the bitter end to defend a city even when god was against them, when you do not try particularly hard when Zeus is on your side?”” (Willcock 196)
	3. Apollo’s speech in 17.327-32 seems to approve of hubris. The implication is that heroes were right to strive against the gods, even though their striving was hopeless. But there is a difference between competing with the gods out of pride, out of wanting to be their equal (compare the tower of Babel, Gen 11:1-9), and competing with the gods because only by doing so can one do what is right and just. Homer’s approving of striving in a hopeless situation is less related to hubris than to the famous Greek “sense of the tragic.”

## Some Aspects of the Gods in the *Iliad*

1. **shape-changing**
	1. Gods may appear as birds (7.59; 13.62; 14.290; and several times in the *Odyssey*).
	2. Gods may appear as human individuals.
		1. Dream appears to Agamemnon as Nestor (2.20-22).
		2. Athene appears to the Greeks as a herald (2.249-80).
		3. Iris appears to the Trojans as Polites, Priam’s son (2.786-95).
		4. Iris appears to Helen as Laodike, Priam’s daughter (3.121-25).
		5. Ares appears to the Trojans as Akamas (5.461-63).
		6. Hera appears to the Greeks as Stentor (5.784-86).
		7. Poseidon appears to various Greek leaders as Kalchas, the Greek seer (13.45, 83-93).
		8. Poseidon appears to Idomeneus as Thoas (13.215-16).
		9. Poseidon appears to the Greeks as a Greek soldier (13.357).
		10. Poseidon appears to Agamemnon as an old man (14.135-37).
		11. Apollo appears to Hektor as Mentes (17.71-74).
		12. Apollo appears to Aineias as Periphas (17.321-24).
		13. Athene appears to Menelaos as Phoinix (17.553-55).
		14. Apollo appears to Hektor as Phainops (17.582-84).
		15. Hera appears to Achilleus as Xanthos the horse (19.404-17).
		16. Apollo appears to Achilleus as Agenor (21.600; 22.6-7).
		17. Athene appears to Hektor as Deïphobos (22.226-27).
	3. For a possible reason why shape-changing arose as a characteristic of the gods, see the discussion of 2.786-95 (Iris appearing as Polites) below, under “the gods as causes.”
2. **the gods’ amorality**
	1. 4.1-72 is “A scene on Olympos, showing the gods . . . quite ruthless and amoral, bargaining with one another about the destruction of cities, as if it is all a game.” (Willcock 45)
		1. 4.36, 39-42, Zeus to Hera, “Do as you please then [and sack Troy]. . . . / [But] whenever I in turn am eager to lay waste some city, / as I please, one in which are dwelling men who are dear to you, / you shall not stand in the way of my anger, but let me do it . . .”
		2. 4.50-53, Hera answers, “Of all cities there are three that are dearest to my own heart: / Argos and Sparta and Mykenai of the wide ways. All these, / whenever they become hateful to your heart, sack utterly.”
	2. “Athene persuades Pandaros to break the truce [4.68-126]. . . . Then Athene moves swiftly to the side of Menelaos, to see that the arrow does not do him any serious harm [4.127-152]; in the following book, inevitably, Pandaros is one of the first to fall, and it is Athene who directs the spear of Diomedes so that it makes a most painful and unpleasant wound [5.274-296]. The gods are ruthless.” (Willcock 46)
	3. Ares’ duplicity
		1. 5.831-34, Athene says to Diomedes, “Be not afraid of violent Ares, / that thing of fury, evil-wrought, that double-faced liar / who even now protested to Hera and me, promising / that he would fight against the Trojans and stand by the Argives. / Now, all promises forgotten, he stands by the Trojans.”
		2. “Victory in war favors now one side, now the other. Turn that into anthropomorphic terms, and Ares becomes shifty, false, unreliable. [64] . . . Ares is a fickle god, helping now one side, now the other.” [167] (Willcock 64, 167)
		3. In 15.110-42, when Ares learns that his son Askalaphos has been killed, he switches sides, intending to fight for the Greeks; but Athene, fearing Zeus’ wrath, dissuades him.
	4. 22.302: “Hektor attributes his coming death to his two divine supporters, Zeus and Apollo. And indeed it is true that Zeus has used him to drive the Greeks back and so to fulfill his [245] promise to Thetis . . .” (Willcock 245-46)
3. **the gods as comic relief**
	1. “. . . particularly in Books 5 and 14 . . . Homer uses the gods to provide lightness and relief from the human battle scenes. The gods are lacking in seriousness and dignity by the very feature that divides them from the humans: their immortality.” (Willcock 234)
	2. Aphrodite’s wound (5.352-430)
		1. After Diomedes wounds Aphrodite in her hand, Iris leads her to Olympos, and Dione, Aphrodite’s mother, heals her. Hera and Athene tease Aphrodite, and Zeus gently tells Aphrodite to stick to love matters.
	3. the deception of Zeus (14.153-351)
		1. ““The Deception of Zeus” is the name this striking and attractive episode bore in antiquity.” (Willcock 159)
		2. “Hera, realizing that her husband must be thoroughly distracted from the battle, decides to use her feminine charms to this purpose. It is a particular case of Homer’s regular use of the gods to lighten the grim reality of the battlefield and even to provide some comic diversion. Here there is evident comic intention in lines 158, 296 . . ., and 315-28.” (Willcock 159)
		3. 14.317-28: “The list of previous loves has seemed out of place or comic to most interpreters. . . . That there is humor in it, from this sophisticated poet, is evident.” (Willcock 161)
	4. the battle of the gods (21.383-513)
		1. “The objection to the battle of the gods is that [they] behave like squabbling children, hitting one another and boasting of their success in a kind of caricature of the serious human fighting.” (Willcock 233)
		2. In “this episode, like others (particularly in Books 5 and 14) . . . Homer uses the gods to provide lightness and relief from the human battle scenes. The gods are lacking in seriousness and dignity by the very feature that divides them from the humans: their immortality. Homer, if he could reply to his modern critics, might say . . . that he actually intended a lowering of tension before the dramatic climax of Achilleus’s fight with Hektor in Book 22.” (Willcock 233-34)
		3. “It is to be noticed that the more sensible gods (Apollo and Hermes) refuse to disport themselves for the amusement of Zeus (389), and this relieves Poseidon and Leto of any loss of dignity. Ares and Aphrodite are treated without respect; and even the great pro-Greek goddesses, Hera and Athene, behave in a childish and certainly unladylike way.” (Willcock 238)
	5. the episode of the winds (23.192-221)
		1. “The scene of the boisterous winds feasting in the house of Zephyros, totally unaffected by human grief, their reception of the attractive goddess [Iris], and their roaring progress over the sea, comes as a relief after the somber arrangements of the funeral [of Patroklos].” (Willcock 252)
		2. “There is comedy in the scene. The rough winds are at table; the goddess appears in the doorway; each of them gallantly asks her to come and sit beside him, but she demurely replies with an obviously invented excuse. The poet on his own account used the Aithiopians to motivate an absence of the gods in 1.423-24; Iris now does the same.” (Willcock 252)
4. **the gods as causes**
	1. gods and humans as mutually responsible for an act (i.e., the gods as objectifications of human characteristics)
		1. “It is not easy for us (because we are unbelievers) to understand or accept the activities of the gods in the *Iliad*. They act as independent agents but nevertheless preserve a specific power, each in relation to his or her own separate function.” (Willcock 8)
		2. Both Athene and their leaders rouse the Greeks’ battle-lust: 2.445-52, “And they, the god-supported kings, about Agamemnon / ran marshalling the men, and among them grey-eyed Athene / . . . she swept through the host of the Achaians / urging them to go forward. She kindled the strength in each man’s / heart to take the battle without respite and keep on fighting.”
		3. “Athene performs her common function of being, simultaneously, both an external goddess and the good judgment of the human warrior . . .” (Willcock 121, emphasis deleted)
			1. 1.193-94, “as he [Achilleus] weighed in mind and spirit these two courses / and was drawing from its scabbard the great sword, Athene descended . . . The goddess standing behind Peleus’ son caught him by the fair hair, / appearing to him only . . .”
			2. 10.507-8, “as he [Diomedes] was pondering all this in his heart, Athene / came and stood beside him, and spoke to great Diomedes . . .”
			3. 5.332, the narrator says that Aphrodite is “a god without warcraft, not of those who, / goddesses [Athene and Enyo], range in order the ranks of men in the fighting . . .”
			4. 5.671-76, Odysseus “pondered two ways within, in mind and in spirit, / whether first to go after [Sarpedon] / or whether he should strip the life from more of the Lykians. / Yet, as it was not the destiny of great-hearted Odysseus / to kill [Sarpedon], / Athene steered his anger against the host of the Lykians.”
		4. But see 3.164-65, Priam to Helen, “I am not blaming you: to me the gods are blameworthy / who drove upon me this sorrowful war against the Achaians.”
		5. 3.364, “Groaning, [Menelaos] lifted his eyes to the wide sky: / ‘Father Zeus, no God beside is more baleful than you are. / Here I thought to punish Alexandros for his wickedness; / and now my sword is broken in my hands, and the spear flew vainly . . .’”
		6. 4.93-103: “Athene persuades Pandaros to break the truce. This does not, however, in any way lessen Pandaros’ own responsibility for his treachery; indeed (104), he is a fool to be persuaded.” (Willcock 46)
		7. In 5.23, “Hephaistos caught him [Idaios] away and rescued him, shrouded in darkness . . .” But five lines later (5.28), the Trojans see Idaios “running away . . .”
		8. 5.183-186, Pandaros says to Aineias that Diomedes “may be a god, I am not sure; / and if this is a man, as I think, and the valiant son / of Tydeus, yet not without god does he rage so, but some one / of the immortals, mantling in mist his shoulders, stands close beside him.”
		9. 5.289, “Ares [is] the god who fights under the shield’s guard.”
		10. 5.699-704, “the Argives under the strength of Ares and bronze-armoured Hektor / . . . backward / gave way, as they saw how Ares went with the Trojans. / Who then was the first and who the last that they slaughtered, / Hektor, Priam’s son, and Ares the brazen?”
			1. “Even a modern writer could say, “The god of war was on the side of the Trojans,” but Homeric poetry takes that sort of metaphorical statement and actualizes it, so that an anthropomorphic Ares accompanies the Trojan attack. The poet can . . . even (842) show Ares in process of personally stripping the armor from a Greek victim.” (Willcock 62)
		11. 6.108-9, the Greeks “thought some one of the immortals must have descended / from the starry sky to stand by the Trojans, the way they rallied.”
		12. 14.188: “Hera needs the help of Aphrodite in a metaphorical sense: she wishes to inspire in Zeus the feelings which Aphrodite represents. As is common in the *Iliad*, this figurative or metaphorical situation is represented as a real relationship between two humanized figures.” (Willcock 159, emphasis deleted)
		13. 14.249-61: “Once again, in this conversation between Hera and Sleep, we can see Homer treating figurative or metaphorical situations as literal and real . . . Sleep is a person who has to be bribed to assist Hera’s plan.” (Willcock 160)
		14. 15.306-27: “For the joint attack of Hektor and Phoibos Apollo in lines 306-7 compare 5.590-95, where Hektor and Ares attack together.” (Willcock 169, emphasis deleted)
		15. 16.790-21: Apollo stuns Patroklos with a slap on the back (16.790-92), then Hektor finishes him off (16.820-21). Hektor and Apollo are thus jointly responsible for the death of Patroklos. (Willcock 247)
		16. 20.47-55, “the Olympians merged in the men’s company / . . ., and Athene bellowed / . . ., while on the other side Ares in the likeness of a dark stormcloud / bellowed . . . So the blessed gods stirring on the opponents drove them / together . . .”
		17. 22.359-60 (the dying Hektor predicts the time “when Paris and Phoibos Apollo destroy you [Achilleus]”): “. . . Paris and Apollo will be jointly responsible . . .” (Willcock 246)
		18. 23.382-97: “The race appears to be decided by the gods. Apollo causes Diomedes to drop his whip; Athene restores it to him, and then she makes Eumelos’ chariot crash. What does all this mean? First, one must say that there are no accidents in the world of Homer’s heroes. If Diomedes drops his whip, a god must have made him do it; if Eumelos crashes, a divinity must be angry. This way of looking at things is not difficult to understand. But the return of the whip to Diomedes is a physical interference beyond [256] our understanding. To a believer, however, it would prove the real presence of the god. It is in fact exactly parallel to the return of the spear to Achilleus in his final fight with Hektor at 22.276-77; and in both cases (and this is important) divine interference fulfills the inevitable: the proper winner wins (cf. 357).” (Willcock 256-57, emphasis deleted)
		19. See also the discussion of *atē* in a separate handout. E.g.: on the one hand, “Agamemnon says [in 19.86-87] that he is not responsible for his action in dishonoring Achilleus [216] . . . something external has taken over his decision-making faculties; this outside force is described as Ate, [Delusion, a goddess].” On the other hand, “ascribing the blame to Ate does not absolve the doer from responsibility for his actions; Agamemnon says so explicitly at 137-38.” So Agamemnon and Ate are mutually responsible.
	2. gods as causes of sudden changes or extraordinary happenings
		1. “It is difficult for our rational minds to accept the actions of the gods in the way more primitive people saw them.” (Willcock 20) To us, a sudden change or an extraordinary happening requires a natural explanation. To the Greeks, such occurrences suggested supernatural agents at work.
		2. 2.279 (“and beside him grey-eyed Athene”): “When a leader rose to speak in the assembly, a herald stood beside him, giving him the scepter, which [20] was the outward sign that he had authority to speak. When Odysseus rose, there was a general and profound silence; the audience, after the tumult of the rush for the ships and the disturbance caused by Thersites’ insubordination, was hushed and expectant. And therefore, according to the poet, it was no ordinary herald, but Athene in the guise of a herald, who stood by Odysseus’ side.” (Willcock 20-21)
		3. On 2.786-95 (Iris appearing as the herald Polites): “Iris is not only imitating the voice of Polites, but she looks like him as well (795). It is, as often, a little difficult for our rational minds to see what this means. Polites had, after all, been detailed to watch for the Greek advance. Who was it, then, who came to the Trojan assembly? Iris or Polites? The answer is that Polites indeed came running from his lookout post on Aisyetes’ tomb. His message was of the utmost importance, and suddenly there was new fire and life in the Trojan assembly. In this enhanced vividness the Greeks saw the presence of a god; and what god but Iris, the divine messenger? So Iris was there, in the shape of Polites.” (Willcock 34)
		4. 7.4-5 (“to men of the sea in their supplication the god sends / a fair wind”): “Events which cannot easily be explained, such as natural phenomena (a storm, or, as here, a change in wind direction) are automatically ascribed to a god.” (Willcock 76)
		5. 16.791-821: “The death of Patroklos is almost like a ritual killing. First Apollo strikes him in the back, so that he is almost senseless, and knocks his armor off; then an unknown, Euphorbos, wounds him in the back (interestingly enough, just in the place where Apollo had struck him); and finally Hektor moves in and finishes him. The choice of sequence seems strange to us. Why did not the poet let Patroklos meet Hektor in a straight fight, and lose, as he presumably would (in spite of 847-48)? The answer seems to be that, when something of great significance happens in the *Iliad*, the poet automatically attributes it to a god. When Hektor eventually meets Achilleus, once again we might expect a straight description of a heavyweight contest; but, as here, divine intervention makes it easy for Achilleus—unnecessarily, for he would certainly have won without it.” (Willcock 190)
	3. gods as causes of extraordinary skills or attributes
		1. “Exceptional skill at anything was attributed to divine favor, and in Homer’s language this is personalized, as if the gods were agents, like humans.” (Willcock 55)
		2. 5.51, 61: “Artemis herself taught Skamandrios to hunt, and Phereklos was an excellent smith because above all others Pallas Athene had loved him.” (Willcock 55, emphasis deleted)
		3. gods equipping warriors
			1. 2.827: “. . . that Apollo himself gave Pandaros his bow means nothing more than that Pandaros was an exceptionally good shot . . .” (Willcock 35) In fact, Pandaros’ killing a goat and having a bow made from its horns is explicitly recalled in 4.106-11. “. . . that Pandaros provided himself with the goat horns and got a human craftsman to make the bow for him [and] that Apollo himself gave Pandaros his bow . . . are not inconsistent, for the gift of a god may well be different (less material) than human gifts. To say that Apollo gave him his bow means no more than that he was a successful archer.” (Willcock 46)
			2. 7.146 (“the armour Ares had given him”): “The statement that Ares himself had given Areïthoös his armor need not be taken as literally true. It is a more or less figurative way of saying that Areïthoös was a great warrior.” (Willcock 78)
			3. 11.353: “The statement that Apollo gave Hektor his helmet need not be taken literally. Apollo was the god defending Troy and so, of course, defending Hektor (cf. 363); Hektor’s most frequent epithet is “of the glancing helm” (315), and here his helmet has saved him. Put these facts together, and you may say that the god “gave” Hektor his helmet. Compare 7.146, where it is said that Ares gave Areïthoös his armor.” (Willcock 128)
			4. 15.441 (“the bow that Apollo gave you”): As the scholia say, this does not involve a material gift from Apollo; the phrase means only that Teukros was an outstandingly good archer.” (Willcock 171)
		4. gods giving physical beauty
			1. 3.59-66: “the good looks of Paris [are] a “gift of Aphrodite” . . .” (Willcock 248)
				1. 3.59, 63-66, “Hektor, . . . you have scolded me rightly, not beyond measure . . . [But] do not / bring up against me the sweet favours of golden Aphrodite. / Never to be cast away are the gifts of the gods, magnificent, / which they give of their own will, no man could have them for wanting them.”
				2. Willcock considers Aphrodite’s gift of Paris’ amorous charm to be similar to Apollo’s gift of Pandaros’ bow: amorous abilities or skill at archery, though natural endowments, are in these instances so extraordinary as to deserve supernatural explanation.
			2. 6.155-56, “To Bellerophontes the gods granted beauty and desirable / manhood.”
			3. 22.470-72 (the narrator, recalling the marriage of Hektor and Andromache, refers to “the circlet, which Aphrodite the golden once had given her”): “The meaning of the “gift of Aphrodite” here is wholly [247] figurative. It was a love match, and the bride was beautiful; Aphrodite was therefore present at the wedding and gave the bride her veil.” (Willcock 247-48)
	4. Aphrodite as cause of strong sexual urges
		1. 3.389-420: “Aphrodite is simultaneously the internal sexual motivation in Helen and a powerful external goddess. Helen tries to resist this force, but she is too weak.” (Willcock 44)
		2. 5.348-49, Diomedes to Aphrodite, “Give way, daughter of Zeus, from the fighting and the terror. It is / not then enough that you lead astray women without warcraft?”
		3. 5.422-25, Athene, speaking to Zeus “in words of mockery” (5.419), teases Aphrodite about her wound from Diomedes, “It must be the lady of Kypros, moving some woman / of Achaia to follow after those Trojans she loves so hopelessly, / laying hold on the fair dresses of the Achaian women, / tore the tenderness of her hand on a golden pin’s point.”
		4. 5.428-29, Zeus to Aphrodite, “No, my child, not for you are the works of warfare. Rather / concern yourself only with the lovely secrets of marriage . . .”
	5. gods as causes of success, especially extraordinary success
		1. 10.50: “It is assumed that for success one needs the help of a god; and for the highest achievements it helps to have a divine parent, as Achilleus has in his mother, Thetis.” (Willcock 115)
		2. 10.245: “To say that Pallas Athene loves Odysseus means that he is a successful man. He is both prudent and decisive; and the goddess of [117] Greek success therefore helps him, as indeed she helps Diomedes and Achilleus and used to help Diomedes’ father, Tydeus.” (Willcock 117-18, emphasis deleted)
	6. gods as causes of natural phenomena
		1. “mist”
			1. A god causing or removing mist “is a common theme (Fenik 53).” (Willcock 174)
			2. “The thick of the battle becomes embroiled in mist . . ., and this makes it particularly difficult for those caught up in it . . .” (Willcock 174)
				1. 3.380-82, “Aphrodite caught up Paris / easily, since she was divine, and wrapped him in a thick mist / and set him down again in his own perfumed bedchamber.”
				2. 5.127-28, Athene says to Diomedes, “I have taken away the mist from your eyes, that before now / was there, so that you may well recognize the god and the mortal.”
				3. 15.667-69, Nestor “spoke, and stirred the spirit and heart in each man, / and from their eyes Athene pushed the darkness immortal / of mist, and the light came out hard against them on both sides . . .”

“Athene removed the mist from their eyes so that they could clearly see Hektor attacking. As we have not previously heard of the mist, this surprises us. . . . It is better for the Greeks to be able to see Hektor and the Trojans clearly as they attack.” (Willcock 174, emphasis deleted)

* + - * 1. 16.567 (“Zeus swept ghastly night over the encounter”): In 15.668 Athene had removed mist to help the Greeks, but in 16.567 Zeus creates mist to help the Trojans. (Willcock 187)
				2. 17.266-70, “with such a bellow the Trojans came on, but now the Achaians / stood fast / . . ., while the son of Kronos / drifted across the glitter of their helmets a deepening / mist . . .”

“The mist adds confusion and danger to the fighting. By it Zeus shows his sorrow for Patroklos.” (Willcock 195-96, emphasis deleted)

* + - * 1. 17.366-69, “you [would not] have thought / the sun was still secure in his place in the sky, nor the moon, since / the mist was closed over all that part of the fight where the bravest / stood about Patroklos . . .”

This reinforces the mist motif already seen at the beginning of this battle (17.266-70). (Willcock 195)

* + - * 1. 17.645-50 (6.45-47 are “Aias’ famous prayer,” Willcock 174), “‘Father Zeus, draw free from the mist the sons of the Achaians, / make bright the air, and give sight back to our eyes; in shining / daylight destroy us, if to destroy us be now your pleasure.’ / . . . [Zeus] forthwith scattered the mist and pushed the darkness back from them, / and the sun blazed out, and all the battle was plain before them.”
				2. 20.341, Poseidon “scattered the mist away from the eyes of Achilleus / that the gods had sent . . .”
			1. Sometimes the gods create a mist to hide their presence among humans.
				1. 5.185-86, Pandaros says to Aineias about Diomedes, “not without god does he rage so, but some one / of the immortals, mantling in mist his shoulders, stands close beside him [Diomedes] . . .”

“The god mantles his own shoulders in mist, i.e., stands there invisible.” (Willcock 57)

* + - * 1. 5.773-76, “as they [Hera and Athene] came to Troy land . . . / [Hera] stayed her horses, / slipping them from the chariot, and drifting close mist about them . . . “
				2. 8.49-50, Zeus “halted his horses, / and slipped them from their harness, and drifted close mist about them . . .”
				3. See 5.845, Athene “put on the helm of Death, that stark Ares might not discern her.”
				4. 14.282, Hera and Sleep “mantled themselves in mist, and made their way very lightly . . .”
				5. 16.788-90, “Phoibos came against [Patroklos] there in the strong encounter / dangerously, nor did Patroklos see him as he moved through / the battle, and shrouded in a deep mist came in against him . . .”
				6. 20.442-44, “Achilleus / made a furious charge against him, . . . / but Phoibos Apollo caught up Hektor / easily, since he was a god, and wrapped him in thick mist. / Three times swift-footed brilliant Achilleus swept in against him / with the brazen spear. Three times his stroke went into the deep mist.”
				7. 21.545-49, “Phoibos Apollo sent on them brilliant Agenor / . . . He drove courage into his heart, and stood there beside him / . . . and leaned there on an oak tree with close mist huddled about him.”
			1. Sometimes the gods create a mist to hide a human. (Because a combatant no longer sees an opponent, a god must have hidden and saved him.)
				1. 5.344-45, “Phoibos Apollo caught him [Aineias] up and away in his own hands / in a dark mist . . .” (But see 5.433, where Diomedes “saw how Apollo himself held his hands over him . . .”)
				2. 11.751, Poseidon “caught them [the Moliones] out of the battle, shrouding them in a thick mist.”
				3. 15.306-8, “Hektor led them / in long strides, and in front of him went Phoibos Apollo / wearing a mist about his shoulders . . .”
				4. 20.321-25, “quickly he [Poseidon] drifted a mist across the eyes of one fighter, / Achilleus, . . . / but Aineias he lifted high from the ground, and slung him through the air . . .”
				5. 21.597-98, Apollo “caught Agenor away closing him in a dense mist / and sent him to make his way quietly out of the battle.”
			2. Sometimes a mist is created for some other reason.
				1. 21.6-7, “they [the Trojans] were streaming in flight; but Hera let fall / a deep mist before them to stay them” (so Achilleus could slay them).
				2. 23.188-91, “Apollo brought down a darkening mist about him / . . . to keep the force of the sun from coming / first, and wither his body away by limbs and sinews.”
		1. manipulating the sun
			1. 18.239: “This is the end of the long day’s fighting, which began in Book 11. Even so, the poet says that Hera miraculously brought the day to an end before its proper time [“unwilling”], so as to save the Greeks from further defeat. This is a stock theme (the hastened or delayed setting of the sun), more suitable to other occasions than this.” (Willcock 205)
	1. “divine assistance to a warrior” (Willcock 244)
		1. 3.375: Aphrodite breaks Paris’ chinstrap to free him from Menelaos’ grip on his helmet.
		2. Pandaros wounds two Greeks who are greater than he, Menelaos (4.132-40) and Diomedes (5.95-100). Athene therefore ensures that he dies gruesomely: she guides Diomedes’ spear through his teeth, tongue, and jaws (5.290-93). “. . . her intervention fulfilled what had to happen.” (Willcock 245)
		3. 5.662: a spear hits Sarpedon’s thigh, “scraping the bone, but his father [Zeus] fended destruction away from him.”
		4. 5.807-9, 828, Athene tells Diomedes that Diomedes’ father “challenged the young men of the Kadmeians, and defeated all of them / easily; such a helper was I who stood then beside him. / Now beside you also I stand and ever watch over you . . . / such a helper shall I be standing beside you.”
		5. 8.309-11, 828, “Teukros now let fly another shaft / [at Hektor,] / yet missed his man once again as Apollo faltered his arrow . . .”
		6. 5.853-57, “Athene in her hand catching / the spear [of Ares] pushed it away from [Diomedes] . . . / After him Diomedes of the great war cry drove forward / with the bronze spear; and Pallas Athene, leaning in on it, / drove it into the depth of the belly . . .”
		7. 20.438-41: Hektor “balanced the spear and let it fly. But Athene / blew against it and turned it back from renowned Achilleus / with an easy blast. It came back again to glorious Hektor / and dropped to the ground in front of his feet.”
		8. 22.214-77: Athene appears to Hektor as his brother Deïphobos (226-27) to persuade him to face Achilleus; “she interferes to enable the natural winner to win.” (Willcock 245)
		9. 23.390: Athene returns Diomedes’ whip to him in the chariot race; again, “she interferes to enable the natural winner to win. There was no way that Diomedes was going to come in second in that race; so he received the specific help of the goddess of victory.” (Willcock 245)
		10. the gods removing favorites from battle
			1. Aphrodite rescues Paris by wrapping him in a thick mist (3.380-82).
			2. Hephaistos rescues Idaios, “shrouded in darkness” (5.23). (Idaios’ father, Dares, was a “priest consecrated to Hephaistos,” 5.10.)
			3. Aphrodite rescues her son Aineias by enfolding him in her white robe (5.311-318).
			4. Apollo rescues Aineias (5.344-51).
			5. Poseidon rescues the Moliones (11.751).
			6. Poseidon rescues Aineias (20.321-28).
			7. Apollo rescues Hektor (20.443-44).
			8. Poseidon rescues Aineias (20.75-352).
			9. Apollo rescues Hektor (20.419-454).
		11. Athene’s interventions in the duel between Achilleus and Hektor
			1. 22.214-77: Athene “takes a hand in events, as she is encouraged to by her father, Zeus, in line 185. She deceives Hektor into standing and facing Achilleus, and she then interferes in the duel itself, to the great advantage of Achilleus, by returning his spear to him (276). This is the most extreme case of divine assistance to a warrior in the *Iliad* (apart from the various ocassions [*sic*] when a human is rescued by being bodily removed from the scene); and it has caused much disapproval in modern times, as seeming unfair. It raises the whole question of what is meant by the “help” of the gods. We must try to see that Athene is not interfering to produce a result which would not otherwise have happened; it is wholly clear that Hektor is doomed and, indeed, that he is far weaker than Achilleus. Achilleus would win the duel easily without Athene’s help; indeed, it is precisely (if we can understand this) because he does not need her help that he gets it. And it is no diminution of his honor to win [244] with the help of Athene, as he expected to do (270-71); to an ancient reader or hearer, it would add to the glory of Achilleus that Athene is so demonstrably on his side.” (Willcock 244-45)
			2. 22.273-327: The duel itself. “It is to be noticed that the fight is not a fight at all. Achilleus does not win simply by superior ability or strength but by divine intervention. Homer could have given us a heroic contest, like that between Hektor and Aias in 7.244-72 or that between Sarpedon and Patroklos in 16.462-91; but he chooses not to do so. For the really significant victories in the *Iliad*—the death of Hektor here and that of Patroklos at the end of Book 16—he prefers to use the gods.” (Willcock 245)
			3. 22.276-77: “Athene returns Achilleus’ spear to him, so Hektor has no chance.” [244] Again, “she interferes to enable the natural winner to win.” (Willcock 244-45)
		12. protecting a fallen warrior’s corpse
			1. 19.38-39: Thetis protects the corpse of Patroklos.
			2. 23.185-91: “Aphrodite and Apollo, the pro-Trojan gods, protect the corpse of Hektor . . .” (Willcock 252)
			3. 24.18-21: “Apollo’s protection of [Hektor’s] body . . . continues from 23.185-91.” (Willcock 267)
		13. 24.563-64: “I know you, Priam, in my heart, and it does not escape me / that some god led you to the running ships of the Achaians. / For no mortal would dare come to our encampment . . .”
	2. Zeus as cause of everything
		1. “Everything that happens, particularly if there is no obvious explanation, may be ascribed to Zeus.” (Willcock 21)
		2. 1.1-5, “Sing, goddess, the anger of Peleus’ son Achilleus / and its devastation, . . . / and the will of Zeus was accomplished . . .”
		3. “The Greek rally [in Books 13 and 14] is explained by the fact that Zeus (who is responsible for everything) temporarily takes his eyes off the battle in Book 13, and is otherwise distracted in Book 14, so that a Greek sympathizer, the sea god, Poseidon, takes the opportunity to encourage and assist his side. He does this incognito in Book 13 but openly in Book 14, when Zeus is asleep.” (Willcock 144)
		4. 15.61-77: “The program of future events. This is *the will of Zeus* (1.5). He said in 1.547-48 that Hera would be the first to be told of any of his plans that were to be divulged, and here she *is* told.” (Willcock 167)
		5. 15.592: “A new stage of the battle begins; it is accompanied by yet another statement of the intentions of Zeus.” (Willcock 172)
		6. But there was also uncertainty about Zeus’ omnipotence and omniscience: in 3.308-9, Priam says, before Alexandros and Menelaos fight, “Zeus knows—maybe he knows—and the rest of the gods immortal / for which of the two death is appointed to end this matter.”

## Fate in the *Iliad*

### Evidence of Determinism

1. **Zeus and fate**
	1. “Zeus of the counsels”
		1. The stock epithet “of the counsels” is applied to Zeus 16 times (1.175, 1.508, 2.197, 2.324, 6.198, 7.478, 8.170, 9.377, 10.104, 11.278, 12.279, 12.292, 15.377, 15.599, 16.249, 24.314). It emphasizes that Zeus deliberates on everything—and that what he concludes, happens.
		2. (On occasion, however, “of the counsels” is applied to a mortal: 2.636 [“Odysseus, like Zeus in counsel”], 12.414 [Sarpedon], 13.255 [Idomeneus], 17.485 [Aineias]. See 2.407, “Odysseus, a man like Zeus himself for counsel.”)
	2. Zeus’ nod
		1. 1.523-30, Zeus to Thetis, “‘I will look to these things that they be accomplished. / See then, I will bend my head that you may believe me. / For this among the immortal gods is the mightiest witness / I can give, and nothing I do shall be vain nor revocable / nor a thing unfulfilled when I bend my head in assent to it.’ / He spoke, the son of Kronos, and nodded his head with the dark brows, / and the immortally anointed hair of the great god / swept from his divine head, and all Olympos was shaken.”
			1. See 1.558, Hera to Zeus, “you bowed your head in assent . . .”
			2. “The imagery of these famous lines seems to be taken from the thundercloud. The dark brows represent the underside of the storm; the flowing hair, the “anvil” of cirrus which commonly spreads from the top of a storm cloud; and the shaking of Olympos, the effect of the thunder.” (Willcock 14)
		2. See 12.235-36, Hektor to Poulydamas, “you . . . are telling me to forget the counsels of thunderous / Zeus, in which he himself nodded his head to me and assented.”
		3. See 15.372-76, ‘Father Zeus, if ever in wheat-deep Argos one of us / . . . prayed / he would come home again, and you nodded your head and assented, / remember this, Olympian, save us from the day without pity . . .”
		4. See 17.206-9, Zeus to Hektor, “‘I will invest you with great strength / to make up for it that you will not come home out of the fighting / . . .’ He spoke, the son of Kronos, and nodded his head with the dark brows.”
	3. Zeus’ scales
		1. 8.69-74, “then the father [Zeus] balanced his golden scales, and in them / he set two fateful portions of death / . . . and balanced it by the middle. The Achaians’ death-day was heaviest. / There the fates of the Achaians settled down toward the bountiful / earth, while those of the Trojans were lifted into the wide sky . . .”
			1. “The *scales* of Zeus [are] mentioned metaphorically in 16.658 and 19.223 . . .” (Willcock 86, emphasis altered)
			2. The scales “are actually operated here [8.69-74] and in 22.209-12, where the fates of Hektor and Achilleus are weighed just before the final stage of their single combat (8.69-70 = 22.209-10).” (Willcock 86)
			3. “The *two fateful portions of death* which are put in the scales would seem at first sight to suit the individuals of Book 22 better than the two opposing armies, which is the case here; but the metaphorical allusions to the scales of Zeus in Books 16 and 19 refer to the defeat of an army.” (Willcock 86, emphasis altered)
			4. 22.209-13: “For reasons of symbolism, the *heavier* fate is the loser; it moves in the direction of the underworld—*downward toward death*.” (Willcock 244, emphasis altered)
			5. “The weighing of human fates in the scales is not a process of [86] decision by Zeus; it is rather a symbolic representation of what is fated to happen.” (Willcock 86-87, emphasis altered)
		2. 16.657-58 (Hektor “turned to flight, and called to the other / Trojans to run, for he saw the way of Zeus’ sacred balance”): The balance (or scales) of Zeus is “a figurative means of expressing the way things are turning out . . .” (Willcock 188)
		3. 19.222-23 (“when Zeus has poised his balance”): “This translation indicates an even fight. More commonly the words are taken to mean “when Zeus has *inclined* his balance,” i.e., when he has decided the battle, when one army is routed. That is the time when many are killed.” (Willcock 219)
	4. Zeus’ two urns
		1. 24.527-33: Achilleus tells Priam, ““There are two urns that stand on the door-sill of Zeus. They are unlike / for the gifts they bestow: an urn of evils, an urn of blessings. / If Zeus who delights in thunder mingles these and bestows them / on man, he shifts, and moves now in evil, again in good fortune. / But when Zeus bestows from the urn of sorrows, he makes a failure / of man, and the evil hunger drives him over the shining / earth, and he wanders respected neither of gods nor mortals.”
		2. “The two urns, of good and bad things, derive from folktale. It is to be noticed that humans either get a mixture or receive only from the urn of bad things; no human receives unmixed blessings.” (Willcock 271, emphasis deleted)
	5. deciding Sarpedon’s fate
		1. 16.433-59, Zeus says to Hera, “‘Ah me, that it is destined that the dearest of men, Sarpedon [Zeus’ son], / must go down under the hands of Menoitios’ son Patroklos. / The heart in my breast is balanced between two ways as I ponder, / whether I should snatch him out of the sorrowful battle / and set him down still alive in the rich country of Lykia, / or beat him under at the hands of the son of Menoitios.’ / [Hera] answered him: / ‘. . . Do you wish to bring back a man who is mortal, one long since / doomed by his destiny, from ill-sounding death and release him? / Do it, then; but . . . / if you bring Sarpedon back to his home, still living, / think how then some other one of the gods might also / wish to carry his own son out of the strong encounter . . .’ / . . . She spoke, nor did the father of gods and men disobey her; / yet he wept tears of blood . . .”
		2. “The exchange with Hera should be carefully noted as a statement of the relationship between Zeus and fate. The situation is that Zeus undoubtedly has the power to go against what is fated but in practice does not do so because of Hera’s argument that it would upset the balance of the world. Whether this means that “Zeus is not subject to fate” (Lattimore 54) is debatable.” (Willcock 185)
		3. See also 22.167-87: “Zeus now asks the same question about Hektor as he did about his son Sarpedon in 16.433-38 (whether he should rescue this mortal who is dear to him); Athene replies here as Hera did there (179-81 = 16.441-43); and Zeus offhandedly (as it seems to us) gives in to his favorite daughter . . .” (Willcock 244)
	6. deciding Patroklos’ fate
		1. 16.644-58, “So they swarmed over the dead man [Sarpedon], nor did Zeus ever / turn the glaring of his eyes from the strong encounter, / but kept gazing forever upon them, in spirit reflective, / and pondered hard over many ways for the death of Patroklos; / whether this was now the time, in this strong encounter, / when there over godlike Sarpedon glorious Hektor / should kill him . . . / In the division of his heart this way seemed best to him, / [for Patroklos] once again to push the Trojans and bronze-helmed Hektor / back on their city, and tear the life from many. In Hektor / first of all he put a temper that was without strength. / He climbed to his chariot and turned to flight, and called to the other / Trojans to run, for he saw the way of Zeus’ sacred balance.”
		2. For “the division of his heart” see 2.2-6, “Zeus / who was pondering in his heart how he might bring honour / to Achilleus, and destroy many beside the ships of the Achaians. / Now to his mind this thing appeared to be the best counsel, / to send evil Dream to Atreus’ son Agamemnon.”
		3. “Evidently it is Zeus’s function to *fulfill* fate . . .” (Willcock 188)
	7. “Zeus is responsible for all that happens in the world, and so he frequently fulfills what is fated.” (Willcock 185)
		1. E.g., 2.375-77, “Zeus of the aegis, son of Kronos, has given me bitterness, / who drives me into unprofitable abuse and quarrels. / For I and Achilleus fought together for a girl’s sake . . .”
		2. “Fate is limited to death and finality—the death of a man or the destruction of Troy. When these [185] are due, they will happen, and Zeus will see to it that they happen (cf. 644-47). When gods rescue their protégés elsewhere (Aphrodite: Paris in Book 3 and Aineias in Book 5; Poseidon: Aineias in Book 20; and Apollo: Hektor in Book 20), we may take it that the humans were not fated to die *then*.” (Willcock 185-86)
	8. “Zeus, the supreme ruler of the world, is sorry for men; he is above the hatred felt by his wife and daughter. He does not, however, act against what is fated.” (Willcock 244)
2. **prophecy**
	1. 1.62-72, “come, let us ask some holy man, some prophet, / even an interpreter of dreams, since a dream also / comes from Zeus, who can tell why Phoibos Apollo is so angry . . . among them stood up / Kalchas, Thestor’s son, far the best of the bird interpreters, / who knew all things that were, the things to come and the things past, / who guided into the land of Ilion the ships of the Achaians / through that seercraft of his own that Phoibos Apollo gave him.”
	2. 2.303-32, Odysseus to the Greeks, “at Aulis, when the ships of the Achaians / were gathered [before] bringing disaster to the Trojans and Priam, / . . . There appeared a great sign; a snake, his back blood-mottled, / a thing of horror, cast into the light by the very Olympian, / wound its way from under the altar and made toward the plane tree. / Thereupon were innocent children, the young of the sparrow, / cowering underneath the leaves at the uttermost branch tip, / eight of them, and the mother was the ninth, who bore these children. / The snake ate them all after their pitiful screaming, / and the mother, crying aloud for her young ones, fluttered about him, / and as she shrilled he caught her by the wing and coiled around her. / After he had eaten the sparrow herself with her children / the god who had shown the snake forth made him a monument, / striking him stone, the son of devious-devising Kronos, / and we standing about marvelled at the thing that had been done. . . . / Kalchas straightway spoke before us interpreting the gods’ will: / “. . . As this snake has eaten the sparrow herself with her children, / eight of them, and the mother was the ninth, who bore them, / so for years as many as this shall we fight in this place / and in the tenth year we shall take the city of the wide ways.” / So he spoke to us then; now all this is being accomplished.”
	3. 2.299-300 (Odysseus to the Greeks, who are considering going home), “stay yet a little longer / until we know whether Kalchas’ prophecy is true or is not true.”
	4. 2.718-19: “Philoktetes was brought by the Greeks to Troy from Lemnos soon after the end of the *Iliad* story. They had received a prophecy that Troy could not be taken without the bow and arrows of Herakles, which were in his possession. He killed Paris.” (Willcock 33)
	5. 6.183, “He [Bellerophontes] killed the Chimaira, obeying the portents of the immortals.”
	6. 11.207-8: Iris tells Hektor that when Agamemnon “springs up behind his horses, then Zeus guarantees power to you / to kill men, till you make your way to the strong-benched vessels . . .”
3. **omens**
	1. See above, the portent of the snake eating the sparrows (2.301-32).
	2. 11.2-4, “Zeus sent down / in speed to the fast ships of the Achaians the wearisome goddess / of Hate, holding in her hands the portent of battle.” “Homer does not tell us what shape this portent took. No satisfactory concrete explanation has been offered, and perhaps none should be sought. The activity of this goddess is presumably not on the visual plane.” (Willcock 123)
	3. 2.353, “He flashed lightning on our right, showing signs of favour.”
	4. Omens could be true or false: 2.347-54, Nestor to Agamemnon, “there will be no use in them [Greeks who want to return home] / until they get back again to Argos without ever learning / whether Zeus of the aegis promises false or truly.”
	5. the eagle
		1. The eagle “is the bird of Zeus because it inhabits the mountaintops.” (Willcock 269)
		2. 8.247-52, “Straightway he [Zeus] sent down the most lordly of birds, an eagle, / with a fawn, the young of the running deer, caught in his talons, / who cast down the fawn beside Zeus’ splendid altar / where the Achaians wrought their devotions to Zeus of the Voices. / They, when they saw the bird and knew it was Zeus who sent it, / remembered once again their warcraft, and turned on the Trojans.” “Zeus of the Voices” means “the oracular god, the god of omens.” (Willcock 90)
		3. 12.199-210, 222, 228-29, the Trojans “were divided in doubt as they stood there at the ditch’s edge. / As they were urgent to cross a bird sign had appeared to them, / an eagle, flying high and holding to the left of the people / and carrying in its talons a gigantic snake, blood-coloured, / alive still and breathing, it had not forgotten its warcraft / yet, for writhing back it struck the eagle that held it / by chest and neck, so that the eagle let it drop groundward / in pain of the bite, and dashed it down in the midst of the battle / and itself, screaming high, winged away down the wind’s blast. / And the Trojans shivered with fear as they looked on the lithe snake / lying in their midst, a portent of Zeus of the aegis. / And now Poulydamas stood beside bold Hektor and spoke to him: . . . / ‘Let us not go on and fight the Danaans by their ships. I think / it will end as the portent was accomplished . . . [For the eagle] / could not finish carrying it [the snake] back to give to his children. . . . / So an interpreter of the gods would answer, one who knew / in his mind the truth of portents, and whom the people believed in.’”
		4. 13.821-23: “an ominous bird winged by at his [Aias’] right hand, / a towering eagle, and the host of the Achaians, made brave / by the bird sign, shouted . . .”
		5. 24.292-93, “ask him [Zeus] / for a bird of omen, a rapid messenger, which to his own mind / is dearest of all birds and his strength is the biggest, one seen / on the right, so that once your eyes have rested upon him / you can trust in him . . .”
		6. 24.315-16, 319-21, “Straightway he [Zeus] sent down the most lordly of birds, an eagle, / the dark one, the marauder, called as well the black eagle. . . . He swept through the city / appearing on the right hand, and the people looking upon him / were uplifted . . .” “This is the great golden eagle (the Greek words translated “dark” and “black” are of very uncertain meaning). Its wingspan is about seven feet, which fits the description of 317-19, that the wing on each side was as wide as a doorway.” (Willcock 269, emphasis omitted)
	6. scorn for omens
		1. 12.237-43, “you tell me to put my trust in birds, who spread / wide their wings. I care nothing for these, I think nothing of them, / nor whether they go by on our right [or left] [“The right is the lucky side,” see 24.294, Willcock 269] . . . One bird sign is best: to fight in defence of our country.” Hektor’s “scorn for omens is hardly sensible and borders on blindness and delusion . . .” (Willcock 141)
		2. “Scorn for the “birds flying overhead” is used by Sophokles in *Oedipus the King* 965-66 to show the unjustified (and, in the event, fatal) self-confidence of Oidipous and Iokasta . . .” (Willcock 141)
		3. “. . . the suitor Eurymachos shows the same delusion in *Od*. 2.181-82.” (Willcock 141)
4. **magic**
	1. Magic can determine events.
	2. 2.362-68, Nestor to Agamemnon, “Set your men in order by tribes, by clans, Agamemnon, / . . . [and you] might learn also whether by magic you fail to take this / city, or by men’s cowardice and ignorance of warfare.”
5. **prayer**
	1. 2.411-20, “Agamemnon spoke in prayer: / ‘Zeus, . . . / let not the sun go down and disappear into darkness / until I have hurled headlong the castle of Priam / . . .’ He spoke, but none of this would the son of Kronos accomplish, / who accepted the victims, but piled up the unwished-for hardship.”
6. **gods as causes**
	1. See “Some Aspects of the Gods,” under “the gods as causes.”
	2. 3.164 (“I am not blaming you”): “For the attitude that human beings are not to blame, because their mistakes are sent to them by the gods, compare Agamemnon’s excuses in 19.86-90.” (Willcock 42)

### Evidence of Free Will

1. **prophecy**
	1. In 7.52-53, Helenos tells Hektor, “it is not your destiny yet to die and encounter / fate.” “There are those who have thought that this private information detracts from the courageousness of Hektor’s challenge, but they reckon without the uncertainty that is inevitably attached to such communications.” (Willcock 76)
2. **some relevant verses on free will**
	1. 1.207 (Athene says to Achilleus, “I have come down to stay your anger—but will you obey me?”): “Notice how Homer preserves the human dignity of his characters. They are not pawns in the hands of these powerful gods. Athene can advise, but she does not [8] compel. The decision and the responsibility remain with Achilleus.” (Willcock 8-9)
	2. 4.93-103: “Athene persuades Pandaros to break the truce. This does not, however, in any way lessen Pandaros’ own responsibility for his treachery; indeed (104), he is a fool to be persuaded.” (Willcock 46)
	3. 24.110 (“but I still put upon Achilleus the honour that he has”): “In other words, Zeus is giving Achilleus the chance to do the right thing of his own accord . . .” (Willcock 268)
3. “**beyond fate**”
	1. 2.155-56 (“Then for the Argives a homecoming beyond fate might have / been accomplished, had not Hera spoken”): “A man’s fate was established at his birth. Homer sometimes speaks as if it would be theoretically possible to frustrate it, but in practice this does not happen—the gods, if necessary, stepping in to restore the balance. So here the Greeks might have gone home, contrary to what was fated for them and for Troy, had not Hera taken action.” (Willcock 19)
	2. 16.780 (“beyond their very destiny”): “This is a striking phrase. Normally things may be said almost to have happened contrary to fate—had not Apollo or some other god intervened. To say that something was actually achieved beyond what was destined is to elevate the heroes even higher than usual.” (Willcock 189)
	3. 17.321-23, “the Argives, even beyond Zeus’ destiny, might have won glory / by their own force and strength, had not Apollo in person / stirred on Aineias.”
	4. 20.30, Zeus says to the gods, “I fear against destiny he may storm their fortress.”
	5. 20.332-, Poseidon says to Aineias, “which one of the gods is it who urges you to such madness / that you fight [Achilleus] . . .? / Give back rather, . . . / lest beyond your fate you go down into the house of the death god.”

### Addendum

1. **Achilleus’ foreknowledge of his destiny**
	1. 1.352, Achilleus to Thetis, “my mother, you bore me to be a man with a short life . . .”
	2. 1.416-18, Thetis to Achilleus, “indeed your lifetime is to be short, of no length. / Now it has befallen that your life must be brief and bitter / beyond all men’s. To a bad destiny I bore you in my chambers.”
	3. 1.505-6, Thetis to Zeus, “my son short-lived beyond all other / mortals.”
	4. 18.440, Thetis to Hephaistos, “I shall never again receive him / won home again to his country . . .”
	5. 9.410-16, “my mother Thetis the goddess of the silver feet tells me / I carry two sorts of destiny toward the day of my death. Either, / if I stay here and fight beside the city of the Trojans, / my return home is gone, but my glory shall be everlasting; / but if I return home to the beloved land of my fathers, / the excellence of my glory is gone, but there will be a long life / left for me, and my end in death will not come to me quickly.”
		1. “As he [Achilleus] had a goddess for a mother, he had the misfortune to know his fate, and he knew that it might go one of two ways: either short life and fame at Troy, or long life and obscurity in Phthia.” (Willcock 103)
		2. “Although these lines have always been thought very significant for the character of Achilleus in the *Iliad*, they are probably a [103] momentary invention for the present passage. Achilleus’ fateful choice is never referred to again, and in 16.50-51 he explicitly denies that he has had any warning from his mother.” (Willcock 103-4)
	6. 11.793-94 (Nestor says to Patroklos, “if he [Achilleus] is drawing back from some prophecy known in his own heart / and by Zeus’ will his honoured mother has told him something, / let him send you out”): “This looks very like an allusion to . . . 9.410-16.” (Willcock 136)
	7. 16.50-51 (“I have not any prophecy in mind that I know of; / there is no word from Zeus my honoured mother has told me”): “At first sight this seems starkly contradictory to [9.410-16]. Defenders of the lines argue that Achilleus is not explicitly denying that he has received a warning from his mother but instead is saying that any such warning is not the reason for his refusal to fight. This somewhat strains the Greek, although it is possible. A different explanation is . . . that the story of his mother’s warning [i.e., 9.410-16] is a momentary invention for that particular passage in Achilleus’ speech and should not be taken to influence the *Iliad* to any wider extent. If this is correct, it also tells us something about Homer’s methods of composition.” (Willcock 178)
	8. 17.408 (“often he had word from his mother, not known to mortals; she was ever telling him what was the will of great Zeus”): “Achilleus’ private source of information through his goddess mother is a motif which the poet uses when he pleases, sometimes alleging specific knowledge, sometimes denying it . . .” (Willcock 197)
	9. (18.6-11, “May the gods not accomplish vile sorrows upon the heart in me / in the way my mother once made it clear to me, when she told me / how while I yet lived the bravest of all the Myrmidons / must leave the light of the sun beneath the hands of the Trojans.” Willcock says to see his note on 17.408. Willcock 202)
	10. 18.88-101, “‘there must be on your heart a numberless sorrow / for your son’s death, since you can never again receive him / won home again to his country; since the spirit within does not drive me / to go on living and be among men, except on condition / that Hektor first be beaten down under my spear . . .’ / Then in turn Thetis spoke to him, letting the tears fall: / ‘Then I must lose you soon, my child, by what you are saying, / since it is decreed your death must come soon after Hektor’s.’ / Then deeply disturbed Achilleus of the swift feet answered her: / ‘I must die soon, then; / . . . I am not going back to the beloved land of my fathers . . .’” “Thetis’ warning has no effect on Achilleus. He lives only for vengeance on Hektor.” (Willcock 204)
	11. 19.243-48: “The gifts tally exactly with the offer made in 9.122-32 (= 9.264-74). Critics have wondered why there is no mention of the other, more extravagant, compensation offered by Agamemnon in Book 9: first choice of the spoils of Troy, twenty Trojan women, a daughter of Agamemnon’s in marriage, seven cities. The most likely explanation is that . . . Achilleus knows—and we know, too—that the second contingency is not going to be fulfilled . . .” (Willcock 219)
	12. 19.417 (Hera speaks through Achilleus’ horse Xanthos and says, “there is destiny to be killed in force by a god and a mortal”): “Another reminder that the death of Achilleus is close. [In 22.359,] Hektor’s dying words will further identify *god* and *mortal* . . .” (Willcock 221, emphasis altered)
	13. 21.276-78 (“my own mother . . . told me / that underneath the battlements of the armoured Trojans / I should be destroyed by the flying shafts of Apollo”): “The prophecy of the manner of Achilleus’ death is becoming more precise . . .” (Willcock 238)
	14. 22.359-60, Hektor says to Achilleus, “Paris and Phoibos Apollo / [will] destroy you in the Skaian gates . . .”
		1. “. . . the dying man [Hektor] forecasts his victor’s [Achilleus’] own death (as Patroklos did at 16.852-54); then three identical lines describe the death itself (361-63 = 16.855-57); after which each victor replies to the final words of his opponent. Achilleus is not deluded—as Hektor was—for he accepts the inevitability of his own death.” (See 22.365-66, “I will take my own death at whatever time / Zeus and the rest of the immortals choose to accomplish it.”) (Willcock 246)
		2. “This too is the culmination of the various prophecies of Achilleus’ death that have appeared since his mother foretold it to him at 18.96 (see 19.417, 21.278). Paris and Apollo will be jointly responsible, as [246] Hektor and Apollo were for the death of Patroklos.” (Willcock 246-47)
	15. 23.243-44 (Achilleus tells the Greeks, “And let us lay his [Patroklos’] bones in a golden jar / . . . until I myself enfold him in Hades”): “Until I myself enfold him” goes beyond what Homer says, for the Greek simply says, ““until I myself am hidden in Hades,” i.e., “until I too am dead.”” (Willcock 252) But 23.244 *is* a foreboding reference to Achilleus’ death; and a similar instance occurs four lines later (23.247-48): a burial mound should be built by “such of you Achaians as may be / left to survive me here by the benched ships, after I am gone.”
	16. 24.804 (the last line of the *Iliad*, “Such was their burial of Hektor, breaker of horses”): “So the *Iliad* ends with its secondary hero, Hektor; but Achilleus is still in the center, especially since we realize—having been told so often—that his own death is now not far away. The shadow of it lies over his conversations with Priam.” (Willcock 266)

## *Atē* (ἄτη, Delusion)

1. **concept**
	1. “The Homeric concept of [89] Ate [pronounced AH-tay] (“delusion”) is of an infatuation which temporarily destroys a person’s judgment, so that he behaves as he would not normally behave.” (Willcock 89-90)
	2. *Atē* is “a sort of madness that is considered external to a human being; i.e., it comes upon him from outside himself and makes him act as he would not normally act, causing offense or injury to others.” (Willcock 106)
	3. “Ate, Delusion, [is] the temporary leaving of one’s senses . . .” (Willcock 197)
	4. “If a man acts in an inexplicable and self-destructive way, he can hardly be acting normally; therefore, something external has taken over his decision-making faculties; this outside force is described as Ate, and it is sent by Zeus, because Zeus is ultimately responsible for everything. However, it is clear that ascribing the blame to Ate does not absolve the doer from responsibility for his actions . . .” (Willcock 217)
	5. *Atē* is an “experience of divine temptation or infatuation . . .” [2] “. . . “the gods” or “some god” or Zeus are said to have momentarily “taken away” or “destroyed” or “ensorcelled” a human being’s understanding.” (Dodds 2)
	6. *Atē* “is a state of mind—a temporary clouding or bewildering of the normal consciousness. It is, in fact, a partial and temporary insanity [5] . . . [*Ate* is] an abnormal state which demands a supernormal explanation.” (Dodds 5-6)
	7. “In the *Odyssey* [11.61], it is true, excessive consumption of wine is said to cause *ate*; the implication, however, is probably not that *ate* can be produced “naturally,” but rather that wine has something supernatural or daemonic about it.” (Dodds 5)
	8. “*Madness, blinding ruin* [2.13]: the Greek word for this is *Atê*. The meanings of the word range from “delusion,” “infatuation,” “madness,” to the “ruin,” “disaster,” “doom” that the mood can bring about.” (Knox 623)
2. **examples**
	1. Agamemnon
		1. 8.236-37: Willcock translates, “Father Zeus, did you ever previously delude a mighty king with such a delusion as this?” [89] “It is commonly said to be sent by Zeus. The Ate of Agamemnon lay in his treatment of Achilleus in Book 1; its consequences are now apparent to him (cf. 19.86-89).” [90] (Willcock 89-90)
		2. Agamemnon’s speech to Nestor
			1. 9.115-16, 119, “‘Aged sir, this was no lie when you spoke of my madness. / I was mad, I myself will not deny it. / . . . I was mad, in the persuasion of my heart’s evil . . .”
			2. “Agamemnon has admitted in 115-16 that he was under the influence of Ate when he dishonored Achilleus in Book 1.” (Willcock 106)
		3. Agamemnon’s speech at his reconciliation with Achilleus
			1. 19.85-94, Agamemnon says, “the Achaians have spoken often against me / and found fault with me in it, yet I am not responsible / but Zeus is, and Destiny [μοῖρα, *moira*], and Erinys the mist-walking / who in assembly caught my heart in the savage delusion / on that day I myself stripped from him the prize of Achilleus. / Yet what could I do? It is the god who accomplishes all things. / Delusion is the elder daughter of Zeus, the accursed / who deludes all; her feet are delicate and they step not / on the firm earth, but she walks the air above men’s heads / and leads them astray. She has entangled others before me.”
			2. “Agamemnon says that [Zeus, Destiny, and Erinys sent] Delusion (Ate) to affect his judgment. This attempt to exculpate himself is difficult [216] for us to understand, especially as he had freely admitted he was wrong [in 9.115-19, see above]. The explanation lies in the Homeric conception of Ate.” (Willcock 216-17)
			3. “*Moira*, I think, is brought in because people spoke of any unaccountable personal disaster as part of their “portion” or “lot,” meaning simply that they cannot understand why it happened, but since it has happened, evidently “it had to be.” People still speak in that way, more especially of death [6] . . . I am sure it is quite wrong to write *Moira* with a capital “M” here, as if it signified . . . a personal goddess . . .” (Dodds 6-7)
			4. “That she [Erinys] should figure at all in this context may well surprise those who think of an Erinys as essentially a spirit of vengeance . . . The explanation is perhaps that the Erinys is the personal agent who ensures the fulfilment of a *moira* [portion, lot, characteristic allotted something]. That is why the Erinyes cut short the speech of Achilles’ horses: it is not “according to *moira*” for horses to talk [19.418]. That is why they would punish the [7] sun, according to Heraclitus [Fr. 94 Diels], if the sun should “transgress his measures” by exceeding the task assigned to him. Most probably, I think, the moral function of the Erinyes as ministers of vengeance derives from this primitive task of enforcing a *moira* which was at first morally neutral . . .” (Dodds 7-8)
			5. “. . . ascribing the blame to Ate does not absolve the doer from responsibility for his actions; Agamemnon says so explicitly at 137-38.” (Willcock 217) 19.134-38, “when tall Hektor of the shining helm / was forever destroying the Argives against the sterns of their vessels, / [I] could not forget Delusion, the way I was first deluded. / But since I was deluded and Zeus took my wits away from me, / I am willing to make all good and give back gifts in abundance.”
	2. Glaukos: in 6.234-36, Glaukos and Diomedes exchange armor, Glaukos trading his gold armor for Diomedes’ bronze. “. . . to get far the better of the exchange of armor is a form of success for Diomedes. The phrase *Zeus stole away the wits* implies delusion, infatuation, “Ate” . . .” (Willcock 72, emphasis altered)
	3. Phoinix’ “parable of the prayers”
		1. 9.502-12, “the spirits of Prayer, the daughters of great Zeus, / . . . toil on their way left far behind by the spirit of Ruin: / but she, Ruin, is strong and sound on her feet, and therefore / far outruns all Prayers, and wins into every country / to force men astray; and the Prayers follow as healers after her.”
		2. “Prayers,” the usual translation in English, really means “requests for forgiveness,” “apologies.” (Willcock 106)
		3. the word “translated as . . . “Ruin” is Ate . . .” (Willcock 106)
	4. Patroklos
		1. After Apollo “struck his [Patroklos’] back and his broad shoulders / with a flat stroke of the hand so that his eyes spun . . . Disaster caught his wits, and his shining body went nerveless. / He stood stupidly” (16.791-92, 805-6).
		2. “The *ate* [is] here a sort of stunned bewilderment . . .” (Dodds 5)
	5. Automedon
		1. After Patroklos dies, Automedon commandeers his chariot. He should leave the battle, since a person cannot fight from a chariot without a charioteer to guide the chariot; but instead, he attacks the Trojans.
		2. 17.459-70, “He [Automedon] would dash in, like a vulture among geese, with his horses, / and yet could kill no men when he swept in in chase of them. / He had no way while he was alone in a separate chariot / to lunge with the spear and still keep in hand his fast-running horses. . . . [Alkimedon] stood behind the chariot and called to Automedon: / ‘Automedon, what god put this unprofitable purpose / into your heart, and has taken away the better wits . . .?”
		3. Automedon’s attack on the Trojans though alone in a chariot “is a strange episode. Automedon cannot do any damage to the enemy, because he . . . can manage only the horses. It has been suggested (E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, p. 4) that this is an example of Ate, Delusion, the temporary leaving of one’s senses (cf. 470 [“what god . . . has taken away the better wits”]). Perhaps it is rather a symbolic tribute to Patroklos.” (Willcock 197)
	6. Zeus
		1. 19.95-133, “. . . once Zeus even was deluded . . . / [Hera] who is female deluded even Zeus in her craftiness / on that day when in strong wall-circled Thebe Alkmene / was at her time to bring forth the strength of Herakles. Therefore / Zeus spoke forth and made a vow before all the immortals: / “. . . This day Eileithyia of women’s child-pains shall bring forth / a man to the light who, among the men sprung of the generation / of my blood, shall be lord over all those dwelling about him.” / Then in guileful intention the lady Hera said to him: / “. . . swear before me a strong oath / that he shall be lord over all those dwelling about him / who this day shall fall between the feet of a woman, / that man who is born of the blood of your generation.” / [Zeus] swore a great oath, and therein lay all his deception. / But Hera in a flash of speed left the horn of Olympos / and rapidly came to Argos of Achaia, where she knew / was the mighty wife of Sthenelos, descended of Perseus. / And she was carrying a son, and this was the seventh month for her, / but she brought him sooner into the light, and made him premature, / and stayed the childbirth of Alkmene, and held back the birth pangs. / She went herself and spoke the message to Zeus, son of Kronos: / “. . . A great man is born, who will be lord over the Argives, / Eurystheus, son of Sthenelos, of the seed of Perseus, / your generation. . . . the sharp sorrow struck at his deep heart. / He caught by the shining hair of her head the goddess Delusion / in the anger of his heart, and swore a strong oath, that never / after this night Delusion, who deludes all, come back / to Olympos and the starry sky. So speaking, he whirled her / about in his hand and slung her out of the starry heaven, / and presently she came to men’s establishments. But Zeus / would forever grieve over her each time that he saw his dear son / doing some shameful work of the tasks that Eurystheus set him.”
		2. *Atē* “is allegorically described, as in 9.505-7 (in the “Parable of the Prayers”); then follows a long narrative of a particular action of hers, the “extreme case,” in which even Zeus was deluded.” (Willcock 217)
		3. 19.130-31 (“he slung her out of starry heaven, / and presently she came to men’s establishments”) “explains why Ate now exclusively infests human activities.” (Willcock 218)

## Divine Retribution (Divine Justice) in the *Iliad*

1. **inadequate sacrifices for the Greek wall**
	1. 7.448-53, 459-63, Poseidon complains to Zeus, “Do you not see how now these flowing-haired Achaians / have built a wall landward of their ships, and driven about it / a ditch, and not given to the gods any grand sacrifice? / Now the fame of this will last as long as dawnlight is scattered, / and men will forget that wall which I and Phoibos Apollo / built with our hard work for the hero Laomedon’s city.” [Zeus answers,] “Come then! After once more the flowing-haired Achaians / are gone back with their ships to the beloved land of their fathers, / break their wall to pieces and scatter it into the salt sea / and pile again the beach deep under the sands and cover it . . .”
	2. 12.3-9, “the Danaans’ / ditch [was not] going to hold them [the Trojans] back nor the wide wall above it / they had built for the sake of their ships, and driven a deep ditch / about it, and had not given to the gods grand sacrifices / so that it might guard their running ships and their masses / of spoil within it. It had been built in despite of the immortal / gods, and therefore it was not to stand firm for a long time.”
	3. “The repeated statement that the wall was built without due reverence to the gods leads into a long explanation in 10-33 of how it was obliterated by “natural causes” after the end of the war. . . . As usual in this early period, the gods object [137] because of an infringement of their own status, not in support of a general moral principle. So . . . it is Poseidon and Apollo who take action, because they were the gods who had once built the massive city walls of Troy for Laomedon, Priam’s father, and they are jealous that the new Greek wall will diminish the fame of their efforts. The whole passage seems to be an attempt to explain why the wall was not there in Homer’s own day.” (Willcock 137-38)
2. **oath at Menelaos’ and Alexandros’ duel**
	1. 3.278-79, Agamemnon prays, “you who under the earth take vengeance / on dead men, whoever among them has sworn to falsehood, / you shall be witnesses, to guard the oaths of fidelity. / If it should be that Alexandros slays Menelaos, / let him keep Helen for himself, and all her possessions, / and we in our seafaring ships shall take our way homeward. / But if the fair-haired Menelaos kills Alexandros, / then let the Trojans give back Helen and all her possessions . . .”
	2. “You who under the earth”: “The parallel passage in 19.259-60 [“Furies, who underground / avenge dead men, when any man has sworn to a falsehood”] identifies these as the Furies.” (Willcock 43)
	3. “This shows the beginning of a belief in divine retribution for wrongdoing; it is still limited to perjury, however, because in that offense the credit of the gods is directly involved. By the time of the *Odyssey*, the gods are said to show their disapproval of the wicked deeds of men (*Od*. 14.83-84). But in the *Iliad* (with the exception of a passing comment in a simile at 16.386-88) the gods please themselves, taking sides in human disputes irrespective of the merits of the case.” (Willcock 43)
3. **Phoinix’** “**parable of the Prayers**” (Book 9)
	1. 9.502-12, “the spirits of Prayer, the daughters of great Zeus, / . . . toil on their way left far behind by the spirit of Ruin: / [Ruin] wins into every country / to force men astray; and the Prayers follow as healers after her. / If a man venerates these daughters of Zeus as they draw near, / such a man they bring great advantage, and hear his entreaty; / but if a man shall deny them, and stubbornly with a harsh word / refuse, they go to Zeus, son of Kronos, in supplication / that Ruin may overtake this man, that he be hurt, and punished.”
	2. ““Prayers,” although the usual term in English, is nearly meaningless; the word means “requests for forgiveness,” i.e., apologies.” (Willcock 106)
	3. “In other words, if A wrongs B but later apologizes, then it is up to B to accept the apology; if he refuses, then this is arrogant of him, and he may find that he makes some disastrous mistake himself. This is of course exactly what happens to Achilleus. His refusal of Agamemnon’s offer of compensation in this book leads directly to his irrational decision (in Book 16) to send his closest friend, Patroklos, out on his own and so to his death.” (Willcock 106)
	4. “M. Noé (in *Phoinix, Ilias und Homer* [1940], p. 32) points out that the religious thought here, that Zeus may punish those who do not accept apologies when offered, is almost exactly the same as that in the Lord’s Prayer . . .” (Willcock 106)
		1. Matt 6:12, “forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors.”
		2. Matt 6:14-15, “For if you forgive others their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; 15but if you do not forgive others, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.”
4. **retribution for unjust laws**
	1. 16.384-88, 393, “As underneath the hurricane all the black earth is burdened / on an autumn day, when Zeus sends down the most violent waters / in deep rage against mortals after they stir him to anger / because in violent assembly they pass decrees that are crooked, / and drive righteousness from among them and care nothing for what the gods think, / . . . so huge rose the noise from the horses of Troy in their running.”
	2. “The attribution to Zeus (in 386-88) of a concern for general morality is unique in the *Iliad*.” (Willcock 184)

## Homer’s “Humanity” as Seen in His

## Introduction of Helen (*Iliad* 3.125-200)

 Writers on Homer often refer to his “humanity” (e.g., Willcock: “the humanity and sympathy of Homer,” “the essential humanity of the poet”).[[2]](#footnote-2) By this they mean that Homer possessed an unusually penetrating insight into human motivations and interactions. Homer rarely makes explicit the subtleties of motivation and interaction in his narrative, but even apparently simple lines can contain complex details of human nature.

 To explore this aspect of the *Iliad*, I have selected lines from a passage known as the *Teichoskopia* (the “View from the Wall,” 3.121-244) and have attempted to make explicit some of the implications of motivation and interaction with which the lines teem.

❈❇❈

[The messenger goddess Iris] came on Helen in the chamber; she was weaving a great web, / a red folding robe, and working into it the numerous struggles / of Trojans, breakers of horses, and bronze-armoured Achaians, / struggles that they endured for her sake at the hands of the war god. (3.125-28)

 Homer could have said, “she was weaving a red folding robe.” To add the words, “she was weaving *a great web*, a red folding robe” is to evoke, albeit implicitly, the image of a spider.

 The robe is *red*, the color blood. Helen is weaving scenes of men dying for her.[[3]](#footnote-3)

 Does this demonstrate that Helen is unfeeling and self-centered? After all, someone, someday, will wear this robe. Helen apparently wants the fact that men fought over her remembered.

 But the weaving could instead be a self-imposed penance: Helen could be deliberately keeping before her eyes the disastrous consequences of her actions. Her occasional self-deprecating comments,[[4]](#footnote-4) though casual (6.344 is said almost in jest), point in that direction.

 I suspect that Helen’s weaving of the battle scenes is *both* self-promotion and self-pun­ishment. It is not beyond the complexity of Helen’s character to reward and punish herself at the same time.

[Iris announced to Helen,] Menelaos the warlike and Alexandros will fight / with long spears against each other for your possession. / You shall be called beloved wife of the man who wins you.’ / Speaking so the goddess left in her heart sweet longing / after her husband of time before, and her city and parents. / And at once, wrapping herself about in shimmering garments, / she went forth from the chamber, letting fall a light tear; / not by herself, since two handmaidens went to attend her . . . (3.136-42)

 That Helen, on learning of the duel, longs for her former life indicates her recognition that her choice of Paris was a mistake.

 The tear would therefore seem to demonstrate regret for her lost former life. But it may also indicate regret that her actions have caused these men to have to duel. And it may even indicate regret that one of them must die; if so, there exists in her at least some modicum of love toward one or both men. (In fact it is toward both: she feels “longing / after her husband of time before” [3.140]; but, when later Paris “led the way to the bed . . . his wife went with him” [3.447].)

 The tear, nevertheless, is a *light* tear: Helen is not too distraught. And wrapping herself in *shimmering garments* suggests that she still has room in her thoughts for maintaining her appearance.

 The garments, combined with the handmaids next mentioned, serve as a reminder that Helen, despite her tear, remains among the privileged aristocracy. She has always enjoyed a pampered life; she lives at a distance—aloof—from the dust and sweat and death on the plain below her.

. . . when the elderly chief men of Troy saw Helen approaching, they murmured to each other, “Surely there is no blame on Trojans and strong-greaved Achaians / if for long time they suffer hardship for a woman like this one. / Terrible is the likeness of her face to immortal goddesses. / Still, though she be such, let her go away in the ships, lest / she be left behind, a grief to us and our children. (3.156-60)

 Helen’s beauty is beyond words. Hence, Homer does not try to describe how beautiful she is; he lets others’ reactions to her speak for him. That Helen can elicit so powerful a response from *elders* emphasizes her beauty. That they, when first dazzled by her beauty, casually dismiss the hardships which nine years of siege have inflicted on both Greeks and Trojans further emphasizes her beauty.

 The elders liken Helen’s face to the faces of goddesses. The Greeks’ ideals of beauty are abstractions: a hint or a glimpse of beauty may exist in this or that real person, but the ideal as a whole is never (except in imaginative characters, like Helen or a Greek statue) found in any one mortal.

 Goddesses are by nature immortal; so the phrase, “immortal goddesses,” appears redundant. But perhaps Homer’s purpose is to distance them from humanity: they are indifferent to the tragedies that sear human souls. Similarly distant, by implication, is Helen; for she shares the goddesses’ likeness.

 Helen’s likeness to the goddesses is *terrible* in part because her beauty partakes of the divine, and the supernatural is always awesome.[[5]](#footnote-5) But her likeness to goddesses is *terrible* also in part because it makes her somewhat inhuman. Just as goddesses are detached from mortal cares and cold to human suffering, so Helen to some extent is a person of distance and coolness.[[6]](#footnote-6)

 How *terrible* Helen’s beauty is can be seen also in the elders’ last statement, “lest / she be left behind, a grief to us and our children.” The elders are not just concerned about the consequences that Helen’s beauty has already engendered (the nine-year presence of the Greeks, the interminable war); they are convinced that, even if the Greeks were to depart and leave victory to the Trojans, Helen’s beauty would again someday be “a grief to us and our children.” The reason is that Helen’s beauty is an intrusion from above. The elders’ mistrust of Helen’s beauty is related to the Greeks’ mistrust of *hybris*. When “A mortal gets above himself and challenges the gods . . . the result is always disastrous” (Willcock 28). Similarly, though Helen’s beauty is not of her choosing, it oversteps the threshold of the mortal. As a beam of the immortal sphere intruded into the ordinary world, her beauty violates the strict line of demarcation between immortal and mortal realms, a line which is never crossed without unfortunate consequences to mortals.[[7]](#footnote-7) Helen’s beauty will inevitably draw disaster to itself, as surely as a lightning rod draws lightning.

So they spoke: but Priam aloud called out to Helen: / ‘Come over where I am, dear child, and sit down beside me, / to look at your husband of time past, your friends and your people. / I am not blaming you: to me the gods are blameworthy / who drove upon me this sorrowful war against the Achaians.’ (3.161-65)

 Though the elders were “murmuring softly” and only “to each other” (3.155), Priam overhears them, and he believes Helen overhears them as well. Thus he calls *aloud* and calls *out* to communicate to her, but also to them, his disapproval of their comments.

 He infers that Helen, overhearing the elders’ wish (“let her go away in the ships”), must feel excluded; and he counters that feeling by deliberately including her, calling her “my child” and inviting her to “sit down beside me.” He also infers that Helen, overhearing the elders’ judgment (she will be “a grief to us and our children”), must feel condemned; and he counters that feeling by affirming, “I am not blaming you” and “to me the gods are blameworthy . . .”

 Helen does have to endure disapproval from her Trojan peers. She refers later to “the words of shame and all the reproach that is on me” (3.242); and she says to the dead Hektor at the end of the poem, “when another, one of my lord’s brothers or sisters, a fair-robed / wife of some brother, would say a harsh word to me in the palace, / or my lord’s mother . . . / then you would . . . restrain them” (24.768-71).

 “So they spoke: but Priam”: Homer puts the elders and Priam in as direct discord as possible. Priam is able to oppose his elders’ opinion of Helen, and the opinion of the Trojans as a whole, for several reasons. In part, it is because he is king: he is above caring about others’ opinions. In part, it is because he is old: he is beyond caring about others’ opinions. But in part, it is because he is compassionate. Let the elders nourish their self-serving resentment; Priam is too large-hearted to do so. That Priam is willing to voice an opinion contrary to everyone else says much about his character: he can practice independence of thought; he can stand alone against the crowd; he can side with one against the many. (Compare Jesus’ treatment of the woman at the well, John 4:1-30, and especially of the adulterous woman, John 8:1-11).

 Priam’s belief that “the gods are blameworthy” is true but simplistic. The gods have been causes in the unfolding events of the past two decades (it is twenty years since Helen left Sparta with Paris, 24.765). But human choices have also been at work, and no doubt Priam is aware of this. His present purpose, however, is to console Helen, and so he emphasizes the role of the gods, deemphasizing her role. (At the same time, he is egocentric enough to believe that the gods’ actions and the resultant war center on him: “the gods . . . drove upon *me* this sorrowful war . . .”)

Helen, the shining among women, answered and spoke to him: / ‘Always to me, beloved father, you are feared and respected; / and I wish bitter death had been what I wanted, when I came hither / following your son, forsaking my chamber, my kinsmen, / my grown child, and the loveliness of girls my own age. / It did not happen that way: and now I am worn with weeping. / This now I will tell you in answer to the question you asked me. / That man is Atreus’ son Agamemnon, widely powerful, / at the same time a good king and a strong spearfighter, / once my kinsman, slut that I am. Did this ever happen?’ (3.171-80)

 “Shining among women” is a conventional metaphor (it recurs in 3.228 and 3.423) but an effective one nonetheless. The metaphor is implicit: Helen is compared to a light of some kind. Whether a light source (the sun, a lantern) or a reflective surface (a mirror, a gem), the connotation is of something good and beautiful.

 Helen calls Priam “beloved father” and says she fears and respects him. The relationship between Helen and Priam is close; that between Helen and her mother-in-law, Hekabe, is more astringent. (Helen over Hektor’s corpse confides to those around her that Hektor’s mother “would say a harsh word to me in the palace / . . . but his father was gentle always,” 24.769-71.) Willcock notes (275-76), “There is something universal about the relations described, the mother-in-law sometimes critical, the father-in-law indulgent.” Perhaps mothers-in-law are more critical because, having been young women, they know what can and ought to be expected; or, having once been caretaker of the male and principal in his affections, they feel some jealousy. Perhaps fathers-in-law are more indulgent because, not having been young women, they are less able to judge young women’s behavior; or, still attracted to young women, they desire young women’s estimation and affection. But there is also something particular about Priam’s indulgence: he demonstrates soft-heartedness on other occasions and toward other individuals. For example, when a herald tells Priam that his son Alexandros is to fight Menelaos, “the old man shuddered” (3.259); and the reason is given in 3.306-7: “I cannot look with these eyes on the sight of my dear son / fighting against warlike Menelaos . . .” Priam is weak toward those he loves, rather like King David (2 Sam 13:21, 39; 14:21, 33; 18:5, 12, 29; 18:32-19.8).

 Once again we have a self-deprecating remark from Helen: “I wish bitter death had been what I wanted”; for other instances, see note 2. Wishing she had chosen death rather than her present shameful situation is no doubt exaggeration (after all, she has not killed herself during the twenty years since she left Greece), but it at least tells us that she thinks she should have preferred it. She does apparently feel something now, but it seems to be less remorse for her shame than nostalgia for her life of long ago. The four items that Helen lists as things she has “forsaken” are all from a woman’s point of view: she does not refer to comrades, countryside, profession, or politics, but to bedroom, relatives, her child, and fellow maidens. “Forsaking my bedroom” is a metonymy (indicating something by referring to something else that is associated with it); the phrase does not refer to a four-walled room so much as evoke the activities that went on there and the entire relationship with Menelaos. “My grown child” expresses some longing for Helen’s daughter, Hermione. When Helen left Sparta twenty years earlier, Hermione must have been an infant or a small child. Helen did not at that time forsake “my grown child”; the adjective “grown” shows that she is wondering what Hermione is now like, and her wondering intensifies her nostalgia. But the ultimate item that she regrets losing is “the loveliness of girls my own age.” A young woman at the time of her voluntary abduction, Helen is now twenty years older; at best, she is in her upper thirties. “Girls my own age,” then,” does not refer to her age now, but her age then: what she regrets most is the loss of her youth. She has lost the time when the future stretched endlessly, the time when she was not outcast among women but had female friends, perhaps also the time when “the loveliness of [other adolescent] girls” provided a backdrop against which her already inestimable beauty was further augmented.

 To say, “It did not happen that way,” implies that what did occur merely “happened.” Helen is diminishing her own part in bringing about her present shameful situation; she implies that her circumstances are not due so much to her free-will decision as to chance or necessity (the will of the gods). Her additional statement, “and now I am worn with weeping,” is also disingenuous. If Helen *were* worn with weeping, that would indicate true regret on her part, full repentance. But we have already seen how “light” is her tear (3.142); and the fact that the present book ends with her returning to bed with Paris indicates that her repentance far from full.

 Helen now identifies Agamemnon and describes him. “Widely powerful” may refer to the extensive territories over which Agamemnon rules, or to the breadth of his shoulders, or (most probably) to both: “at the same time a good king and a strong spearfighter.”

 The sight of Agamemnon brings Helen’s nostalgia to a pitch—one can almost hear a catch in her throat—and she exclaims, “Slut that I am!” Her repentance (or at least regret) does for a moment become full, and she is able to see herself as others must: as a slut, a woman ruled by her slit. For a few moments, the walls of her reality waver—“Did this ever happen?” Things seem dreamlike; perhaps it is all an illusion! Helen for these moments *wants* it to be an illusion, because then the shame she genuinely if momentarily feels would also not be real.

 We do not see Helen’s descent from her moment of self-revelation, of genuine shame; in the next ten lines (3.181-90), the narrator’s “camera” shows us only Priam exclaiming over Agamemnon and reminiscing over a trip to Phrygia. When we next see Helen, after Priam asks her to identify another Greek, she is herself again: “Helen, the daughter descended of Zeus, spoke then in answer: / ‘This one is Laertes’ son, resourceful Odysseus’” (3.199-200). Her explanation is calm, pedestrian; she is again the character she has always been. Introducing her as “the daughter descended of Zeus” reminds us that, sharing the beauty of the immortal goddesses, she is perhaps incapable of feeling full human repentance for long.

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 We cannot know the “humanity” of Homer directly. He is long dead; we do not even know if the poet’s name was really “Homer.” But what we do have is the *Iliad* itself: in his remarkably human characters, we glimpse the poet’s humanity. No one could create such complex yet precisely *right* characters—ones about whom readers feel the nip of recognition and say, “Yes, that’s how this character would act”—without having a capacious human soul himself.

 Homer’s humanity is not restricted to his depiction of Helen. In his descriptions of, for example, Hektor’s infant son screaming in his mother’s arms at the sight of Hektor’s helmet (6.466-70); or Hera’s seduction of Zeus (14.153-351); or the pathos of war (19.291-300, 24.165-68); or, as Achilleus approaches to slay him, Hektor remembering the languor of lovers (22.125-28); or his descriptions in the similes of ordinary peasant life—flies at a milk pail, a woman curdling milk, a man simply gazing out to sea (5.770-72)—these and the many other *human* touches are what is meant when we praise Homer, above all else, for his penetrating and magnificent “humanity.”

# Appendices

## Channel Firing

## by Thomas Hardy (1840-1928)

 That night your great guns, unawares,

 Shook all our coffins as we lay,

 And broke the chancel[[8]](#footnote-8) window-squares,

 We thought it was the Judgment-day

 And sat upright. While drearisome 5

 Arose the howl of wakened hounds:

 The mouse let fall the altar-crumb,

 The worms drew back into the mounds,

 The glebe cow[[9]](#footnote-9) drooled. Till God called, “No;

 It’s gunnery practice out at sea 10

 Just as before you went below;

 The world is as it used to be:

 “All nations striving strong to make

 Red war yet redder. Mad as hatters

 They do no more for Christés sake 15

 Than you who are helpless in such matters.

 “That this is not the judgment-hour

 For some of them’s a blessed thing,

 For if it were they’d have to scour

 Hell’s floor for so much threatening. . . . 20

 “Ha, ha. It will be warmer when

 I blow the trumpet (if indeed

 I ever do; for you are men,

 And rest eternal sorely need).”

 So down we lay again. “I wonder, 25

 Will the world ever saner be,”

 Said one, “than when He sent us under

 In our indifferent century!”

 And many a skeleton shook his head.

 “Instead of preaching forty year,” 30

 My neighbour Parson Thirdly said,

 “I wish I had stuck to pipes and beer.”

 Again the guns disturbed the hour,

 Roaring their readiness to avenge,

 As far inland as Stourton Tower,[[10]](#footnote-10) 35

 And Camelot,[[11]](#footnote-11) and starlit Stonehenge.[[12]](#footnote-12)

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Earl of Derby (*Iliad* and *Odyssey*?): “In 1865 the Earl of Derby produced a very competent rendering into blank verse.” (Griffin 79)

Lang, Leaf, and Myers (*Iliad*): “late Victorian version . . . dignified and rather archaic prose.” (Griffin 79)

Butcher and Lang (*Odyssey*): “late Victorian version . . . dignified and rather archaic prose.” (Griffin 79)

Lawrence, T.E. (*Odyssey*): “a rather mannered version . . . in 1932, under the name of T.E. Shaw; he took a surprisingly low view of the original.” (Griffin 79)

Lattimore, Richmond (*Iliad*, Chicago, 1951; *Odyssey*, New York, 1967): he “has translated both epics into modern verse . . .” (Griffin 79)

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1. Pindar disagreed (Fr. 169a 16-17): “it is better to be dead than to be a coward.” (Qtd. in: Burkert, Walter. *Creation of the Sacred: Tracks of Biology in Early Religions*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1996. 197 n. 12.) Burkert comments that this is “heroic values versus rational choice” (ibid.). [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Willcock, Malcolm M. *A Companion to the Iliad: Based on the Translation by Richmond Lattimore*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1976. 234, 276. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Similarly, before the message arrives of Hektor’s death, his wife Andromache is “weaving a web . . ., / a red folding robe” (22.440-41). Perhaps “web” and “red” are conventional and of no significance; or perhaps the repetition is merely an aspect of oral poetry (in a poem of 15,693 lines, Homer’s frequent repetition of lines were no doubt a mnemonic help). But, since the message to Andromache also involves a bloody death, “red” at least may have a similar significance there as here. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. “I wish bitter death had been what I wanted, when I came hither / following [Paris]” (3.173-74); “slut that I am” (3.180); “[I] am a nasty bitch evil-intriguing” (6.344); “I should have died before I came with him” (24.764). [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. See Rudolf Otto’s definition of the “Holy”: *mysterium tremendum* (not “tremendous,” but “causing tremors,” i.e., terrifying) *et fascinans*. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. In his poem, “Easter, 1916,” Yeats in his refrain refers to “a terrible beauty” (lines 16, 40, 80); he may have gotten the oxymoron from these lines in Homer (Yeats knew his Homer: see “Vacillation,” line 87: “Homer is my example and his unchristened heart”). Yeats’ “terrible beauty” also refers to something inhuman: the immortal symbol which Irish patriots became thanks to their martyrdom in the Easter uprising against the English in 1916. “Hearts with one purpose alone / Through summer and winter seem / Enchanted [in]to a stone / To trouble the living stream. / . . . Minute by minute [we] live: / The stone’s in the midst of all. / Too long a sacrifice / Can make a stone of the heart.” It is as if an enchantress had put a spell on the martyrs, turning them into stone. But the martyrs had become stone even before their martyrdoms: their single-mindedness (“one purpose alone”) moved them beyond the daily cares of ordinary persons and transmuted them into something inhuman. Then their martyrdom hardened them further, into something everlasting, a symbol of courage and sacrifice that “troubles” our consciences as we, caught in the cares of ordinary life, hurtle and plunge against the symbol. We are fluid, concerned with human worries; they are immortal rock, no longer feeling apprehensions. Just as the stone was an alien presence in the midst of Yeats’s countrymen, so Helen’s beauty was an alien presence in the midst of the Greeks and the Trojans. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. See 5.440, where Apollo warns Diomedes, “Take care, give back, son of Tydeus, and strive no longer / to make yourself like the gods in mind, since never the same is / the breed of gods, who are immortal, and men who walk groundling.” [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. *Chancel*: front area in a church holding the altar and the choir. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. *Glebe cow*: cow put out to pasture on church land for the vicar. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. *Stourton Tower*: in Wiltshire, a tower built to honour Alfred the Great’s victory over the Danes. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. *Camelot*: King Arthur’s court, associated with Winchester or Tintagel in Cornwall. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. *Stonehenge*: prehistoric megalithic circle on Salisbury Plain, Wiltshire. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)