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The Ilaid, the Athlete and the Ancient Greek Polis
A Descriptive Study of Homer's Iliad as Hero Myth

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A Descriptive Study of Homer's Iliad as Hero Myth

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Abstract

This descriptive reading of the Iliad *explores its meaningful reception within the ancient Greek polis. Because it was performed at the Greater Panathenaic Festival at Athens, I have approached the poem as a religious artefact, or hero myth, that expresses devotional attitudes, beliefs and practices specific to its most normative, content defining cultural context, the Panathenaic Festival. More precisely, my study identifies an underlying, paradigmatic association between the heroic characters of the poem's narrative and the male athletes who competed at the Games such as Olympia, which were held in honour of the gods. Building from the association I identify as operating between the heroes of the* Iliad, *Achilles and the Achaeans especially, and the athletes, I argue that the poem expresses the attitudinal/characterological entailments of the Greek male as he prepares to marry and become a citizen.*

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Chapter 1. Introduction

This study of the *Iliad* explores its meaningful reception within the context of the polis, the Greek city-state.[1] I aim to demonstrate that the poem was experienced as a hero myth that dramatically elaborated a pedagogy of male acculturation to the requirements of life as a citizen. The *Iliad*, in my reading, related especially to Greek young men who were of an age to compete for the last time in the circuit of sacred games; young men of approximately thirty years of age who had completed their military terms and who were transitioning towards the settled, married life of the householding citizen. Given this focus, I infer that the poem was selected for the programme of contests at the Greater Panathenaia to establish the festival's legitimacy alongside the circuit of pan-Hellenic games that were anchored by the Zeus cult competitions at Olympia. This last point will be expanded upon shortly. Put briefly, underlying this descriptive study is the postulate that the poem was regarded as *sacred* and therefore served as a devotional medium through which performers and audience experienced their cult entities, their gods and heroes.

I am seeking to elaborate a reading that sees in the *Iliad* an accretion of religious cult or, in other words, a reading that regards the poem as a means by which a potent,

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[1] Regarding the historical dating of the poem as concurrent with the rise of the polis, see van Wees 1999: 1-13. Also, Nagy 2002: 1-8, who provides a timeline for the shaping of the poetry and presents its performance logistics at the Panathenaic festival. My concern is with the poem's cultural relevance to the polis as a cultural organism and ideological construct and am most concerned with its formal performance at Athens from the mid sixth century BCE onward through the Classical period.

identity-defining relationship was at regular ritual intervals re-established between the mundane world of people and society on the one hand, and the cosmic order maintained by divinity on the other. I assume the position that the narrative content of the *Iliad*, while poetically engaged with memorializing the past, has no bearing on historical time whatsoever.[2] Both the 'time' and 'space' of the *Iliad*, I shall argue, are paradigmatic, empirical and 'present' in the ritual context of the of the religious festival rather than points of reference for an interpretation that seeks to situate the *Iliad* historically. To this extent, Odysseus' boar tusk helmet and Ajax's massive shield do not situate the *Iliad* in the Mycenaean era any more than Achilles and Patroclus as epic partners enable us to see in the *Iliad* a tradition grounded in the Gilgamesh and Enkidu legends of Babylon.[3] While such points of contact may be of interest for comparative analysis or for identifying cultural influences, they lend nothing to furthering an appreciation of the *Iliad* as a thematically coherent narrative that connects meaningfully to the historical Greek polis.

A. The Greater Panathenaia

> *The institution* (at the Greater Panathenaia) *of this relay performance* (rhapsodic competition) *is, for us, a crucial moment in the history of the epics, since it is the earliest point at which we can be certain of the existence of both works as we know them.* (van Wees 1999: 6)

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[2] I shall take up the matter of converting 'thematic content' expressed within a cultural artefact such as a poem into historical data shortly. For studying a poem such as the *Iliad* as an artistic work and, from this basis, approaching its content as meaningful and thematic, see Gadamer 1982: 27-47. Gadamer makes the essential point that art for much of the non-Christian world (with particular reference to ancient Greece) is the medium through which divinity reveals itself, Gadamer 1982: 28.

[3] On the first point, see Nilsson 1972; on the second, Burkert 1992.

In the mid-sixth century BCE the Athenian celebration of Athena Polias, divine eponym and sacred embodiment of the polis, was extended to the entire Greek-speaking world on a four-year rotation. The festival occurred in the final trimester[4] of the month of Hecatombaion, a date corresponding roughly with the contemporary month of August. While the precise duration is unknown, the climactic procession and hecatomb sacrifice to the goddess was held on the twenty-eighth day of the month.[5] It was at this time that the festival included in its programme of events song, dance and sporting competitions on a scale unequalled in ancient Greece, and may have lasted as long as eight days.[6] The day of the great sacrificial feast was marked by the procession leading the goddess' new gown, woven nine months earlier.

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[4] The Greek month, beginning with the new moon, was divided into three ten day periods. A 'day' lasted from sunset to sunset. The annual cycle of months was stabilized and made to harmonize with the solar year by means of 'hollow month' intercalation, or by eliminating the twenty ninth day of each successive month and by adding an extra midwinter month. Despite the ability to do so, the Greeks never idealized time to the point of producing a Julian calendar, but always kept it empirical and therefore based directly on the observation of the celestial bodies. The authoritative treatise on Greek time is of course Hesiod's *Works and Days*, in which the poet makes a clear connection between human action, natural rhythm, and the Zeus-ruled cosmic order derived from a conscious appreciation of the quality of time. See Davidson 2007: 204-207

[5] See Neils 1992: 15 for a conjecture of the festival programme. More recently, Neils 2007: 41-51 discusses the late-coming festival's attempts from the outset to match the features of both Olympia and Delphi. The Greater Panathenaia never succeeded in achieving the same level of prestige as Olympia, but it certainly attempted to outdo the most venerable of Games in the scale of its festivities.

[6] Neils 1991: 14-15. Parker 2005: 256-257.

Inaugurated in 566 BCE, the Greater Panathenaia followed shortly after the fixing of the *Periodos*, the four-year cycle of pan-Hellenic athletic festivals.[7] The pan-Hellenic Athena festival offered in its programme of athletic competitions the full range of those of the *Periodos* festivals.[8] It was held at roughly the same time of the mid-summer as the Olympic Games and similarly awarded the olive wreath to her victors, albeit the cultivated olive rather than Olympia's wild.[9] To these were added a regatta and the exclusive, feature events, namely the full-armour dance, the *purríchē*, the "dismounters' race", the race of the *apobátai* and the *euandría*, a bodybuilding pageant.[10] Reflecting the Pythian and Isthmian Games, the musical programme included lyre and flute competitions.[11] Besides these, the Greater Panathenaia featured the Isthmia's rowing competition, the *hámilla neôn*. Finally, rather than having two separate categories of

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[7] Valavanis 2004: 8. The Olympic Games (Zeus) are traditionally dated at 776 BCE, while the Pythian (Apollo) and Isthmian (Poseidon) entered the cycle in 582, with the Nemean (Zeus) finally completing it in 573. The Olympic and Pythian Games were held every four years, two years apart from each other. See Table 1 below, page 5. Rather than having the Isthmian Games precede the major festivals at Olympia and Delphi, Golden 1998: 11 has them occur on the same years as the Nemean Games.

[8] Kyle 1993: 178-194.

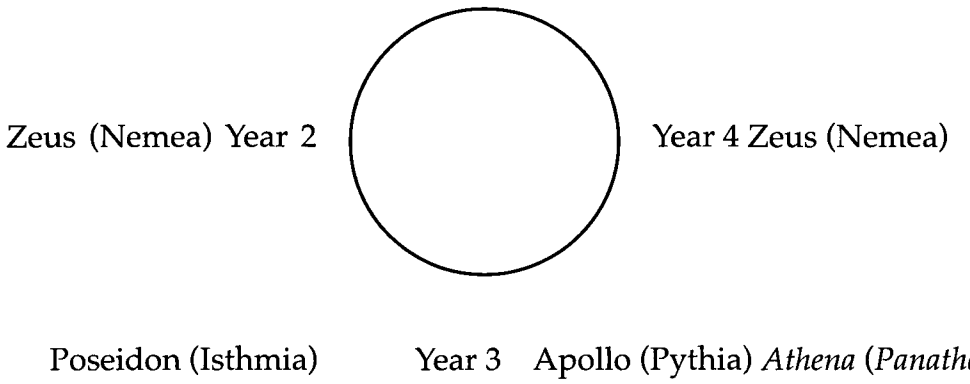
[9] Not only did the victor receive a *stephánē*, or crown, victory was also met with vast quantities of highly valued Athenian olive oil along with quantities of cash, livestock and slaves, Valavanis 2004: 370-377. Prizes for the second place finishers in the athletic competitions were also awarded, see photo and transcription of *Inscriptiones Graecae* II^2 2311 (circa 370), Neils 1992: 16. Only victors in the *Periodos* competitions were acknowledged and, apart from the foliage crown, no material rewards ensued, as these were provided from the native cities.

[10] Several of these competitions were exclusive to Athenian competitors, such as the *euandria* beauty contest, the *pyrrichios*, and the torch-race.

[11] Flute playing was dropped from the programme at Delphi, given its funerary ambience (Pausanias 10.7.5-7), Miller 2004: 58.

competitions for boys and men, a third age-category[12] for youths was adopted, just as the competitions were structured at the Nemean Games.[13] Apparently, the Greater Panathenaia sought to reflect the entire athletic programme of the *Periodos*.

Table 1. The *Periodos* and the Panathenaia



The Seasonal Occurrences of the Games

Zeus Competitions (Olympia, Nemea):	Five Days at the Second Full Moon Following the Summer Sol stice (Second Lunar Trimester, Midsummer, or Early August).
Poseidon Competition (Isthmia):	Springtime.
Apollo Competition (Pythia):	Five days in the First Lunar Trimester, 7-11 Boucation, Late Summer.
Athena Competition (Panathenaia):	*Eight Days in the Third Lunar Trimester, 23-30 Hecatombion, Mid to Late Summer*

[12] Age categories are generally defines as follows: Boys (12-16), Youths (16-20), Men (20-marriage30?), Valavanis 2004:310. The categories were determined by the appearance of genital (boys and youths) and facial hair (men); but were not fixed chronologically, Neils 1992: 15.

[13] The trumpeting, heralding and female competitions were part of the programme at Nemea and Olympia, Valavanis 2004: 310.

From the time of its inception, Athens attempted to make of the Greater Panathenaia a more opulent event than either the Olympic or Pythian Games.[14] While the high order religiosity of the venerable Olympics could not be challenged and Delphi, site of the pan-Hellenic oracle, had a similarly secure position, wealthy Athens could provide unparalleled material inducements in support of her Games.[15] Relatedly, the late-coming Athenian festival appears to have sought to establish its legitimacy by featuring nearly the full list of competitions included in the entire cycle of pan-Hellenic competitions. The impression one has is that inclusion of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as competitive performance scripts served the purpose of enhancing the prestige of the festival as it acquired a pan-Hellenic scope.[16]

Although the poetry in all likelihood predated the sixth century, the Panathenaiac context for the *Iliad*'s reception is the cultural medium through which the poem is

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[14] Neils 2007: 41-51. Neils points out that the hecatomb offered to Athena matched that of the bull sacrifice to Zeus at Olympia. Unlike Elis, which included vast pasturing lands, the sacrifice-worthy heifers had to be imported for the Athena festival, as Attica could not raise such a quantity of cattle within its territory. The hecatomb was very likely an original feature of the first staging of the Greater Panathenaia and underscored the lavishness of the event.

[15] The competitions at the *Periodos* honoured the victors exclusively and the hosting parties provided no material prizes to them, apart from the wreath and banquet honours. Generally, athletic competitions are regarded as non-religious features of the festivals, but there is nothing in the sources that suggests that they were any less an acknowledgement of the hosting god that the ritual procession and sacrifice. As for the highest-order of sanctity conferred upon the contests (not sacrifices) at Olympia, see Pausanias, 5.10.1. I shall discuss the religiosity of athleticism further below.

[16] Cairns 2001: 7; "The incorporation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* into Panathenaic performance, then, may have enhanced their prestige, but it cannot be the cause of the enormous cultural authority to which the literary evidence attests; rather, it must itself have been motivated by a sense of the poems' existing prestige".

most profitably studied.[17] Given this, my study of the *Iliad* seeks to demonstrate that the poem is best understood as an allegorical tale drawn from athleticism and dramatized as a significant moment in the epochal Battle of Troy. In this light, the *Iliad,* like Athenian Tragedy that owes much to it, is best approached as an innovative form of hero myth or, in other words, a sacred narrative that served to evoke the existence of the Former Mortals, the demigod-heroes honoured throughout Greece in cult. Operating from the position that the widely held distinction between Homeric heroes and the heroes of religious cult is entirely prejudicial, I shall seek to demonstrate that the poetic narrative as hero myth connects directly to the values and ideology of Greek polis culture.[18] The *Iliad* has nothing to do whatsoever with pre-polis culture Greece; the poem instead enlivens the mythic past as it elaborates a pedagogy of polis acculturation addressed primarily to the "best of the Greeks", the male youths who have chosen to test their mettle through athletic performance. I shall elaborate upon this shortly, but to

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[17] Nagy 2002: 7; "My main argument is that the city of Athens and the Panathenaic Festival in particular can be viewed as two decisive historical factors in the gradual shaping of what became the definitive forms of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, starting with the sixth century BCE." Unfortunately, the sources do not permit a clear sense of how the poems continued to be shaped diachronically, but the fact of the their inclusion in a pan-Hellenic festival such as the Panathenaic is sufficient to enable a synchronic, intertextual analysis of their polis culture relevance.

[18] The treatment of the poems as incipient historiography is widely accepted. M. I. Finley 1956 has imposed a completely erroneous hermeneutical paradigm, the Homeric Society Model, upon the poetry that continues to be highly influential. His approach is reflected in the following quote, "Essentially, the picture of the background offered by the poems is a coherent one. Anachronistic fragments cling to it in spots, some too ancient and some, particularly in the *Odyssey*, too recent, a reflection of the poet's own time. For historical study, the accuracy of the background is quite separable from the demonstrable inaccuracy of the episodes and the narrative (...) The poet transmitted his inherited background materials with a deceptively cool precision. That enables us to treat his materials as the raw materials for the study of a real world of real men, as a world of history and not of fiction" p. 56.

conclude this initial discussion of the polis context for the poems, I wish to recall Nicias' (470-413) declaration; "Men are the polis, and not walls or ships that are devoid of men."[19] Here, the Athenian general is making a statement regarding the character and disposition of the citizen body, the *politeia*, that perfectly reflects the Homeric attitude.

B. The *Iliad* and the Polis

Homeric poetry, it has been persuasively argued, reflects oral bardic performance in traditional societies. Under these conditions the preliterate performance of works such as the *Iliad* does not "fossilize" the historical past but rather seeks to represent an idealized sense of it; one that is attuned to the attending audience's cultural self-understanding.[20] Because the poem was included in the Greater Panathenaia's programme of contests, it stands to reason that the poem served the cultural interests of the festival and, additionally, spoke meaningfully to the receiving audience. More importantly, both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* must have somehow been appropriate to the Athena festival. While this may appear speculative, it ultimately yields a fuller appreciation of the poetry than does the general habit of treating the *Iliad* as a pastiche relic from the

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19 Thucidydes *Peloponnesian War* 7.77.7.

[20]Andersen 1990: 42; "...the present takes precedence over the past. It is this primacy of the present that we can observe in the *Iliad* time and again. In an oral culture the past is by nature and necessity adaptive. In the absence of written records what we may call 'the historical dimension' (which is very much present) has no autonomous medium. The past exists only in minds of the members of the culture and is literally always 'carried on'." See too Bakker 2006.

Dark Ages, which, in any event, utterly obscures the matter of the *Iliad*'s meaningful reception within the context of the polis.[21]

In the Introduction to his book entitled *Status Warriors*, Hans van Wees has identified the lingering problem relating to how the study of the *Iliad* is productively conducted:

> *...We must reckon with the theoretical possibility that the whole world depicted in the epics is as fabulous as its inhabitants. If tradition told of heroes unlike any mortals that ever lived, it is possible in principle that tradition created for these heroes weapons, houses, institutions, customs and ideals unlike any that ever existed. However realistic these may appear, they might all be plausible fictions.* (van Wees 1992: 9)

Because the *Iliad* is a poem, it has to be interpreted as poetry exclusively. The practice of sorting out fact from fiction by selecting historically relevant detail from poetical embellishment has effectively rendered the poem a meaningless pastiche.[22] Rather than attempting to convert the *Iliad* into a form of incipient historiography, I have adopted the position that the poem had as its primary setting the Greater Panathenaia, and therefore spoke meaningfully to the experience of living in the polis. Cornelius Castoriadis has

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[21] See Morris 2001: 61: "Oral poetry must make sense to the poet and audience; just as the poem was re-created in every performance, so too can we speak of a constantly re-created oral tradition. Far from being a repository of antiquated world views, it is present-oriented, consisting only of what the parties to the performance think proper. Their sense of propriety is likely to include archaic artifacts and practices, and may actively resist what the poet and audience think are recent innovations (...) But oral epic poetry tells us about the poet's and audience's imagination of what a heroic world ought to have been like, which is necessarily crafted from materials of their own cultures."

[22] This treatment of the *Iliad* achieves its nadir in the following statement by Kirk 1962: 253; 'The various kinds of anomaly and discord in the Homeric epics have now been described, and they show clearly enough were not the free invention of one man or two distinct men but are the complex entities containing elements of different date, different style, and different culture. This result is irrefutable and must never be forgotten." In Kirk's assessment, the impression, or illusion, of unity is the result of the formulaic nature of oral poetics, Kirk 1962: 258-259.

pointed out that no one would regard Shakespeare's *Richard III* as a document from which a picture of fifteenth-century England can be produced, and this much holds true for the *Iliad* as well.[23] If indeed the poems "reflect no historical reality but the ideals of Homer and his audience,"[24] then the reality that the *Iliad* fictionalizes, one must conclude, pertains to the meaningful experience of polis living.

Stephen Scully suggests this much in his statement: "...the city is the model for the construction of the *Iliad* as well as its essential theme."[25] For Scully, the picture of polis living in the poem is tragically precarious because it connects to the polis at its historical point of origin.[26] Polis-defending Hector, heroic embodiment of the cultured life the polis seeks to provide, is simply no match for the forces aligned against him. The climactic duel between "cultured" Hector and "natural," or anti-cultural, Achilles,[27] puts

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[23] Castoriadis 2004: 88; "Prenons le cas d'un public anglais cultivé, qui est formé par Shakespeare : la question de savoir si ce qui est décrit dans *Macbeth* ou même *Richard III* est historique n'a strictement aucun intérêt. Ce qui importe, c'est la formation de l'esprit donnée par ces textes." See also van Wees 1992: 9-10 where the author makes a somewhat similar observation about Orwell's *1984* and *Star Wars*. As poetry, the *Iliad* simply cannot be made to reflect historical conditions

[24] van Wees 1992: 10.

[25] Scully 1993: 4. Neither Scully nor van Wees fully commit themselves to their shared hermeneutical postulates and fall back on the familiar approach of treating epic detail as historical data, albeit with "extreme caution." Both situate Homer and his audience historically in the eighth century BCE. I cannot contest this dating other than to say it requires external evidence to corroborate it. The early dating of the *Iliad* is claimed by pointing out that Homeric poetry had already begun to lose its meaningfulness by the sixth century BCE, see van Wees 1999: 2, and Cairns 2001: 1-12.

[26] Scully 1993: 81-99. In chapter 6 "History and Composition," Scully elaborates his view that the Homeric polis is a pastiche collection of archaic details betokening the Mycenean Citadel on the one hand, and the contemporary, eighth century establishment of Ionian colonies such as Old Smyrna on the other.

[27] The duel between Hector and Achilles endures as a problem of interpretation given that it amounts to a hopeless slaughter. This point is addressed squarely by Willcock 1999: 404-415. Athena's interference has long been a point of difficulty as it clearly diminishes Achilles' accomplishment by limiting him to merely delivering the coup de grace on the duped and defenceless Hector.

the lie to the promise that the polis can provide a life of ease like that enjoyed by the immortals. In Scully's view, Hector is ultimately victimized by the gods who, if any coherent motivation can be attributed to them, seek primarily to deny mortals the existence they themselves enjoy.[28]

Leaving aside the matter of the gods, I wish to highlight another seminal assertion Scully makes regarding character development in the poem. He rightfully points out that too much scholarly attention has been paid to the mortal narrative actors as motivated by individualistic, glory-seeking objectives rather than treating them in the polis context.[29] My analysis extends from this to include the major figures of the *Iliad*, whereas Scully condenses his treatment to the antithetical pair, "polis-destroying" Achilles and his victim, "polis-defending" Hector.

If one keeps in mind Nicias' statement that the polis amounts to its human collective,[30] a far richer appreciation of the *Iliad* as a polis-specific artefact can be obtained. Similarly, if one dispenses with the erroneous view that the poem may be gleaned for

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[28] Scully 1993: 125; 'Not only must the gods not take the human being too seriously, but also from their perspective they can see his greatest and most sacred of achievements--the city--only in terms of its inevitable futility. The city's inability to secure its aggressive claims (i.e., to be *arrēktos*, or unbreakable), more than the crimes of Alexander and Laomedon, helps explain, I believe, the tragic weakness of Hektor and is the reason that Zeus and Athena, the city's most inspired creators and staunch defenders, in the *Iliad* help bring about Hektor's death and Troy's downfall."

[29] Scully 1993: 114-127.

[30] I shall have more to say about the polis in my discussion of Greek religion, but I do not wish to define it with any more detail than to say it is a social entity ideally based upon interpersonal relationship beyond kin. The concept of "polis" of course contained within it territory, institutions and networks of association with other *poleis*, but these are all accretions of the non-sanguinary human bond. For a recent introduction to the Greek polis, see Hansen 2006. I accept Wickersham and Pozzi's 1991: 2 statement; " The polis is a state of mind, and that mind expresses itself in myth."

documentary evidence pertaining to the time of Homer, then one can also dispense with the historicist ideology of 'progressivism' that continues to afflict its study.[31] The way out of this problem of interpretation is to take the observation of van Wees to heart and treat the *Iliad* as a "plausible fiction" that is meant to enliven in its audience (at the Greater Panathenaia, for instance) an imaginary contact with the idealized past, the mythic Heroic Age.

While the *Iliad* served as, in Burkert's view, "the model and common reference point for the Greek mind,"[32] the poem as a whole is best appreciated through the lens of athleticism and civic acculturation. By focussing on the hero Achilles primarily, the *Iliad* connects to the experience of male youthfulness -- to that state of being so idealized by the Greeks -- that must give way to communitarian and householding obligations. While this has captured little scholarly interest, Achilles is a character who is very much within the parental orbit. His father packed him off to battle with two non-native attendants much like a Greek patriarch would have contracted the services of professional

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[31] Williams 1993: 21-49. Williams confronts the vexing matter of human agency in Homeric poetry, an aspect that is often used to argue for the primitivism of the poetry. See also Hammer 2002: 49-79.

[32] Burkert 2001: 92; "The unique position of Homer in Greek civilization is so firmly established that we forget to wonder about it and to realize that it is in itself a unique phenomenon... One might be tempted to call Homer the Bible or the Koran of the Greeks, which brings out the basic difference that Homer is not, and never was, a religious revelation demanding submission and worship but rather literature that invited, and still invites, literary criticism, although he was to form the model and common reference point for the Greek mind." To get a sense of Homer (and Hesiod too) as a sacred text one is on far better footing comparing the poems to the South Asian works, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* than to the revealed doctrines of the Abrahamic traditions. An area of research that offers great promise in arriving at how the poetry of Homer and Hesiod was experienced -- how it produced an *enthusiasmos* within the ancient audience -- is the ritual poetics approach offered by Yatromanolakis & Roilos 2004: 3-34, and Kowalzig 2007: 13-55.

trainers in helping his son to distinguish himself on the competitive field and, in victory, to win the esteem of both young and old. All of this before returning home, performing the ritual hair offering that signals the passage of youth and, finally, before marrying the bride of his father's choosing. Venerable Peleus has equipped his son with the material means and the practical support to achieve great things, but has otherwise left his boy to his own devices. Achilles' mother Thetis, goddess of the watery cave, is not so passive about it all and returns to her boy with an air of desperate lamentation at her imminent and inevitable loss.

To conclude this section, my reading of the *Iliad* insists upon treating the work as a plausible fiction that connects the mythic age of the heroes with the glory-seeking ordeals of athletic competition. Through its thematic reference and through its presentation of character, the *Iliad* elaborates a pedagogy of polis acculturation focussed specifically (but hardly exclusively) on Greeks who were of the ability, class and level of maturity to participate in pan-Hellenic athletics. It is hard to envision an alternative to this; either the *Iliad* is a pastiche as G. S. Kirk insists, or it is an artefact in the same way that *Hamlet* is and ought to be appreciated as such.

Chapter 2. Background to this Study

A. Athletics, Male Acculturation, and Greek Religion.

Athletics refers to the Greek practice of identifying the "excellent one" from the many other competitors by means of a contested *áthlon*, or prize, given to the victor.[1] To be awarded a prize for having won at a formal contest staged within a religious sanctuary was to be identified as a possessor of *areté*, or excellence, which, from a religious perspective, provided a form of empirical proof of the abiding attention of the gods. The *Periodos* competitions provided the spectators a form of visual assessment of the quality the youths and young men on performative display; the total effect of witnessing the collection of healthy bodies all striving to be the best served the religious function of confirming the abiding vigilance of the gods; as long as strength, skill and talent were expressed in the competitive strivings of Greek bachelor males, the stability and fecundity of the Zeus-willed cosmos was therefore confirmed. Athleticism on the pan-Hellenic stage marked the crowning achievement of the gymnasium-centred *paideia* maintained by the city-states, and the production of a victor at the main festivals was an auspicious affirmation of the gods' favour for the polis.

Education at the gymnasium was, of course, restricted to the upper strata of the citizenry and an option only for households which did not require their sons to work at

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[1] *Áthlon* also refers to the competition generally, particularly in Homer, where its variant, *áethlos* is best translated as contest or, in the case of Heracles' Labours, as "test" (*Iliad* 8.363). The term equally denotes a ritual process that serves to connect the athlete with the hero, see Nagy 1990: 136-40.

an early age. Such a lifestyle was advantageous for preparing potential athletes, although gymnasium education was not a requirement for participating in the pan-Hellenic competitions. Freeborn Greek boys from low-status households had the opportunity to compete despite the lack of a formal education, and this "meritocratic avenue" may well have been one of the most important features of athleticism. A young man who was fast on his feet and good with his fists could do much to advance the prospects of himself and of his family by distinguishing himself in an arena in which the wealthiest and most influential patrons were actively watching from the spectators' perch.[2] As with any traditional society, a primary means of social advancement for talented low-status males was by means of marriage, and athletic competition, particularly in the events that did not require the purchase of equipment, was undoubtedly the best means of drawing attention to oneself.

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[2] Pausanias 6.10.1-3 provides the example of the legendary hero-athlete Glaucus who went from humble beginnings as a farm boy to pan-Hellenic boxing champion, and finally to having a heroic burial on his eponymous island. There seems to be some of this meritocratic drive behind 'storied' Glaucus who was inexperienced at boxing. When his father saw him rejoining a broken ploughshare by striking it with his fist as though it were a hammer, he took his boy to Olympia to compete in the boxing ring. Given his lack of training, Glaucus was severely pummelled by his opponents and was at the point of passing out when his father called out to him, "My boy, give him the plow strike!" (the pun here is that, in ancient boxing parlance, the plow strike meant a right-handed 'hay-maker' blow, but it also recollects the *árotron plēgḗ* Cronus, the first ruler (and dirty fighter!) at Olympia delivered to his father's genitals; see also Nonnos, *Dionysiaca* 12.46). Upon hearing his father's exhortation, Glaucus (Pausanias links his ancestry to the sea-god Glaucus) went on to win the event. He also completed the *Periodos* sweep by doubling his Olympic totals at the Pythian Games, and then quadrupling this number again at both the Isthmian and Nemean Games. This legend attributed to an actual victor suggests that the undying fame the victor enjoyed acquired over time a formulaic, or paradigmatic, quality that in all likelihood, had nothing to do with the circumstances of the once-actual athlete's performance. On the story of Glaucus and the heroization of athletes, see Currie 2005: 120-57. For a discussion of athleticism and social advancement in the second century CE, see Golden 2008: 32-34.

The competitions at Olympia had an overtly prenuptial component as made evident by the hosting hero Pelops' charter myth. Pelops, a foreign-born, "dark-faced" *arriviste*,[3] wins in the myth the hand of the local princess Hippodameia and succeeds to the point of having the lower Greek mainland named in his honour (Pindar *Olympian* 1.70-89).[4] The myth of the prenuptial chariot race in which Pelops wins Hippodameia is depicted on the western pediment of the Zeus temple.[5] This iconic feature supports the view that marriage was a main objective of competition, as the scene on the temple facade would have been viewed by the men on the morning of the events in which they competed, on the lighting of the great altar following the foot race. Likewise, the illustration on the eastern pediment of the temple, the wrestling match between the centaurs and Lapiths on the occasion of the wedding feast of Deidamia and Pirithous, would have caught the eye of the competitors as their procession entered the sactuary at the inauguration of the festival. This myth also conveys the indelible relationship between

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[3] Burkert 1983: 97 emphasizes the name Pelops as denoting the hero's nocturnal aspect.

[4] The great temple of Zeus, completed in 457 BCE, displayed on the eastern pediment the chariot race between Lydian Pelops and King Oenomaeus, son of Ares, with Zeus as arbiter standing between the competing parties. The western pediment also displayed a contest relating to a wedding, that between the Lapiths and the Centaurs. The depiction casts the battle in a manner that suggests wrestling contests. Interstingly, the *Iliad* appears to conflate both myths when he refers to Pirithous' bride as Hippodameia. As Barringer 2005 very astutely points out, the athletes entering the sanctuary would have gazed upon the depiction of the Centaur War fought to preserve the honour of Deidameia and the Lapith women. During the lighting of the Zeus altar on the morning of the third day, they would have faced the eastern pediment and gazed upon the scene depicting the preparations for the contest between Pelops and Oenomaus. The hippic and boys' competitions were held on the two days preceding the central sacrifice, while the mens' contests occurred immediately following the Zeus hecatomb, see Valavanis 2004: 148-152. The bearded men, the oldest of the age categories, would have been at a marriageable age.

[5] The competitions at Olympia were held alongside Pelops' grave ground and below the Hill of Cronus where Zeus had previously bested his father at the twilight of the mythic Golden Age. The inscription on a dedication at Olympia identifies Pelops as ancestor of the Achaeans, Pausanias 5.25.10.

athleticism and marriage as it recalls the mythic battle fought to preserve the virtue of the Lapith women. The myth emphasizes the sanctity of the wedding bond on the one hand and, on the other, identifies the triumph of the civilized Lapith men with their godlike bodies in full view over the bestial, half-horse centaurs who could neither control their intake of wine nor curtail their sexual passion in the presence of women.[6] Both mythic illustrations, then, identify the centrality of marriage and indicate the role of athleticism in acculturating males to it.

The "female" area of the Olympia sanctuary stood along its northern perimeter, at the far side of the stadium and at the foot of the Hill of Cronus.[7] Added to the Hera temple were six goddess altars,[8] the treasuries and the victors' banquet area. Apart from the priestess of Demeter Chamyne,[9] married women were barred from the competi-

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[6] The wine motif expresses itself in the Pelops myth as well. Hippodameia (horse-mistress) was daughter of the murderous, incestuous king Oenomaus (wine-maker), descendant of Ares, see Kerényi 1960: 62-3.

[7] Pindar refers to this locale as the Isles of the Blessed at 2 *Olympian* 70-72.

[8] The goddesses honoured with altars were; Hera, Gaia, Eilythia, Aphrodite, Artemis, and Hestia. The Metroon, the temple that housed Rhea, mother of Zeus and Hera, was constructed at the turn of the fourth century although she likely had a cult at Olympia long before the surviving monument as she was the wife of Cronus. Finally, the altar of Demeter Chamyne, attended by the priestess and the only woman permitted in the sanctuary, was located on the north side of the stadium, see Valavanis 2004: 54; 116; 118-119. For a frustratingly sketchy account of the female competitions and Hera cult at Olympia, see Pausanias 5.16.2-8.

[9] Distracted by grief at the abduction of her daughter, Demeter gnawed off the shoulder of the infant Pelops. Her priestess had a necessary ritual presence at the Olympia and the presence of the altar along the stadium identifies the etiological relationship between the Tantalus-Pelops myth disavowed by Pindar with the stadium foot race, the central event at the festival, see further Burkert 1983: 99.

tions, but select young women of marriageable age were in attendance.[10] These virgins, perhaps victors at the Heraia festival, viewed the competitions from the Hera temple. Dressed in white gowns that left one of their breasts exposed, they also displayed themselves as "prizes." Little is known about the victory banquet, but it did feature erotic dancing held in honour of Artemis Kordax and likely involved these girls and the victors.[11] Nonetheless, the spectacular display of the "best of the Hellenes" served both as something of a 'swan song' to the freedom and independence offered by youth and, concurrently, as a practical medium of social advancement for the competitors.

While marriage and social placement were essential to the games from a broader cultural perspective, the athletes themselves were driven by the more palpable goal of victory. The Zeus festival at Olympia, of course, anchored the circuit of pan-Hellenic competitions, and victory at the festival granted a status that is hard to translate into contemporary terms, given that the victor stood as an embodiment of Zeus' sacred

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[10] Barringer 2005: 232; "Ancient literary sources suggest, and modern scholars speculate, that virgin women viewed athletes as potential husbands and evaluated them accordingly." Traditional societies such as ancient Greece treat marriage as its foundation. Marriages were contracted by the fathers, and the most influential families could draw into themselves the most talented young men by having them marry their daughters. At Olympia, the victor's banquet hall, the *prytaneion*, the goddess altars, and the treasuries all shared the same location at the northern end of the sanctuary.

[11] See Burkert 1983: 102. I tend to think that there was an erotic component to the victors' banquet connected with the dancing rites in honour of Artemis Kordax, whose temple also contained the bones of Pelops.

dispensation.[12] Victory at the foot race was especially auspicious as the swiftest racer in the stadium was granted the honour of ascending to the top of the great altar of Zeus. With the entire assembly gazing in reverence from below, the victor was honoured by the task of lighting the altar flame in acknowledgment of Zeus.[13] Added to the feasting and dancing in the 'women's section', the victor was symbolically immortalized by having his statue erected in the Altis, the sanctuary's sacred precinct.[14] Similarly, the victor's glory was expressed in songs such as the victory odes of Pindar and Bacchylides, songs that allegorized the athlete's victories by likening them to the culture-bringing ordeals of the mythic heroes.[15] By the fifth century, the victors' names were registered into the *Olympionikai*, the victor lists, and the foot-race (stadion) victor had the added distinction of having his name denote the particular year of his accomplishment.[16]

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[12] Mikalson 2007: 33-40. Mikalson raises fascinating and perplexing questions about the hosting god's role in granting victory, something that is very clearly asserted in epinecean poetry. The victory statues are not always placed in the hosting god's sanctuary (he gives the example of a Panathenaic victor who had his statue placed in the Demeter sanctuary of Eleusis, his home deme, rather than in the Athena sanctuary. He also points out how very few of these statues bear dedications to gods.

[13] Nagy 1990: 124-127. Nagy extends Burkert's analysis of the ritual process that anchored the festival. This began at the appearance of the full moon marking the third day of the festival (Greek days began at sundown) and the hero sacrifice to Pelops. The stadion (one lap of the stadium) race connected the grave site of Pelops, site of the purifying sacrifice of Pelops and concluded with the triumphal lighting of Zeus' flame in the full sun of the morning. See also Burkert 1983: 93-103.

[14] For the controversy over whether the athlete statue, *andriás*, was an expression of the victor's fame and honour, or whether it was a dedication to Zeus, see Currie 2005: 143-148.

[15] Currie 2005: 1-4. Currie's book is an excellent resource for exploring the thematic interplay between athletic victor, the *laudandus*, and the hero. See also Nagy 1990: 136-45.

[16] Christesen 2007: 1-8. Having one's name stand as a chronographic point of reference is quite an expression of honour and fame indeed!

The victor at the Games, Olympia especially, was regarded as a godlike man, *theîos/daimónios anḗr*.[17] What this designation means precisely is controversial; even in ancient times it invited contempt and criticism.[18] All the same, this terminology was culturally normative and reflective of the honour shown the victor for his success at the pan-Hellenic *Periodos* festivals. No mere mortal, he was the very embodiment of divine approbation in which his polis took tremendous pride, as producing an Olympic victor amounted to empirical proof that the polis was strong and vital -- and functioning according to the will of Zeus. The ability to produce victorious athletes on the pan-Hellenic stage was both a deep source of pride and a powerful mark of distinction within the broader culture. It is no wonder that the polis provided its victorious native son with all the benefits of urban living or, in the language of the poets, a life free of care. Because the victor stood as the very embodiment of divine approval, the polis on whose soil he was nurtured and raised reciprocated by treating him as a godlike being.[19]

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[17] Currie 2005: 158-159. See also the author's discussion of the heroization of athletes, Currie 2005: 120-157.

[18] Harris 2009: 158-163. Xenophanes (570-480 BCE), the early complainer against Hesiod and Homer, was particularly contemptuous of the honours paid to athletes by the polis, as opposed to the morally upright sage. Harris playfully entitles his article on the critics of athletes (Xenophanes, Euripides, Socrates), "The Revenge of the Nerds."

[19] See Currie 2005: 152-157. Both athleticism and hero-cult were indelible to polis culture and spoke meaningfully on the elevated level of religion and cosmology to male enfranchisement, military service and duty to one's native community.

B. Epic Poetry and Athleticism

Greek culture, as has often been remarked, was fundamentally competitive, and occasions to make a display of excellence, *arêtē*, found their highest expressions in the context of the pan-Hellenic religious festivals -- the Olympia-anchored *Periodos* festivals -- already identified.[20] Competition was epitomized in the major athletic festivals, but it was also a normative means of interrelating within Greek culture, serving much as it still does a means for determining leadership and collective betterment. Athletic contests, to repeat, served as an effective means of cultural selection whereby talent and ability could be demonstrated and "the best," *ho áristos*, identified through the ordeal of competition.[21] This *agonale Geist* is sanctified by the poets Hesiod and Homer whose works stood alongside the *Periodos* festivals as the constituents of the pan-Hellenic stratum of Greek religion. Epic poetry, itself the matter of competitive performance, gave voice to the ideology of excellence, itself the sacred, godlike quality the Zeus-willed cosmos made possible.

Conflict as a human motivator is the point of departure for Hesiod and is expressed directly in his proem to *Works and Days,* his sermon of the "Two Strifes" (11-24).[22] While the poet does not mention athleticism when he sings of the "strifes" it is not a far stretch to see the how his assertions apply to it. Regarding athleticism and

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[20] Burkert 1985: 105-107.

[21] Scanlon 2002: 9-13 aptly refers to the Greek male *paideia* as a "contest system."

[22] West 1978: 142. West discusses the dual aspect of Strife in relation to the baneful goddess of the *Theogony.*

male acculturation, creative *éris* promotes betterment through task-oriented rivalry and, undertaken with a socially minded attitude, does not engender animosity; it is an *éris* ruled by Aphrodite's attendant who is also the last appearing of the four cosmic Primal Entities, *Éros*.[23] Corrosive *éris*, on the other hand, is ruled by Aphrodite's darker consort *Árēs*, the middle child of Zeus and Hera, the most loathsome of the gods. Hesiod, of course, does not discuss athleticism[24] directly in his poetry, but introduces his exposé on strife to set the stage for a broader discussion of hubris and justice, the ethical antipodes governing human behaviour.[25] I shall return to the pertinent aspects of Hesiodic poetry, but I wish at this point to focus on the *Iliad* and identify its structural relationship with the celebration of games at Olympia.

When one attempts to orient oneself in the *Iliad* by means of the temporal and spatial references that are identifiable within it, one can have a more palpable sense of how the heroes of the poem stand as paradigms for the young men who underwent the ordeals of competition at Olympia. The spatial dimension of the *Iliad* is complex. On the one hand, the location of the Trojan plain at the southern entrance to the Hellespont is precisely situated within the narrative, and its surrounding topography clearly

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[23] Scanlon 2002. His study explores the ubiquitous connection existing between the god and athletic contestants. Athleticism, although competitive, was a means of establishing deep bonds between male participants and, of course, such bonds were necessary for polis acculturation. Competition served as a means of personal improvement through rivalry and community building through bonding. The Greeks did not have team sport, the "team" was the military unit, the phalanx.

[24] Hesiod does state that the goddess Hecate offers assistance to men in the polis functions in the deliberative assembly, battle and athletic contest, *Theogony* 416-38.

[25] Wickersham and Pozzi 1991: 6.

identified: the poet knows well the coastline, islands and waterways of the Aegean coast, along with the inhabitant populations. On the other hand, the *champs de mars*, the battlefield the poet creates, is described far more generically, almost as if he is illustrating a stage set than referring to a known topography.[26] In fact, the depiction of the plain in the *Iliad* is not altogether generic; it is a schematic transposition of the physical layout of the Olympia sanctuary. This comes into focus when the features of the western extremity of Troy's plain are identified: there is a point of confluence between two rivers, a fording point, and the tomb of the eponymous ancestor occupies a prominent placement in proximity to these other natural features. In the eastern distance is Mount Gargarum, highest peak of Trojan Ida, at the top of which stands a shrine and altar to Zeus. Troy itself is never identified beyond formulaic expressions that describe it as "steep," "well-walled," having broad streets and the like.[27] It does however also have a Zeus altar at its highest point, at the top of its acropolis above the temples of Athena and Apollo (*Iliad* 22.171-2).

The dramatic setting of the *Iliad* is punctuated by the iconic features of Olympia. Rather than the Scamander and Simoeis joining in confluence (*Iliad* 5.773-4), it is the Alpheus and Cladius that connect before draining into the sea.[28] Close by their confluence

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[26] For an extended discussions of the Iliadic Trojan Plain as a physical geography, see Thornton 1999, Scully 1990: 11-3.

[27] Scully 1990: 23-40 points out that Troy's most frequent epithet is "sacred."

[28] The confluence of the Alpheus and Cladius next to the Olympia sanctuary is well illustrated in Valavanis 2004: 21.

was the ford of the Alpheus near to which stood the tomb of the ancestral host of the Games, the hero Pelops.[29] Thus, the western extremity in both Olympia and mythic Troy marks the point of entry where heroes and athletes move in procession across a fording point and past the ancestral tomb. Similarly, the eastern horizon at Olympia was dominated by a distant mountain range located in neighbouring Arcadia. Reflecting the Ida mountain range at the eastern perimeter of Troy, which is identified in the *Iliad* as "mother of the beasts" and which contains the Zeus altar on its highest peak (*Iliad* 8.47-8), is the Arcadian mountain that contained the cult of Zeus "the Wolf," Mt Lyceum.[30] With its eastern extremity, indicated by its elevated Zeus altar, and its western terminus, identified by an ancestral tomb, a crossing point over a river and, finally the salt sea, the dramatic context of the *Iliad* can be paradigmatically transposed onto the Olympia sanctuary, itself a ritual topography that acknowledged the supremacy of Zeus over the cosmos. Both the Trojan plain and Olympia therefore stand as cosmic

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[29] Pindar *Olympian* 1.90-5. Interestingly, the number of divine rivers at Troy matches the number of rivers listed by Pausanias in Olympia's plain:

Troy (*Iliad* 12.20-22)		Olympia (Pausanias. 5.7.1)
Scamander	-	Alpheus
Simoeis	-	Cladius
Rhesus	-	Helisson
Heptaporus	-	Brentheates
Caresus	-	Gortynius
Rhodius	-	Buphagus
Granicus	-	Ladon
Aesepus	-	Erymanthus

[30] Burkert 1983: 84-103 has drawn attention to the many points of contact between the lore of Olympia and that of the Zeus worship, including games celebrated by youths, at Mt. Lyceum.

templates; as mythic-ritual idealizations in which existence expresses itself according to the divinely sanctioned plan.[31]

The temporal context of the *Iliad* points similarly to the celebration of games at Olympia. To repeat a point made above on page 5, the Games were held from at least as early as the time of Pindar during the five days of the lunar phase on the second full moon after the summer solstice. The midsummer period spanning the corn harvest and the wine harvest was perilously hot and dry in ancient times; the Romans called it the *dies canicularіae,* the *canicula* referring to the star Sirius.[32] This extremely hot, dry and perilous period spans a forty-day period when the star appears above the predawn eastern horizon, lasting from 3 July to 11 August. It was near or at the end of this period that the "ordeals" at Olympia were undertaken. Within the *Iliad,* the harvest acts as powerful metaphor, but it also operates to situate the narrative within the annual span of seasons. Moreover, the reference to Sirius as both a signal of pestilence and a beacon of the harvest at the outset of the climactic duel between Achilles and Hector at 22.24-32 evokes the seasonal "mood" of the oppressive period leading to the grape harvest.[33]

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[31] The network of islands to the west of the Hellespont can also be homologized to the Isles of the Blessed, or the northern sector of Olympia. Because this observation would require a considerable discussion, I have excluded it.

[32] For a discussion of Sirius in the ancient Mediterranean, see Brosch 2008: 5-35. Hesiod has much to say about the wine harvest season.

[33] Hesiod synchronizes the collection of grapes at the appearance of Arcturus in the predawn sky (*W&D* 610), a full month after the end of the Dog Days, see West 1978: 311. For a more sustained discussion of the star and constellation references, Sirius especially, in Hesiod and Homer, see Lorimer 1951: 88-92.

While the problem of time in the *Iliad* itself remains a vexing matter,[34] the narrative does unfold in an uninterrupted succession of days and nights that last a full forty days. Although fewer days contain dramatic events than the formulaic ten-day blocks that occur at its beginning (plague of Apollo Smintheus) and end (divine quarrel over Hector's corpse, Hector's obsequies), these can all be calculated successively to arrive at a definitive period of forty days, as I have referenced and tabulated in Table 2 below. The coherence of the "Dog Days" timespan with the poetic identification of Achilles as Sirius is also identified at *Iliad* 22.29, on day seventeen of the poem: the final day of the full lunar phase during which, at its outset, the goddesses Hera and Athena "raise up" Achilles and, at its conclusion, Hector dies.[35] Perhaps more pertinent to the Games at Olympia is the assigning of the battle events in the poem to the five days of the full moon, the period identified by Pindar as the time in which the Games were celebrated.[36]

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[34] See Tsagalis 2008: 135-49 for a recent discussion of time in Homer. While Tsagalis is mainly concerned with the twenty year span bridge the time of Helen's abduction with the epic present at 24.765-6, his essay does convey a sense of the difficulty of orienting oneself in Homeric poetry, given its constant use of chronological formulae.

[35] The astral symbolism connecting Achilles with the Dog Star is discussed in detail in Chapter 4. The *Iliad* is a poem and not a calendar and therefore it is best regarded as seeking to evoke the Dog Days and its period of fever-bringing heat rather than to precisely chronicle the dramatic events according to astral phenomena. Having stated this, I think that there is much left to pursue in this area despite its highly speculative nature.

[36] Pindar *Olympian* 3.20-2; 10.73-5 identifies the appearance of the full moon and *Olympian* 5.6 states the five days' duration of the contests.

Table 2. Time in the *Iliad* as the "Dog Days" of Summer

Waxing Month	*Middle Month*	*Waning Month*	*Waxing Month*
Day 1 (1.01-52) *Pestilence begins*	Day 11 (1.475-492) *Return from Chryse*	*Divine quarrel over corpse*	*Hector lamented*
pestilence	Day 12 (1.493-604) *Gods return, Zeus assents to Thetis' petition*	*Divine quarrel over corpse*	*Hector lamented*
pestilence	**Day 13 (1.605-7.292)** *Achaean procession into plain, first day of lunar phase*	*Divine quarrel over corpse*	*Hector lamented*
pestilence	**Day 14 (7.293-465)** *Day of feasting, obsequies, wall building*	*Divine quarrel over corpse*	*Hector lamented*
pestilence	**Day 15 (7.466-8.488)** *Zeus goes to Gargarum, full moon*	*Divine quarrel over corpse*	*Hector lamented*
pestilence	**Day 16 (8.489-18.242)** *Great Day of Battle, Patroclus dies*	*Divine quarrel over corpse*	*Hector lamented*
pestilence	**Day 17 (18.243-22.515)** *Achilles-Sirius, enters plain, Hector dies, final day of lunar phase*	*Divine quarrel over corpse*	*Hector lamented*
pestilence	Day 18 (23.01-154) *Funeral feast for Patroclus, building of barrow*	*Divine quarrel over corpse*	*Hector lamented*
pestilence *Gods at Oceanus*	Day 19 (23.217-24.03) *Gods at Oceanus* *Funeral Games*	Day 29 (24.31-350) *Gods prepare Priam's journey across river*	Day 9 (see 24.665-8) *Hector's funeral and feast*
Day 10 (1.53-474) *Hector made agent of wrath by Achilles' curse*	Day 20 (24.05-18) *Hector's corpse defiled*	Day 30 (24.351-781) *Hector's body is returned, Trojan lamention begins*	Day 10 (24.784-804) *Hector is buried*

The space-time correspondences between the mythic poetry of *Iliad* and the ritual celebration of the Olympic Games provides a clearer sense of the modelling process op-

erating between athletes and heroes. This is, of course, already implicit in the praise poetry of Pindar, as his art consisted of aptly associating the culture-bringing ordeals of the mythic heroes with the achievement of a victory at the *Periodos* festivals.[37] Both Burkert and Nagy have developed the insight that a ritual trajectory underlies Greek athleticism and, building from this, I seek to advocate for a reading of the *Iliad* as mythic account of this process.[38] At this point, a summary of this ritual trajectory needs to be identified.

Prospective athletes began their training in earnest ten months before the staging of the Olympic Games. Nine months before undertaking the journey to Elis, the young men declared their intention to participate and began a prescribed training regimen. On the tenth month, at the first full moon after the summer solstice, the pool of competitors assembled at Elis, the major regional polis a half-day's journey to the north of the Olympia sanctuary.[39] The athletes then spent their final month's preparations under the high heat of the summer assembled as a collective in the gymnasium at Elis, which contained tall plane trees within its walls.[40] This preparatory phase of competition has been aptly identified by Nagy as defining the first phase of the ritual trajectory, where

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[37] Nagy 1990; Currie 2005. My argument attempts to make an ideological link between the Homeric hero experienced as a cult entity and the Olympic victor.

[38] Burkert 1983: 101-2. Nagy expands upon this greatly, see especially 1990: 118-9; 152-3; 199-214.

[39] Pausanias 5.24.9.

[40] The description of the athletes' training facilities at Elis is given by Pausanias at 6.23-24.1. Especially noteworthy is the importance of the cult of Eros, likely there to inspire a cultivation of the "good eris" among the competitors. Plane trees were also to be found in the centre of the Altis (Pausanias 5.27.11).

the collective of "Achaeans"[41] ritually modelled "the dead" who were believed to languish in isolation and anonymity in Hades.[42] Adopting a strict diet, sexual abstinence and further training at the local facilities under the observation of the judges, the *Hellanodikai*, the community of athletes carried out their final training under inspection from the judges whose duties included determining the competitive heats and pairings for the Games. In relation to the *Iliad*, this phase is evoked twice; first at the mention of the assembly of the army under the plane tree at Aulis ten years prior to the poetic present (*Iliad* 2.300-7) and again in the narrative time span of ten days of pestilence delivered by Apollo (*Iliad* 1.44-56), which transformed the Achaean camp into a virtual mortuary before the Achaeans crossed the river ford to enter the Trojan plain.

The second phase of the ritual trajectory also took place at Elis. At the first appearance of the waxing Olympian moon, the festival began at sunset (the beginning of the Greek day) in Elis. This inaugural evening was given over to the lamentations by the Elean women who honoured Achilles, the best of the Achaeans who was fated to die in the full bloom of youth before Troy was to be taken, with their keening as the sun sank below the western horizon.[43] The following morning, the grand procession

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[41] Pelops was identified at Olympia as the ancestor of the Achaeans on the pedestal of the statue to Idomeneus. This statue is grouped among nine that stood near the Zeus temple, which commemorated the Achaeans who rose to meet Hector's challenge. Nestor, who invoked Peleus as patron of the Achaeans in this episode (*Iliad* 7.125-8), also had a statue included among the dedications to Zeus, see Pausanias 5.25.8-10.

[42] Nagy 1990: 118-9.

[43] I shall return to the Achilles cult at Elis at the conclusion of this section.

formed as the athletes, their bodies covered in oil and chalk, the judges in their black mourning gowns, along with the horses, attendants and other officials gathered for the march to the length of the road, named Sacred Way, to Olympia.[44] Correlatively, the *Iliad* lingers on the Achaean procession, formed within the camp according to respective homelands of its members.[45] Furthermore, it is inaugurated by sacrifices and prayers of success addressed to Zeus (*Iliad* 2.412-29) and concluded with a swearing of oaths after crossing the river (*Iliad* 3.292-301).[46]

The Olympia festival lasted for five days, to repeat, during the full phase of the midsummer moon, likely coincident with the end of the "dog days" of the Mediterranean summer. The day of the full moon, the third day of competitions, marked the lighting of the great Zeus altar by the foot race winner and the commencement of the men's event. I have tabulated above that this schedule corresponds with the *Iliad*'s dramatic chronology as the length of the "ordeals undertaken for Helen's sake." What is more, when the narrative time is plotted within the Greek lunar month, theses five days correspond with the full moon phase as it expressed itself within this temporal structure. Similarly, Zeus' leaving of Olympus for his altar over Gargarum in book 8 corresponds temporally with the lighting of his altar at Olympia.

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[44] Pausanias 5.25.7

[45] Significantly, the Catalogue of Ships concludes by mentioning that Achilles remained at the ships (*Iliad*.2.772). The Achilles cult associated with the Games appears to have been confined to Aulis, a feature that suggests Achilles' death before the fall of Troy.

[46] The crossing of the Scamander, interpreted to mean "the marker of a man", by the Achaeans is discussed in Chapters 2 and 4.

The ritual programme of athleticism at Olympia provides a space-time template for the poetical context of the *Iliad* when it is treated as hero myth. The final point of correspondence between the poem and the festival has to do with the Achilles cult, the devotional expression of *Iliad*'s tragic hero that was fully established by the time of the rhapsodic competitions at Athens.[47] Identified by its tomb at the mouth of the Hellespont and its temple on the White Island in the Black sea, the maritime cult of Achilles suggests the same "death-to-immortality" ritual process as athletic competition.[48] Furthermore, because Achilles was honoured as both dead (tomb cult) and immortal (temple cult), his cult also reflects the Hesiodic detail that certain of the heroes were selected by Zeus after their deaths to enjoy a "Golden Age" immortality on the Isles of the Blessed.[49] While the immortalization of Achilles is not treated directly in either the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, the erection of Achilles' tomb at his huts features prominently at the conclusion of both Homeric poems.[50] This strong emphasis upon the construction of his tomb

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[47] Burgess 2009: 116; "So by the sixth century BCE, at least, there existed a place in the Troad formally recognized as the burial place of Achilles, of such significance that it could give its name to a town established nearby. One surmises that in the struggle between Athens and Mytilene, both outsiders to the Troad, control of the tomb of Achilles, and by extension glory of the Greek mythological past, was deemed of great symbolic value." See Herodotus 5.94-6 for a discussion of the attempt by Pisistratus to establish an Athenian presence at Sigeum.

[48] Burgess 2009: 126-131. Burgess points out the complex, multilocal nature of Achilles Pontarches in this most remote part of the territorial range of Greek colonization. While the cult was not monolithic, it was synthetic and unified by the fact that Achilles served as its unifying cult entity. Like the first sacker of Troy Heracles, the Achilles cult subsumed both hero cult and divine cult. The Homeric evocation of Heracles in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* allude to the immortalization of Achilles, a central event in the *Aethiopis*.

[49] Hesiod, *Works & Days* 161-75. I shall return to this discussion shortly.

[50] *Iliad* 23.243-8, *Odyssey* 24.43-94.

at the shore of the Hellespont would certainly have been understood by the ancient audience as pertinent to Achilles' hero cult, which was fully operative by the mid sixth century BCE.[51]

The location of the Achilles' tomb outside of the Trojan plain also reflects the athletic component of the hero's cult. Achilles was honoured at Elis, where his grave was displayed in the room of the umpires, the *Hellanodikai*.[52] Achilles appears not to have been honoured at Olympia, but his cult was nonetheless indelible to Greek athleticism and to Olympia. Given that his grave stone was displayed at Elis within the judges' quarters, Achilles' hero cult pertained to the competitors as they formed the "collective pool of the dead"[53] in the month leading up to the Olympia competitions. Thus the Achilles cult formed part of the broader ritual complex underpinning Olympian

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[51] At *Iliad* 7.327-43, Nestor orders the Achaeans to build a single tomb to commemorate their dead and then advises not to have their bones interred there, but to return them to their respective homelands. It is unclear in the poem why this option is not extended to either Patroclus' or Achilles' remains, apart from the speculation that the poet was already operating with the knowledge of the cult as it was established at the Hellespont. Located midway between the islands of Samos and Imbros (*Iliad* 24.77-86) to the north-west of Achilles' tomb, is the underwater cave of his mother, also referred to as the "bosom of Thetis." This transformative location is where the mortal-born god Dionysus fled (*Iliad* 6.135-7), and is also where the lame god Hephaestus was "saved" and spent ten years acquiring his craftsmanship skills (*Iliad* 18.398-405). Thetis' undersea cave, shared by her Nereid sisters and the Oceanid Eurynome, is a location of apotheosis and of divine transformation in the poem and thus stands as a foreshadowing of Thetis' removal of her son from the cremation fires and her conveying him to the White Island (*Aethiopis* fr.1). The Iliad, then, can be seen to treat of Achilles' tomb cult, given its focus on the hero's death, but it also alludes to the temple cult on the White Island, as it clearly identifies Thetis as powerful, transformative goddess capable of conferring immortality upon her son.

[52] The judges determine the competitive program over Achilles' grave in their quarters located outside of the gymnasium, see Pausanias 6.24.1. The association of the Achilles cult with the *Hellanodikai* attests to the hero's function as judge at the Funeral Games in book 23 of the poem.

[53] See above, page 31, note 42.

athleticism.[54] Certainly, the hero is often invoked by Pindar who knows of his postmortem translation by Thetis to the Isles of the Blessed (*Olympian* 2.79-80) and, additionally, his White Island temple cult (*Nemean* 4.49-50). The best of the Achaeans, swift footed Achilles did not take part in the procession across the Scamander on the first day of the ordeals, but remained at his huts where his people played at the discus, javelin, and bow (*Iliad* 2.773-9). In my reading, this statement alludes to the Achilles cult at Elis, where the competitors first gathered as a group on the month before the Games for their final training; where too the Elian women, adopting the ritual role of Thetis and the Nereids, keened at sunset over the ill-fated death of the hero.[55]

C. Hesiod's Myth of the Mortal Races and the *Iliad* as Hero Myth

As stated above, Greek athleticism can be seen to follow a ritual process that moves from an initial, collectively experienced deathlike state through to the victor's singular achievement of "immortality" as "undying acclaim," *kléos áphthiton,* and as a "godlike man," *anḗr theîos*. A similar plan of transformation can be seen to underpin the Muse-

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[54] Swift footed Achilles was worshipped at sites such as the one described by Pausanias along the road from Sparta to Arcadia at 3.20.8. He states that Spartan ephebes who are going to vie in the Plane Tree Grove, a fighting ring surrounded by plane trees and a moat (3.14.8) nearby the agora at Sparta, would sacrifice *thúein* to him at his "holy place" *hierón*. The Spartan Achilles cult in Pausanias' day was both divine and apparently connected to the worship of Helen. It is in this context that Pausanias identifies the marriage of Achilles and Helen, along with the White Island cult (3.19.11-3). Another feature of the hero-god's cult were the appearance of his idols in Nereid shrines, apparently a common feature in Greek harbours, where he received honours (2.1.8). The Achilles cult in the north-western seafaring routes of the Greek areas of colonial expansion dated from at least the sixth century BCE, Burgess 2009, and likely much earlier. See also Hedreen 1991 and more recently Rusyaeva 2003 who dates the remains of the Achilles temple at the fourth century BCE. Pindar (473 BCE?) is the first to identify the Achilles cult on the White Island at *Nemean* 4.49.

[55] In *Olympian* 1.71-85 Pindar clearly models his account of Pelops' coming of age myth, his chariot race with Oenomaus, on the Homeric portrayal of Achilles, see Griffith 1989: 171-4.

inspired performance of mythic song, which recollects the glorious accomplishments of heroes and gods. To return to a point made earlier, the ethos of the polis was one of *hubris* and *dike,* roughly translated to mean arrogance and justice, but which extended into the spiritual realm by identifying the relative ontological placements within the Zeus-ruled cosmos. At this level, *dike* denotes the wellbeing characteristic of a life lived in balance and attuned to divine will, such as health, beauty, talent and success. Conversely, *hubris* denotes a discordant, spiritually alienated state in which illness and suffering takes root.

Songs such as the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days,* which recollect the heroes and the gods, have a therapeutic value insofar as they produce in their audience an elevated experience that counteracts the oppressive conditions of existence, of a life lived in the awareness of death, limitation and failing. As Hesiod states in the proem to the *Theogony*:

> εἰ γάρ τις καὶ πένθος ἔχων νεοκηδέϊ θυμῷ
> ἄζηται κραδίην ἀκαχήμενος, αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὸς
> Μουσάων θεράπων κλεῖα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων
> ὑμνήσει μάκαράς τε θεοὺς οἳ Ὄλυμπον ἔχουσιν,
> αἶψ' ὅ γε δυσφροσυνέων ἐπιλήθεται οὐδέ τι κηδέων
> μέμνηται· ταχέως δὲ παρέτραπε δῶρα θεάων.
>
> *And if indeed despair dwell in some man's freshly afflicted spirit, he may wither his heart sorrowing; now then the singer, servant of the Muses, need sing the glories of the former peoples, the blessed gods too, those who hold Olympus; immediately the man is made to forget his stress and to have no memory of any of his afflictions, for the gifts (the myths in the song) of the goddesses (the Muses) quickly divert (him)* (97-103).

What is implied in this assertion is that the myths of the former men and gods "alter" *paratrépō* consciousness through their performance; that the myths, gifts of the Muses, act as a homeopathic agent of healing by inducing an ecstasy -- a movement away from the withering stress of the self-conscious moment and into the ever-fresh paradigmatic time of myth.[56]

The Hesiodic Myth of the Mortal Ages (*W&D* 109-201) has been analysed with great insight by both Jean-Pierre Vernant and Gregory Nagy.[57] Vernant has demonstrated that the ethical-existential antipodes denoted by *hūbris* and *díkē*[58] oscillate through each successive race and thus structure the progression of time within the myth as a cycle of progressive degeneration from a perfect original point (Golden Age) which, after arcing through its nadir, finally moves back to its point of departure (afterlives of the heroes). Nagy, building upon Vernant's analysis, has demonstrated that the hero cult appears to be an amalgam of features drawn from the three races preceding it. As with hero myth, hero cult served a providential role for Iron Age mortals, the poet's contemporaries (*W&D* 174-201). Furthermore, Nagy has aptly identified the poet's contemporary age, the fifth one in the scheme as the quintessence of the previous one, combining as it does the qualites of *hūbris* and *díkē* that singularly define the conditions

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[56] See Nagy 1999: 95-97 for a discussion of this Hesiodic passage and how it connects to the *kléos* of former men in Homeric poetry.

[57] Vernant 1996: 19-106, Nagy 1999: 151-173.

[58] Rather than defining these terms as arrogance and justice exclusively, I regard them as denoting existential states of distress and wellbeing in addition to their moral connotations.

of each of the previous ones. Of especial significance to my analysis, is Nagy's elaboration of the four former ages as constituting a poetic ring that begins and ends with the achievement of *díkē*.[59]

Building upon this seminal insight -- in addition to the equally penetrating insight that hero cult entailments express themselves in the myth -- I shall attempt to demonstrate that mythic time, the time of the former peoples disclosed by myth and activated by cult, is, in contrast to contemporary time, a complete and constant cycle. Mythic time begins at a point of perfect *díkē*, as attested in the lives of the Cronus-ruled Golden People, but degenerates incrementally through the lives of the Silver and Bronze People who embody the nadir of earthly *hûbris*. The circuit of mythic time then arcs upwards from its nadir in the Bronze Age as it covers the time of the Heroes. The Heroic Age thus links back to the original, Golden Age time of *díkē* by having such conditions manifest themselves in the Cronus-ruled afterlives of the heroes on the Isles of the Blessed. The Former Peoples, then, may be seen to exist metaphysically within a self-contained, perdurable time cycle accessed through myth and cult. The three races before the Heroic -- the Gold, Silver and Bronze -- are memorialized as anonymous "triple-ancestors," *Tritopátéres*, whose scant histories identify a temporal movement from

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[59] Nagy 1999: 169; "The form of this ring composition is the reflex of a theme: that the progression of mankind has come full circle from Generation IV back to the Golden Age of Generation I. From these convergences in diction and theme, I infer that the ring-composed Hesiodic Myth of the Five Generations of Mankind operates in a cycle from Generation I to II to III to IV back to I, by way of the quintessential V of the here-and-now."

díkē to *hűbris*, provide the basic features out of which hero cult took its shape.[60] The Heroes, whose honours were proclaimed and refreshed through the performance of myth and cult, supplied biographic detail to the Former People and, in so doing, enabled the ancients Greeks to ritually experience their mythic, culture-bringing ancestors.

To repeat, the myths of gods and heroes, the Former People, when listened to and experienced by contemporary people, the constituents of the Iron Age, produce a healing of "existential anxiety" *dusphrónē*. Following Nagy's analysis, this healing, I argue, is the product of an ecstatic dislocation from the mundane existence -- the source of the anxiety -- into the time described in myth, the time of the former peoples.[61] The contemporary period, the Iron Age in which Hesiod addresses his songs, is a time of suffering and of moral degeneration that plays itself out as a plan of incremental devitalization. The situation is tough now but it has been decreed by the gods to get even worse: indeed the future, the final days of the Iron Age, will be marked by moral reversal, generational strife within families and by a time when children will be born in both a physically and attitudinally geriatric state. These aged children will become full em-

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[60] Nagy 1999: 151-159. In terms of cult, the Bronze People maintain no effective contact with the living and therefore do not supply any of its basic features. Unlike the Silver People who are highly significant in terms of cult as they are identified as worthy of honour, and exist below the ground, the Bronze People occupy the lowest point of the hubris-dike cycle.

[61] Rappaport 1999: 24-58. Rappaport regards ritual as a biological process held in common by all living beings that engages in response to environmental stress. As a homeostatic reaction to external stress, his treatment of ritual --or the ritual form -- has certain similarities with Burkert's 1979: 17-8 understanding of ritual. Burkert sees in myth a verbalized "program of action" closely associated with ritual enactments. Rituals in both Burkert's and Rappaport's treatments, have their sources in bio-organic adaptive responses to environmental stressors. This coheres with Hesiod's affirmation of the healing virtues of his song.

bodiments of *hűbris*: they will cease to fear the gods (*W&D* 187), they will abandon their obligations to their parents (*W&D* 187-188) and they will destroy each other's polis (*W&D* 189). At the end of the Iron Age, the qualities of responsible maturity will be overwhelmed by the most negative expressions of a dissipated, enfeebled juvenility.

Existence in the Iron Age progresses diachronically in a constant increase of *hūbris* up to the point when only geriatric babes are born, thereby reversing and, in so doing, reflecting the first embodiments of *hūbris*, the Silver People, who spent one hundred years in a state of protracted infancy cleaving to their mothers before dying shortly upon attaining maturity (*W&D* 127-134).[62] As with the Silver People, Zeus will "obliterate," *óllūmi*, the race and put an end to the age, allowing for a return to *díkē*. This much is implied in Hesiod's self-asserted desire to have been born either prior or after the contemporary time:

> μηκέτ' ἔπειτ' ὤφελλον ἐγὼ πέμπτοισι μετεῖναι
> ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' ἢ πρόσθε θανεῖν ἢ ἔπειτα γενέσθαι.
> νῦν γὰρ δὴ γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον· οὐδέ ποτ' ἦμαρ
> παύσονται καμάτου καὶ ὀϊζύος οὐδέ τι νύκτωρ
> φθειρόμενοι· χαλεπὰς δὲ θεοὶ δώσουσι μερίμνας.
> ἀλλ' ἔμπης καὶ τοῖσι μεμείξεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν.
>
> *If only I were not among this fifth generation, but either had died before or been born afterwards. For now indeed this race is of iron, and no time of day do they cease from toil and tears or wasting away at night. And the gods will dispense harsh cares, but all the same for these people it is to be a mixture of good and bad things.* (*W&D* 174-179)

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[62] The structural correspondences between the Silver and Iron People at the point of their obliteration are very tightly formed. Zeus performed his first genocide against them for their disrespect of the gods, the same reason for committing his forecasted second genocide against the Iron People. Furthermore describes the Silver People as *méga nḗpios* just as he does Perses, the "everyman" who needs to be educated in the ways of justice and to whom he addresses the poem (286).

Hesiod's wish to live outside the current time, beset as it is with suffering and hardship, points to the ecstatic transport myth provides. Furthermore, the statement suggests the promise that a better time lies ahead. My interest here lies in the poet's expressed desire not to live in the existential moment owing to its degraded, hubristic quality which, to repeat, is only getting worse. Hesiod, like the man he refers to in the *Theogony*'s proem, seeks too for ecstatic release from the withering conditions he inhabits and finds this release in the mythic time in which the gods and former people exist eternally, the time that is given over to hearing the myth, which is also the time of religious festival. The present is onerous and the future is even worse, but the recollection of the past in the myths of the gods and former people reconnects one to a fresh and creative time that makes existing under the conditions of the present age bearable. What is more, the calendar is punctuated by fixed and therefore dependable festivals which, having occurred in the past, will repeat themselves in the future on the appointed time. The poet, then, describes two existential modes; the mode of hardship, ailment and death that expresses itself in mundane time and the mode of joy that is entered into in the ritual environment of the religious festival, or whenever the songs of the gods and the former people are sung.

Hesiod prophesies that good things will be mixed amid evils for the Iron Peoples. Such a forecast appears to contradict his broader assessment of the future prospects for the age but, at the same time, preserves his view of the precious and scarce na-

ture of righteousness. Like perhaps all religious prophets, he maintains that a devout life can still be chosen despite the increasing preponderance of wickedness in the world. For Hesiod, the good is still attainable; indeed, because of the current hardships, its attainment is vitally necessary.

D. *Hubris* and *Dike* as Existential-Ethical Modes

Hesiod's poetry is an exhortation to live and work attuned to *díkē* according to an informed knowledge of the will of Zeus, the cosmic superstructure he oversees, and the vast network of divinity who work as his functional agents to keep the cosmos stable, fertile and productive. In this ethical formulation, *díkē* includes as a fundamental requirement acknowledgement of the immortal overseers, Zeus foremost, in the form of cult. Conversely, *hūbris* expresses itself on the mortal plane as neglect of expressing honour to the blessed gods, *timás dídōmi makáressi theoîs* (*W&D* 138-139). As the poet states categorically: "they did not attend to the immortals, nor were they inclined to offer sacrifice upon their altars, as is right and customary for men" (*W&D* 135-137). The view that human existence is indelibly bound to the practice of cult is essential to epic poetry. In both in Homer and Hesiod, civilized life cannot be envisaged without religious devotion, the performance of sacrifice most especially.

E. The Silver People

The fundamental requirement of mortals to honour the gods in cult first expresses itself among the mortals of Silver Age who, as stated earlier, reflect specific attitudes -- as indeed all the Former Peoples do -- and conditions of the Iron Age. I shall discuss the

Golden People in more detail shortly, but for the time being, it should be pointed out that their blessed existence occurred before the reign of Zeus and long before the birth of his daughter the goddess Dike, who instils in the consciousness of mortals the choice of acting justly. The "wanton arrogance" of the Silver People, their *hūbris atásthalos* attests to their inveterate puerility and not to their moral failings. Because their existence precedes Dike, they are commemorated as negative examples for contemporary people, but they themselves are not responsible for the defectively childish and ignorant state they embody. [63] Zeus, in anger, "concealed," *krúptō*, the Silver People for their neglect of their sacred duties, but also because they could not cease from committing wicked *hubris* against each other. Finally, the Silver People are, like their Golden predecessors, honoured in cult:

> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψε,
> τοὶ μὲν ὑποχθόνιοι μάκαρες θνητοὶ καλέονται,
> δεύτεροι, ἀλλ' ἔμπης τιμὴ καὶ τοῖσιν ὀπηδεῖ.
>
> *All the same, and this people (Zeus) concealed down in the earth; the blessed dead under ground they are called, these second ones, but nonetheless honour too attends them* (*W&D* 140-142).

F. The Golden People

The first generation of mortals predate the rule of Zeus, and much is inferred from the detail provided that their period of flourishing occurred in the previous cosmic age, at the time of Cronus and the Titans (*Theog.*111). This temporal placement, then, makes the

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[63] Strauss Clay 2003: 82-99. Strauss Clay rejects Vernant's structuralist-synchronic study of the broader Myth of the Mortal Races in part on the basis that the goddess Dike is not born until the Age of the Heroes. Furthermore, in her view, the narrative logic elaborates a temporal sequence that tracks along the progressive stages of development of human maturation as first asserted by Falkner (1989). Strauss Clay's contribution is deserving of a more detailed treatment than I can provide at this point.

very first Former Peoples the last mortals of the prior age and therefore the final expression of mortal existence under the long-established Former Gods. Their effortless existence, at once paradise-like and embryonic, stands as a form of perfection in as much as it expressed a radical absence of the *pénthos* "grief" that the myth seeks to heal among mortals of the contemporary age. They were beloved by the gods (*W&D* 112) and they experienced neither sorrow nor drudgery (*W&D* 113) but lived in a state of constant vitality sustained by the endless feast the earth provided them. They did not age (*W&D* 113-114) and death overcame them as sleep (*W&D* 116). Finally, *they had good things all over* (*W&D* 116-117).

The Golden People, living on earth under Cronus, did not survive under the rule of Zeus. The formulaic verse, announcing the end of a past generation and the emergence of a new one, which I have translated as "All the same, and this people (Zeus) concealed down in the earth" announces the end of the Golden Age; the final, perfected expression of mortal existence as "made," *poiéō*, by these long-established "holders of Olympus." I have introduced Zeus as the unspoken subject of this verse for two reasons: it reflects the overarching theme of Hesiod's poetry, the will of Zeus, and, secondly, because it also introduces into the broader myth of the mortal races the emergence of Zeus as cosmic ruler. While Zeus terminates this race, he does not do so completely, as he will later do with the Bronze. Instead, he has enlisted them into the supervision of mortal acts in the poet's contemporary environment:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψε,
τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες ἁγνοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι τελέθουσιν
ἐσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
[οἵ ῥα φυλάσσουσίν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα
ἠέρα ἑσσάμενοι πάντῃ φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν,]
πλουτοδόται· καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλήϊον ἔσχον.

All the same indeed this generation he buried down in the earth, these who are called sacred daemons upon the ground: The good ones, preventers of evils, who are guardians of mortal people, they duly oversee both just and cruel deeds; robed as they are in vapours and ranging all over the world, (they are) dispensers of abundance. And they hold this share of kingly honour (*W&D* 121-126).

The poet states that in the contemporary Age of Iron, despite the accumulation of misery afflicting this time, Zeus will mix for the Iron People "good things" *esthlá* amid their sufferings. Among these good things is the effective presence of the *daímones*, both Gold and Silver, which stand as constituent cult entities specific to hero worship. The binary nature of the hero cult will be discussed further along, but what is important at present is to arrive at a clearer sense of the role of the Golden People, the Zeus-appointed guardians of contemporary mortals. We know from the myth that they lived before Zeus' cosmic reign and that their existence was effortless and free from the corrosive effects of toil, suffering, age and wickedness. Living before Zeus' cosmic reign and before the ethical-existential modes of *díkē* and *hūbris* that he established over mortals, the Cronus-created Golden People experienced a perfected earthly state amid "good things all over" (*W&D* 119). I would add too that the Hesiodic recollection of the blissful,

"Golden" existence stands as a mythic depiction of the conscious state achieved in the ritual environment of the religious festival.[64]

On the previous point that the Golden People stand as exemplars of *díkē*, attention has to be given to how Zeus has granted them a post-existence as the "guardians over mortal people," the arbiters of human action:

> τρὶς γὰρ μύριοί εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
> ἀθάνατοι Ζηνὸς φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
> οἵ ῥα φυλάσσουσίν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα
> ἠέρα ἑσσάμενοι, πάντῃ φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν.
>
> *For a threefold myriad there is upon much-producing earth of Zeus' immortal guardians over mortal people; they duly oversee both just and cruel deeds; robed as they are in vapours and ranging throughout the world.* (*W&D* 252-255)

While their period of flourishing predates the birth of the goddess Dike, their existence as it is memorialized in Hesiod's song expresses the state of being experienced when someone of the contemporary age lives in *díkē*; attuned to the blessed life of the Former Peoples, such a person is diverted from existential suffering and vicariously partakes of "good things all around" as epitomized in the Golden People's lives. Although they lived at the greatest temporal remove from the contemporary age, they nonetheless inhabit it as Zeus' immortal guardians of justice. The Golden People, these vapour-

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[64] A theoretical elaboration of ritual ecstasy and the undifferentiated *communitas* consciousness it seeks is provided by Rappaport 1999: 216-230. This elaborates a promising inroad theoretical inroad into our understanding of Greek ritual poetics. This ritual ecstasy provoked by the rhapsodic performance of the *Iliad* is identified in Plato's *Ion* 533e-536c. The verb denoting divine possession here is *enthousiázō*, and this passage of the *Ion* stands as our greatest attestation to the way in which the poetry was experienced as a ritual poetics.

enshrouded entities, have been tasked by Zeus to guard over goodness and to dispense boons to the devout who, in turn, extend them worship.

G. The Bronze People

The Silver People, to repeat, were hidden away by Zeus and their age ended because of their ignorance of just acts and neglect of the gods. Nonetheless, Hesiod states that they receive cult honours from their placement below the ground. Given this status, they do not occupy the nadir position on the cycle of mythic time; this is occupied by the next Zeus-created generation of mortals, the Bronze People:

> Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ τρίτον ἄλλο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
> χάλκειον ποίησ', οὐκ ἀργυρέῳ οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον,
> ἐκ μελιᾶν, δεινόν τε καὶ ὄβριμον· οἷσιν Ἄρηος
> ἔργ' ἔμελε στονόεντα καὶ ὕβριες, οὐδέ τι σῖτον
> ἤσθιον, ἀλλ' ἀδάμαντος ἔχον κρατερόφρονα θυμόν.
> [ἄπλαστοι· μεγάλη δὲ βίη καὶ χεῖρες ἄαπτοι
> ἐξ ὤμων ἐπέφυκον ἐπὶ στιβαροῖσι μέλεσσι].
>
> *Then Father Zeus made another generation of mortal people, the third one, the Bronze. Not in any way the same as the Silver, these, sprung from ash wood, were fearsome and mighty. For these ones the deeds of Ares and violence were desired. They used not to eat any type of bread, but possessed a power-minded spirit of adamant, these unformed ones. Great strength and unstoppable hands sprouted from powerful arms out of their shoulders* (*W&D* 143-148).

While the Silver People were given to hubristic acts committed against each other, their puerile ineptitude conditioned their wanton behaviour in such a way as to make it in no way comparable to that of the Bronze People. These brazen men were not children, but the possessors of enormously powerful bodies who revelled in hubristic acts, *hūbries*, and war especially. Life for them, it appears, consisted in building armaments and battlement houses, in fighting and dying in bloodbath warfare. Zeus did not even need to

end this Age as they obliterated themselves by their own hands; "unstoppable" hands, as described above, that attest to their "unformed" natures.

Bronze has in epic poetry a particularly evocative symbolism. It is the metal of armament; it is both "sharp" and "unyielding", and gleams like Dog of Orion, the star that signals by its appearance on the predawn horizon both the time of pestilence and the approaching harvest (*Iliad* 22.25-32). It combines naturally with iron to describe the god Death, whose heart mixes the hardness and pitilessness these two metals evoke (*Theog.* 764-765). Bronze identifies liminality, separation and confinement, given that it appears where Night and Day cross paths at the juncture of the upper and lower worlds (*Theog.* 749-750). It is also the material for the cage that confines the Titans in banishment, guarded over by the Hecatoncheires who, like the Bronze People, are most especially characterized by their excessive bodily might and their "unformed" *áplastos* natures (*Theog.* 151, *W&D* 148).

While the Golden People have been brought up from the underworld, immortalized and enlisted by Zeus as his *phúlakes* to roam invisibly over the earth and reward the just acts of mortals, the other Zeus-appointed *phúlakes*, the Hecatoncheires, remain in the underworld to guard over the Titans. Similarly, the Bronze People abide in the underworld as the forgotten dead, the antitheses of the Golden people whom Zeus has immortalized and made his *phúlakes*.

H. The Former Mortals and the Olympic Games

In my formulation of the myth, the first three mortal races stand as a discrete threefold grouping. The Gold, Silver and Bronze Peoples can be regarded as a collective unit of anonymous ancestral beings -- as *Tritopătéres* -- whose mythic histories identify a process of incremental degeneration from a perfected original state suggesting the life of ease enjoyed by the immortals to a state of isolation and anonymity in Hades. In contrast, the ritualized ordeals of the athletes begin where the myth of the mortal races ends insofar as the athletes-in-training constitute a Bronze-like anonymous pool of "the dead." Finally, upon successful completion of the ordeals, the victor at the Games achieved a life free of care similar to the conditions that prevailed in the Golden Age. In this way, the ritual process of athleticism completes the cycle of mythic time contained within Hesiod's ancestral myth, given that the victor attained the perfected conditions of the Golden Age.

The mythic foundation of the Olympia sanctuary extends back in time to the Golden Age, when Cronus was first worshipped at the site. At that time, Zeus was born on Crete and entrusted to the Curetes, known also as the five Idaean Dactyls (the Five Fingers [Rings] of Ida) who undertook to train young Zeus to compete with his father and to win the prize of rule over the cosmos from the heights of Olympus (Pausanias

5.7.6-10). The eldest of these five, named Heracles,[65] set up a foot race among his four younger siblings and introduced the laurel wreath as the victory prize, along with the cycle of the festival, which in Greek counting was held every fifth year in acknowledgement of each of the Dactyls:

> Ἡρακλεῖ οὖν πρόσεστι τῷ Ἰδαίῳ δόξα τὸν τότε ἀγῶνα διαθεῖναι πρώτῳ καὶ Ὀλύμπια ὄνομα θέσθαι· διὰ πέμπτου οὖν ἔτους αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο ἄγεσθαι, ὅτι αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πέντε ἦσαν ἀριθμόν.
>
> *Custom has it that Idaean Heracles was first to establish the schedule of competitions and the name Olympia. He established the five-year cycle, seeing as he and his brothers were five in number* (Pausanias 5.7.9).

While this is not stated overtly in the sources, it is possible to see in the crowning of Olympic victors with the wild olive branch an identification of them with the Games' mortal founders, Golden People who were provided for by earth's natural abundance. To repeat a point made above, the victor, whose native polis provided him with the means of an opulent life, effectively won a life of ease and glory, having been "immortalized" through the "renown," *kléos*, acquired from his achievement. Olympic victors acquired the *pánta esthlá* that attested to their attainment of the life lived by the Golden Peoples, as identified in Hesiod's poem. Competitive excellence, confirmed by the

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[65] Idaean Heracles was honoured at Olympia with an altar cult and given the epithet "Assistant" Pausanias 5.8.1. It should be noted that legendary time for Pausanias, writing in the second century CE, is conceived of differently than in Hesiod, most especially in not ascribing genetic discontinuity between the races. For instance, Idaean Heracles who lived in the Golden Age had his cult established by a post-diluvial epigone. In my reading of Hesiod's myth, the emphasis is put, not in chronicling quasi-historical events, but in identifying the specific ethical-behavioural characteristics of each discrete race. Hesiod seeks to remind his listeners of the former mortals and to uphold them as paradigmatic examples for living in Zeus-ruled time.

awarding of the Olympic olive wreath, indicated that the epitome of mortal existence had been reached and a life "free of care" gained; the Olympic victor, living under the reduced conditions of the Iron Age, enjoyed a life that reflected the perfected existence of the Cronus-created first mortals, the Golden People.[66]

Olympia's resident hero was the lower Greek mainland eponym, Pelops. His iconic shoulder blade and weaponry were on display in the sanctuary, and he received hero sacrifice, *enăgismós*, at his grave located between the Hera and Zeus temples.[67] Pausanias supplies a considerable amount of detail regarding his cult, and, given its mentions in Pindar, it is possible to project backwards six centuries in time from the source of these details to the ancient and classical periods. More precisely, the Pelops cult, as described by Pausanias, was fully integrated into Zeus worship at Olympia at least as early as Pindar at the time of Pindar's *Olympian* 1 in 476 BCE.[68] Additionally, the sacrificial operations of the Pelops cult described by Pausanias reflect very clearly the offerings given to the dead in the *Odyssey* at 10. 516-540; 11. 23-50. Briefly stated, hero propitiation elaborates a movement from initial *hūbris* (both in terms of the hero's condition in the underworld and the ritual state of the celebrants) before sacrifice to one

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[66] Pindar *Olympian* 1.97-100. Olympic victory and a life of ease and renown are directly connected here, even to the point of making certain victors the focus of hero cult. For a detailed presentation of the topic, see Currie 2005: 191-200.

[67] Pausanias 5.13.1-3. For a detailed analysis of how the worship of Pelops formed part of the ritual program of the Games, see Burkert 1983: 93-103, and Nagy 1990: 116-135.

[68] The arrangement of Olympia's primary cult features; hero tomb by the river connected to the Zeus altar by means of the race course identify the paradigmatic structural arrangement of the Greek sanctuary. The sacrificial procedures are first identified in Pindar *Olympian* 1.90-100.

of *díkē*, whereby the appeasement of the hero represents the preliminary, purifying stage in the broader ritual event of preparing for the honour of the god on the following day. Thus, hero cult also reflects the same ritual process of movement from death, isolation and anonymity to honour and immortality that appears in the ritual ordeals of athleticism.

I. The Heroes

In order to provide more clarity to this abstruse matter, I must draw attention to Nagy's seminal insight that hero cult amalgamates aspects drawn from each of the Former Mortals identified in Hesiod.[69] As stated previously, the mythic recollection of the gods and the former men (the heroes) transforms the contemporary listener's spiritual state from one of existential suffering to one of wellbeing, or the sense of existential meaningfulness produced by recollecting Zeus' abiding authority over the cosmos. In my exposé on the Myth of the Mortal Races, I have attempted to demonstrate that the first three generations identify a declining arc in the mythic time cycle that moves from its origin in a perfect state being (Golden Age), to one of utter violence and death (Bronze Age). Thus, the first three generations identify the existential antipodes between which mortal life plays itself out, and it is left to the fourth Age, the Heroic, to protract the arc of mythic time upwards and complete the cycle by returning to the perfect existence of the Golden People. Before identifying how this movement from *hūbris* to *díkē* reflects the

[69] See Nagy 1999: 154-173. I do not make the distinction between the hero of cult and the hero of epic, but rather see in epic performance an expression of hero worship that reflects the ritual operations of cult. My study therefore reflects a slightly different reading of the Hesiodic Myth of the Mortal Races, one that sees in the hero of cult the embodiment of all aspects of the previous generations.

ritual operations of hero worship, attention ought to be paid to the details Hesiod supplies for the Heroic Age.

Like the Bronze People, the Heroes were beset by violent conflict at Thebes and Troy, where a portion of them passed into death (*W&D* 161-166).[70] The members of the other portion, however, were selected by Zeus and granted the perfected existence of the Golden Age:

ἔνθ᾽ ἤτοι τοὺς μὲν θανάτου τέλος ἀμφεκάλυψε,
τοῖς δὲ δίχ᾽ ἀνθρώπων βίοτον καὶ ἤθε᾽ ὀπάσσας
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης κατένασσε πατὴρ ἐς πείρατα γαίης
καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναίουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες
ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ᾽ Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην,
ὄλβιοι ἥρωες, τοῖσιν μελιηδέα καρπὸν
τρὶς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα.
τηλοῦ ἀπ᾽ ἀθανάτων· τοῖσιν Κρόνος ἐμβασιλεύει.
τοῦ γὰρ δεσμὸν ἔλυσε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.
τοῖσι δ᾽ ὁμῶς ἥρωσι νεάτοις τιμὴ καὶ κῦδος ὀπηδεῖ.

There indeed the finality of death encased some of them, but father Zeus Cronides having bestowed life on the portion of these people he selected, settled them at the limits of earth. And they live with spirits free of care on the Blessed Islands alongside deep-swirling Oceanus, Fortunate Heroes, for whom sprouting three times in a year the life-giving land yields sweet fruit. Far from the immortals, Cronus rules over them. For the father of both men and gods removed his shackles. And for these last ones both honour and glory follows them (166-169[b]).

While the demigod heroes languished under similar bellicose conditions as the Bronze People, they were nobler and "more just" *dikaióteros*, and are called *hēmítheoi* by the poet (*W&D* 158-160). While their lives were marked by battles such as those at Thebes and Troy, and most had similar afterlife prospects as their Bronze Age forebears, a portion of

[70] West 1978: 191; "Hesiod has nothing special to tell of these people's way of life, and passes straight on to the manner of their death. It is exactly the same as that of the Bronze race: they killed each other off." While this may be the case, the reason supplied at *Cypria* fr.3 -- that the gods devised the end of the age -- can be regarded as implicit in the mythic account.

them were selected by Zeus and were granted an immortality on the Isles of the Blessed, where they enjoyed the bliss of the Golden Age. Thus, in Hesiod's myth, the Heroic Age describes the upward ascending arc of the cycle of mythic time, which completes the ritual trajectory. Like the brazen men, the heroes lived at the nadir of hubris, violence and sinfulness, but the most noble and just among them were plucked by Zeus from Hades and granted a Golden Age immortality, thereby completing the circuit of the myth of the former mortals, which ends as it begins. Hesiod's myth, then, when sung by the skillful singer, produces a homeopathic healing insofar is generates an experience of ecstatic dislocation from the suffering of profane time and its fatal inevitability, into the sacred circuit of mythic time; time that is stable, enduring and ultimately curative because it always leads to *díkē*.

My study of the *Iliad* treats it as a hero myth and, as such, has embedded within it the ritual process of movement from the Bronze Age conditions of violent hubris to recuperation of Golden Age *díkē*, as presented in Hesiod.[71] I therefore assume that the Homeric audience from the time of the poem's inclusion at the Greater Panathenaic festival would have experienced it as a commemoration of the heroes of cult, and that the poem was addressed primarily to young men such as those who competed at Olympia,

[71] Muellner 1996: 52-96 has argued for a reading of the *Theogony* as a proem to the *Iliad*.

who were set to marry and to become citizens.[72] The *Iliad*, therefore, does not recall an actual historical event but rather communicates the values of the polis by engaging mythic paradigms - heroic personages especially - that edify and dramatically enact these values, these expressions of *hubris* and *dike*.

The next chapter, entitled "The Horse-taming Trojans," focusses on the foes of the Achaeans, the possessors of Helen who is the ultimate victory prize for the contests fought upon the Trojan Plain. While the broader myth of the Trojan War treats of the sack of the polis, the *Iliad* foreshadows this event in the death of Hector and concludes with the announcement of his burial. Given his centrality, I shall focus on Hector's dramatic depiction and, in so doing, I shall seek to account for why the gods have grown to hate the Trojans and seek their destruction, again by associating the Iliadic narrative with Hesiod's myth of the former mortals. While the gods have decreed the polis' destruction, they have also determined to leave Troy populated following the removal of Priam from the throne. This important detail is given little consideration, but Troy is given a future under the rule of the surviving demigod Aeneas, son of Aphrodite. Furthermore, much is provided about Troy's past, particularly the key events leading up to her first sack by Heracles. Although Troy remains Zeus' most beloved polis --

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[72] While I lack the philological expertise to develop this insight, I ascribe to the etymological interpretation of the word ἥρως as denoting "the one who is ripe for marriage" and therefore intimately connected with the goddess Hera, see Curry 2005: 62 who, it must be stated, finds this rendering unconvincing. The theme of the harvest is basic to the *Iliad* and, as with Homeric poetry in general, the institution of marriage is indelible to the dramatic action. Finally, the "wrath" of Achilles has its source in the goddess Hera.

and has been rewarded with vast wealth and an impregnable wall -- Priam nonetheless demonstrates himself sinful in the eyes of the gods for giving his consent to the marriage of Paris and Helen. In putting forward the selfish interest of his son Paris over and above the collective will of the Trojans, and the counsel of his senators, Priam incurs the wrath of Athena, the goddess who has planned the king's overthrow. Finally, for giving consent to the marriage of Paris and Helen, who is already married to Menelaus, Priam sins against Hera. As a result of this abdication of his paternal role in contracting lawful marriages for his sons, Priam is forced to look on helplessly as Athena orchestrates his "good" and well-married son Hector's slaughter for the indulgence he showed to his "bad" son Paris, the wife-snatcher.

Much of the focus of my discussion, to repeat, is on Hector's conduct after his divine appointment as general over the Trojans. Whereas he had successfully defended the polis for the first nine years of battle by following the senators' instructions and warding off the attackers at the city gates, in the tenth year he devises to make an assault on the ships and dies the following day. This pattern repeats the shared biography of the Silver People who spent the first one hundred years of their lives clinging to their mothers' sides and then, upon leaving home, died shortly afterwards owing to their sinful violence and to their failure to acknowledge the gods. Hector too dies the day after his assault, and for the same reasons that the Silver People were obliterated.

My description of the Trojans applies the declining arc of mythic time as I have identified it in Hesiod's myth to Troy's sacred history. In this chapter I discuss how sacred Ilium degenerated from an original state of wealth, ease and divine tutelage suggestive of the Golden Age to its contemporary state of siege and imminent destruction owing to divine wrath, which identifies its current Bronze Age state of affairs. This degeneration from Golden origins to Bronze Age sufferings is caused by the arrogance of the Priamids, Troy's rulers who, over the three generations after the founding of the polis by their ancestor Ilus, do not desist from acting violently towards their fellows, nor do they honour the gods. Rather than personifications of athletic competitors, the Trojans monarchs -- Priam, Hector and Paris -- stand more as foils, as negative examples of male acculturation to the requirements of the polis. The chapter which follows, Chapter 4, focusses on the Achaeans and identifies them as the true heroes, the former mortals who move the arc of mythic time from the bellicose, Bronze Age conditions of battle at Troy to the Golden Age experience of victory and immortality.

While the Trojans are characterized by their overbearing treatment of the allies who fight for them and by their lack of piety, the Achaeans, in contrast, embody the values required for polis living. In the first two sections of the poem,[73] the Achaeans demonstrate themselves as more than capable of defeating the Trojans. Because of their eagerness to defend each other (*Iliad* 3.9), and because of their devotion to the gods, the

[73] For a recent discussion of the *Iliad* as comprising three sections, see Heiden 2008.

Achaeans demonstrate themselves to be true heroes and thus worthy role models for men who live in historical time, and who inhabit the polis. My description of the Achaeans identifies the nine principal characters and explores their respective responses to the crisis provoked by Achilles' curse against Agamemnon. I also explore the complex nature of leadership within the army and attempt to identify how the main characters adapt to Agamemnon's failed command by instilling a strong *esprit de corps,* despite the dire setbacks they undergo. My interest is to arrive at a sense of the main actors and to promote a stronger engagement with them in order to gain a fuller sense of the story being told.

The final two chapters focus on Achilles and his evil fate. My discussion keeps to his role within the narrative, but emphasizes how his portrayal addresses the transitional status of the athlete as a male who leaves behind his youth and the world of the military unit for his next phase of life; his life as a husband, householder and citizen. Chapter 5 explores Achilles' status among the Achaeans, treating especially his conflict with Agamemnon and its consequences for the entire army. I also devote considerable time to the ambiguous, dysfunctional relationship he has with Patroclus. On the one hand, Patroclus was assigned to act as something of a mentor for the younger, hot-headed hero, but within the span of the poem's narrative he acts solely as his charge's subordinate. While Patroclus is regarded by Achilles as his "dear comrade," he is primarily his "attendant" *therápōn.* On this matter, the effective partnerships at work

among the Achaeans, such as those arising between Odysseus and Diomedes and between the Greater Ajax and Menelaus during the most intense fighting, may be regarded as a pedagogical correctives to the ill-defined -- and ultimately lethal -- association between Achilles and Patroclus. The point I wish to make is that partnership formation among the Achaeans is motivated by the broader interests of the campaign, whereas Achilles' treatment of Patroclus is purely self-serving. On this matter, partnership formation among the Achaeans also stands in a pedagogical contrast to Hector's treatment of his counsellor Polydamas and to his arrogant neglect of his allies, Zeus's son Sarpedon especially.

Achilles is a figure of tragic hubris, but this is not to suggest that he is to be judged purely as such. After all, he does come to the realization that he must pay with his own life for his lethal neglect of both Patroclus and the Achaeans. Additionally, in consequence of his curse against the Achaeans, Achilles comes to the understanding that the aims of Zeus are not directed at satisfying the desires of mortals, even ones such as himself whose lives are fated to carry out the cosmic plans of divinity. My final chapter attempts to arrive at a sense of the mirroring that occurs between Achilles and both Patroclus and Hector, the two heroes who die in his bronze armour. In so doing, I shall emphasize the radical dividedness that marks Achilles' existence, a dividedness that epitomizes the race of the demigods, their shared ontological modality and, relatedly,

why experiencing their tragic existences within the ecstatic medium of mythic song acted as a form of homeopathic healing.

Achilles' divided nature expresses itself in the conflicting plans his parents have for their son. His mortal father Peleus, now aged, alone and vulnerable in his kingdom, wishes his son a successful return so that he can marry and assume the rule of the kingdom. Achilles' divine mother, on the other hand, laments the evil fate into which her son was born, but never does she offer Achilles the option of returning home and escaping the destiny that awaits him. Knowing the will of the gods, Thetis always acts in the poem to ensure that Achilles dies in the foreordained manner, that he is to be killed by Apollo and Paris beneath the walls of the polis. In this discussion, I shall attempt to clarify the fated nature of Achilles' poetic activity by means of the serpent symbolism that is operative in the portent at Aulis (*Iliad* 2.323-33) and in the evocation of the cosmic monster Typhoeus. Reflecting the broader mythology of the Trojan War and the end of the Heroic Age, Achilles' entry into the Trojan plain sets off the cosmic process that will ultimately end the cycle of mythic time; the determination, that is, by the gods to eliminate the race of the demigods.

On the matter of divinity, I realize that my argument would be greatly strengthened by devoting a chapter to the gods. Because the *Iliad* was so deeply embedded into the cultural self-understanding of the Greeks from the time of its inclusion at the Greater Panathenaea, I feel entirely justified in taking the view that the poem's audience

would have experienced the gods within the poem -- and the heroes too, for that matter -- as equivalent to the cult entities that formed the focus of their devotions. The overwhelming focus of the academic study of the *Iliad* is either technical or historical, and, as a result, the very apt question as to why the poem was meaningfully received within the polis culture context remains to be answered.

Chapter 3. The Horse-taming Trojans

Early on in the *Iliad*, we are told that the gods have decreed the success to the Achaeans. Following Agamemnon's test of the army's resolve, Odysseus reminds them how, nine years previously, Zeus had confirmed their victory in the tenth year:

χθιζά τε καὶ πρωΐζ' ὅτ' ἐς Αὐλίδα νῆες Ἀχαιῶν
ἠγερέθοντο κακὰ Πριάμῳ καὶ Τρωσὶ φέρουσαι,
ἡμεῖς δ' ἀμφὶ περὶ κρήνην ἱεροὺς κατὰ βωμοὺς
ἕρδομεν ἀθανάτοισι τελήεσσας ἑκατόμβας
καλῇ ὑπὸ πλατανίστῳ ὅθεν ῥέεν ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ·
ἔνθ' ἐφάνη μέγα σῆμα· δράκων ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφοινὸς
σμερδαλέος, τόν ῥ' αὐτὸς Ὀλύμπιος ἦκε φόωσδε,
βωμοῦ ὑπαΐξας πρός ῥα πλατάνιστον ὄρουσεν.
ἔνθα δ' ἔσαν στρουθοῖο νεοσσοί, νήπια τέκνα,
ὄζῳ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ πετάλοις ὑποπεπτηῶτες
ὀκτώ, ἀτὰρ μήτηρ ἐνάτη ἦν ἣ τέκε τέκνα·
ἔνθ' ὅ γε τοὺς ἐλεεινὰ κατήσθιε τετριγῶτας·
μήτηρ δ' ἀμφεποτᾶτο ὀδυρομένη φίλα τέκνα·
τὴν δ' ἐλελιξάμενος πτέρυγος λάβεν ἀμφιαχυῖαν.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ τέκν' ἔφαγε στρουθοῖο καὶ αὐτήν,
τὸν μὲν ἀρίζηλον θῆκεν θεὸς ὅς περ ἔφηνε·
λᾶαν γάρ μιν ἔθηκε Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω·
ἡμεῖς δ' ἑσταότες θαυμάζομεν οἷον ἐτύχθη.

Yesterday or the day before it seems, when the ships of the Achaeans gathered in Aulis bearing evil things for Priam and the Trojans, and we, grouped around the spring, offered at the sacred altars purposeful hecatombs to the immortals under the beautiful plane tree, from which poured forth shining water. In that place the great portent was manifest... a serpent blood red on the back--a vision of horror!--which the Olympian himself led to the light. Slithering from the altar, it darted towards the plane tree. In the tree there were nestling sparrows--helpless chicks!--on the topmost branch hidden under the leaves. There were eight of them, while the mother who hatched the chicks was the ninth. Once in the tree the serpent devoured the pitiful chirping chicks as the shrieking mother flew around her beloved hatchlings. The serpent then coiled about and seized the shrieking bird by the wing. After it had devoured the sparrow chicks and mother, then the god presented the clear sign, he who made it manifest: indeed the son of crooked-counselling Cronus made the serpent into a stone. Standing there, we were amazed by what had happened (Iliad 2. 303-320)

Calchas interprets the portent[1] in such a way as to see in the serpent's eating of the sparrows raw the divine will of the Zeus. The Achaeans, it seems, are the serpent, the mother sparrow the Trojans and her chicks represent the network of allied cities the Achaeans, when Achilles was fighting, had systematically destroyed.[2] This vision of the serpent devouring the sparrow raw, itself a picture of divine wrath and a harbinger of the fate of Troy, surfaces in the conversation between Zeus and Hera following the duel between Menelaus and Paris.

In the time between Aphrodite's removal of Paris from the plain and Athena's ruse in compelling the Trojans to break their oaths, Zeus turns to Hera and identifies

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[1] This bird and serpent omen appears to recur in an alternate form as the Trojans are preparing their assault on the ships. Zeus sends to the Trojans an omen of an eagle with a blood-red serpent gripped in its talons. Writhing and struggling, the serpent delivers a bite to the eagle, causing its release and its falling into the Trojan battalion consisting of Hector, Polydamas, and the largest and bravest contingent of Trojan youths. Polydamas interprets the sign as an indication of a failed assault and advises retreat (*Iliad* 12. 196-229). Pindar 8 *Olympian* 30-51 provides the myth of the three serpent assailants upon Troy. After Aeacus assisted the gods Apollo and Poseidon in building the wall, three serpents were seen to spring from the earth onto the tower. Two fell to their deaths, but the third made it onto the Pergamus, causing Apollo to prophesy that the assault will begin with the first generation (Aeacus' own) and end with the fourth (Aeacus' great-grandson Pyrrhus-Neoptolemus).

[2] *Iliad* 9.323-333. Repeating the metaphor, Achilles likens himself to a mother bird feeding her chicks with the food she has found in recollecting to the ambassadors how he had, over the past nine years, sacked twelve port cities and eleven land-bound ones. Like the mother bird, Achilles delivered much wealth to the army.

both her and Athena of Alalcomenae[3] as Menelaus' divine helpers. He acknowledges Menelaus' victory and suggests to his wife that a spirit of friendship might replace the battle, that Priam's polis might still house families, and that Helen might return with Menelaus.[4] This proposal for an equitable resolution is emphatically refused, as Hera protests that such an outcome would nullify her work in gathering the Achaeans to deliver evils to Priam and his children (4.25-29). Now angered too, Zeus refers to his wife's hatred against Priam and his sons in terms that evoke the portent he sent nine years ago when he announced victory to the Achaeans in the vision of a snake eating a sparrow and her young raw. Like the snake, Zeus states that Hera seeks to devour raw Priam and his sons along with the devastation she seeks to inflict upon the polis (4.30-36). After demanding an equal compensation for granting Hera's revenge, Zeus states that holy Troy is his most beloved polis and that Priam's people have demonstrated themselves most pious in attending to his cult:

αἳ γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἠελίῳ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι

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[3] Athena is mockingly referred to by Zeus with the epithet, "of Alalcomenae," the name of a polis in Boeotia. Hera is referred to with the more usual "of Argos" but it is unclear why the poet refers to Athena uniquely here (*Iliad* 4.8, 5.908), other than that it contrasts sarcastically with her duplicitous and aggressive plans. While the epithet is sarcastic in the context of its deployment, Athena is, after all, the "Protector" of the agora and her hostility against the Trojans appears to stem from the violence committed to Menelaus and Odysseus when they petitioned for Helen's return. Scully 1992: 39-40 states that Athena has "pitiless indifference" for Troy but this simply ignores the earlier embassy and the attack in the agora (*Iliad* 11. 122-142). See also Tsagalis 2008: 1-29 for a fascinating discussion of a rivalry with the Theban epic cycle embedded in the *Iliad* narrative although, admittedly, this reference is somewhat of an over-extension and is not taken up in Tsagalis' discussion.

[4] The typical translation of 4.18 is "that the city of Priam may still be lived in", Kirk 1985: 332. It has recently been argued that the fate of Troy is one of annihilation through conflagration, as opposed to the earlier sack, Mackie 2008: 4-5. However, in the *Iliad*, we learn that this is not to be so, but rather it is the house of Priam that is to be destroyed and the monarchy passed on to Dardanian Aeneas.

ναιετάουσι πόληες ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων,
τάων μοι περὶ κῆρι τιέσκετο Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο.
οὐ γάρ μοί ποτε βωμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς ἐΐσης
λοιβῆς τε κνίσης τε· τὸ γὰρ λάχομεν γέρας ἡμεῖς.

Of all the cities under sun and starry sky inhabited by earthly folk, it was sacred Troy that honoured me according to the matters dear to my heart, and Priam along with the people of Priam of the good ash-wood. My altar never lacked the equal feast, the poured and burnt offerings either, the portion that is decreed to us (4. 44-49)

When Hera finally agrees to surrender one of her three dearest cities, Zeus ends his provocative quarrel, accedes and orders Athena to go down and carry out her plans that will ultimately obliterate the House of Priam. Troy will continue to exist, but under the monarchical line of Aeneas, son of the goddess of love, Aphrodite (20.303-308)[5].

A. Monarchical Succession and the Foundation Myth of Troy

In the divinely aborted duel between the soon to die city-sacker Achilles and the soon to be city ruler Aeneas, we are told of Troy's sacred history. The Trojan people have had six kings before the transfer of rule to Dardanian Aeneas; the first three rulers, Dardanus, Erichthonius, Tros, all having their reigns in the time prior to the foundation of the polis (20.215-230). The first ruler Dardanus was the son of Zeus and he founded his eponymous habitation on the slopes of Ida. His son, named Erichthonius, became the wealthiest man on earth after the North Wind, Boreas, took the form of a stallion and

[5] The conflict between Aeaneas and Priam is referred to directly in 13.459-61 where the poet states that he had wrath against godlike Priam as the king had failed to honour him despite his excellence. The tension between the two houses is also identified in the revelation that Anchises surreptitiously mated his mares with Laomedon's divine horses (5.268-9).

mated with the herd, producing twelve fillies that galloped like the wind as it blows over corn crops and foamy sea waves.[6] After his passing, the rule was given to Tros, who in turn begot three exceptional sons.[7]

The three sons of Tros are identified as they all contribute to the fate of Troy. Firstly, the eldest Ilus succeeds his father and settles his people in their present location. After his death, he becomes the eponym of the polis he founded, its *oikistês*, and is buried at the bank of the Scamander.[8] The middle son, Assaracus, is not commemorated in any way by his grandson and future ruler, apart from identifying his sons, the anonymous Capys and Anchises who was Aphrodite's lover. Finally this phase of Troy's sacred past ends with the last royal son of Tros, Ganymedes, with whom Zeus becomes enamoured and is granted an immortal, Olympian existence because of his beauty.

The first three generations of Trojan kings identify the primordial phase of the Trojan people's sacred history. Like rain from the clouds gathered at the peaks of Ida, the Trojan people came to life from Zeus' semen and settled on the mountain side. Then, like rivulets running down the slopes, the people moved into the valley below where, like the mountain runoff joining into the plain's elaborate network of rivers, they

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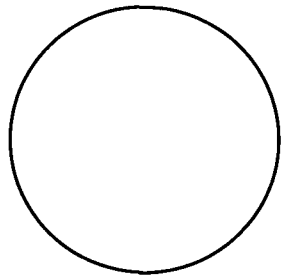
[6] Aeneas' speech to Achilles is anticipated in the duel between Tlepolemus, son of Heracles, and Sarpedon, son of Zeus, in which is mentioned the divine horses given to Tros by Zeus in compensation for the abduction of Ganymedes (5.26-267).

[7] The organization of the native Trojan army into three squadrons appears to reflect the three primordial kings. Pandarus is leader of the Troes, apparently named after Tros (2.826) and Aeneas co-leads the Dardanians (2.819-20), which leads to the inferred connection between Hector's Trojans and the wealthy horseman Erichthonius.

[8] de Polignac 1995: 143-144 links the establishment of the colonizer's tomb with hero cult.

settled and prospered as horse herders,[9] gaining in health, beauty and wealth. Finally, this phase ended when Zeus took for himself the last-born prince of his great-grandson Tros and brought him back into the sky, thereby returning this primordial generation's progress back to its point of origin at Olympus.[10] This pre-formal phase in which no clear separation from nature imposes itself between people and landscape, may be tabulated in the following cyclical pattern as it arcs through the four generations:

Olympus Zeus-Ganymedes

God-born Dardanus  God-making Tros

Trojan Plain Erichthonius

The next phase of Troy's history is inaugurated by the polis eponym and founder Ilus.[11] Great-grandson of Dardanus and inheritor of the horses with which Zeus had compen-

[9] King Erichthonius shares the same name with the mythic, earth-born, ophidian king of Athens. His name denotes autochthonous origins and therefore is structurally opposed to Olympian Zeus. He remains within the orbit of divinity by the blessing conferred to him by the "nature god" Boreas, the hippiform North Wind.

[10] Scully 1992: 25; "Although once of nature, man coming down from Mount Ida has transcended that original state through architecture and community. From the human point of view this transition is analogous to the separation of earth from sky and day from night at the world's beginning."

[11] In an alternate myth, Ilus expanded Troy's territorial possessions and captured Lydia. Having taken Mount Sipylus, Ilus expelled Pelops (Pausanias 2. 22. 3). Pelops' descendant Agamemnon can then be seen to reply to this ancestral grievance by sacking the city that bears this former king's name.

sated his father Tros for Ganymedes, Ilus passed on and left the rule to his only son Laomedon. During his reign, Zeus dispatched Poseidon and Apollo to build for the Trojans a wall that would ensure protection against all mortal assailants (21.441-460). As Apollo tended Troy's flocks on the hills of Ida, Poseidon constructed the rampart, a labour that would last a full year. They did not present themselves as gods, but negotiated a payment as hirelings according to the will of Zeus. Laomedon, blind to the presence of divinity, reneged on his end of the deal and threatened to sell the two off in the islands after disrespecting them by gesturing in such a way as to suggest he would lop off their ears.

Such behaviour had apparently little effect on Apollo, but Poseidon, the earth-shaking ruler of the sea (15.190) was not so easily abused and, in vengeful wrath, afflicted the polis with a "sea-serpent," *kêtos* (20.147). Zeus came to the defence of Troy by having his Theban-born son Heracles fight off the serpent while Athena protected Heracles by leading the Trojan people in building another wall. Pursuing Heracles, the serpent emerged from the sea and slithered into the plain where it must have died (20.144-148).[12] Although he spared the polis with Athena's assistance, Heracles too was abused just as Apollo and Poseidon had been, and was denied the horses of Tros, the

[12] See Mackie 2008: 25-26. The race between the serpent and Heracles is repeated in the narrative in two different ways. Firstly, it is matched by the race between Scamander and Achilles as he attempts to cross the fording point and enter the plain (21.233-283). Both gods present in the Heracles episode, Poseidon and Athena, come to Achilles' aide and declare his imminent victory (21.288-297). Secondly, it is replicated in Achilles' race with Hector as the embodiment of Hera's wrath and therefore as the personification of the serpent seen at Aulis who is petrified after eating the Trojan sparrow and chicks raw. Achilles, after all, is prophesied to die in the plain shortly after Hector's death.

divinely given mares, that were to be payment for ridding Troy of Poseidon's wrath-inflicted monster. We are told of this perfidious act by Laomedon long before having its details supplied.

Left uncompensated for his polis-protecting feat, Heracles set off in anger but returned with a fleet of six ships and sacked the polis. Aeneas is silent about Laomedon's fate and only identifies his four sons. The eldest is Tithonus who was desired by the goddess Eos and became her husband.[13] He did not rise to Olympus like Ganymedes, but was instead brought to Ethiopia on the shores of Oceanus, location of the twelve days-length divine feast. Given his removal from Troy by the goddess, the rule passed to Laomedon's second born son Priam while the three other princes sat on the Trojan council as senators (3.147).[14]

This catalogue of Trojan kings, announced to the polis-destroyer Achilles immediately before his entry into the plain, contains the beginning and end of time circuit of the Trojan people's elevated relationship with the gods, and with Zeus especially. It contains the three generation primordial phase that begins with the god-born mortal

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[13] The broader legend of Tithonus reinforces the radical difference between the divine, "natural" phase of Troy's history and the mortal, "cultural" phase. Rather than succeeding Laomedon, Tithonus is desired by the goddess and he marries her, sharing her bed by the streams of Oceanus (11.1). While he is granted immortality, he neglects to request eternal youth and consequently experiences an existence of constant decline, to the point where he is shunned by his goddess bride and exists in an isolated and diminished condition reflecting that of the dead at the opening of *Odyssey* 24. For a fascinating presentation of the Ganymedes-Tithonus paradigm as it relates to the quality of time, see Davidson 2007: 214-5.

[14] Laomedon also had a bastard son Bucolion born to him before his princely sons (6.22-23). He mated with the nymph Abarbaria fathering two boys Aesepus (also the name of the river that flows through the Troes homeland of Zeleia) and Pedasus (also the name of the polis where Priam's concubine Laothoe is from).

son Dardanus who makes his home on earth and ends with the mortal-born god Ganymedes who makes his home in heaven, in the Olympian palace of the people's divine progenitor Zeus. Finally, it lists the last three kings in the mortal phase, the polis-dwelling period of the people's history, inaugurated by the founder-eponym Ilus but now to be terminated with Achilles' entry into the plain. Son of Aphrodite and future king of the polis, Dardanian Aeneas (the epithet connects him with the first king, Zeus' mortal-born son, Dardanus) discloses to Achilles, the "human monster" and agent of Hera's wrath,[15] the royal line he is set to end by killing the heir-apparent Hector as Priam watches on in horror.

[15] Taking up Jasper Griffin's 2001: 365-384 observation that the *Iliad* downplays the fantastic by relegating the very few mentions of monsters to the periphery of the narrative as recollections from the prior generations of heroes (Perithous, Heracles, Bellorophon, Meleager), Mackie 2008: 21-59 provides the first extended discussion of this vital topic. Monsters are very often mythical representations of divine wrath, as we see with Poseidon's sea serpent or Artemis' boar, but in the main plot of the *Iliad*, it is Achilles who assumes this function. While his role is foreshadowed in somewhat monstrous imagery in the portent at Aulis, Achilles carries out the goddess' plans and, in so doing, corresponds to "raw eating" mode of the wrath-driven monster. See further O'Brien 1993:77-111.

Table 3. The Trojan Rulers

Order of Authority	Priam
Order of Execution	Hector
Order of Preparation	Paris

The Senators. *(Royal Family Members in Bold, Priests in Italics)*

Panthous Apollo Priest. Polydamas is rescued by Apollo (15.521-2), but his sons Hyperenor and Euphorbus are killed by Menelaus.	Thymoetes	**Lampus.** Brother of Priam and father of Dolops, slain by Menelaus (15.40-3)	**Clytius** Brother of Priam and father of Caletor, slain by Ajax as he attempted to ignite the ships (15.419-20)	**Hicataeon** Brother of Priam and father of Melanippus, slain by Antilochus after being called forward by Menelaus (15.568-78)	Ucalegon	*Antenor* Trojan prime minister and husband of Theano,priestess of Athena. Ten sons by Theano, six of whom are slain. One bastard son who is also slain

B. Priam, King of Troy

In the complex denouement of the *Iliad,* Priam is brought to grief by being forced to watch helplessly as his 'good son' Hector is slaughtered for the actions of his 'bad son' Paris. This punishment is far worse that what was meted out to his own contract-breaking father; while Laomedon was killed for his dishonour of the gods and his abusive treatment of Heracles, his royal line was left intact and his second son succeeded him.[16] Priam's crime is more complex because it has to do with his response to Paris'

[16] There is no mention of Laomedon's death in the *Iliad.* The Epic Cycle is silent too on the topic, only mentioning that Laomedon received a magical grape vine from Zeus in payment for Ganymedes, *Little Iliad* Fr.7. In Roman times, the tomb of Laomedon was thought to have been located in the lintel above the Scaean Gate, which derives its name from the presence of the former king's corpse, Robertson 1970: 24-25. Diodorus (4.32.4-5) states that Heracles killed Laomedon at the polis gates. Because Priam had advised his father to turn over the mares, Heracles appointed him king.

desire to keep Helen as his wife despite her marriage to Menelaus. Although as king he embodies the highest level of authority over the entire polis, Priam shirks his responsibility to the larger collective by ignoring the will of the people and the verdict of the senators who, of a voice, implore him to return the captive bride to her rightful husband. Instead, he indulges his foolish son's self-interest when he, more than anyone else, is able to rectify the situation and return Helen to Menelaus.

Aged Priam does not intervene to correct his son's disastrous choice of a bride. Instead he gives it his consent, despite having witnessed over the nine years since Helen's abduction the incremental dismantling of his kingdom. When Helen first makes her appearance in the agora at the Trojan wall, the seven senators say to each other that there is "no reproach," *ou némesis*, for suffering for so long for the sake of her. Nonetheless, they are of a mind that she should leave in the ships and not bring misery to themselves and to their children (3.153-160). Seated among the senators, Priam calls Helen over and tells her that she is not to blame despite the extreme sense of wrongfulness she feels regarding her situation (3.171-176). Priam puts the "blame" *aítios* for the tear-filled war with the Achaeans on the gods (3.164-165). The gods, Hera more precisely, are the cause of the war but Priam too is complicit.

Hera is the goddess who rules over the marriage bond and is the source of the wrath levelled at the Trojans, Priam especially. To repeat, it is her wrath that is symbolized by the bird devouring serpent at Aulis, and it is her wrath too that makes of Achil-

les the mortal agent of her punishment of Priam. At the poem's conclusion, the king supplicates Achilles for the return of Hector's body and, following the exchange of the corpse, Priam is invited to break his fast and feast with his son's slayer. In exhorting the king to eat, Achilles sermonizes to his guest by recalling Niobe's punishment for having provoked the wrath of the gods. The account given by Achilles draws Priam's suffering into close association with this former event. Like Priam, Niobe too was forced to witness the slaughter of her children before she was herself petrified owing to Leto's wrath (24.602-620).[17] When Achilles recalls the sufferings of Niobe to the king at the conclusion of the poem, Priam has already felt Niobe's pain most exquisitely in having to watch Hector's slaughter. Not only did Priam lose his vast kingdom (24.543-46), of his fifty sons, only nine were left to him after the death of his most dear one, Hector (24.248-52). Like the sparrow's nine hatchlings nesting in the plane tree at Aulis, these last sons will be killed too before Priam meets his end and Hera's "raw eating" wrath finally is satisfied. Goddess of the matrimonial bond, Hera has decreed the fall of the house of Priam because of the king's utter disregard for her sacred duties that attend her domain.

Although many of the males have concubines and bastard sons, Priam is unique in having multiple wives (21.84-8). Of these, apart from queen Hecabe, his only other

[17] For a fuller discussion of the Niobe sermon and the way it is treated in the secondary literature, see Alden 2000: 27-9.

identified wife is Laothoe, daughter of Altes of Pedasus.[18] Although she is still living (22.53), Laothoe's whereabouts are unknown as she does not appear to reside in the royal palace, the queen of which is Phrygian Hecabe, mother of Hector and Paris.[19] Priam likely met Hecabe, his future queen, in the campaign against the Amazons, when he served as an ally to Otreus and Mygdon (3.184-189).[20]

The ambiguities surrounding the marriage of Hecabe and Priam endure, but there is a strong suggestion nonetheless that she was captured like Helen, Chryseis and Briseis rather than lawfully wed, like Hector's wife Andromache.[21] This much is suggested in the terror-filled moments before Hector's death as Achilles, described as "the

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[18] Priam's son Lycaon reveals to Achilles that he does not have the same mother as Hector in the hope of saving his life. In this passage, he reveals that Priam has multiple wives. Later we learn that Priam still possesses much treasure from Laothoe's dowry (22.49-51), a point which contradicts Hector's earlier disclosure to the army that all of Priam's wealth had been sold away to Phrygia and Maeonia (Lydia) ever since Zeus fostered hatred, *odússomai* (18.290-292). This, of course, is a ploy to encourage the allies to attack the ships and win wealth for themselves. He is seeking to nullify Polydamas' advise to defend the city from within the walls now that Achilles has returned to battle (18.254-283)

[19] Hecabe's father is identified as Dymas and her youngest brother as Asius, whose image Apollo assumes when provokes Hector to confront Patroclus (16.715-719). The Phrygians serve as allies in the defence of Troy

[20] Priam may have come initially to Phrygia as an ally, but he eventually took possession of the country following the defeat of the Amazons (24.545). See Tsagalis 2008: 14-18 in which connections are made between Hector's wife Andromache and the Amazons. Tsagalis overlooks Hecabe's association with Phrygia and the Amazons.

[21] In rejecting Agamemnon's offer to marry one of his daughters, Achilles states the customary practice of having the father arrange an appropriate wedding for his son (9.394). The wedding between Hector and Andromache provides the most detail regarding the lawful wedding contract through gift exchange between the respective families (22.471-2)

dog of Orion," is racing towards Troy.[22] Priam implores his son to come within the walls as the Sirius-like Achilles had killed and ransomed so many of his sons. He tells Hector that there is much wealth remaining from Laothoe's dowry with which to buy back Lycaon and Polydorus (22.49-51). Despite Hector's lying statement (18.287-92) that Troy's wealth has been paid out to Phrygia and Maeonia (ancestral homeland of Pelops who is himself the ancestor of the Achaeans, Pausanias. 5.25.10) it still contains riches Paris won when he abducted Helen (6.288-292; 7.389-390) in addition to the goods from Thrace chosen later for Achilles. But there is never any mention of wealth from Phrygia, the dowry Dymas would have provided for Hecabe. While this appears to be a minor detail, it contributes to the ambiguities surrounding the union between Priam and Hecabe. In contrast, no such ambiguities exist regarding the king's later marriage to Laothoe. The marital situation in the House of Priam is as follows: Priam is polygamous, Hector is monogamous and united to Andromache in the customary fashion, and Paris is, with his father's consent, married to Menelaus' abducted wife.

To conclude, Priam's fate is foreshadowed in the portent at Aulis. With Achilles' return to battle, he is punished by Hera and forced to watch Hector's slaughter at the

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[22] Davidson 2007: 207; "The Keans, we are told, awaited the arrival of the dreaded Dog each year on a mountaintop under arms like the Achaeans awaiting a wind at Aulis, so that sacrifice could be made to conjure the assuaging 'Etesian' winds. The Dog appears on Keos' fourth century coinages, rays emanating from its head. The ritual was said to have been inaugurated by Aristaeus, father of dog-plagued Actaeon, thus confirming other hints that he too was identified with Orion: 'The man who saw his son killed by dogs put a stop to that star which of the stars in heaven have the same title' (Diodorus 4.82.3)." The astral symbolism relates to the Olympic Games which were held at the end of the "dog days of summer," when Sirius is closest to earth. Within this complex network of seasonal symbolism, fathers seeing their sons "killed by the dog" can be seen to refer to witnessing defeat at the Olympic Games.

hands of Athena and Achilles. Because custom, as it is reflected in the poem, dictates that the father chooses the bride of the son, Priam is made guilty in her eyes. Finally, the Aulis portent's symbolism reflects precisely Priam's situation at the conclusion of the poem where he is left with nine living sons who will all be killed before he, like both Niobe and the sparrow, is finally killed by the gods.

C. Paris

Paris' sin is stated at the end of the poem:

> ...οὐδέ ποθ' Ἥρῃ
> οὐδὲ Ποσειδάων' οὐδὲ γλαυκώπιδι κούρῃ,
> ἀλλ' ἔχον ὥς σφιν πρῶτον ἀπήχθετο Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
> καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκ' ἄτης,
> ὃς νείκεσσε θεὰς ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἵκοντο,
> τὴν δ' ἤνησ' ἥ οἱ πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν.
>
> *..., not so with Hera, nor Poseidon, nor the glimmering-eyed maiden, but these held out as when sacred Troy and Priam and the people first became abhorrent to them because of Alexander's folly; he who defamed the goddesses when they entered the inner chamber, and celebrated her who causes disastrous lewd-mindedness* (24. 25-30)

For having chosen poorly in the contest between Hera, Athena and Aphrodite, Paris is given as a prize another man's wife. A prize which seems perversely fitting in that his selection promoted erotic desire (Aphrodite) above social duty (Athena) and matrimonial sanctity (Hera). Paris is a young man and therefore his selection is quite understandable, but nonetheless it marks a failure at expressing mature judgement in identifying the appropriate winner in such events, the winner which must always be Hera. The contest has a prenuptial quality to it and the prize given for the wrong selection

suggests a lack of preparation for adult life; a lack of understanding of what it means to be a man and a member of a political community.

From the outset of the poem, Paris is depicted as a fool and a dandy who brings shame upon Troy by his mere presence. Although a prince and member of the Troy's monarchical family, he does not lead an army and fights with a bow rather than the full equipment and chariot of a mature fighter, as does his brother Hector. This battle presence takes on iconic significance as an attestation of maturity at the outset of hostilities when Paris presents himself as Troy's champion. He is described as wearing a leopard skin pelt and armed with a bow, a sword and two spears (3.17-8). In contrast, when Menelaus steps forward to meet his challenge, he is described as leaping onto the ground in his armour from his chariot (3.29). Whereas Menelaus is a man and presents himself as such in the display of his equipment, Paris presents himself as a youth who is still in the preparatory phase of cultural development; seeing Helen's rightful husband advance towards him to meet his challenge, he panics and fearfully skulks back into the mass of soldiers. This image of Paris[23] as still unprepared -- unworthy really -- for the obligations of manhood is further reinforced when Hector draws the lots for the duel. The lot of the first spear cast falls to Paris and he equips himself with the armour of his

[23] After he wounds Diomedes, Paris is assigned the joint leadership of a company of Trojans in the assault upon the Achaean wall (12.93). Apart from the wounding of Diomedes, Paris is credited with killing Euchenor (13.660-8) as a foreshadowing of his slaying of Achilles. His only other killing is upon the fleeing Deiochus who he hits from behind at the shoulder in a scene that anticipates Apollo's blow from behind on Patroclus (15.341-2). While Hector acknowledges the battle prowess of his brother at several occasions, the narrative detail serves to confute the praise given to him.

half-brother Lycaon (3.332-3), further reenforcing the impression of Paris, the source of Troy's peril, as both ill-prepared to meet the present threat and, in any event, unconcerned about the outcome.

Hector has a deep sense of his brother's blighted presence at Troy as, in his first address to him, he call his brother a curse on his father, the polis and its entire population for having brought back Helen. He also calls the Trojans great cowards for not stoning him to death owing to the evils he has devised (3.56-7), an accusation that carries a strong measure of self-reproach. Hector will repeat his wish for Paris's death to his mother as an eventuality that would rid him of much sorrow (6.281-6).[24] Of course it is Hector who has to die for Paris' "sacrilegious ignorance" *átē* but he too is utterly complicit in his own death because he fails to defend the polis by eliminating the source of its affliction, which he knows to be his brother.

We come to realize that the great complication Helen's presence poses for Troy lies in the fact that, as stated already, Priam clearly approves of her. Whereas Hector regards Paris as a curse on his father, the polis and the Trojan people (3.50), Priam, like Paris, is fully aware of the dire consequences of Helen's presence but remains unconcerned. This is because Helen, daughter of Zeus (3.418), was given as a gift of golden Aphrodite and, as Paris points out, such gifts cannot be discarded as they are beyond the ability of the person awarded them to have obtained them for themselves (3.65-6).

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[24] In the heated battle at the ships, Hector vehemently chastises Paris, referring to for him the second time as "hated Paris" *Dúsparis* for bringing death upon so many of their intimates (13.769-73).

Paris rationalizes his decision for keeping Helen because, left to his own devices, he would never have taken her.[25] What he lacks, however, is an understanding that the gods dispense both good and evil things. Priam appears to reflect a similar attitude when Iris, the messenger goddess, takes the form of his daughter Laodice and leads Helen into the agora amid the hubbub of the senators who acknowledge her beauty but, at the same time, identify the evil she brings to the polis.[26] As stated above, while the senators are all of a mind to return her, Priam wants instead to have Helen point out the presence of Menelaus and his kinfolk on the battlefield, telling her that, to him, she is not to blame but rather the blame lies with the gods for the tear-filled war (3.161-5). Priam's remark replies to the senators' first observation that there is no reproach, *ou némesis*, for either side to having been fighting over Helen in that he places the blame, *aitíos*, with the gods. He is simply unresponsive, however, to their desire to return her and spare themselves and their children.

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[25] An alternative motive for Paris in not giving up Helen is his wrath against Troy. Paris' wrath is mentioned twice in the conversation he has with Hector (6.326; 335) and may be a reference to his early exile, which is also the reason for his double name of Alexander-Paris, although the passage does not point to this directly. The name Paris relates to Hecabe's dream at the time of his birth that she would give birth to a fire-bearing, hundred handed Erin (Pindar 8 *Paean*). See Gantz 1993: 62-4. Paris, like Achilles, is a chosen agent in Hera's plan to destroy Troy and it is only fitting that he would be described in monstrous terms. Because the Trojan people counselled banishment and exposure on the slopes of Ida, Paris' return to the polis with his new bride can be seen as a wrath-fed revenge against the people who condemned him to death in infancy. For an alternative treatment of Paris' wrath that focusses on the semantics of Hector's characterization of Paris' *chólos* as *ou kalà*, see Walsh 2005: 197-201.

[26] Helen's presence reflects Hesiod's "beautiful evil," the divine gift Pandora, that one brother knows to reject (Prometheus) but the other, lacking the foresight (Epimetheus) accepts and, in so doing, introduces grief and suffering into the world, forever distancing the relationship between gods and mortals. Like Pandora, Helen excels at weaving, is beguiling in her beauty and has the mind of a bitch (*Works and Days*, 59-105). In the *Iliad*, it must be made clear, that only Helen targets herself with blame.

Dismissive of his counsellors during the assembly in the morning before the duel involving his younger son, Priam openly rejects their verdict delivered through Antenor at the assembly held later that evening following the duel between Hector and Ajax.[27] While the earlier duel was contested at a distance from the polis, the second one takes place at the gates of Troy under the Oak of Zeus. This contest does not end well for Hector and the Trojans. Although a draw is declared and both contestants exchange gifts, Hector could not manage to inflict any consequential blows upon Ajax, while he himself needed Apollo's intervention not to be killed by the vastly superior fighter (7.272). Afterwards, while Agamemnon hosts Ajax's victory feast, the Trojan assembly is in a fear-filled tumult (7.345-6), prompting the leading senator Antenor to call out to the entire army, allies included, and to declare the return of Helen and the riches she arrived with (7.348-51). Immediately, Paris challenges Antenor by stating that the gods have destroyed his mind. He agrees, however, to return the goods, but not Helen (7.357-64). The assembly is finally dissolved when Priam supports his son and declares to the assembly that Idaeus will convey the offer to the sons of Atreus at dawn, but that the matter of Helen must be decided be divinely decided in the battle (7.368-78).

Paris' abuse of Antenor, following it, and Priam's declaration to keep Helen alludes to an assembly held many years previously, when Odysseus and Menelaus sailed

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[27] When Priam's messenger Idaeus enters the Achaean camp, he announces to Agamemnon the proposal put forward at the assembly, adding that the Trojans have expressed their desire to return Helen, the *kouridíē álochos* of Menelaus and, like Hector, he too wishes that Paris, the source of the strife, were dead (7.385-97). The effect of this announcement to the "enemy" camp is to make clear the universal disapproval for Paris' and Priam's insistence on keeping Helen.

to Troy seeking Helen's return. They were then received as guests of the Trojan prime minister Antenor (3.207-8) -- husband of the Athena priest Theano -- but had his hospitality violently abused by a fellow Trojan, Antimachus, who was hired by Paris (11.123-4) to kill Menelaus (11.138-41). Despite this flagrant violation of both Zeus Xenios (13.623-5) and Athena, guardian of the agora,[28] there was no attempt by Priam to compensate the aggrieved. Such odious treatment recalls the events leading up to the first sack of Troy when Poseidon and Apollo requested payment from Laomedon according to their contracted agreement, but were both rebuffed with violent gestures. Similarly, the attack on Menelaus and Odysseus was not immediately avenged; only after returning to Aulis was the portent delivered and the divine winds made finally to blow. There are echoes here too of Heracles' experience at Laomedon's court after he sought to receive the gifts of the gods, the horses of Tros, offered as payment for his and Athena's work in saving the polis. He too was denied and sent off only to return with a fleet of Achaeans to sack the polis and kill the king.

In conclusion, Paris, last son of the Priamid line, displays the same selfish character as Ilus' first son Laomedon in that he receives gifts from the gods, but when the situation requires that he give these to a party with a rightful claim on them, he refuses

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[28] Recall that Athena intervenes in the Achaean agora to prevent Achilles from murdering Agamemnon for taking Briseis away from him (1.193-5). The inference is that Athena intervened on the earlier occasion and saved Menelaus' life, just as she does when Pandarus, behaving in an identical fashion to Antimachus, attempts to murder Menelaus and thus win gratitude and glory from Paris (4.95-6). Athena redirects his arrow and Menelaus is left with only a superficial wound (4.127-9). Hera reminds Athena that she too promised Menelaus that he would return with Helen after Troy has been destroyed (5.714-8) because Menelaus was subjected to a violation of her domain as well.

and is unmoved by the dire repercussions his behaviour has on the broader community. Paris' insult to Antenor in the assembly following Hector's foreboding loss recalls the past sacrilege committed against Athena's jurisdiction, the agora, when the goddess' attendant Antenor acted as host and "protector," *alalkomeneús,* to Menelaus and Odysseus.[29] Priam, as the later sources reveal,[30] was able to identify the crisis leading up to the first sack of Troy and, in an attempt to spare the polis from the gods' wrath, advised his father king Laomedon to give the divine gift to the rightful Achaean claimant. Now that time has progressed and he finds himself occupying the throne, he is incapable of advising his second son in the same way as he had his father when he was a young man. Priam was granted the throne over his older brother Tithonus because he acted in the best interest of the polis as he understood that the gifts of the gods are not to be hoarded but, instead, must be reassigned in a responsible manner. Faced with his own second son's acquisition of a gift from the gods, he acts in the same way as his father had done and not as he had when he himself was a young prince. What is more, there is never any indication that Priam, before Hector's slaughter, had any concern

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[29] Scully's attitude towards Homeric divinity forces him to minimize Paris' (and Laomedon's) crimes against the gods and to promote instead the egregious--but generally accepted--view that the gods themselves seek the city's destruction out of a form of haughty pettiness, or callous indifference, to the existence of mortals, see *Introduction* p. 11, note 28. Athena acts in the *Iliad* narrative as the protector of the polis' political nucleus, the agora, where the counsellors meet to oversee the community's well being. In Troy's tragic situation, the Priamids are themselves the blight on the polis and this is why Athena, under the epithet of the "Protector" and guardian of the polis (6.305) aggressively eliminates the scourge to her domain, the Priamids themselves.

[30] See p. 10, n. 15

whatsoever for any of his sons; Priam agrees to Paris' demand to keep Helen not out of support for his son, but because he wants her near to him.

D. Hector

As discussed, Paris is depicted as a bowman who goes to battle on foot rather than as a spearman, like Hector, who rides the chariot and leads an army. Unlike Hector, Paris has left the polis, journeyed abroad as his father had done, accomplished an *aristeia*, and returned with a beautiful woman along with riches which, in the very significant eyes of his father, has won him esteem. Just as the Trojan acropolis houses the temples of Zeus' son and daughter below his altar, it also houses the palaces of Priam and those of his two sons, Paris and Hector (6.312-7). As discussed above, Paris is depicted in such a way as to evoke contempt whenever he is mentioned in the poem. While this is not a currently accepted view, I argue that Hector too is similarly held in contempt.[31] Part of the reason that Paris cuts a ridiculous figure is that he fights as a bowman while his

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[31] Beye 1993: 83 "At times the *Iliad* narrator seems to use such juxtaposition for great effect. The characterization of Hector is a case in point. Just as Patroclus is outfitted in Achilles' armour, which is too grand for him, so the narrator outfits Hector in descriptive formulas that conflict with the behaviour given him. The formal descriptions of Hector, however, are exactly the kinds of conventional views of hero warriors which one would expect to be applied to the man who not only appears everywhere in this poem but kills more named and unnamed figures than anyone else, and who is described from time to time as fighting brilliantly (e.g., 8.437-71; 13.136-54). Yet when the principal Achaeans are wounded, it is not Hector who does it; and more often than not he shrinks, retreats, has to be encouraged, displays all the acts and attitudes of a fearful man (e.g., 5.470-92; 11.163-64; 11.357-60; 13. 193-94; 14.435-39). The Achaeans talk about him as though he truly is the main menace of the Trojan forces."
Beye's attitude regarding the Hector figure contrasts with the more positive assessments given by Redfield and Scully. There is no doubt that he is a multi-faceted character and the reader's appreciation of him changes significantly depending on where one places one's emphasis in the reading.

status demands that he fights as a spearman.[32] Hector is also made ridiculous by the equipment he possesses; for instance, he moves around the battlefield in a quadriga, a chariot driven by four of Troy's semi-divine horses (8.185-90) whereas everyone else (apart from Patroclus who has Achilles' three) rides two-horse chariots. His most exaggerated battle gear is his enormous spear measuring eleven cubits, which he brandishes, first, in the non-martial environments of his brother's palatial chambers and, second, in the assembly he calls while camped at the river's edge. Likewise, he is often described as moving among the ranks of soldiers while aggressively clutching a spear in each hand. In describing Hector's hubristic nature, I shall discuss the matter of his piety first by focussing on the two scenes in which he prays and offers sacrifices to the gods. While highly nuanced in their elaboration, they serve to characterize Hector as impious owing to his preoccupation. Secondly, I wish also to highlight his abusive treatment of Polydamas, son of the Trojan senator and Apollo priest Panthous, who, as Redfield-claims, is Hector's 'alter ego,'[33] as well as his abuse of Sarpedon, the child of Zeus who has come to from far off Lycia to defend Troy.[34]

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[32] See the discussion of the plain Trojan Pandarus who ignored his father's advice and led the army on foot and with a bow (5.192-200)

[33] Polydamas and Hector were born on the same night and whereas Polydamas was the better man in speech, Hector was superior in battle. See Redfield 2004: 143-147.

[34] The contrast between Helen who comes to Troy as the gift for having chosen Aphrodite, goddess whose own son Aeneas will ascend to the throne, to precipitate the fall of the Priamids, and Sarpedon, the son of Zeus who arrives voluntarily to support the Priamids but is himself killed is a fascinating example of the structural proportionality at work in the poem.

E. The Peplos offering to Athena and Hector's Prayer to Zeus

Hector's first occasion of piety occurs in *Iliad* 6, at the occasion of his entrance into the polis to have Hecabe gather the women to offer worship to Athena and implore her to hold back Diomedes (6.86-101). Hector, after telling the women of Troy to pray to the gods at the oak of Zeus (6.237-241), enters the chambers of his father's palace where he is met by his sister Laodice and mother, who instructs him to go to the top of the acropolis and pray to Zeus,[35] after she has returned with the libation cup (6.256-62). This, she says, will strengthen him after having been exhausted from defending his fellows. Hector refuses his mother's instructions, stating that she seeks to weaken him by making him forget his spirit *ménos* and valour *alkḗ*. He finally draws attention to hands that are bespattered with bloody filth as a reason for his refusal to offer Zeus devotions.[36] Hector declines to honour Zeus in the appropriate manner when he is called upon to do so by his mother who has clear associations with the goddess Hecate. Hector's rejection of his mother's instructions serve as an announcement of his doom. Hector does finally pray to Zeus at the conclusion of the scene, but not in the manner his mother had prescribed. Hector makes the following prayer:

Ζεῦ ἄλλοι τε θεοὶ δότε δὴ καὶ τόνδε γενέσθαι
παῖδ' ἐμὸν ὡς καὶ ἐγώ περ ἀριπρεπέα Τρώεσσιν,

[35] Where the Zeus altar is located (22.171-2).

[36] In contrast when in the previously discussed scene in which Hecabe offers to Priam the cup of libation, the king accepts and immediately washes his hands. In choosing gifts to offer Achilles, the poet identifies the cup Priam was given by the men of Thrace as a guest gift (24.234-5). There is no prior mention of this visit, but we do know that Theano, the Trojan Athena priestess is a Thracian, daughter of Cisseus (6.99) who was identified by Apollodorus as Hecabe's mother (see note 20). Thrace, like Phrygia, is associated with the god Ares and with Amazons, see Tsagalis 2008: 14-18. I would add to these the goddess Hecate.

ὣδε βίην τ' ἀγαθόν, καὶ Ἰλίου ἶφι ἀνάσσειν·
καί ποτέ τις εἴπῃσι πατρός δ' ὅ γε πολλὸν ἀμείνων
ἐκ πολέμου ἀνιόντα· φέροι δ' ἔναρα βροτόεντα
κτείνας δήϊον ἄνδρα, χαρείη δὲ φρένα μήτηρ.

Zeus and other gods, make my boy to become as distinguished among the Trojans as I, and thus that he be strong and good and a mighty ruler over Troy. Might someday someone say of him that he is far better than his father as he emerges from battle, bringing the gore stained spoils of the godlike man he has slain; might he in this way gratify his mother (6.476-81).

Hector knows that the polis will be destroyed as, immediately before uttering his prayer, he makes the following statement to his wife:

ἦ καὶ ἐμοὶ τάδε πάντα μέλει γύναι· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς
αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρῳάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους,
αἴ κε κακὸς ὣς νόσφιν ἀλυσκάζω πολέμοιο·
οὐδέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν, ἐπεὶ μάθον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλὸς
αἰεὶ καὶ πρώτοισι μετὰ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι
ἀρνύμενος πατρός τε μέγα κλέος ἠδ' ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ.
εὖ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε οἶδα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν·
ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο.

Woman, all these things are a worry to me too. But even more painful is the shame I should feel from the Trojans and Trojan women of the flowing gowns if I were base and avoided battle. But my spirit does not compel me this way, since I have learnt to be noble at all times and to fight at the forefront of the Trojans and win in this way great renown for my father and for myself. Really, I know well in my heart and mind that there will be a day when sacred Ilium will be destroyed and Priam, and the people of Priam of the good ash-wood too (6. 441-449).

Hector's irreverent prayer expresses a hope for his son that he knows cannot be realized as long as Paris is alive and holding on to Helen.[37] Nor can it be realized because he has decided not to follow the accepted wisdom of defending the polis from the walls. His

[37] Recall that he stated to his mother that no one should pray to Zeus covered in blood and yet he does exactly this. Along with Athena's rejection of Helen's peplos and the sacrifice, Hector's rejection of Hecate-like Hecabe's instructions and his own forgetting of his stated need to have clean hands when praying to Zeus serve to identify the great distance between himself and the gods.

statement to Andromache provides the reader with the first suggestion that Hector will make an assault on the ships in a bid to win glory for himself and, in so doing, gain the esteem of his father. All the same, he immediately discloses the failed nature of his project because -- and this only becomes apparent further along in the poem -- he requires divine assistance to engage successfully in battle. In attempting to win glory in his father's eyes by disregarding his wife's appeal, Hector is effectively sealing the fate of his son, as well as the people of Priam, all of whom he had been divinely appointed to defend (2.802).[38] Rather than doing the duty the gods have appointed him to do, which would require him order his father to heed the senators and return Helen, Hector opts instead for an aggressive strategy in the hope that the gods will continue to support him, even now that Ares has left him. During his visit to his brother's palace, Hector had expressed the hope that Paris would die and thus relieve his heart of "misery" *oizús* (6.285). What is more, it is expressed at the conclusion of the scene that was motivated by the peplos offering and sacrifice to Athena for the slaying of Diomedes; a petition that was refused by the goddess who is determined to bring about the eventuality Hector knows will happen; that Troy will be sacked, and Priam along with his people will be killed.

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[38] Scully 1992: 67; "The masculine ethos of the city warrior struggles against a feminine ethos of the city he seeks to secure. The wall, which gives the city its definition, leaches courage from the male in the face of death and makes the city a place of refuge for the weak..." This entire scene that has Hector covered in blood from Ares slayings walking through the royal palaces with his armour on and his spear held out as he visits the women of his household should also be viewed as his attempt not to appear cowardly to the Trojan women. He refuses his mother's instruction to pray and to drink wine as this would weaken him by making him forget his battle attitude, an act which not only is an assertion of his masculinity, it also identifies him as a doomed, profane man.

F. The Sacrifice in the Plain and Hector's Prayer to the Gods

The second scene in the *Iliad* that features similar elements to the one just discussed occurs the night before the Great Day of Battle and the Trojan assault on the ships. Whereas the sacrifice to Athena was undertaken to reverse the losses the Trojans were experiencing at the hands of Diomedes, this sacrifice and feast is celebrated following the Trojan repulse of the Achaeans from the plain (8.489-552). Hector's enormous spear of eleven cubits length is again highlighted as he convenes the troops at a clearing along the river to plan the defence of the polis and the assault upon the ships.[39] After expressing his desire to despoil Diomedes of his armour,[40] he utters his overreaching desire to be immortal and to be honoured as Athena and Apollo,[41] and thus to bring evil to the Argives (8.538-41).[42] The Trojans then offer an enormous hecatomb sacrifice of oxen and sheep brought in from the polis, which the gods reject because "sacred Troy, and Priam and the people of Priam of the good ash-wood have become all the more hateful to

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[39] Later on, Dolon identifies the spot of Hector's assembly as the tomb of his great-grandfather Ilus. Dolon also reveals that Hector swore an oath promising him the chariot of Achilles (10.329-31). Dolon also reveals that Hector is holding the assembly upon Ilus' tomb (10.415). On the morning of the first day of fighting, Hector was declared general over the army by the messenger goddess Iris who took the form of his brother, significantly named Polites, at the top of 'senator' Aesyetes' tomb (2.790-806). Hector recognizes the voice of the goddess standing upon the tomb, but makes no expression of pious acknowledgement before he leads the forces to another tomb, that of the now-forgotten Amazon Myrine, where he organizes the battalions (2.811-5). Hector always plans his military strategy from the top tombs.

[40] Recall that Diomedes managed to obtain Glaucus' Hephaestus-made golden armour (6.234-6), also that the previously discussed Athena sacrifice was arranged to have Diomedes killed. The desire for Diomedes' death is also a shared feature with the sacrifice to Athena

[41] Apollo revived Hector in the duel with Ajax (7.272), the first of several times the god saves his life, but never does Hector make any pious acknowledgement for the divine support he receives.

[42] For a discussion of Hector's desire to be like the Zeus-born gods, see Nagy 1999: 148-150. I shall discuss Hector's crucial role in the *Iliad* in more detail in Chapter 5.

them" (8.551-2).[43] While Hector is never described as participating in the sacrifice, his prayer to Zeus and the other gods to drive out the fate-delivered dogs is ironical as it is the gods themselves who have made of the Achaeans the monstrous serpent, or the dogs of doom, to the shores of Troy.

In my discussion leading up to Hector's acts of piety, Hector is motivated primarily to win the esteem of his father by accomplishing an *aristeia* that will outdo that of his brother who has won Helen and has seemingly won too the esteem of Priam as a result. By book 8, Hector seeks to assault the ships, win the Hephaestus-made armour of Diomedes,[44] and drive the Achaeans out of Troy as a means of winning the esteem of his father rather than ensuring the safety of the polis. Effectively, Hector declines his role as polis defender that, as Andromache reminds him, requires only that he remain at the gates just as he had done three times in the past (6.431-9). Hector knows this, but disregards the instructions, because to comply with them would make him lesser than his foolish brother; he refuses to merely hold off the foe so that Paris, who doesn't care a

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[43] Hector is not described as taking part in the sacrifice just as, on the first morning of battle before the duel between Menelaus and Paris, Priam is excluded from the description of the sacrifice accompanying the oaths of faith. The herald Idaeus summons Priam to drive into the plain with Antenor and the sacrificial lambs, but the ceremonies are performed exclusively by Agamemnon. Priam, king of the land, does not participate in the prayer as the poet generalizes its utterance to "someone of the Achaeans and Trojans" (3.296-7). After the prayer and sacrifice, Priam immediately excuses himself from watching the duel and returns to the polis with the bodies of the lambs (3.304-13). Both scenes are crafted to exclude any cult act performed by the Priamids.

[44] Recall that it was Diomedes who shouted out to the entire army that Ares was fighting alongside of Hector causing him to perpetrate the great slaughters of the Achaean youths. Diomedes, under the control of Athena, also severely wounded Ares, forcing him to withdraw from battle (5.855-61). Without Ares fighting at his side, Hector agrees to Helenus' instructions to propitiate Athena and remove Diomedes from the plain.

whit about the Trojan population, can enjoy his prize Helen.[45] Adding to Hector's jealousy, and further underscoring the scorn the gods feel for him, is the fact that Paris ends up removing Diomedes from battle, and not Hector, though it was he who had prayed to the gods for this.

G. Hector Threatens to Murder Polydamas

The revulsion the gods feel for Hector is brought into focus even more clearly in his abusive treatment of those who offer him support, both his counsellor Polydamas and his ally Sarpedon. On the morning following the great Trojan sacrifice in the plain, Hector and Polydamas undertake the assault on the camp and lead the bravest Trojan youths to battle against the Lapiths who await them at the gates of the Achaean wall. Shortly after Polydamas advises Hector on how best to approach the rampart, Zeus delivers a bird portent that recalls the one given to the Achaeans nine years ago at Aulis. This new omen is modified somewhat in that it consists of an eagle holding a monstrous snake in its talons. As the bird passes over the heads of the Trojans from the left,[46] the serpent rears its head up and delivers a bite to the eagle's chest, forcing it to let go of the serpent (12.200-9). Just as he had determined the best approach to the wall, Polydamas reads the divine message correctly, but Hector will have none of it and blasphemes the omen by stating that it is better to obey the will of Zeus than to obey birds:

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[45] The extended scene in which Hector, bloodstained and brandishing his enormous spear, enters the chambers in Paris' palace where his brother has just finished making love to Helen and is now playing with his weapons (6.313-69), is best read as emphasizing the murderous jealousy the older, more responsible brother feels at being cast into the role of abetting the younger brother's selfish and outrageous behaviour.

[46] The bird omens appearing at the right are auspicious (10.274-5).

Πουλυδάμα, σὺ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐμοὶ φίλα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις·
οἶσθα καὶ ἄλλον μῦθον ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοῆσαι.
εἰ δ' ἐτεὸν δὴ τοῦτον ἀπὸ σπουδῆς ἀγορεύεις,
ἐξ ἄρα δή τοι ἔπειτα θεοὶ φρένας ὤλεσαν αὐτοί,
ὃς κέλεαι Ζηνὸς μὲν ἐριγδούποιο λαθέσθαι
βουλέων, ἅς τέ μοι αὐτὸς ὑπέσχετο καὶ κατένευσε·
τύνη δ' οἰωνοῖσι τανυπτερύγεσσι κελεύεις
πείθεσθαι, τῶν οὔ τι μετατρέπομ' οὐδ' ἀλεγίζω
εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξί' ἴωσι πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε,
εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοί γε ποτὶ ζόφον ἠερόεντα.
ἡμεῖς δὲ μεγάλοιο Διὸς πειθώμεθα βουλῇ,
ὃς πᾶσι θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει.
εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

Polydamas, you make pronouncements that are in no way pleasing to me, and you seem to know another better utterance than this. If indeed you are counselling this fact in earnest, then surely the gods themselves have destroyed your wits, you who order me to ignore the plans of loud-thundering Zeus, who both gave me a promise himself and nodded his assent. You order me to be persuaded by broad-winged raptor birds, by which I am in no way influenced, nor concerned, whether they appear on the right towards the dawn and sun, or on the left in the direction of the dark gloom! We are persuaded by the will of Zeus, who rules over the all mortals and immortals. One bird-omen is best to fight for one's fatherland (12.231-43).

After this hubristic utterance, Hector[47] threatens to kill Polydamas if he is again found to be shirking from battle or influencing the youths to avoid the attack. His robust statement about fighting for "his paternal holdings, his native land" *pátrē*, has to be put into context and regarded as ironical, given that he always refuses to see in his father the greatest threat to the polis.[48] What is more, Polydamas, as he will later do a second

[47] Zeus had sent to Hector a message delivered by Iris that instructs him to avoid battle until Agamemnon has been wounded. Following this he will put in the palm of his hand the strength to kill until he has reached the ships and the sun has set (11.206-209). Hector, as it later becomes clear, interprets this message to mean that Zeus has granted him the power to destroy the fleet.

[48] Redfield 1994: 145-6; "In this context even Hector's violence--his threat to kill Polydamas if he says another word--is acceptable, in the sense that, if Hector's judgement of the situation is correct, we will find his violence justified. Reason and communication are necessary casualties of war. Hector is fated to fail, and therefore his violence is an error. But it is a noble error and engages our sympathy. Polydamas is right and Hector is wrong, but we are on Hector's side... In rejecting Polydamas, Hector is doing his best to meet his responsibilities. He makes the error that a good man would make."

time (18.261-6), is in fact counselling the defence of Troy from within the walls, but Hector can only accept advice that corresponds with his desire to win glory for himself and to win esteem in his father's eyes.

H. Hector Abandons Sarpedon

Hector's violent abuse of Polydamas following the bird omen is mirrored in the way he treats his principal ally Sarpedon. Shortly after the commencement of hostilities, Athena lights her beacon over Diomedes' head (*Iliad* 5.1-6) and amplifies his strength to a god-like level to turn the momentum against the Trojans. Pandarus, leader of the Troes, is killed by the goddess and Diomedes (*Iliad* 5.290-3) and then Aeneas, leader of the Dardanians, is near-fatally wounded by a stone Diomedes hurls at him (*Iliad* 5.302-10), leaving Hector as the lone Trojan commander over the alliance of foreigners. Apollo, responding to Athena's battle presence, draws in the god Ares who takes the form of the Thracian Acamas and chastises the sons of Priam while drawing attention to the fallen Aeneas (*Iliad* 5.464-469). Rather than stimulating an *esprit de corps*, Ares' exhortation generates strife in the ranks, prompting Sarpedon to complain openly to Hector at having to carry the brunt of the fighting:

Ἕκτορ πῇ δή τοι μένος οἴχεται ὃ πρὶν ἔχεσκες;
φῆς που ἄτερ λαῶν πόλιν ἐξέμεν ἠδ' ἐπικούρων
οἷος σὺν γαμβροῖσι κασιγνήτοισί τε σοῖσι.
τῶν νῦν οὔ τιν' ἐγὼν ἰδέειν δύναμ' οὐδὲ νοῆσαι,
ἀλλὰ καταπτώσσουσι κύνες ὣς ἀμφὶ λέοντα·
ἡμεῖς δὲ μαχόμεσθ' οἵ πέρ τ' ἐπίκουροι ἔνειμεν.
καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπίκουρος ἐὼν μάλα τηλόθεν ἥκω·
τηλοῦ γὰρ Λυκίη Ξάνθῳ ἔπι δινήεντι,
ἔνθ' ἄλοχόν τε φίλην ἔλιπον καὶ νήπιον υἱόν,
κἀδ δὲ κτήματα πολλά, τά τ' ἔλδεται ὅς κ' ἐπιδευής.
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς Λυκίους ὀτρύνω καὶ μέμον' αὐτὸς

ἀνδρὶ μαχέσσασθαι· ἀτὰρ οὔ τί μοι ἐνθάδε τοῖον
οἷόν κ' ἠὲ φέροιεν Ἀχαιοὶ ἤ κεν ἄγοιεν·
τύνη δ' ἔστηκας, ἀτὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλοισι κελεύεις
λαοῖσιν μενέμεν καὶ ἀμυνέμεναι ὥρεσσι.

Hector where now has your fierceness gone which you used to possess? Surely you said that even without allied folk you would still be steadfast; you along with your brothers in law and your brothers. But now for my part I am unable to see or identify any of these, rather they cower-like dogs around a lion!-and we do the fighting, we the ones assigned as allies. And I for my part, being an ally, have come from far away, far away being Lycia on the swirling Xanthus, where I left my dear wife and my infant son, along with my vast wealth, wealth of which the one who lacks longs for. But even so I stir up the Lycians to do battle and am myself eager to fight with men, even though there is nothing here of mine that the Achaeans might either carry or drive away. But you stay put and do not urge on the others and stir up the people to protect their wives (Iliad 5. 472-486).

The effect of Sarpedon's utterance upon Hector is described as a "bite to the midriff"[49] and poetically evokes the monstrous, raw-eating wrath of the goddess. The rebuke enervates Hector into a frenzy and he urges on his warriors with two spears in his hands (*Iliad* 5.494-6).

Upon entering into war, he is accompanied in his chariot by the gods Ares, Enyo and, Cydoemus, (Battle Noise) (*Iliad* 5.592-4),+ who exploit Athena's brief absence and kill great numbers on Hector's behalf.[50] With the Achaean army fleeing in rout, Hector,

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[49] The *phrénes*, and other thoracic organs, are given cognitive qualities. This is perfectly understandable, as the chest area is the site of the experience of increased emotional affect manifest as rapid pulse rate, blood flow, and quickened breathing. The ability to bring these organs under control through conscious will is, of course, crucial especially under battle conditions and in the athletic arena, see Bremmer 1987:57-63; Darcus Sullivan 1988: 80-81.

[50] Even though Hector kills masses of warriors, he achieves no glory for these. On this first day of battle Diomedes who has been given the ability to see the gods, declares to his comrades that Ares is doing the fighting for Hector (5.601-606). This is consistent throughout the poem, as Hector never has accomplishes any great deed that hasn't been somehow eclipsed by another. For instance, his setting fire to the ships is a token gesture following after Sarpedon and the Lycians' push through the walls. Again, in the death of Patroclus, Hector is only permitted the coup de grace in the already naked and mortally wounded Patroclus.

clearly still wounded from Sarpedon's "bite," ignores his ally's plea to be rescued as he lies wounded. Hector (Ares is at his side, *Iliad* 5.699) speeds past the fallen Sarpedon in silence while the Lycian's own "godlike comrades" attend to him (*Iliad* 5.682-8).[51] Driven onward by Ares, Hector abandons Sarpedon on the plain. This utter disregard for his ally later repeats itself during the assault upon the ships in which Sarpedon and the Lycians have such a prominent role. Sarpedon is killed by Patroclus and Ares, and Hector fails to make a serious attempt to recover the fallen warrior's armour. Similarly, after Hector has obtained Achilles' armour after Patroclus' death (killed by Apollo, Euphorbus and finally Hector, who delivers the death blow to the naked and mortally wounded Achaean), he makes no attempt to exchange it for Sarpedon's. Although they have cause, Sarpedon and the Lycians do not leave the battle despite their poor treatment by Hector. Quite the opposite, they acquit themselves most nobly in the great battle at the Achaean walls when, supposedly, Zeus has vouchsafed glory for Hector.

The extreme contrast between the Lycians' battle attitude and that of Hector is expressed very clearly in Sarpedon's address to Glaucus, which he gives as the Lycians prepare to support Hector and Polydamas, who have had their assault stymied by Ajax. With Hector's battalion unable to advance any further, Zeus inspires Sarpedon to lead

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[51] For a radically different treatment of this scene, see Redfield 1994: 124 who sees Hector's actions as an expression of his personal valour. In Redfield's view, Hector is clearing away the enemy, so that others can attend to the fallen warrior. Diomedes has already called the retreat and alerted the army to Ares' battle-presence alongside Hector. Odysseus stops battling the Lycians and retreats at the sight of Hector, but this is a far cry from the interpretation of the scene given by Redfield.

the Lycians into the fray (*Iliad* 12.290-3). Before entering battle, Sarpedon delivers the following speech to his fellow general Glaucus:

Γλαῦκε τί ἦ δὴ νῶϊ τετιμήμεσθα μάλιστα
ἕδρῃ τε κρέασίν τε ἰδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσιν
ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δὲ θεοὺς ὣς εἰσορόωσι,
καὶ τέμενος νεμόμεσθα μέγα Ξάνθοιο παρ᾽ ὄχθας
καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο;
τὼ νῦν χρὴ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισιν ἐόντας
ἑστάμεν ἠδὲ μάχης καυστείρης ἀντιβολῆσαι,
ὄφρά τις ὧδ᾽ εἴπῃ Λυκίων πύκα θωρηκτάων·
οὐ μὰν ἀκλεέες Λυκίην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν
ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες, ἔδουσί τε πίονα μῆλα
οἶνόν τ᾽ ἔξαιτον μελιηδέα· ἀλλ᾽ ἄρα καὶ ἶς
ἐσθλή, ἐπεὶ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισι μάχονται.
ὦ πέπον εἰ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντε
αἰεὶ δὴ μέλλοιμεν ἀγήρω τ᾽ ἀθανάτω τε
ἔσσεσθ᾽, οὔτέ κεν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μαχοίμην
οὔτέ κε σὲ στέλλοιμι μάχην ἐς κυδιάνειραν·
νῦν δ᾽ ἔμπης γὰρ κῆρες ἐφεστᾶσιν θανάτοιο
μυρίαι, ἃς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ᾽ ὑπαλύξαι,
ἴομεν ἠέ τῳ εὖχος ὀρέξομεν ἠέ τις ἡμῖν.

> *Glaucus, how is it that we both are honoured the most with seating, choice portions and full cups in Lycia, and all look upon us as gods possessing as we do a great* témenos *alongside the banks of the Xanthus, with a fine orchard and wheat-bearing farmland? Now it is only right that we stand at the forefront of the Lycians in order to take part in heated battle, so that anyone of the armour-wearing Lycians may say, "Our kings who rule over Lycia are not infamous men, who dine and drink sweet wine - choice wine, sweet as honey. But, in fact, their strength is worthy, seeing as they fight at the front of the Lycians." My friend if indeed we were to escape from this war and were destined to be forever ageless and to be immortal, neither would I myself fight in the front nor might I prepare you to enter into battle where men win glory. But now the myriad fates of death are set in place, fates from which a mortal cannot escape, nor flee. Let us go and give glory to someone else or someone else to us!* (Iliad 12. 310-327)

Whereas Hector rebukes and threatens Polydamas with murder in front of the bravest of Trojan youths,[52] Sarpedon inspires Glaucus to acquit himself nobly. The contrast between Hector's disposition to the allied forces and the attitude of the Lycians could not

[52] Again, Hector threatens to murder and to deny burial to any of the Trojans who do not advance towards the ships (1.346-51).

be more clearly drawn; on Hector's supposed day of glory,[53] the Lycians demonstrate themselves to be the best fighters. Once the battle at the Achaean walls is heated by the presence of the Lycians, the scene in which Hector had abandoned Sarpedon is now reversed; this time Hector is near-fatally wounded. Rather than abandoning him, both Sarpedon and Glaucus protect the Trojan's lifeless body (*Iliad* 14.426), enabling him to be moved back to the river and revived by Apollo.

Further on, when Patroclus enters the battle, Hector initially holds fast to assist his army, but when he senses a shift in momentum (*Iliad* 16.362-4), he panics and flees in his chariot through the trench, leaving behind the Trojan people (*Iliad* 16.367-9). Sarpedon holds fast and confronts the Myrmidon directly (*Iliad* 16.422-5), but is finally overcome,[54] imploring Glaucus to prevent his armour from being taken with his dying breath (16.490-501). Now leader of the Lycians, Glaucus musters a defence of the corpse among his troops and then goes over the trench to upbraid Hector as follows:

Ἕκτορ νῦν δὴ πάγχυ λελασμένος εἰς ἐπικούρων,

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[53] Here is the list of Hector's dubious achievements: (1) After Sarpedon has torn down the battlement exposing the wall to attack (12.397-9), Zeus supernaturally strengthens Hector to hurl a boulder through the gates (12.442-65). Hector hurls the rock that breaks the door, but the real work was done by the Lycians. (2) In the great battle at the ships, Hector only kills one man, Periphetes son of Eurystheus' messenger Copreus when he tripped against a shield and Hector planted his spear into the defenceless Achaean (15.637-640). Such a statement would likely have elicited shouts of contempt from the Greek audience. (3) Hector manages to take possession of Protesilaus' ship, the first Achaean to die in battle and thus an expendable vessel, and only manages to get the stern ablaze (16.120-3) before it is extinguished by the Achaeans as Patroclus enters the battle (16.293). (4) Hector only gives the death blow to Patroclus after he has been dazed and stripped of his armour by Apollo and mortally wounded by Euphorbus (16.849-50).

[54] Sarpedon's divine assailant is Ares who surreptitiously enters the battle in order to avenge the death of his son Ascalapharus (15.115-8). The poet does not attribute the death to the god directly, but instead has Glaucus identify Ares as Sarpedon's divine assailant (16.543)

οἳ σέθεν εἵνεκα τῆλε φίλων καὶ πατρίδος αἴης
θυμὸν ἀποφθινύθουσι· σὺ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐθέλεις ἐπαμύνειν.
κεῖται Σαρπηδὼν Λυκίων ἀγὸς ἀσπιστάων,
ὃς Λυκίην εἴρυτο δίκῃσί τε καὶ σθένεϊ ᾧ·
τὸν δ᾽ ὑπὸ Πατρόκλῳ δάμασ᾽ ἔγχεϊ χάλκεος Ἄρης.
ἀλλὰ φίλοι πάρστητε, νεμεσσήθητε δὲ θυμῷ,
μὴ ἀπὸ τεύχε᾽ ἕλωνται, ἀεικίσσωσι δὲ νεκρὸν
Μυρμιδόνες, Δαναῶν κεχολωμένοι ὅσσοι ὄλοντο,
τοὺς ἐπὶ νηυσὶ θοῇσιν ἐπέφνομεν ἐγχείῃσιν.

Hector! now indeed you completely neglect your allies who for your sake whither away their spirits far from their loved ones and fatherland, but you are unwilling to come to their aid. Sarpedon, leader of the Lycian shield-bearers, who drew Lycia to himself through his sense of justice and valour is fallen, he who brazen Ares has overcome through Patroclus' spear. But friends! draw near, hold vengeance in your hearts, so that the Myrmidons do not pull off the armour and abominate the corpse, infuriated by all the dead among the Danaans, whom we killed at the swift ships (Iliad 16.538-47).

Glaucus succeeds in getting Hector to finally attend to his allies and engage the Achaeans (*Iliad* 16. 552-3), but only briefly, as the Trojan general is the first to flee when Zeus turns the tide of battle (*Iliad* 16.656-8), confirming Sarpedon's first accusation that Hector and the Trojans are cowardly. Glaucus experiences this fact too when he notices that Hector backs away from Ajax (*Iliad* 17.128-31), preventing the body of Patroclus from being acquired as a barter object for Sarpedon's armour (*Iliad* 17.160-78). Glaucus, who was instructed by Sarpedon to save his armour, bitterly rebukes Hector for his cowardliness and for his constant neglect of the allies (*Iliad* 17.141-68), just as Sarpedon had done on the first day of hostilities. Finally Glaucus ends off by threatening to return home and, in so doing, precipitate the destruction of Troy (*Iliad* 17. 154-5). This appears to happen as, after Hector puts on Achilles' armour and promises half the spoils to

whoever among the allies brings back Patroclus' corpse, there is no further mention of the Lycians.[55]

Athena plans Hector's death because he fails as a leader of the Trojan people. Although he is appointed general by the gods he does not act to defend his people who have made their collective will known through Athena's domain, the polis council. As general and the one entrusted to protect Troy, Hector fails at identifying his principal duty, which is to tell his father that Helen must be returned to Menelaus. But of course it is too late for all of this, and the insolent Priamids must, in the poem's present time, face the wrath of the goddesses for their inveterate neglect of the gods.

Hector, unlike his father and brother, is both lawfully married and a committed family man, which makes his victimization all the more stinging,[56] but it is also something that makes of his unwillingness to defend the polis in the manner both his wife and the senators advise him to a failure in meeting his obligations.[57] He is profoundly aware of his brother's folly and equally so of the devastating consequences it will bring to pass; Hector knows that his own family and people are doomed because of Paris and wishes him dead as a result (*Iliad* 6.281-5). Hector cannot break out of his father's sphere of influence. He is excessively concerned with winning his father's approval by demon-

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[55] Glaucus is mentioned in the list of the allies' names at *Iliad* 17.216 but this marks the Lycians' final mention in the *Iliad*.

[56] Hector's victimization is alluded to by Helen when she states to Hector that he is most afflicted by her "dog-like" presence and by Paris' sacrilege (*Iliad* 6.355-6)

[57] His refusal of his wife's and of the Trojan senator's instructions connects with his punishment by Hera goddess of marriage and Athena goddess of the political nucleus, the agora and assembly.

strating his battle prowess at the expense of ensuring the safety of the polis and, consequently, his own *oikos*. As with his father and brother, Hector fails at acting on behalf of his larger community; he does not heed the collective will of the people as it is expressed through the Council and never once does he persuade his father to return Helen to her rightful husband.[58]

In conclusion, Hector behaves hubristically by declining his allotted function as polis defender and protector of the Trojan women and children. Instead, he seeks an *aristeia* that would both spare the polis from the consequences of his brother's outrageous marriage and would win glory for himself in the eyes of his father. While a certain nobility can be attributed to his motives, this is erased not only by his lack of ability, but also by his selfish disconnection from the broader community he claims to protect and from the allied forces who fight for him. Unlike Paris and Priam, Hector is blameless in Hera's eyes, but he most odious to Athena, the goddess who oversees the political administration of the community.

I. The Trojans and the Myth of the Mortal Races

The foundation myth of Troy identifies two distinct phases in the people's sacred history. The first phase is the divine one that begins with Zeus descending from Olympus to father Dardanus and ends with Ganymedes' ascent to immortality and to the heav-

[58] Recall that in the broader legend of Troy, as related by Diodorus (first century BCE), the Achaean Heracles appointed Priam king because he could stand up to his father and tell him to give what rightfully belongs to the other. Hector does not do this, and consequently loses the throne (see p. 10, note 15).

enly realm.[59] The second phase begins and ends with the last three generations of kings who rule over the people as a polis. Whereas in the fist phase, the Trojans lived openly on the mountain slopes and in the plain amid great abundance, accruing unrivalled wealth and enjoying the beneficent company of the gods in a veritable Golden Age of ease and prosperity, the second phase, ushered in by the compensation Zeus pays for have withdrawn Ganymedes, is one of ongoing strife that ends, finally, with Zeus putting an end to the line of kings.

Hesiod describes the second race of mortals in terms that reflect the conditions of the *Iliad*, particularly in terms that correspond to the depiction of Hector. Hesiod states that the Silver Child was an "utter dolt" *méga nḗpios* who spent the first hundred years of his life at his mother's side, in his own home. Upon leaving their mothers, soon perished in suffering on account of their mindlessness, as they could not cease from harming one another, nor would they honour the gods with sacrifices (*W&D* 130-9). This appears to reflect Hector's poetic presence to a very high degree. It is only in the tenth year of battle that Hector finally decides to leave the guaranteed security of Troy's wall before being killed. Like the Silver Children and like the royal descendants of Ilus, Hector fails at the requirements of political life insofar as he acts violently to his fellows and neglects the gods. For these reasons, Zeus puts an end to the hated Priamids.

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[59] See above, p. 67.

Finally Hesiod states that the Silver People, although covered over by the earth, received "honour" *timḗ* as blessed spirits below the ground. Like his great-grandfather -- his *tritopatḗr* -- Ilus, Hector too was given a commemorative burial by his people. We know that in historical times, the Hector cult was located at Thebes alongside the spring of Oedipus.[60] At some point in their past, the Thebans brought the bones there from Troy on advice from the Oracle of Delphi. Interestingly, the bones of Hector, a hero who died for his father's crimes -- and was killed as his father looked on helplessly and in horror -- were buried alongside the spring where Oedipus was believed to have washed the blood of his father from himself after his act of parricide. The placement of Hector's bones, along with the statement of the oracle that prophesies wealth for the Thebans, suggests that Hector's bones were seen to reverse the pollution generated from Oedipus' crime (Pausanias 9. 18. 5). As a heroic attestation of the "son who died for the father's crime," Hector's bones cancel out the pollution generated from Oedipus, "the son whose crime was killing the father."

[60] Tsagalis 2008: 16 provides more references to the establishment of the Hector cult at Thebes, and supplies additionally many Theban features associated with Iliadic Hector.

Chapter 4. The Bronze-clad Achaeans

The Achaeans are the serpent-dog avengers the goddesses Hera and Athena have assembled to mete out punishment upon the Priamid kings for their litany of crimes. The *Iliad* does not, of course, recollect the sack of the polis as it concludes with the slaughter of Hector, the ransoming of his divinely preserved corpse and, finally, his lamentations and burial. Nonetheless, as discussed in the previous chapter, the poem anticipates the future as it identifies the new king Aeneas, descendant of Assaracus who is the second son of Tros. With the establishment of the Assacarids, the ancestral network is effectively replaced, with Ilus and his offspring no longer serving as protectors of land and community. While the *Iliad* does not deal with this epochal event occurring at the twilight of the Heroic Age, it announces its advent by identifying the future king who will rule over the new polis.

In the broader context of myths pertaining to Troy, the later sources disclose an extended history of violent antagonism with the Trojans, originating in the time of Ilus. Pelops, ancestor of the Achaeans, was believed to have been exiled from his homeland on Mount Sypilus by Phrygian Ilus.[1] Both ancestors have their presence identified in the poem by means of iconic symbols of authority; Ilus has his great tomb at the fording

[1] Pausanias 2. 22. 3. In the *Iliad*, the Maeoninans accompany the Phrygians as allies (2.862-6). Phrygia and Maeonia also are the destinations Helen queries she might be sent after the goddesses have sacked Troy (3.399), also where Hector tells the allies all of Troy's wealth is located (18.291). The clearest reference to Pelops' place of birth is given by Achilles in his meeting with Priam. He tells the king about Niobe's fate on Mount Sypilus, a fate that Priam too will share, thus ending the line of Ilus. The reference to Lydia can be seen as allusion to a settling of scores between the ancestors of Pelops and Ilus.

point, and Pelops' presence is felt in the great sceptre given to him by Zeus and passed down through the monarchical line of Mycenae, with Agamemnon, leader of the Achaeans, having final possession of it. Just as the foundation myth of Troy identifies two distinct phases in the people's history, a divine one and a mortal one, a similar sequence is given to the history of the sceptre. Made initially by Hephaestus, the sceptre was given to Zeus, who in turn passed it on to Hermes, slayer of Argus (*Iliad* 2.102-3). After passing through the three divine hands, the sceptre leaves Olympus to be the possession of horse driving Pelops, thereby beginning its mortal phase. Pelops then gives it to Atreus, who after his death passes it to Thyestes.[2] Finally, it is received by Agamemnon as an indication of his rule over many islands and over all of Argos (*Iliad* 2. 107-8).

A. The Achaean Camp as a Polis

Keeping in mind the maxim of Nicias that a polis is neither the ships (or temples) nor walls but its men, we can arrive at how the encampment expresses conditions of a polis not only in its formal arrangement, which will be discussed shortly, but also in view of the polis-specific features it shelters. The first of these is the agora, the political nucleus of the camp which is located at its centre point and surrounded by the twelve ships of

[2] For the complications attending this line of succession, see Gantz 1993: 545-56. I tend to see a more formal arrangement at work. The sequence of four in the line balances off with the Trojan line of monarchical succession, which concludes with Hector as general over the Trojan forces fighting on behalf of his brother Paris. This brotherly support is matched on the Achaean side by Agamemnon who has gathered the Achaeans to fight for his brother Menelaus' sake. For the myth that Troy could only be taken if the bow and arrow of Heracles and the shoulder bone of Pelops were brought to the polis, see Pausanias 5.13.4.

Odysseus. This is where the camp ordinances are located, also where the twelve altars are.[3] While one would expect the political nucleus of the camp to be located at Agamemnon's huts, just as the Trojan agora is situated by Priam's gates, it is occupied instead by Odysseus, leader of the Cephallenians, with his twelve ships demarcating this "capital" location (*Iliad* 11.806-8). At equal distance from Odysseus's camp are the camps of the two Aeacids, Ajax and Achilles (*Iliad* 8.222-6).[4] When Agamemnon prays to Zeus at this location, reminding the patron god of all the offerings he has made to him in the past, Zeus responds by sending a bird omen, an eagle that drops a fawn beside his altar (*Iliad* 8.235-52). Just as the serpent Zeus later delivers as a portent to the Trojans symbolizes the Achaeans, so too does the fawn identify the helpless "prey-status" of the Trojans.

The Achaean camp, referred to by Nestor as the land of Achaea (*Iliad* 1.254; 7.124), has stood for close to ten years as the base from which the Achaeans, aided by

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[3] The difference in political attitudes between Achaeans and Trojans is brought to the foreground when Idaeus, messenger of Priam, declares the terms of the new truce. Diomedes speaks up and declares that no truce is possible at this point. The entire army joins in to declare their support of his assertion and Agamemnon declares that he is of the same mind as his people, in radical contrast to Priam. Following this, Agamemnon ritualizes the oath he makes to Zeus by raising his sceptre of Pelops to all the gods (7.400-12).

[4] While the Atreids Agamemnon and Menelaus connect with Troy's past at the generation of Ilus through their ancestor Pelops, Achilles and Ajax (Teucer too) are associated with Troy's wall as their ancestor Aeacus who was believed to have assisted Poseidon and Apollo in its construction. For the myth of Aeacus as wall builder and his descendants as the as the three serpent-assailants of Troy, see Pindar 8 *Olympian* 30-46. See further, Chapter 2 p. 2.

Athena,[5] have carried out the destruction of Troy's network of vassal states. At the final stages of the conquest, the Achaeans have grown rich from the bounty they have obtained and, at the outset of the poem, demonstrate attitudes and behaviours that replicate those of the Trojans whom they were first gathered by the goddesses to punish. I shall discuss the raids on Lyrnessus, Pedasus and Mysian Thebes in Chapter 5, which will focus on Achilles, but in this chapter I wish to draw attention to the Achaeans as an effective fighting force who are more than capable of defeating the Trojans without Achilles. It must be pointed out beforehand, however, that the principal obstacle facing the Achaeans within the narrative span of the poem is the realization of Achilles' prayer to make Agamemnon suffer by witnessing many Achaeans die under man-slaying Hector (*Iliad* 1.239-44). I shall discuss this in detail in the next chapter, but it must be pointed out here that the depiction of the Achaeans very much responds to the exaggerated claims Achilles, the best of the Achaeans, makes about his centrality to the objectives of the mission.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Achaeans are the instruments of divine punishment meted out to the Trojans. Their victory is assured to them by Zeus when setting sail from Aulis, and the goddesses promised Menelaus that he will return with Helen after Troy has been destroyed (*Iliad* 5.714-7). While all of this operates on the

[5] Athena's first visitation to the Achaean agora identifies that she had previous dealings with Achilles (1.202). Later on, during Achilles' return to battle, he reveals that he had been supported by Zeus and Athena (20.192). This is already known by Aeneas (20.94-6). Achilles states that he did the fighting in the destruction of the twenty three cities while Agamemnon stayed behind. He begins this disclosure by comparing himself to a mother bird feeding her chicks in the nest (9.329).

cosmic level, victory over the Trojans is ultimately achieved because the Achaeans are minded to defend one another. The Trojans, like the Silver People, could not resist acting violently towards each other and ignored the gods whereas the Achaeans display the opposite. This contrast is poetically illustrated at the outset of book 3 as the Achaean army moves in procession across the fording point. The Trojans are described as being atwitter like cranes fleeing dark winter storms that push them southward to the shores of Oceanus, where they are slaughtered by Pigmies. The Achaeans, on the other hand, are described as moving silently, blowing might like the storm-bearing wind and, most importantly, "always eager in spirit to defend one another" (*Iliad* 3.9).

This radical contrast is repeated at the commencement of hostilities when the Achaeans, led by Athena,[6] are described as advancing in silence and obeying their commanders. Led by the loathsome god Ares, the Trojan army, itself an amalgam of alien fighters who do not share a common tongue, is compared to a wealthy man's ewes as they await milking (*Iliad* 4.433-9). The Trojans stand as a disjointed and demoralized fighting force that has experienced successive losses over the past nine years. Now led by Hector, an insecure warrior who is at best ambivalent in fighting to support his brother, the prospects for the Trojans remain decidedly grim. The situation, in contrast, is very different for the Achaeans. Reflecting the Trojan situation in which the older

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[6] The goddess rides along with Deimus, Phobus and Eris (*Iliad* 4.439-40). Deimus and Phobus are the progeny of Ares and Aphrodite (*Theog.*933-4). In the *Iliad*, Ares orders them to prepare his battle equipment after hearing of the death of his mortal son Ascalaphus (15.119). Phobus is identified as his son (13. 299).

brother carries out the fighting in support of his brother's marriage to Helen, Agamemnon, the Hera-chosen leader of the Achaeans, had gathered the army in support of his less-capable, but always noble brother Menelaus, who is rightfully married to Helen.

In sum, the Achaeans,[7] also referred to as the Danaans and Argives, constitute a collective who have cohabited the shores of sea for close to ten years and, in that span of time, organized their encampment in such a way as to reflect polis conditions. The sceptre, much like the "tomb" *sêma* of Ilus, stands in as an iconic representation of the Achaean ancestor Pelops, and is closely associated with the agora and the "legal writs" *thémistes*.[8] Additionally, the community space, the agora, houses the altars to the gods and stands at the very centre of the territory as it is demarcated by Odysseus' twelve (the sacred number of the Olympian pantheon) vermillion-prowed ship-temples.[9] Finally the camp periphery is demarcated by the two Aeacid youths, both unmarried men who distinguish themselves as the best of the Achaeans in their respective attacking and

[7] Nagy 1999: 83-93 provides a very insightful etymological study of the name Achaean (as well as Achilles and the rivers Achelous and Acheron) as containing within it the ritual element of anguish. I would like to add to his study by suggesting that the term is an especially apt designation in the context of athleticism given the prevalence of injury and the near-universality of defeat.

[8] Nagy 1999: 179-80.

[9] While there is no ancient source to corroborate this, the Homeric formula "the wine-eyed sea" strongly suggests the ecstatic journey taken in the land-bound ship, in the ritual environment of the festival when hero myths were sung. In imagining the agora scenes, one can construct the image of the twelve ships with the pairs of painted eyes at their bows as representing the vigilant gaze of the gods.

defending modes.[10] These aspects of the camp, to repeat, point to Nicias' statement regarding the polis and its true location, which is to be found in its men. The *Iliad* presents nine principal characters on the Achaean side, all leaders of armies, and designates them as the "senator-kings." These nine may be subdivided according to the same categories used to classify the Trojan royal household, as presented Table 3.1.

Table 4. The Achaeans

Senator-Kings	*Gérontes-Basilêis*		
Authority	Agamemnon	Nestor	Idomeneus
Execution	Diomedes	Odysseus	Menelaus
Preparation	Telamonian Ajax	Achilles	Oelian Ajax
Youths	*Antilochus*	*Teucer*	*Meriones*

Guardian-Youths	*Hēgemónes-Phúlakōn* (9.80-86): Leaders of 700 Spear-Bearing Boys					
Thrasymedes Son of Nestor	Ascalaphus Son of Ares and co-commander of the Minyae. Leads thirty ships. Killed by Deiphobus (13.514-519)	Ialmenus Son of Ares and co-commander of the Minyae. Leads thirty ships	Meriones Attendant of Idomeneus. Oversees the wood gathering for Patroclus' pyre. Second to last place finisher in the chariot race. Defeats Teucer at archery.	Aphareus Killed by Aeneas (13.541-542)	Deipyrus Killed by Helenus (13.576-580)	Lycomedes Son of Creon

[10] The classic work on ephebia and its liminality as reflected in mythic topography is Vidal-Naquet 2005: 151-76. Effectively, the *Iliad* resonates with Vidal-Naquet's insight regarding ephebia as not merely military service, but the final stage of male acculturation in which the potential citizen moves from the mythic topography of the margin (the wild) into the centre (the polis). Recently, a "giant-slayer" volume of critical essays has been released in which the insights put forward in *Le chasseur noir* have been challenged, see Dodd and Faraone (2003): 69-106.

Coming of Age *Koûroi-Néoi* (13.89-93): The Poseidon-Chosen Wall Defenders						
Teucer Half brother of Ajax. Best of the Achaeans with the bow. When his Apollo-given bow breaks, he fights valiantly with the spear. Loses to Meriones in the archery competition.	Leitus Co-comander of the Boeotians. Leads fifty ships. Wounded on the wrist by Hector (17. 601)	Peneleos Co-commander of Boeotians. Beheads Ilioneus and Lycon. Wounded on the shoulder by Polydamas (17.597-600)	Thoas Best of Aetolians Skilled at athletics, combat and debate. Volunteers to duel with Hector. Poseidon takes on his likeness when he gathers the youths to assist Idomeneus. Rallies the troops after Poseidon leaves. Leads forty ships	Deipyrus Killed by Helenus (13.576-580)	Meriones Attendant of Idomeneus. Volunteers to duel with Hector. Oversees the wood gathering for Patroclus pyre. Second to last place finisher in the chariot race. Defeats Teucer at archery after remembering to pray to Apollo.	Antilochus Son of Nestor and youngest and fastest runner of the Achaeans. Most dear to Achilles after Patroclus. Fights valiantly over the corpse of Patroclus. Brings news of Patroclus' death to Achilles. Magnanimously gives Menelaus his prize in the chariot race.

B. The Order of Authority: Agamemnon, Nestor, Idomeneus

During the sacrifices to the gods on the first morning of the battle, Agamemnon calls "the pan-Achaean noble senators" (*Iliad* 2.404) following his sacrifice to Zeus. There are six named individuals in the list, with Odysseus, as always, being the last one named. The poet then states that Menelaus followed along even though his brother had neglected to call him forward. When Achilles is added to the list, we have the nine senator kings. Of the list, the first three occupy the most senior echelon of the army and lead the greatest number of ships.[11] Agamemnon has already been mentioned and I shall return to him after discussing the other two. Idomeneus, leader of the Cretans, is identified as having equal feasting portions as Agamemnon (*Iliad* 4.263-4). He volunteers for the duel against Hector (*Iliad* 7.165), but his presence is felt in the battle at the ships, after the wounding of the other main combatants.

[11] Agamemnon leads one hundred, the most of any, followed by Nestor's ninety and Idomeneus' eighty, a number that is matched by Diomedes' fleet.

C. Idomeneus

After Poseidon's grandson Amphimacus is killed, the god takes the form of Thoas and visits Idomeneus,[12] who has left the battle to tend to the wounded (*Iliad* 13.206-20). The god motivates the Cretan leader to arm himself, climb into his chariot and lend assistance to the Aiantes and the youths he had previously inspired to defend the camp (*Iliad* 13.89-93). Idomeneus, whom the poet describes as having speckled grey hair *mesaipóliós* to identify his advanced age (*Iliad* 13.361),[13] is associated with the god Poseidon[14] and with the guardian youths who fight ferociously to protect the camp. It is important to note that Idomeneus has a very close relationship with his attendant Meriones for whom he acts as mentor.[15] Meriones serves along with Nestor's son Thrasymedes as the commanders of the guardian-youths (*Iliad* 10.58-9).

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[12] Idomeneus' ships are alongside those of Ajax at the extreme end of the camp (*Iliad* 10.111-2). In the Catalogue of Ships, the poet states that Ajax moored his ships alongside those of the Athenians, led by the nearly invisible Menestheus.

[13] In the prelude to his confrontation with the future king Aeneas, Idomeneus declares to his foe his lineage that he traces back to his great-grandfather Zeus (*Iliad* 13.449-53).

[14] Poseidon slays Alcathous, son of Aisyetes, through Idomeneus (*Iliad* 13.434-5).

[15] Meriones also supplies Odysseus with his "ephebic" equipment for the night mission into the Trojan camp (*Iliad* 10.260-2). Similarly, Diomedes borrows the equipment of Nestor's son Thrasymedes, the other leader of the guardian youths. The classic anthropological treatment of the Doloneia remains Gernet 1982: 2001-23.

D. Nestor

While Idomeneus is associated with the guardian-youths, their great overseer is horse-taming Nestor of Geraneia.[16] His life has spanned three generations and has involved him with great heroes of the past such as Heracles, Peirithous, and Theseus. When the model of athleticism is applied to his poetic presence, Nestor appears to allegorize the past victor whose presence at the contest is both auspicious and instructive of what is required to achieve victory.[17] Like aged Priam, he has two sons in the conflict, but the similarity with the Trojan king ends at this. Although too old to fight, Nestor remains deeply involved in the affairs of the camp as the chief advisor to Agamemnon, thus reflecting the role of the Trojan senators, but he also remains very much involved with his two boys. In his capacity as advisor, Nestor plans the defence of the camp by advising the construction of a wall (7.337-43) and providing guidance to the seven hundred spear-holding guards (9.80-4). His perspective is so authoritative that Agamemnon, following his initial disasters with the Apollo priest Chryses and Achilles in book 1, later gratefully accepts his advice and rarely acts without it.

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16 Iliadic Nestor has recently received a sustained analysis by Roisman 2005: 38: "In his words and person, Nestor is both a facilitator who brings together persons of divergent minds and dispositions for the good of the whole, and a preserver and conserver of the society. The sweetness of his speech, in both manner and matter, are essential to these tasks, as are his being *eu phroneon* in the full sense of the term: imbued with sympathy and positive regard, and motivated by concern for the welfare of his hearers and the community of Achaean heroes."

17 Barringer 2005: 228 draws attention to the Spartan practice of having pan-Hellenic victors accompany the kings in battle. While the Nestor figure has not been treated so favourably contemporary treatments (Roiseman 2005: 17), his role in the poem is advisory (to the king), pedagogical (the guardian youths) and always supportive. When Agamemnon refers to him as *méga kûdos Achaiôn* (10.87) we have a strong suggestion of the past "victor"'s honour and auspicious presence.

As the most senior senator-king and chief strategist, Nestor[18] is deeply connected with the protection of the "land of Achaea." In the agora and in the battlefield, his advise is always implemented and his presence is universally experienced as auspicious; he is the "great glory of the Achaeans" *méga kûdos Achaiôn* (10.87).[19] Along with Idomeneus and their protégés Thrasymachus and Meriones, the horseman Nestor maintains a vigilant presence among the seven hundred spear-bearing boys. When the healer Machaon is wounded by Paris' arrow, it is Nestor and Hecamede who tend to the wounded.[20] Furthermore, Nestor's lengthy sermons are always given at points of crisis and always serve to identify a successful resolution by invoking his own victorious precedent.[21]

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[18] The *Iliad* does not mention Nestor's ancestor Poseidon. The *Odyssey*, itself a ritual atonement and appeasement of Poseidon who regulates the boundaries and therefore the entry into civic space, recounts in great poetic detail the lovemaking between Poseidon and Tyro who bore Pelias and Nestor's father Neleus (*Iliad* 11.235-57).

[19] See Roiseman 2005: 17 where she states that Homer invests Nestor with many flaws and her character study seeks to reconcile the apparent contradictions in his Iliadic depiction. In brief, these are his prolixity and, relatedly, the antiquated nature of his military advise. The fundamental problem with such critical appraisals lies in investing Homeric detail with historical significance, which is an untenable hermeneutical optic. Homer relates to character and the *esprit de corps* necessary for male acculturation and is never a source for military strategy. Nestor is certainly ripe for ribald depiction as a wordy old windbag but the poem never provides us with instance where this plays out among the characters. Military strategy in the *Iliad* is always a poetical contrivance and, as Plato has Socrates point out to Ion, is completely disconnected from the practical conduct of war (*Ion* 540e-542).

[20] Achilles too is a great, Cheiron-trained healer (*Iliad* 11.831-2) and it is by influencing this aspect of his character that Nestor ultimately manages to draw him back into the collective fold.

[21] Alden 2000: 74-120 has effectively demonstrated that the seeming digressions all reflect the main Iliadic narrative. This is especially the case with the three, increasingly lengthy Nestor sermons: The Centaur War fought over a woman at a wedding banquet (*Iliad* 1.254-73); the duel at the gates in which Nestor, aided by Athena, triumphs over the Ares-armed Ereuthalion (*Iliad* 7.124-60); The Eleian and Epeian War (*Iliad* 11.656-761) that succeeds in persuading Patroclus to fight in Achilles' armour. Rather than insertions of traditional material, they are all crafted to reflect the conditions experienced by the narrative characters within contexts of Nestor's own past successes.

Nestor's vast experience and great victories in his homeland and abroad enable him to assume leadership of the army following the Zeus-directed turn in the battle and Agamemnon's failure of nerve.[22] With the army forced to retreat behind the walls and the Trojans encamped by the Scamander, Agamemnon[23] has become despondent, tearfully stating that Zeus has deluded him, and now, for the second time, orders the army to flee Troy in their ships (*Iliad* 9.16-28).[24] But this time the Achaeans stay put. In response to the call to retreat, Diomedes rises to rebuke the king and to affirm that he will remain alone with Sthenelus until the goal of Troy is achieved (*Iliad* 9.32-49). When the army applauds Diomedes, Nestor expresses his admiration by stating that Diomedes could be his own son and then claims for himself authority over the agora by stating that no one can dishonour his utterances, not even lord Agamemnon (*Iliad* 9.61-2).

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[22] The point at which the battle turns is marked by a fearsome Zeus-sent lightning flash that causes the Achaeans to flee in panic, leaving Nestor alone with his wounded horse which had been hit by Paris' arrow (*Iliad* 8.78-84). Diomedes comes to his assistance and invites the old horseman to join him in a confronting Hector. However, when Zeus directs another lightning bolt in front of their chariot, Nestor realizes that Zeus is favouring Hector (who has abandoned the body of his charioteer) and orders the extremely reluctant Diomedes to retreat, pointing out to him that Hector's opinions in these matter hold no weight with the Trojans (*Iliad* 8.145-56). Furthermore, when Hector sees Diomedes flee, he makes the deluded inference that Zeus has granted him victory and that he will set fire to the ships (*Iliad* 8.173-83).

[23] van Erp Taalman Kipp 1999: 206-217 provides a discussion of this scene, with an eye to rejecting the view that the king ever feels remorse for his actions. See further Hammer 2002: 158-60 on the importance of plebiscitary politics and Nestor's appeal to Agamemnon "to speak for the good" as it plays out in this scene.

[24] This scene reflects Agamemnon's first test of the army in which they all stampede for the boats when Agamenmon facetiously orders retreat because of Troy's many allies (*Iliad* 2.110-41). The night before this test, the gods sent Dream to him in the image of Nestor and declared that he will take Troy. Agamemnon, described a fool *nḗpios* (*Iliad* 2.38) interprets it to mean that he will conquer the polis that very day. When Zeus' plan is not immediately accomplished, Agamemnon claims to have been deluded by the god, but his blindness *átē* has its source in his hasty, self-seeking interpretation. Agamemnon orders retreat three times in the poem. The fourth time he speaks in the agora, he does not even stand up but admits to having succumbed to delusion (*Iliad* 19.78-144). Achilles reconciles with the king at hearing his final speech, which indicates that Agamemnon has finally learned to be effective in the agora.

Nestor takes control and keeps the campaign on course by first ordering the guardian youths to stand in watch outside the walls and then instructing Agamemnon to host the senator-kings in a planning session. All obey Nestor (*Iliad* 9.79) who has intervened effectively to maintain an *esprit de corps* and has put in place an effective strategy to counter Agamemnon's failure at leadership.

By ordering the youths to defend the camp by positioning themselves as sentries outside the walls, and instructing the senator-kings to deliberate in Agamemnon's huts, Nestor demonstrates his control over the operations of the defence of the land of Achaea.[25] At the meal, Nestor plans to reintegrate Achilles by forming a delegation of two the senator kings, Odysseus (the hero who is connected with the agora) and Ajax, (the hero who embodies the Achaean wall) along with Phoenix, the most senior Myrmidon general, who Nestor states is to lead the way (*Iliad* 9.163-72).[26] When the compensation is rejected and Achilles still nurses his desire to have the Achaeans suffer at Hector's hands, Nestor takes a different approach. In this first attempt at bringing Achilles back into the fold, Nestor chooses two emissaries from among the senator-kings and

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[25] The deployment of the young men to the boundaries in defence of the civic space while the senior men assemble to plan and manage presents an image of a well-ordered society. Contrast this with the Trojan camp, where Hector holds his assembly on the boundaries of the civic space at the river and orders his youthful boys and greying men back to the polis to protect the women (*Iliad* 8.517-2). While this plan reflects the same mentality as that of Nestor's by having the youths position themselves at the wall, it jeopardizes the polis by locating its political nucleus in a position of extreme vulnerability.

[26] My reading of the complex embassy scene treats the matter of the use of the dual pronoun as pertaining to the two senator kings. As a Myrmidon, Phoenix would not be present at the meal in Agamemnon's hut but would instead be expecting their company when the two arrive at Achilles' huts. Because only Nestor, Agamemnon and Odysseus are directly identified as being present, it is difficult to determine the exact composition of the group of senators.

one from within Achilles' own ranks to visit him in his huts.[27] In the second instance, it is Patroclus, Achilles' own emissary to Nestor's huts, who ends up being the effective means of drawing the angry hero back into the fold. After watching Hecamede[28] prepare her healing potion in Nestor's hut, Patroclus is persuaded by Nestor to enter the battle in Achilles' armour (*Iliad* 11.786-801). Although it comes at the most bitter price, Nestor ultimately succeeds in drawing Achilles back into the fold.

In conclusion, both Nestor and Idomeneus provide the land of Achaea with wisdom, experience and practical development of the corps of young fighters. They are both associated with Poseidon, the god of horses and walls, and demonstrate effective leadership through practical engagement, especially when the elite men, Diomedes and Odysseus, are wounded and the Trojans take the offensive. While his presence is significant, Idomeneus is secondary to Nestor who is the unrivalled source of authority in the camp, despite his not occupying its titular role. It is Agamemnon who leads the army by possessing the divine implement of rule, the sceptre of Pelops, and while he may not be personally up to task, his authority is continually affirmed by Nestor who always acts to compensate for Agamemnon's personal failings.

E. Agamemnon

Agamemnon is the titular head of the Achaeans but he lacks the personal qualities to be a consummate leader. Because the army is composed of talented men who are minded

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[27] As Achilles later reveals, his entire army openly disapproves of his withdrawal (*Iliad* 16.200-209).

[28] Hecamede, daughter of Arsinous, was given as a prize in the Achaean raid on Tenedos. This island is at the outset of the poem identified with Apollo, Achilles' divine antagonist.

to come to each other's defence, they stand as a functional, self-regulating unit that is fully capable of adjusting in response to the failings of their commander. While Agamemnon is inept in the agora he is not a figure of contempt in the same way that the Trojan Priamids are. Unlike Hector who is fighting for his own glory and to win the esteem of his father, Agamemnon clearly loves his brother Menelaus for whom he has gathered the great army. Whereas Hector wishes death for his brother, Agamemnon expresses great anxiety whenever Menelaus puts himself at risk (*Iliad* 4.14850; 7.109-115) Hector too makes a deluded interpretation of a Zeus prophecy and clings to it in utter disregard for everyone else, but Agamemnon acknowledges his delusion and relinquishes his authority to Nestor for the sake of the greater good. While he is effectively demoted, he maintains his titular and ceremonial position. Most importantly, Agamemnon keeps fighting as both a ferocious warrior in his own right and as head of the largest Achaean army.

On the morning of the great battle, Agamemnon puts on his breastplate embossed with serpents and takes up his shield on which the horrific Gorgon is displayed, flanked by Deimus and Phobus.[29] When the bronze of his armour gleams up to heaven, Hera and Athena drum in honour of him (*Iliad* 11.43-6). Like Achilles, Agamemnon is

[29] The description of Agamemnon's armour attests to his role as Hera's agent of vegeance against the trojans. morning begins with Zeus sending Eris holding a portent of war in her hands to Odysseus' ships where she emits a fierce battle cry that energizes the Achaeans to fight (*Iliad* 11.3-14). Zeus then causes an evil noise and dew drops of blood to form over the battlefield as a sign that many will go down to Hades (*Iliad* 11.52-5). This is the great day of battle that begins with Zeus sending Eris and ends when Hera orders the sun to set after the corpse of Patroclus is rescued and brought to the camp (*Iliad* 18.242).

the Hera-chosen agent of Troy's destruction; the decorations of his bronze armour identify him as a manifestation of the serpent monster set to eat the Trojans raw. The first suggestion of Agamemnon's ruthless, hyperviolent battle presence arises early on in the fighting when he orders the army to cease taking ransom hostages and adds to this by telling Menelaus that unborn children are to be hacked from the mothers' wombs as Troy is to be left devastated and depopulated (*Iliad* 6.55-60).

This brutality expresses itself again in his treatment of the sons of Antimachus, the Trojan who had attacked Menelaus those many years ago in the Trojan agora.[30] Following their slaying, Agamemnon commits an atrocity to the corpse of Hippolochus by decapitating it, lopping off the arms and rolling it into the Trojan ranks as if it were a round stone (*Iliad* 11.145-7). Agamemnon, leading the Achaeans, rushes into the ranks of the Trojans, killing great numbers of them (*Iliad* 11.148-62) before setting his sights on Hector:

Ἕκτορα δ᾽ ἐκ βελέων ὕπαγε Ζεὺς ἔκ τε κονίης
ἔκ τ᾽ ἀνδροκτασίης ἔκ θ᾽ αἵματος ἔκ τε κυδοιμοῦ·
Ἀτρεΐδης δ᾽ ἔπετο σφεδανὸν Δαναοῖσι κελεύων.
οἳ δὲ παρ᾽ Ἴλου σῆμα παλαιοῦ Δαρδανίδαο
μέσσον κὰπ πεδίον παρ᾽ ἐρινεὸν ἐσσεύοντο
ἱέμενοι πόλεως· ὃ δὲ κεκληγὼς ἔπετ᾽ αἰεὶ
Ἀτρεΐδης, λύθρῳ δὲ παλάσσετο χεῖρας ἀάπτους.
ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ Σκαιάς τε πύλας καὶ φηγὸν ἵκοντο,
ἔνθ᾽ ἄρα δὴ ἵσταντο καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀνέμιμνον.

Zeus then led Hector from the missiles and out of the dust, out of the manslaying; and away too from the blood and frenzy. Yet the son of Atreus flew in pursuit, shouting fervently to the Danaans. They drove past the tomb of ancient Dardanian Ilus, through the middle of the plain, and past the wild fig tree they moved towards the polis. The son of Atreus sped after

[30] See Chapter 2, p. 19.

(him) screaming, his invincible hands splattered with gore. Finally coming to the Scaean Gate and the oak tree, they then stood and awaited each other (11.163-71).

Agamemnon's frenzied chariot race after Hector spans the entire length of the Trojan plain. Fleeing Hera's "serpent," Hector is led by Zeus from the tomb of Ilus past the wild fig, finally gaining sanctuary beneath the sacred oak where he receives instructions to avoid battle until Agamemnon is wounded (11.200-9). This occurs imminently as the armies realign themselves and Hector moves throughout the ranks to inspire his troops to confront the king. Two sons of Antenor respond to Agamemnon's challenge. First, Iphidamas who had recently arrived from his mother's family home in Thrace attacks Agamemnon, but is killed after appearing to deliver a death strike to the king's belly (11.221-47). Finally, Antenor's oldest son Coon steps forward to recover Iphidamas' body and wounds Agamemnon in the forearm before being killed (11.248-63).[31]

With Agamemnon wounded and gone from the battle, Hector's apparent successes resume.[32] After both Diomedes and Odysseus are also wounded and the wall de-

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[31] The scene is crafted to correspond with Diomedes' attack on Ares (5.840-61). Agamemnon's slaying of the two sons of Antenor anticipates Achilles' return to battle in a number of ways. First is the description of the blood-splattered hands, which also applies to Achilles (20.03). Then there is the matter of the slaughter of two Trojan brothers, one recently arriving from abroad (Iphidamas/Lycaon) the other the eldest born (Coon/Hector). Finally both serpent-monster agents of Hera receive wounds to the forearm (21.166-7). Added to these details is the description of Agamemnon's armour preceded by the scream of Eris, which anticipates Achilles' return that is preceded by Athena's battle cry (18.217-8) and the arrival of the divine armour.

[32] He is again protected by the gods from Diomedes (11.349-3) and only manages to accumulate his killings by the banks of the Scamander where the grey haired Achaeans, both Nestor and Idomeneus, lead the youths (11.497-03). Hector's inability to achieve any significant victory in battle is compounded by the fact that Paris, his bowman brother upon whom he wishes death, manages to wound and incapacitate his arch-nemesis Diomedes (11.369-72). Paris adds to his list of woundings later with Machaon and Eurypylus

stroyed, Agamemnon again sinks into despondency, stating for the third and final time the need to retreat (*Iliad* 14.80-81). At this point, Odysseus hotly rebukes the king for this dismal plan that would collapse the morale of the fighters and devastate the camp (*Iliad* 14.83-102). Agamemnon, shamed into accepting his incompetence, agrees with Odysseus and invites the advise of a better counsellor (*Iliad* 14.104-8). Again, Diomedes responds to the king's appeal and proposes that they enter the battle despite their wounds and encourage the others to fight beyond the range of the missiles (*Iliad* 14.129-32).[33] After the king agrees to Diomedes' plan, Poseidon takes the shape of an old man, seizes Agamemnon's hand below his wound, and declares to him that, while Achilles is rejoicing now at the slaughter of the Achaeans, a god will soon kill him. Finally Poseidon, god of the defensive wall, tells Agamemnon that the gods are not entirely angry with him (*Iliad* 14.143) and that he will watch as the Trojan generals and counsellors flee back to the polis (*Iliad* 14.144-6).

Reflecting the divine punishment meted out to Priam but on a far lesser scale, Agamemnon is made to watch helplessly as the Achaeans are slaughtered before his eyes. Like the Trojans, he too acted as the Silver People did. When the Apollo priest Chryses, the man from the Golden Land, arrived into the Achaean camp with great

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[33] Diomedes leads a fighting force from Argos, the home of the goddess Hera and like the Achaeans, the Argives stand as a collective name for the army. Additionally, although Nestor states that he is young enough to be his son, Diomedes is a seasoned fighter and battle commander who was one of the Epigones who successfully fought at Thebes. Agamemnon early on demonstrates that he is both threatened and jealous of Diomedes' greater qualifications to lead the army (*Iliad* 4.370-400). for a fascinating discussion of the Tydeus paranarrative, see Alden 2000: 112.

wealth in exchange for his daughter, Agamemnon, rather than honouring the priest of Apollo by rightfully returning what belonged to him, instead uttered threats of violence at him (*Iliad* 1.26-32).[34] Like the Brazen Men, Agamemnon delighted in the lamentable works of Ares by abominating a corpse. Nonetheless, Agamemnon is not entirely hated by the gods as he both fights on behalf of his brother whom he clearly loves and acknowledges the greater judgement of his senator-kings. Agamemnon lakes the ability to lead in the agora but he maintains an *esprit de corps* and takes an active part in addressing his personal failings.

F. The Order of Execution: Menelaus, Odysseus, Diomedes.

During the battle at the ships, Menelaus finally steps out of his brother's shadow and comes to embody the *esprit de corps* of the Achaeans. While Menelaus never shirks from defending the Achaeans and, as discussed already, volunteers himself readily in both duels on the first day of fighting, he is regarded by Agamemnon, and by the poet, as lacking the strength to confront Hector (*Iliad* 7.104-12). Despite his lack of ability, there is never any suggestion that Menelaus is less than determined to honour the Achaeans.[35] When his contribution is most needed, Menelaus joins with Ajax to assume the command over the guardian youths and directs Nestor's son Antilochus to rush at

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[34] This episode will be treated in detail in the chapter devoted to Achilles.

[35] On the night before the great battle, Menelaus is described to be sleepless and deeply anxious about the prospects of the Achaeans who are fighting for his sake (10.25-8).

the Trojans (*Iliad* 15.560-571). Fully engaged as Ajax' partner in command, he displays his deep affiliation with the Achaeans after Patroclus is slain.

In contrast to Hector who behaves abusively to Sarpedon by not making an effort to recover his body and armour, Menelaus prays to Zeus and slays the mortal killer of Patroclus, Euphorbus (*Iliad* 17.45-50). Having slain a number of the sons of the Trojan senators as well, Menelaus builds up such a battle presence that no Trojan is willing to confront him in combat (*Iliad* 17.68-69). The poet states that Menelaus would have recovered Euphorbus' armour had Apollo not intervened and directed Hector to attack him. At seeing Hector's advance, Menelaus, knowing Hector fights with divine assistance (*Iliad* 17.101), decides to temporarily abandon Patroclus' corpse to get help from Ajax. This provides Hector with the opportunity to strip the armour from Patroclus and to flee from Ajax's approach (*Iliad* 17.129-31).[36]

With Hector now wearing Achilles' armour and the battle over Patroclus escalating in intensity, Ajax fearing for his own life, tells the less experienced Menelaus that they need the assistance of the other senator-kings (*Iliad* 17.240-5). He responds by calling out and drawing the support of the Lesser Ajax, Idomeneus and Meriones. Although casualties mount on both sides, the Achaeans have fewer because, as the poet emphasizes, they always keep in the forefront of their minds the need to defend one another (*Iliad* 17.364-5).

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[36] The poet states that Hector sought to outrage Patroclus' corpse by beheading it and then hauling of the body to feed the dogs of Troy (17.125-7)

While the battle is raging, Athena descends from Olympus and disguises herself as Phoenix. She then urges Menelaus to persist by pointing out there would be shame for him if Patroclus' body was devoured by the dogs at the Trojan wall, to which Menelaus responds:

Φοῖνιξ ἄττα γεραιὲ παλαιγενές, εἰ γὰρ Ἀθήνη
δοίη κάρτος ἐμοί, βελέων δ' ἀπερύκοι ἐρωήν·
τώ κεν ἔγωγ' ἐθέλοιμι παρεστάμεναι καὶ ἀμύνειν
Πατρόκλῳ· μάλα γάρ με θανὼν ἐσεμάσσατο θυμόν.
ἀλλ' Ἕκτωρ πυρὸς αἰνὸν ἔχει μένος, οὐδ' ἀπολήγει
χαλκῷ δηϊόων· τῷ γὰρ Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀπάζει.

Father Phoenix, elder born long ago, if only Athena could give strength to me, and keep away the flight of arrows, so that I could be able to take my stand and protect Patroclus, for his having died has greatly affected me. But Hector possesses the grim fury of fire and does not cease from his slaying with the bronze, to him Zeus confers glory (17.561-6).[37]

Delighted that she should be invoked before the other gods in his prayer, Athena fills Menelaus with force (17.567-9) empowering him to slay and despoil Podes, son of Eetion. In response to this, Apollo, Hector's divine supporter, adds to the rebukes already delivered by Sarpedon and Glaucus, shaming the Trojan in the following way:

Ἕκτορ τίς κέ σ' ἔτ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν ταρβήσειεν;
οἷον δὴ Μενέλαον ὑπέτρεσας, ὃς τὸ πάρος περ
μαλθακὸς αἰχμητής· νῦν δ' οἴχεται οἷος ἀείρας
νεκρὸν ὑπὲκ Τρώων, σὸν δ' ἔκτανε πιστὸν ἑταῖρον
ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι Ποδῆν υἱὸν Ἠετίωνος.
ὣς φάτο, τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα,
βῆ δὲ διὰ προμάχων κεκορυθμένος αἴθοπι χαλκῷ.

Hector, which other man among the Achaeans will fear you now? Indeed you have skulked away from such a one as Menelaus, who previously of course was a soft spearman. Now he

[37] Recall Odysseus exhortation to Achilles made in the voice of Peleus that Hera or Athena would give him strength if he were to curb his anger and act out *philophrosúnē.*

> *goes by himself taking the corpse out from the Trojans, after he has killed your faithful comrade Podes who was good in the front ranks, the son of Eetion. So spoke (the god) and a black cloud of grief covered him, and he walked through the front ranks helmeted in flaming bronze* (Iliad 17.586-92).

The contrast could not be more clearly presented: Menelaus honours the gods and is mindful of his comrades, whereas Hector in the heat of battle, when it counts the most, acts like the Silver Men and does neither. Although Menelaus lacks the abilities of the other senator kings, he compensates for this by his deep sense of the *esprit de corps*.[38] When the fighting is at its most pitched level, Menelaus demonstrates his true worth through his devotion to the Achaeans who have supported him in his campaign to bring Helen back. When the poet describes the Achaeans as entering the plain silently and always eager to defend one another, the poet is foreshadowing Menelaus' actions in preventing Hector from committing an abomination to his fellow's corpse.

G. Odysseus

Menelaus emerges both as a leader who can organize men in the heat of battle and who can hold his own as a powerful fighter. Odysseus does not distinguish himself on the battlefield in the same way, as he does not, like the other fighters in his cohort, confront Hector individually, nor does he fight in defence of the camp on the great day of battle. As with Menelaus, Athena saves his life by changing the trajectory of a missile directed at him, turning a death blow into a glancing one, enabling him to keep fighting until

[38] Before entering the plain, Agamemnon calls a gathering of the senator-kings, but forgets to include his brother (*Iliad* 2.407). Menelaus' emergence as a leader is expressed in the change in attitude Agamemnon identifies in him (*Iliad* 10.120-5).

Menelaus hears his call, summons Ajax to hold off Hector and leads Odysseus by the hand to his chariot (*Iliad* 11.437-88). Also similar to Menelaus, Agamemnon abuses Odysseus with the remark that he is always last to battle but first to the feast (*Iliad* 4.341-4).[39] Along with his not having a noteworthy victory in battle, Odysseus is seen to flee when he apparently abandons Diomedes, who calls him a coward, alone to defend Nestor (*Iliad* 8.93-6).[40] These details tend to identify Odysseus, the true city sacker[41] and final Athena-assisted victor at Troy, as a lesser fighter than, say, the "best of the Achaeans" Diomedes and Ajax, to say nothing of Achilles. Nonetheless, Odysseus fights at the front ranks at the outset of the battle, and when angered after his "worthy comrade," *esthlós hetaîros,* Leucus falls, he kills Priam's son Democoon. This causes Hector to retreat immediately, and prompts Apollo to announce to the Trojans that Achilles is not fighting, a pronouncement he makes to motivate them against the Athena-led city sackers (*Iliad* 4.491-516).

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[39] Agamemnon tells Nestor that Menelaus is slack and avoidant of effort and always follows along after him (*Iliad* 10.121-3). Hector makes the identical assessment of Paris. In all lists of the senator-kings, Odysseus occupies the last place, a detail that suggests the myth of Odysseus' feigned madness at the time when Agamemnon dispatched Nestor and Palamedes to round up all of Helen's suitors to bind them to their oaths *Cypria* Fr. 1.

[40] Odysseus' desertion of Diomedes sets up the scene in which he himself is wounded. After the two make an attack on Hector, Diomedes is wounded by Paris. Odysseus stands in front of him to hold off the Trojans while Diomedes pulls the arrow out of his foot, climbs aboard the chariot and then deserts Odysseus (*Iliad* 11.397-400)

[41] Other than the gods Ares and Enyo, only Achilles and Odysseus are the active heroes identified as city-sackers. Odysseus is referred to as such twice, *Iliad* 2.278 and 10.363. The epithet alludes to fact that it is Odysseus who captures Troy.

Odysseus' part in the poem is primarily defined by his relationship to the agora. As discussed already, his twelve ships situate the political nucleus of the camp and his activities are of a political nature more than they are military undertakings. From the outset, Odysseus always leads Achaean delegations to outside groups; whether to Chryse with the twenty youths, to Troy with Menelaus, to Hector's army encampment with Diomedes, to Phthia with Nestor, or to Achilles' huts with Ajax. He is the great communicator and diplomat who is identified by Nestor with the same elevated credential as Agamemnon had bestowed upon himself, *méga kûdos Achaiôn* (*Iliad* 10.44). Odysseus acts as cult attendant in the propitiation of Apollo, where he serves as leader over the youths (*Iliad* 1.311), and leads the procession too, bringing the daughter to the priest who awaits them at the altar (*Iliad* 1.440-5). He also attends Agamemnon in the sacrifice accompanying the swearing of the oaths of faith before the duel between Menelaus and Paris (*Iliad* 3.267-70).

Odysseus' role as both cult attendant and host of the agora is expressed in the great assembly held on the morning of the first day of battle. With Athena at his side and the sceptre of Pelops in his hand, "city sacking" Odysseus addresses the army, reminding them of the serpent portent they had all witnessed at Aulis. Leading into his speech, Odysseus warns Agamemnon that, if he should order the army home before Troy has fallen, the Achaeans would then make him "the most hated of all mortal men"

and would not the fulfil the contract they made with him (*Iliad* 2.284-8).[42] What Odysseus is doing, it appears to me, is pointing out to Agamemnon that his primary function as leader is to not fail his people by breaking his pact with them. Holding the "imperishable sceptre of the ancestors" in his hand, Odysseus admonishes Agamemnon to live up to his obligations and warns him of the consequences should he fail to do so.

Of course, this follows the test of the army.[43] Agamemnon had the previous night received a dream from the gods, telling him to prepare the army quickly to take Troy, as now the gods are all united in purpose, having been persuaded by Hera's petitions (*Iliad* 2.26-34). Just as, later on, Hector misinterprets the gods' message that he will attack the ships before sundown (*Iliad* 11.200-9) to mean that he will drive the Achaeans off in victory, Agamemnon makes a similarly presumptuous interpretation by assuming the message to mean that he will sack the city that very day, for which the poet refers to him as a "dolt," *nēpios* (*Iliad* 2.38). Having called an assembly, Agamemnon repeats his dream to the senator-kings and then tells them of the test he will put them to:

ἀλλ᾽ ἄγετ᾽ αἴ κέν πως θωρήξομεν υἷας Ἀχαιῶν·
πρῶτα δ᾽ ἐγὼν ἔπεσιν πειρήσομαι, ἢ θέμις ἐστίν,
καὶ φεύγειν σὺν νηυσὶ πολυκλήϊσι κελεύσω·

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[42] Odysseus is pointing out that the Achaeans promised before departing that hey would not quit the campaign before Troy has fallen. After Odysseus reminds the army of the portent at Aulis, Nestor reminds Agamemnon of Zeus' "promise," *upóskhesis*, on the day the ships departed (*Iliad* 2.348-53). Success thus depends on Agamemnon and his ability to keep with the mission. The goddesses, as stated already, also promised Menelaus that he would return after Troy has fallen (*Iliad* 5.714-6).

[43] The test of the army and the Achaean assemblies more generally has generated an enormous amount of discussion. For a recent discussion that is more representative of the current way the test of the army is critically assessed than my descriptive presentation, see Barker 2009: 54-7. If one sees in the *Iliad* the counsel for retreat or withdrawal to be the most shameful act possible, one simply cannot accept the finessed ambiguities of interpretation Barker is imposing upon Thersites.

ὑμεῖς δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἐρητύειν ἐπέεσσιν.

Come on so that we may make battle-ready the sons of the Achaeans. First though I will test them with words, as is customary, and then I will order them to flee to the many-benched ships. But you senators go into the rank to restrain them with words (Iliad 2.72-5)

While the test is identified as being congruent with the accepted procedures *hḗ thémis estín*, the order to return to the ships is boorishly excessive, confirming yet again that Agamemnon lacks the tact to hold his own in the public domain. This provokes the goddesses to counteract the king's behaviour by empowering Odysseus to rectify the egregious misstep. With the ancestral sceptre (*Iliad* 2.186) in hand, Odysseus moves throughout the camp as Agamemnon had instructed the senators to do and succeeds in gathering back the army from the ships. He ends off by asserting that there is only one king who has received the sceptre and *thémistes* from Zeus and who, therefore, speaks on behalf of the people (*Iliad* 2.200-206).

The order in the camp is finally restored after Odysseus delivers a beating, with the ancestral sceptre, to Thersites, the most loathsome of the Achaeans. This concludes Odysseus' efforts to return the camp to order and to restore the army's focus on its objective. The symbolic act of delivering a blow with the ancestral sceptre to the back of "*pharmakos*" Thersites[44] ends his seditious rant and wins for Odysseus the esteem of the Achaeans:

[44] Nagy 1999: 279. The literature on Thersites is exceptionally vast and generally sympathetic to him as a "voice of the people" who speaks truth to power, see Hammer 2002: 61, Barker 2009: 60-1. For the relationship between the *pharmakos* and the Apollo cult, see Burkert 1985: 82-4.

ὢ πόποι ἦ δὴ μυρί' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐσθλὰ ἔοργε
βουλάς τ' ἐξάρχων ἀγαθὰς πόλεμόν τε κορύσσων·
νῦν δὲ τόδε μέγ' ἄριστον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρεξεν,
ὃς τὸν λωβητῆρα ἐπεσβόλον ἔσχ' ἀγοράων.
οὔ θήν μιν πάλιν αὖτις ἀνήσει θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ
νεικείειν βασιλῆας ὀνειδείοις ἐπέεσσιν.

Hear! Hear! Odysseus has indeed done much good both by his fine counsel and by taking the initiative in restoring focus on the battle. Now truly this is the greatest deed done on the Argives' behalf; that he has made this foul-mouthed slanderer to cease from his public rants. Never again will his bold thumos provoke him to argue with kings using offensive speeches. (2.272-277)

The beating of Thersites does not only serve the purpose of restoring order to the camp, it stands equally as a direct warning to Agamemnon, foreshadowing the demotion and shameful rebuke he will receive for ordering retreat later on. To repeat, Odysseus, with Athena standing at his side, delivers the *muthos* of the portent at Aulis to the army, letting them know that victory is at hand after they have been successfully restrained from boarding the ships. Before this, he addresses Agamemnon directly and draws a comparison between the king and Thersites; because Agamemnon orders retreat before Troy is sacked, he states, then the Achaeans deem him to stand as the most despicable of all mortal men. Agamemnon, who foolishly misinterpreted the divine portent delivered to him, is finally silenced by Odysseus (*Iliad* 14.90-5) for his continued desire to retreat. Shamed by his cowardly, failed leadership, Agamemnon acknowledges the harsh rebuke, rescinds his intention to retreat and, as discussed previously, calls upon a better man to take over from him (14.104-8).

To conclude, Odysseus, the great glory of the Achaeans, stands out as the political leader of the camp. With his masterful oratory, he can confront the main figure of authority, king Agamemnon, in such a way as to maintain both the structure of command and the *esprit de corps*. Odysseus cannot be regarded as a figure of dissent, but rather as an actor who has his sights firmly set on the ultimate objective and, furthermore, he possesses the acumen to make the necessary political adjustments to see that it is realized. Interestingly, it is king Priam and Antenor who recognize Odysseus' status as leader of the Achaeans. Priam states this much when he asks Helen to identify Odysseus:

εἶπ᾽ ἄγε μοι καὶ τόνδε φίλον τέκος ὅς τις ὅδ᾽ ἐστί·
μείων μὲν κεφαλῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο,
εὐρύτερος δ᾽ ὤμοισιν ἰδὲ στέρνοισιν ἰδέσθαι.
τεύχεα μέν οἱ κεῖται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ,
αὐτὸς δὲ κτίλος ὣς ἐπιπωλεῖται στίχας ἀνδρῶν·
ἀρνειῷ μιν ἔγωγε ἐΐσκω πηγεσιμάλλῳ,
ὅς τ᾽ οἰῶν μέγα πῶϋ διέρχεται ἀργεννάων.

Come and tell me dear child who this man is. While he is shorter by a head than Agamemnon son of Atreus, by looking at him I see that he is broader in the shoulders and chest. Even though his battle raiment lies on the fertile ground, this man moves in inspection among the ranks like a ram. I deem him a thick-fleeced ram, the very one who, in my estimation, leads this great flock of sheep. (Iliad 3.191-197)

Priam was clearly absent from the assembly when Odysseus and Menelaus petitioned for Helens' return as he recognized neither one of them. Antenor, who certainly was present, contributes his lingering memory of Odysseus in this scene:

ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ πολύμητις ἀναΐξειεν Ὀδυσσεὺς
στάσκεν, ὑπαὶ δὲ ἴδεσκε κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πήξας,
σκῆπτρον δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ὀπίσω οὔτε προπρηνὲς ἐνώμα,
ἀλλ᾽ ἀστεμφὲς ἔχεσκεν ἀΐδρεϊ φωτὶ ἐοικώς·

φαίης κεν ζάκοτόν τέ τιν᾽ ἔμμεναι ἄφρονά τ᾽ αὖτως.
ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε δὴ ὄπα τε μεγάλην ἐκ στήθεος ἵει
καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα χειμερίῃσιν,
οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτ᾽ Ὀδυσῆϊ γ᾽ ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος·
οὐ τότε γ᾽ ὧδ᾽ Ὀδυσῆος ἀγασσάμεθ᾽ εἶδος ἰδόντες.

When polumêtis *Odysseus came forward and stood up, he always looked down with his eyes fixed on the ground, and moved the sceptre neither backward nor forward but held it straight like a witless man. You would have declared him base and senseless because of this. But indeed when he uttered from out of his chest his great voice and words like winter snow, then could no other mortal compete with Odysseus. We were astonished and no longer noticed Odysseus' appearance.* (Iliad 216-224)

Finally, the Trojan assessment of Odysseus is later reenforced by Diomedes when he is asked to choose a partner for the night time spying mission that Nestor devises. He unhesitatingly opts for Odysseus, stating the following:

εἰ μὲν δὴ ἕταρόν γε κελεύετέ μ᾽ αὐτὸν ἑλέσθαι,
πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ᾽ Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ θείοιο λαθοίμην,
οὗ πέρι μὲν πρόφρων κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ
ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι, φιλεῖ δέ ἑ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.
τούτου γ᾽ ἑσπομένοιο καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο
ἄμφω νοστήσαιμεν, ἐπεὶ περίοιδε νοῆσαι.

If indeed you urge me to take for myself a partner, then certainly I select godlike Odysseus, as he has an eager heart and brave thumos *that is evident in all undertakings, moreover Pallas Athene loves him. Should he follow me even out of blazing fire then we would both return, because he knows how to think* (10.241-247).

H. Diomedes

Diomedes' biography has to be considered in describing his role within the narrative and special emphasis has to be placed on his past battle success in the campaign at Thebes. It is important to recall Hector's prayer to Zeus in which he expresses the desire for a son who is better than himself. This theme arises in Agamemnon's boorish rebuke of Diomedes when he recalls to the son the memory of Tydeus. After antagonizing him by

questioning Diomedes why he cowers from battle, Agamemnon recalls the time when Tydeus, aided by Athena, slaughtered the youths that lay in ambush against him before stating that his son is worse in battle but better in the agora (*Iliad* 4.370-400).[45]

This reference to the Battle of Thebes also draws attention to the fact that, like Nestor, Diomedes has been successful in a past military campaign. He is a victor who has come to Troy as the leader of the Argives, one of the three names given to army by the poet, and leader, too, of one of the three cities held to be dearest to Hera. Whereas Odysseus has, along with Ajax, the most modest of fleets among the senator kings, Diomedes has come with at fleet that equals Idomeneus, which puts him on a par with the senator-kings who occupy the senior stratum of authority.

Diomedes is the great scourge of the Trojans on the first day of battle. After Athena lights her beacon over his head and empowers him to detect the presence of gods on the battlefield, Diomedes devastates the Trojan attack by removing Ares from the plain. In the course of his fighting, Diomedes never manages an assault upon Hector at the Scaean Gates and he is finally removed from battle when Paris wounds him at the tomb of Ilus as he is stripping the armour of Agastrophus, son of Paeon (*Iliad* 11.369-83).[46] It has often been pointed out that Diomedes[47] acts as a simulacrum of

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[45] See Alden 2000: 114-20 for a fuller treatment of the father-son relationship as it is expressed in the Tydeus paranarrative. The Theban connection to the *Iliad* has, as discussed in relation to Hector, been expanded by Tsagalis 2008:1-29. Diomedes and Sthenelus were both victors at Thebes and the gods do their utmost to prevent him from slaying Hector.

[46] The identification of Agastrophus as the son of Paeon identifies the presence of Apollo in the scene.

[47] Nagy 1999:30-1 downplays Diomedes' identification as "best of the Achaeans."

Achilles, given that his *aristeia* is announced by the lighting of the beacon, compared to the harvest star over Diomedes' head (*Iliad* 5.4-5), to the point of its completion after he strikes Hector with his spear on the helmet given to the Trojan by Apollo, only to be shortly after wounded in the foot by an arrow launched from Achilles' eventual slayer Paris.

Many points of contact identify Diomedes' battle activity as a foreshadowing of Achilles. It must be pointed out that Achilles acts alone in performing his *aristeia*, while Diomedes operates with a "partner" *hetaîros*, his charioteer and comrade at Thebes Sthenelus for the most part. But he also attacks Hector while, on separate occasions, Nestor and Odysseus serve as his charioteer. Additionally, Odysseus is his partner on the victorious night mission into the Trojan camp. These shared features may be identified in the following table:

Table 5. Features Associating Diomedes and Achilles

Diomedes	Achilles
Battles with Aeneas whom he mortally wounds but is rescued by Aphrodite and revived by Apollo	*Battles with Aeneas who is rescued by Poseidon*
Wounds two gods; Aphrodite and Ares.	*Contends with two gods; Xanthus and Apollo*
Exchanges bronze armour for golden armour made Hephaestus, which he obtains from Glaucus	*Wears golden armour made by Hephaestus, which is a gift from Thetis*
Drives two divine horses of Tros, which he wins from Aeneas	*Drives two divine horses, which were given to him by his father Peleus*
Rebukes Agamemnon in the agora and states that he will take Troy alone if the king desires to leave the battle	*Rebukes Agamemnon in the agora and desires to leave the battle in response to the kings abusive treatment*
Performs a sacrificial slaughter upon Dolon at the river side	*Performs a sacrificial slaughter upon Lycaon at the river side*
Slays twelve Thracians along with their king, Rhesus	*Slays twelve Paeonians along with their king, Asteropaeus*
Is given exceptional fighting strength by Athena	*Is given exceptional fighting strength by Athena*
Is wounded by Paris' arrow with the implied assistance of Apollo at the tomb of Ilus	*Is killed by Apollo by means of Paris' arrow at the Scaean Gates*
Rushes at Aeneas three times before being turned back by Apollo	*Patroclus, disguised as Achilles, rushes three times at the walls of Troy before being turned back by Apollo*

More than any other warrior, Diomedes is featured as fighting from the chariot. He is also victorious in the chariot race at the Funeral Games and defeats Ajax in the full armour competition.[48] His athleticism, both in fighting in full armour and in his masterful charioteering, is highlighted in his great assault upon the Trojans and the gods. I shall outline the episode since it stands out as an idealization of athletic competition set within the battle context of the poem and, additionally, foreshadows the equally idealized athleticism of Achilles' return to battle.

[48] Diomedes wins the "manly" competitions while Odysseus prevails in the more athletic ones, the wrestling match in which he bests Ajax son of Telamon, and, in the foot race in which Achilles does not participate, he outruns Ajax son of Oeleus and Antilochus. Antilochus identifies the three distinct age categories each competitor occupies (*Iliad* 23.787-92)

When Sthenelus, Diomedes' charioteer, sees that the two ancestral Trojans, Pandarus and Aeneas, have partnered to fight from Aeneas' chariot, he advises retreat, but Diomedes rejects this outright. Instead, he instructs Sthenelus to drive their chariot towards the Trojans (*Iliad* 5.275-6) as he has already identified that the horses are from the divine stock and seeks them as a prize (*Iliad* 5.265-73).[49] Closing fast on the Trojan chariot, Diomedes, with the help of Athena, sustains Pandarus' spear thrust (*Iliad* 5.287-9) and quickly sends his attacker to Hades with a spear cast of his own (*Iliad* 5.290-6).

After Pandarus' body falls off of the chariot, Aeneas dismounts by leaping off *aporoúō* in full equipment to protect the body from being taken by the Achaeans (*Iliad* 5.297-8). Having dismounted from his moving chariot too, Diomedes hurls a huge stone at the Trojan, near-fatally wounding him (*Iliad* 5.302-10). Aphrodite enters the plain and attempts to carry Aeneas away (*Iliad* 5.318). Meanwhile, Sthenelus fixes the reins to the chariot's wheel rim to prevent the horses of Tros from bolting, and then runs over to Aeneas' deserted chariot, mounts it and drives the horses towards Deipylus, who finally leads the horses to the ships (*Iliad* 5.319-27). Sthenelus then races back to his own chariot, unfastens the horses, mounts and drives off towards Diomedes (*Iliad* 5.327-30)

Diomedes races in pursuit of Aphrodite, catches up to the goddess and strikes her wrist with his spear, causing her ichor to leak out (*Iliad* 5.330-43). Aphrodite wails in pain and drops her son's body, which prompt Apollo to enter the "relay" by picking

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[49] Diomedes stratagem for winning the horses of Tros is a highly styled depiction that reflects the both the apobates race at the Panathenaea and the full armour race at Olympia.

up Aeneas and enveloping him in a cloud to protect him from attack (*Iliad* 5.344-6). Diomedes resumes the pursuit, racing towards Apollo and makes three assaults upon the god in an attempt to win Aeneas' armour. Finally, Apollo reminds him that he is a mortal and ought not to contend with the gods (*Iliad* 5.431-42). Having dispensed with Diomedes, Apollo conveys Aeneas to his temple where Leto and Artemis restore him to health (*Iliad* 5.443-8).

In the third leg of the relay, Apollo calls to Ares and urges him to avenge Aphrodite (*Iliad* 5.455-9), prompting him to enter the battle as Acamas the Thracian (*Iliad* 5.458-69). After a long interlude, the relay resumes when Athena joins Diomedes who is tending to his wound (*Iliad* 5.794-5). The goddess tosses Sthenelus off the chariot and takes over the reins. She then dons the cap of Hades, becomes invisible, and drives Diomedes to Ares where he completes his attack on the three Troy-supporting gods, completing his assault when he drives his spear into the god's belly (*Iliad* 5. 855-857).

The first day of fighting is one of success for the Achaeans. Menelaus and Ajax both demonstrably prevailed in their respective duels with the Trojan brothers and Diomedes, aided by Athena, prevailed over the two other Trojans with ancestral links to Tros, slaying Pandarus and nearly killing the future king Aeneas. Although Hector managed to drive back the attackers, this was accomplished with the support of Ares, whom Athena and Diomedes later attacked, causing him to leave the plain. Added to these successes, Diomedes wins Aeneas' pair of horses, offspring of the divine horses

given to Tros in compensation for Ganymedes. Shortly following his military-athletic victories, Hector leaves the battle to petition the senators (which he neglects to do) and to persuade the Trojan women to supplicate the gods (*Iliad* 6.111-5). But he does this only after all of the primary Trojan generals (Aeneas, Pandarus, Sarpedon) have been either killed or injured, creating through his absence a vacuum in leadership that results in Glaucus, the second in command of the Lycians, to bravely--but foolishly--confront Diomedes (*Iliad* 6.119-22).[50]

The very remarkable encounter between the Argive and the Lycian begins as a fighting duel, but plays out as a contest in oratory. Diomedes, who has just wounded two gods and who has been given the power to detect their presence (*Iliad* 5.127-8), sardonically asks the Trojan ally if he is a god:

Γλαῦκος δ' Ἱππολόχοιο πάϊς καὶ Τυδέος υἱὸς
ἐς μέσον ἀμφοτέρων συνίτην μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι.
οἳ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες,
τὸν πρότερος προσέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·
τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι φέριστε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων;
οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτ' ὄπωπα μάχῃ ἔνι κυδιανείρῃ
τὸ πρίν· ἀτὰρ μὲν νῦν γε πολὺ προβέβηκας ἁπάντων
σῷ θάρσει, ὅτ' ἐμὸν δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος ἔμεινας·
δυστήνων δέ τε παῖδες ἐμῷ μένει ἀντιόωσιν.
εἰ δέ τις ἀθανάτων γε κατ' οὐρανοῦ εἰλήλουθας,

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[50] With Aeneas having his wounds treated in the Apollo temple, Pandarus killed, Paris making love to Helen, and finally their supporting god Ares also being tended to on Olympus, the Trojan commanders have all left the battlefield. Hector, previously rebuked by Sarpedon for leaving the fighting to the allies, once again relies on the Lycians to carry out the battle. This time Sarpedon too has been wounded and is being restored to health under the oak of Zeus.

Immediately preceding the exchange between Glaucus and Diomedes, Helenus advises his brother Hector to have the Trojan women make a peplos offering to Athena as a means of averting the hero's unstoppable force. Helenus ends his plea by describing Diomedes as *kártistos Achaiôn*, "most powerful of the Achaeans," and states that he provokes more fear than Achilles ever did, ending his statement in the following way: οὐδέ τίς οἱ δύναται μένος ἰσοφαρίζειν. "no one is strong enough to duel with his *ménos*" (*Iliad* 6. 101).

οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε θεοῖσιν ἐπουρανίοισι μαχοίμην.
οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Δρύαντος υἱὸς κρατερὸς Λυκόοργος
δὴν ἦν, ὅς ῥα θεοῖσιν ἐπουρανίοισιν ἔριζεν·
ὅς ποτε μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας
σεῦε κατ᾽ ἠγάθεον Νυσήϊον· αἳ δ᾽ ἅμα πᾶσαι
θύσθλα χαμαὶ κατέχευαν ὑπ᾽ ἀνδροφόνοιο Λυκούργου
θεινόμεναι βουπλῆγι· Διώνυσος δὲ φοβηθεὶς
δύσεθ᾽ ἁλὸς κατὰ κῦμα, Θέτις δ᾽ ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ
δειδιότα· κρατερὸς γὰρ ἔχε τρόμος ἀνδρὸς ὁμοκλῇ.

Glaucus, Hyppolochus' boy, and the son of Tydeus came together eager to fight in the middle of both armies. When they were near to one another, Diomedes, good at the battle call, spoke first. "Who are you who is bravest of mortal men? I have not seen you in battle where men win glory before now. All the same, now you have stepped far forward from all the army in your bravery, seeking to test my long-shadowing spear. The children of wretched fathers face my fury. If you are one of the immortals who has come from the sky, I for my part cannot fight with the heavenly gods. No indeed not even the son of Dryas, mighty Lycurgus lived long, he who struggled with the heavenly gods, when he drove down the nurses of raving Dionysus from holy Nysa, who all at once threw down their sacred wands when they were smitten under the ox-goad of man-slaying Lycurgus; but Dionysus fled slipping under the salty sea swell and Thetis welcomed him into her bosom, for a mighty dread seized him as he feared the man's threats (Iliad 6.119-37).

Diomedes knows well that the boy is not a god.[51] Immediately before this, the army had been instructed to not seek prizes from the living, but instead to slay the men before despoiling the corpses (*Iliad* 6.67-71). Diomedes then tells him to come nearer if indeed he is mortal and to meet his destruction (*Iliad* 6.143). Glaucus, who knows Diomedes very well if only by reputation, reveals himself to be both mortal and an ances-

[51] Recall too that Diomedes ordered the army to retreat at seeing Ares do the fighting for Hector (*Iliad* 5.601-6).

tral Achaean, having as his great-grandfather Glaucus the Argive (*Iliad* 6.154).[52] When Diomedes hears this, he identifies a past meeting of their grandfathers and proposes an exchange of armour both in commemoration of their ancestral *philoxenia*. Duped and deprived of his wits by Zeus, Glaucus[53] loses his golden armour to Diomedes (*Iliad* 6.234-6).[54]

Diomedes is a young man (younger than Agamemnon and Odysseus [*Iliad* 14.112] and young enough to be Nestor's youngest son [*Iliad* 9.57-8]) married to Aegia-

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[52] The close association between Glaucus' genealogical speech and Aeneas' has already been drawn attention to in Faulkner 2008: 4. As with the Trojan myth, the Lycian myth relates three primordial generations in which the first three ancestor Aeolus, Sisyphus and Glaucus live in Argive Ephyre (6.152-5). Bellorophon, son of Poseidon and not Glaucus (*Catalogues of Women* 7). Although the poet does not identify Poseidon by name, he does state that Bellorophon was the child of a god (6.191) and was welcomed into Lycia, where he fathered three children before the gods took revenge on him (6.194-210). Lycian Glaucus' great-grandfather is an unnamed god and there is no reason not to see the traditional designation of Poseidon as applicable to the Homeric account.

Lycia was believed to have been named after the Athenian ancestor Lycus who possessed a shrine at Athens and was the brother of Aegeus, father of Theseus. The Lyceum in Athens bears his name and was sacred to the god Apollo Lyceus (Paus. 1.19.3). Exiled from Athens, he joined another exile, the Cretan Sarpedon, and ruled over the Carian Termilae who were subsequently named the Lycians after Lycus (Herodotus 1. 173). In his wanderings, Lycus also exported the Mysteries to Pherae in Messene (Pausanias 4.1.6-8), and to Arene (Paus. 4.2.6). He was also regarded as a hero who offered prophecy (Paus. 10.12.11). In the *Iliad*, the connection between the Lycians and Apollo Lycegenes is made very clear in having the god transfer the remains of Sarpedon out of the plain to the shores of the Xanthus in Lycia, where a cult to the hero is assumed to follow after (16.676-83), see Currie 2005: 50-2.

[53] Glaucus is referred to by both Sarpedon and Hector as a *pépōn* which roughly translates as one who is "ready to be had,"or the "ripe one" as in the case of fruit or wine that is ready to be consumed. Thersites refers to the Achaeans with this term (2.235) when he castigates the army for having been duped by Agamemnon. Similarly, Poseidon, disguised as Calchas, refers to the guardian youths this way when he enters the battle and motivates the army by stating that the Trojans were previously like deer before jackals before Agamenon dishonoured Achilles (13.120).

[54] The despoiling of Glaucus' golden armour by Diomedes seems to be obliquely alluded to in the Catalogue of Trojans. Before the introduction of the Lycians, the Carians (see note 52), a people closely associated with Lycia, and their leaders Amphimachus and Nastes are identified. One of the two came to the battle wearing gold like a girl and is identified as *nḗpios*, a fool. It is stated that this one is killed and despoiled by Achilles at the river, although the poet leaves out the account and the Carian leaders, who are never heard of again. The Carian leaders, one a "foolish girl" who comes to battle in gold, clearly alludes to the epic depiction of Glaucus and Sarpedon, who are introduced immediately following this anecdote (2.867-77).

leia (*Iliad* 5.412) but with no identified offspring, although there is a suggestion that he may have children awaiting his return (*Iliad* 5.406-409). Even his wife's identity presents a complication, as she is identified as a daughter of Adrastus while his father too married one of Adrastus' daughters (*Iliad* 14.121)[55]. He tells Glaucus that he had no memory of his father as he left for Thebes when he was little (*Iliad* 6.222-3). Agamemnon recalls to Diomedes how Athena was his father's "helper" *epírrothos* who assisted him in vanquishing the Theban youths when they set an ambush against him (*Iliad* 4.389-90). The poet does not refer to the death of Tydeus apart from stating that he is buried at Thebes (*Iliad* 14.114), but his demise conditions the depiction of Diomedes, particularly in how the Argive hero mirrors Achilles.

Of all the heroes in the *Iliad*, Achilles included, Diomedes is the only one who wounds the gods. He does so, as discussed already, as Athena's helper, but following this, a series of anecdotes that identify the fate of mortals who attack gods is

[55] Adrastus fought alongside Tydeus as one of the Seven. The name Homer gives to Diomedes' wife is a feminized version of Aegialeus, son of Adrastus, who fought alongside Diomedes in the sack of Thebes. The poet is clearly alluding to both, see Pausanias 2.20.5 for a critique of Aeschylus' insistence on limiting the Epigones to seven.

presented.[56] As we know from Agamemnon's first reference to Tydeus, he was helped by Athena. When Agamemnon goads Diomedes by stating that he is worse than his father, in battle, but better in the agora (*Iliad* 4.399-400), Sthenelus, who was also one of the Epigones, retorts that they, the sons of the Seven, stormed the wall of seven-gated Thebes, even though it was stronger than the one their fathers faced and they had a smaller army (*Iliad* 4.406-7). They were victorious, Sthenelus states, because the trusted the portents of the gods, whereas their fathers were destroyed by their "sacrilegious acts" *atásthaloi* (*Iliad* 4.408-9). This biographical anecdote touches off a series of references to past heroes who perished because of the dishonour they showed to the gods. Begun by Agamemnon who relates to Diomedes the glorious exploits of his father, this series comes ends with Glaucus, ancestral relative of Diomedes, recalling the glorious exploits of his grandfather Bellorophon who enjoyed the support of the gods, but who ultimately grew hated by them. Bellorophon died in exile "wandering" on the Aleian plain, while his children were slain by Ares and Artemis (*Iliad* 6.203-5).

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[56] Alden 2000: 123-52. Following Diomedes' wounding of the gods, a series of anecdotes is given, identifying heroes who have grown hated by the gods for having attacked them. All of these condition Diomedes' epic activity and, because he mirrors Achilles, contributes to our sense of Achilles' role as main character in the poem. Mortals who attack the gods are: the two sons of Aloeus Otus and Ephialtes (*Iliad* 5.385-91); the son of Amphitryon (but really Zeus) (*Iliad* 5.392-7); Lycurgus (*Iliad* 6.131-5). Glaucus provides the anecdote of Bellorophon, son of a god who at first enjoyed divine favour (*Iliad* 6.183) but later became hated by the gods and eventually died along with two of his children (*Iliad* 6.200-5). There is never any suggestion that Bellorophon attacked the gods and the reason divine favour was withdrawn is not stated, but, as Alden 2000: 137-42 has aptly identified, a thematic connection between the forebears is implied. The Pegasus myth is avoided in the *Iliad*, but the audience would have naturally associated it with Bellorophon even if the myth is deliberately avoided by the poet, Gantz 1993: 314.

Recall that Dione, mother of Aphrodite, comforted her daughter by stating that mortals such as Diomedes who attack gods do not live long, nor do they return home to their children. She also forewarns that a god mightier than Aphrodite might stand against him, bringing grief to his family back home:

σοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀνῆκε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·
νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὸ οἶδε κατὰ φρένα Τυδέος υἱὸς
ὅττι μάλ' οὐ δηναιὸς ὃς ἀθανάτοισι μάχηται,
οὐδέ τί μιν παῖδες ποτὶ γούνασι παππάζουσιν
ἐλθόντ' ἐκ πολέμοιο καὶ αἰνῆς δηϊοτῆτος.
τὼ νῦν Τυδεΐδης, εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερός ἐστι,
φραζέσθω μή τίς οἱ ἀμείνων σεῖο μάχηται,
μὴ δὴν Αἰγιάλεια περίφρων Ἀδρηστίνη
ἐξ ὕπνου γοόωσα φίλους οἰκῆας ἐγείρῃ
κουρίδιον ποθέουσα πόσιν τὸν ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν
ἰφθίμη ἄλοχος Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο.

Now glimmering-eyed Athene has sent this man against you, the fool! Indeed the son of Tydeus does not know within him that such a one who fights against the immortals is not long-lived. In no way will the children of such a man call him father before his knees, when he comes back from war and fierce battle. Now therefore let Tydeus' son, if he really is so incredibly strong, consider whether a stronger one than you might fight against him, or whether Aegialeia, offspring of wise Adrastos, should wake from sleep in her beloved home, lamenting and longing for her husband, best of the Achaeans, this devoted wife of Diomedes the horse master (Iliad 5.405-415).

Diomedes does go on to fight against a mightier god than Aphrodite with the help of Athena. After Apollo orders him away from Aeneas (*Iliad* 5.436-44), Diomedes goes to the river to tend to his wound, where Athena reveals herself to him. She then recalls to him the same episode as Agamemnon had, in which Tydeus slaughtered the fifty youths after he defeated them in all the athletic competitions at the feast hosted by Eteocles. Athena states that she ordered Tydeus to remain at ease at the banquet, but he

could not resist challenging the youths and defeating them (*Iliad* 5.800-8).[57] Just as she stood as helper to Tydeus, Athena states to Diomedes that she will remain by his side and help him too, if he is as brave as his father (*Iliad* 5.809-14).

Diomedes responds by stating that he recognizes her and that he is not at all fearful but still eager to serve her. He reminds Athena of her warning to him not to fight any of the gods, explaining that he called the army to retreat because he had detected Ares on the battlefield (*Iliad* 5.815-24). In this episode, Diomedes has demonstrated himself to be the obedient servant of the goddess; she put him to the test and he obeyed her whereas his father did not. The broader myth of the Seven Against Thebes relates that Tydeus ate the brains of Mellanippus in his rage at having been wounded by him.[58] Tydeus ate his vanquished foe "raw" at the gates of Thebes as he was succumbing to his own wounds, and for this Athena denied him the immortality he was fated to receive. This great blessing was later passed on from the father to the son.[59] The theme of eating the foe raw at the gates of the polis emerges in the *Iliad*, as Achilles, the wrathful serpent of the goddess, later expresses the wish to eat Hector raw (*Iliad* 22.346-7).

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[57] This theme is taken up in the *Odyssey* when Odysseus defeats the Phaeancian youths at their competitions, but the situation resolves itself much more harmoniously.

[58] Gantz 1993: 518. See too Alden 2000: 140-2. Alden states on 140 that it was Tydeus who ignored the inauspicious signs of Zeus, but these were clearly given to the men of Mycenae. It is his disobedience of Athena's orders that first makes him hated by the gods.

[59] Pindar *Nemean* 10.7. The *nostos* of Diomedes is not elaborated other than stating that he returned to Argos four days after the Poseidon sacrifice at Geraestus (*Odyssey* 3.177-82).

I shall return to Diomedes and his partnership with Odysseus in the following chapter that treats Achilles in detail. To conclude, Diomedes does not only mirror Achilles as a means of foreshadowing the protagonist's return to the battle, his depiction stands as a pedagogical corrective to Achilles and his relationship to those who hold him most dear, the Achaeans. The "executive" level of the Achaeans, Menelaus, Odysseus and Diomedes, all married men with children awaiting their return, enjoy a special relationship with Athena. Although they are typically overlooked in the discussion of the heroes of the *Iliad*, they are the true heroes of the poem. The gift of immortality given to Diomedes is not overtly stated in the *Iliad*, nor is his return detailed in the *Odyssey*, but the helping presence of Athena, the great successes in both the agora and on the plain and his positive example in besting his father, all condition the depiction of Diomedes as a hero set apart by the gods and granted their greatest blessing.

In contrast to Diomedes, Menelaus is positively identified as having been awarded a life of ease and immortality in the sequel poem (*Odyssey* 4.561-8). Although made to wander off course for having neglected to honour the gods with sacrifice (*Odyssey* 4.351-7), Menelaus is visited by a sea goddess, Eidothea, who questions him regarding his isolation on the island (*Odyssey* 4.371-4). In reply to her testing question, Menelaus states that he himself "has sinned" *alitaínō* against the immortals and then asks the divine messenger to reveal to him which of the gods he has offended and how he is to negotiate his return (*Odyssey* 4.376-81). While the god whom he has offended is

not revealed to him, he is instructed to consult Proteus, who serves under Poseidon, to learn of his prospects (*Odyssey* 4.383-93). Following the successful completion of his trials, the gods are propitiated and the glorious outcome of his life is revealed to him.

Menelaus' return stands in the *Odyssey* as an encapsulation of Odysseus' own return. After he too enrages the gods, Poseidon specifically, a sea goddess instructs him to consult Tiresias and learn of the atonement procedures he must enact before re-establishing his positive relationship with the gods. Odysseus too receives the prophecy of a glorious outcome to his life, but in less overt terms. After learning of the propitiation he must perform, Odysseus is told by the spirit of the seer that he is to experience a death that has been deprived of strength, and that "blessed people" *laoí ólbioi* will surround him (*Odyssey* 11.134-7).[60] Such blessed people are the likes of Nestor, Idomeneus, Diomedes and Menelaus.

I. The Order of Preparation: Ajax and the Guardian Youths.

Ajax has a prominent, but simple role in the *Iliad*: he steadfastly defends the Achaean camp against Hector's assaults. Achilles' "poor cousin," Ajax is never described as fighting from a chariot, nor does he possess any divinely given battle gear. One of Helen's suitors, he remains unmarried and, because of this, occupies, along with the Lesser Ajax and Achilles, the third order among the senator-kings: those, like the ancient Greek athletes, who were in the preparatory stages of citizenship. His fighting posture connects

[60] *Works and Days*.172. The heroes chosen by Zeus for an afterlife on the Isles of the Blessed are referred to as *ólbioi hḗrōes*. See Nagy 1999: 170 30n2.

him to the wall of the camp and he receives no assistance from the agora goddess Athena, but is instead supported by the great god of the battlement, Poseidon. Clearly identifying his defensive battle mode is his huge shield, which he uses to protect his fallen comrades. Recall too that he is rewarded with a victory feast after his duel with Hector.

As mentioned in my discussion of Odysseus, Ajax takes part in the delegation to Achilles' huts. Last to speak, he tells his cousin that the Achaeans love and honour him above all others (*Iliad* 9.642). This assertion identifies the deep affiliation existing between Achilles and the Achaeans, a bond of affiliation that is reenforced by having it expressed between the two descendants of Aeacus who have positioned their respective camps at the extreme ends to act as the defensive walls. Ajax cites the example of the man who accepts compensation *poinḗ* from the murderer of his brother or son and, in so doing, has his vengeful spirit restrained (9.628-636). This is significant as Achilles' prayer invests Hector with the power to kill many Achaeans and thus expresses a form of murder of a kinsman.[61]

It should be recalled that Ajax had demonstrated that Hector is no match for him as a fighter, and that the Trojan's success in driving the Achaeans back to their boats is

[61] Of course, the compensation being offered is to Achilles for the girl taken by the king. Ajax points out that Achilles is being more than satisfied on this account.

owing entirely to Achilles' curse.[62] Ajax is to bear the brunt of the fighting at the ships, which would never have taken place had Achilles not cursed the king by making him watch the Achaeans die at the hands of Hector. This comes about after Sarpedon tears down the battlement, permitting Hector to hurl a rock through the gates positioned at Ajax's ships (*Iliad* 12.401-71). As the Trojans are breaking through the wall, Poseidon takes the form of Calchas and tells the Aiantes[63] that they will save the Achaean people from the madman Hector who boasts of being the son of Zeus (*Iliad* 13.47-54). The god then strikes the two with his sceptre, conferring strength upon them (*Iliad* 13.59-61).

Similarly, Poseidon visits the guardian youths and admonishes them to stop their weeping at the sight of the Trojans passing over the wall. He reminds them how previously they were like terror stricken deer and were unable to confront the Achaeans (*Iliad* 13.101-5). The god then tells the youths that the Trojans have been empowered to attack the ships because of the vileness of Agamemnon and the careless attitude of the army, which refuses to defend the ships because of the strife it has with its leader (*Iliad* 13.107-10). In the passage, Poseidon equates the demoralized attitude of the army with

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[62] Zeus has already announced to the gods that Patroclus will die before Achilles returns to battle (*Iliad* 8.473-7). In cursing the Achaeans with death, Achilles is effectively murdering his kinsmen through his manslaugthering agent, Hector.

[63] Ajax, son of Oeleus, always acts in conjunction with the more prominent son of Telamon and need not therefore be given a separate treatment. As with Odysseus and Diomedes, the two Aiantes fight as a unit and therefore display an effective partnership; they are always eager to defend each other. It should be noted that the lesser Ajax, reflecting Agamemnon's treatment of a corpse, commits an outrageous act by decapitating Imbrius' corpse whom Teucer had killed and rolling the head to the feet of Hector (*Iliad* 13.202-5). This detail serves as an indication of his own destruction by Athena and Poseidon, see Gantz 1993: 695-6.

Achilles' strife-motivated withdrawal and rebukes them for it. While he identifies Agamemnon's dishonour of Achilles as the cause of the attack, he implicates the entire army because of the poor response they show to it. Poseidon then adjures the best youths to atone for -- or "heal"-- *akéomai* the rupture in the *esprit de corps* (*Iliad* 13.115).[64]

In conclusion, the Achaean youths demonstrate themselves to be capable of holding off the Trojans. They rise to the occasion and demonstrate themselves to possess a greater resolve than their king who, as discussed already, will soon seek to undermine their ability to hold off the enemy by again expressing the desire to flee the plain.[65] Finally, a coming-of-age scenario can be seen to underpin the depiction of the other descendant of Aeacus, Teucer.[66] Teucer at first distinguishes himself as a bowman, the best shot of the Achaeans. In his first prominent portrayal, Teucer is described as firing his arrows from behind Ajax's massive shield "as a boy under his mother" (*Iliad* 8.268-72). From within the shelter of Ajax's shield,[67] he manages to inflict heavy casualties on the Trojans, even to the point of provoking Apollo to intervene to save Hector

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[64] It is also important to note that the youths must also atone for dishonour the Achaeans demonstrated in not sacrificing to Poseidon and the other gods after constructing the wall (7.446-82).

[65] Recall that when Agamemnon accepts the rebuke given to him by Odysseus and passes on the authority of the army to Diomedes, Poseidon again appears and consoles him with the news that the gods are not completely mad at him and that the Trojans will soon be driven back to the polis (14.138-46)

[66] Teucer is Ajax's half-brother. He is the son of Telamon (*Iliad* 8.281) and Hesione, sister of Priam, although his mother is not identified in the poem, see Gantz 1993: 224-5.

[67] The iconic shield of Ajax is described at *Iliad* 7.219-23.

from his shot (*Iliad* 8.309-11).[68] After slaying ten Trojans, Hector hurls a jagged stone at him, which breaks his bowstring and wounds his hand, prompting Ajax to protect his injured brother until he can be carried back to the ships (*Iliad* 8.323-34).

Although he is the first of the principal Achaeans to be wounded, he is not injured to the point of having to withdraw entirely.[69] Teucer resumes the fight on the great day of battle at the ships and is identified as one of the best seven youths singled out by Poseidon who had exhorted the best young men to defend the ships (*Iliad* 13.89-93). Again, he is the first to kill a Trojan in the defence (*Iliad* 13.170-1). After Apollo brings down the wall (*Iliad* 15.355-66), Hector drives at Ajax, who cannot turn him back because of his divine assistance (*Iliad* 15.414-8), and in his attack kills Lycophron (*Iliad* 15.430-4). Ajax then calls to his cousin to get his bow that was a gift of Apollo (*Iliad* 15.441). Just as Zeus had previously protected Sarpedon from his arrow (*Iliad* 12.402-3), he again intervenes to prevent Hector's death by breaking Teucer's bowstring (*Iliad* 15.461-5). In contrast to Pandarus, best archer of the Lycians who curses his Apollo-given bow when he fails to kill Menelaus and Diomedes (*Iliad* 5.206-16), Teucer does not act dishonourably. Reflecting the earlier scene in which Apollo spared Hector's life, Ajax identifies the work of the gods in the matter, and, rather than sheltering his

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[68] While the arrow misses Hector, it kills his charioteer whom Hector abandons to attack the Achaean archer (*Iliad* 8.317-22).

[69] Hector's wounding of one of the guardian youths, the bowman Teucer, has to be contrasted with the bowman Paris' wounding of the great spearman and "horsemaster" Diomedes. It is yet another demonstration of how Hector, despite his ferocity, is invariably denied a significant battle accomplishment.

half-brother as he had done previously, he now orders his cousin to take up a spear and shield. Taking his stand alongside Ajax, Teucer is no longer a boy protected by his "mothering" big brother, as he now fights as spearman.

J. The Achaeans and the Myth of the Mortal Races

As discussed in the previous chapter, the mythic history of the Trojan monarchical succession allegorically identifies the decline from the Golden to the Silver Age in the Hesiodic myth of the mortal races. In contrast, the long-haired, or bronze-clad, Achaeans symbollically represent a positive movement within the cycle of mythic time that arcs upwards from the horrible bellicosity of the Bronze Age and settles, finally, in the easy existence of the eternal feast on the Isles of the Blessed enjoyed by the immortalized heroes. As the victorious spawn of Hera (*Iliad* 18.359), the "fierce and mighty" Achaeans are, as a collective unit, the raw-eating serpent spawned from her wrath that overpowers the "Silver," sparrow-like Trojans. Like the Brazen Men, the Achaeans, encamped by the salty sea, live beyond the fertile plain and the cultured environment of the polis. Having given themselves to brutal war, there are those among them who act out of blind rage and turn their own bloodstained hands upon themselves. These Achaeans, like the Bronze Men, decimated themselves and passed into the underworld where they languish in bitter sorrow among the spirits of the dead in the mouldy house of Hades. This fate only includes a portion of them. For among the Achaeans were the righteous of the race of demigods who fought at Thebes of the Seven Gates and sailed to Troy for Helen's sake. These blessed heroes were believed to live on after their deaths far from

the gods, beyond Oceanus in the Isles of the Blessed. Like the first people, the golden race of mortals, they enjoy honour and glory under the rule of Cronus.[70]

[70] *W&D* 156-169c.

Chapter 5. Achilles Remains Behind

The defining features of Achilles situates him at the third level, the level of preparation, on the scale of male acculturation that I have previously elaborated. He stands alongside the other two unmarried senator-kings, the two Aiantes.[1] He leads fifty ships, each containing fifty men, over whom Achilles had appointed five generals.[2] In the span of the poem, Achilles never holds any consultative assembly with his generals, but his close companion Patroclus is forever at his side. Like his cousin Ajax, Achilles has not married although his status is complicated by the fact that he has a son Neoptolemus on the island of Scyrus (*Iliad* 19.326-7). There is no mention of the boy's mother.[3] To muddy the waters even more, he refers to Briseis as his wife but he has not married her in any formal sense.[4] Given that he has not married in the customary manner, Achilles cannot be seen to be fully integrated into the political body as have Menelaus, Odysseus

[1] Achilles was typically represented artistically as a beardless male and was regarded as youth, or ephebe alongside other heroes such as Hiancynthus, Hippolytus and Phaeton, see Graf 1993: 77. See further Nagy 1999: 143 on the representational correspondence between Achilles and the kourotrophic god Apollo. The significant difference in their respective representations is that Achilles fights with his father's equipment, the chariot and the spear, whereas Apollo is iconically the archer god.

[2] The leaders are; Menestheus, son of the river god Spercheus and grandson of Peleus, Eudorus, son of Hermes, Peisander, Phoenix and Alcimedon (*Iliad* 16.172-97). Like the Trojan senators, the Myrmidon generals were completely ignored by their ruler (*Iliad* 16.200-9).

[3] For the myth of Achilles' stay in king Lycomedes' palace on Scyrus and his rape of Deidameia, see Gantz 1993: 81.

[4] Achilles refers to Briseis as his wife after he hears that Agamemnon has offered him one of his three daughters in marriage (*Iliad* 9.336-43). In the same speech, he renounces his "marriage" to Briseis by stating that if he returns home he will take the bride his father chooses for him or choose one for himself (*Iliad* 9.393-400). Briseis herself says that it was Patroclus who promised her that he would see to it that Achilles would marry her (*Iliad* 19.295-300). Achilles, on the other hand, never demonstrates any consistent attitude about marriage.

and Diomedes. And the placement of his ships at the extreme end of the camp symbolically evokes his liminal status as a young man still in the preparatory phase of his acculturation.

Achilles is of course the protagonist of the poem and "the best of the Achaeans." He is beloved and cared for by Hera as much as Agamemnon is (*Iliad* 1.208-9). Agamemnon's part in meting out her punishment against Troy consisted of serving as the goddess agent in assembling the great army (*Iliad* 4.28-9).[5] As much as Agamemnon acts as the goddess' agent, he precipitates the conflict that has such devastating consequences by provoking the wrath of Apollo, the god who finally kills Achilles. To arrive at a sense of Achilles' rage, the events described at the very opening of the poem need to be described as they establish the conditions for the dispute that generates the crisis in the Achaean *esprit de corps*.

A. The Quarrel in the Camp

Reflecting the earlier embassy to Troy in which Menelaus was attacked in the agora and made to return empty-handed, the *Iliad* opens with the arrival of a man named Chryses

[5] When Helen states that she had been twenty years at Troy (*Iliad* 24.765), the inference then is that the first ten years of her departure were spent by Agamemnon who formed the army by petitioning her original suitors to honour their pact to defend her honour. There is never any mention of the suitors' pact in the poem, of course and the pact between the army and Agamemnon, as discussed already, is that they do not return home until Troy has been sacked, see Gantz 1993: 564-7. The theme of the suitors does fit into the broader thematic structure of Homeric poetry when their role in the *Odyssey* is considered. In this way, the entire time span of the poems, beginning with Menelaus and the "good" suitors avenging the dishonour shown to his household and marriage, and concluding with Odysseus' return to reconstitute his household by avenging the "bad" suitors.

who has sailed into the camp with a great treasure to ransom his daughter.[6] Just as Laomedon had done with his petitioners when they sought what was rightfully theirs, Agamemnon dishonours the priest by refusing the offer of "ransom" *ápoina* and sending him off under threat of violence (*Iliad* 1.26-32). Furthermore, Agamemnon dishonours the gods by abusing Chryses in the way that he does. Agamemnon enters into the first scene of the poem by acting in the very same way as the descendants of Ilus do; he hurls violent abuse and he dishonours the gods. Additionally, Agamemnon ignores the will of the Achaeans who all loudly "entreat" *empeuphēméō* the king to express reverence for the priest and to accept the ransom (*Iliad* 1.22-3). Visited by the Golden Man, Chryses, Agamemnon behaves like the Silver Men and acts out of hubristic sinfulness. The priest then prays to Apollo to make the Achaeans pay for his tears (*Iliad* 1.42), which the god does by launching his pestilent arrows into the camp. For nine days and nights the camp experiences the conditions of the Bronze Age as the Achaeans are made to suffer and die for their king's hubris.

On the tenth morning of the plague, Hera expresses her care for the Achaeans by inspiring Achilles to approach Agamemnon in the agora. He states that the pestilence risks the terminating their mission, and that the seer needs to be consulted to determine the cause of Apollo's wrath (*Iliad* 1.59-67). Calchas the seer then addresses the agora but first asks for protection from Agamemnon as he fears that his prophesy will enrage him.

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[6] The name of the priest, his daughter and the land the come from, Chryse, symbolically evokes the Islands of the Blessed. These are the Golden People of Hesiod's poem.

Achilles agrees to protect Calchas, who then states that the priest's daughter must be returned to him unbought and unransomed, along with a hecatomb offering to be performed at Chryse (*Iliad* 1.94-100). Thus, to keep with the circuit pattern of the Hesiodic myth of the mortal races, the Bronze Age conditions of suffering and death are resolved by heroic intervention and divine will. The plague ends formally when Agamemnon has performed purifying sacrifices (*Iliad* 1.313-7), preceding the departure of Odysseus and the twenty youths who accompany Chryseis aboard the ship. Finally, they restore her to her "Golden" homeland, Chryse,[7] where they sing the paean, sacrifice and feast in propitiation of Apollo (*Iliad* 1.430-74).

Before Apollo is appeased, the Bronze Age conditions prevail; Agamemnon, furious at having to return the priest's daughter, nonetheless agrees to return his prize as he would rather have the people spared than destroyed (*Iliad* 1.116-7). While he hurls verbal abuse at Calchas, he does not threaten him with violence and ends off by stating to

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[7] Pausanias 8.33.4 states that Philoctetes had received his wound on the island of Chryse close by Lemnos, but that it had since sunken into the sea. Chryse is not identified clearly as an island and has generally been regarded as a port city in the Mysian Troad, Kirk 1985: 57. Another interesting point regarding the place names south-west of the Troad identified in relation to the sack of the Mysian cities and Apollo Smintheus, is its seeming reflection of historic Aeolis and the Aeolian league. Migrants from Boeotia and Thessaly originally settled this mainland area. They migrated first to Lesbos and Tenedos before the Aeolian confederacy of cities was established under the divine patronage of Apollo in the seventh century. Ilium too was part of the eleven (originally twelve as Smyrna defected to the Ionians) cities that formed the mainland component of the League (Herodotus 1.149-52), as were various other centres associated with Apollo in the Iliad, such as Tenedos, and Cilla. On this point, it must be recalled that Ismenius (Smintheus?) Apollo was worshipped at Boeotian Thebes Herodotus 1.52 and that Hector's hero-grave was displayed there (Pausanias, 8.18.5). All of this adds to Tsagalis' 2008: 1-29 argument that the Homeric Troad reflects many features of Boeotian Thebes. It is tinged with vague references to the Aeolian League of historic times and Boeotian Thebes was its ancestral metropolis. The association between Aeolian Asia Minor and Boeotia is well established in Hesiod (*Works and Days* 636-40). As an epithet, Smintheus does convey a sense of the god as a dispenser of plague, as do other Apollo epithets such as Parnopius and Karnaeus, see Muellner 1996: 99.

the assembly that they should offer him a prize that he should not be alone without one (*Iliad* 1.118-9). It is at this point that Achilles intervenes directly, not to protect Calchas from him, but to rebuke Agamemnon for making claims on what has already been distributed. He then finishes by stating that the army will pay him back many times if Zeus permits them to sack Troy (*Iliad* 1.127-9). Agamemnon, feeling his authority under threat (*Iliad* 1.131-2) counters by asking him the rhetorical question if Achilles would keep his prize while he is left without one. He then states that the Achaeans ought to provide him with one of equal value, or else he will come to take one from Achilles, Ajax or Odysseus (*Iliad* 1.135-9). Agamemnon then ends the dispute by stating that they should "work these and other matters out," *metaphrasómetha*, later but, for the present, they must organize the god's propitiation and restitution for his priest. He ends off by saying that a "man with power in the agora," *anér boulēphóros*, ought to take charge of

this duty, singling out Ajax, Idomeneus, Odysseus, and finally Achilles as the ones qualified (1.140-7).[8]

Achilles was first inspired by the goddess Hera to seek the source of the plague and he obediently carries out this directive. However, once this has been determined and the king suggests that Achilles might be the one to go to Chryse and offer sacrifice to Apollo, the young hero succumbs to rage.[9] Rather than leaving off the matter for the later assembly, as Agamemnon ordered, Achilles launches into his abuse of Agamemnon, stating that the king is only fighting to win honour for himself and Menelaus (*Iliad* 1.159). He then continues by asserting that he does the fighting but is awarded a lesser prize by the Achaeans, finally concluding by stating that he will return to Phthia and hence no longer act dishonourably by supplying the king with wealth (*Iliad* 1.162-71).

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[8] The first two Ajax and Idomeneus are Agamemnon's favourites (*Iliad* 4.26-64; 4.284-9) while Odysseus and Achilles are men with whom he has a conflictual relationship, as the Thersites scene later indirectly identifies (*Iliad* 2.220-1). See Kirk 1985: 67-8 for an analysis of the terminology that insists on Agamemnon's devious and malicious intentions. This prejudicial attitude regarding Agamemnon is near-universal in the critical treatment of the dispute, but the text itself does not support this. For a recent discussion of the scene that favours the corrupt, power-obsessed view of Agamemnon -- and consequently of the view that Achilles embodies a courageous voice of dissent -- see Barker 2009: 39-47. See too Hammer 2002: 82-92 who sees in the quarrel a expression of *themis* as the prerogative of the king and not as the expression of the will of the people. Barker makes the point that, lacking any mediating judiciary, dissent pursued by one man against a monarch cannot succeed. The scholarship on Agamemnon is far too influenced by Achilles' judgement of him (and the horror that is the Homeric Society approach!) than on the king's actions within the narrative itself. On this matter, refer to citation of Kirk who states the following; "... but nevertheless *divine* sea and *fair-cheeked* Khruseis add, in the circumstances, to the bland and devious impression..." What is one to make of this? Similarly, Kirk regards the choice of the descriptor *ékpaglos* for the men who are to propitiate Apollo as "certainly malicious" even after arguing against the negative qualities attributed to its etymology in the LSJ.

[9] This scene indicates the ritual antagonism existing between the two closely related characters, Achilles and Apollo. Apollo's wrath at Achilles is never referred to in the *Iliad* although it is clearly understood as he is the hero's divine assailant.

Achilles makes a bold claim here that proves to be untruthful once the narrative detail the poet supplies is retrospectively applied to it. The fact that Achilles lies about the distribution of prizes is revealed when the details surrounding the previous raid are analyzed. Chryseis was awarded to Agamemnon by the Achaeans following the sack of Thebes (*Iliad* 1.365-9), the birthplace of Hector's wife Andromache. As with the earlier raid on Lyrnessus, in which he obtained Briseis (*Iliad* 2.688-93), Achilles kills the male members of the royal house and takes hostage the female members. After slaying Andromache's father, king Eetion, Achilles performs funerary rites out of "reverence," *sebázomai* for him.[10] He also kills the king's seven sons and takes the queen as hostage, ransoming her for a vast sum (*Iliad* 6.425-428).

To repeat, in the division of the spoils, the Achaeans awarded Chryseis to Agamemnon, the daughter of the Apollo priest who is never associated with the royal house at Thebes. Along with the "unmeasurable ransom," *apereísios ápoina*, he obtains for the queen, Achilles takes several of Eetion's personal possessions; most notably the king's phorminx (*Iliad* 9.186-188), his exceptional horse Pedasus (*Iliad* 16.152-153) and finally, a mass of iron king Eetion used to hurl in athletic competitions (*Iliad* 23.826-829).

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[10] This verb expresses an attitude of religious devotion. It occurs previously within the same formulaic expression; σεβάσσατο γὰρ τό γε θυμῷ, which the poet supplies in relating why Proetus did not slay Bellorophon, who was the son of a god, despite his wrath *chólos* against him (*Iliad* 6.166-167). The detail that the local nymphs have set up a tree grove at the gravesite suggests the institution of cult, although Eetion of Mysia appears unknown outside of the *Iliad*. Menelaus kills a son of Eetion, Podes, although it should be assumed that he is the son of Eetion of Imbros (*Iliad* 17.575). For a discussion of the Eetion episode as a reflection of an alternate saga, see Zarker 1965: 110-4, and Tsagalis 2008: 19-21 who aptly draws parallels between the sack of Mysian Thebes and the great battle of Boeotian Thebes.

The details the poet supplies paint a very different picture than the one Achilles presents in his quarrel with Agamemnon. Clearly, Achilles' challenge to Agamemnon's authority pre-exists the dispute over prizes. Also, the pattern of Achilles taking for himself prizes that are more appropriate to the king appears in the raids on Lyrnessus and Pedasus in which Briseis was given to Achilles by the Achaeans (*Iliad* 1.276). In the raid on Pedasus, Achilles captured Lycaon, the son of Priam and his second wife Laothoe, and sold him to Euneus of Lemnos.[11] While the taking of battle hostages such as Lycaon is different from having prizes awarded for battle success, it does point to a policy Agamemnon has enacted that enables his soldiers to gain wealth for their fighting prowess.[12]

It is after Achilles' misstatement regarding the distribution of prizes and his expressed desire to return home that Agamemnon forces the issue by telling him to flee if that is what he desires. He acknowledges that Achilles is enormously powerful, but he also reminds him that a god has given this to him (1.178).[13] The king is wrong in this confrontation too, as he had identified two possible ways of asserting his authority over

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[11] The silver bowl Achilles received for ransoming Lycaon is offered as the first prize in the foot race, which Odysseus wins (23.741-5). The games and the dispensing of prizes can be seen as a way for Achilles to offer restitution to the Achaeans for the suffering he caused them when he lied about the prizes in his quarrel with Agamemnon.

[12] As noted earlier, Agamemnon and Nestor later rescind this privilege in the sack of Troy (6.66-9).

[13] Recall that Achilles identifies the assistance he had previously received from Zeus and Athena in the raid on Lyrnessus (20.191-2). Aeneas, as discussed previously, had already identified the fact that Achilles fought with the assistance of Athena (20.92-6). Thus, Achilles knows, the Acheans know and the Trojans know that Achilles' great might is heaven-sent.

his self-absorbed warrior; he could opt to be selfish and diminish his office by claiming Achilles' rightfully allotted prize as his own, or he could have acted as a vigilant authority and assigned him the task of going to Chryse and carrying out the propitiation as a means of having Achilles demonstrate his care. Of course, he opts for the bad choice and decides to claim Briseis as his own.[14]

The Bronze Age conditions reach their climax in the camp along the lifeless sea. After the nine days of plague, the mortuary environment is identified by the densely packed, constantly burning cremation pyres (*Iliad* 1.51). The lethal atmosphere infects the agora as the dispute of the possession of a woman escalates to the point where the objective of the army in bringing the wrongly taken Helen is altogether lost sight of. Filled with "rage," *chólos*, Achilles ponders murdering the king and reaches for his sword (*Iliad* 1.188-94). At this point, Athena enters the agora and seizes his "flaxen hair," *xanthê kómē*, from behind him, concealing herself from the rest of the army. Under directions from Hera, she points out to Achilles that both he and Agamemnon, her two chosen mortal agents of Troy's destruction, are equally beloved of the queen of the gods, mother of the "long-haired," *kárē komóōntes*, Achaeans (*Iliad* 18.359). Athena also declares that Achilles will receive a triple measure of splendid gifts *aglaá dôra* if he ceases from this hubris and yields to the gods (*Iliad* 1.213-214).

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[14] Nestor advises Agamemnon not to follow through with this as Briseis was rightfully awarded to him (*Iliad* 1.276). It is only after he displays himself to be ineffectual and proposes retreat that he finally accepts Nestor's counsel and offers to return Briseis. Agamemnon is not nefarious as he is typically made out to be. He is concerned about the well-being of the army but he is utterly dependent on the interventions of his counsellors to realize the community's objectives.

Achilles does indeed accede to divine will and returns his sword to its silver scabbard as Athena departs for Olympus. Acting within the guidelines provided him, Achilles verbally abuses the king and seizes the ancestral sceptre.[15] With it in his grip, Achilles delivers his great oath:

ὃ δέ τοι μέγας ἔσσεται ὅρκος·
ἦ ποτ' Ἀχιλλῆος ποθὴ ἵξεται υἱας Ἀχαιῶν
σύμπαντας· τότε δ' οὔ τι δυνήσεαι ἀχνύμενός περ
χραισμεῖν, εὖτ' ἂν πολλοὶ ὑφ' Ἕκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο
θνήσκοντες πίπτωσι· σὺ δ' ἔνδοθι θυμὸν ἀμύξεις
χωόμενος ὅτ' ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισας.

And this shall be for you a great oath: There will truly be a time when longing for Achilles comes over all the sons of the Achaeans, and then you (Agamemnon) in your grief will not be able to ward it off when many fall dead under Hector the manslayer, but you will tear out your thumos *in your bitterness, seeing as you never showed honour to the best of the Achaeans* (Iliad 1.239-244).

Having declared his vow, Achilles hurls the sceptre to the ground, a gesture which prompts Nestor to state "a great suffering has come to the land of the Achaeans" (*Iliad* 1.254). Achilles' oath repeats the prayer *ārē* of Chryses to Apollo as it also contains the intention to have the Achaeans suffer for Agamemnon's act of dishonour. The earlier dishonour shown to the Apollo priest enlivened the god's wrath *mênis,* resulting in the current sufferings besetting the camp and requiring a demonstration of honour by restitution and by propitiatory sacrifices. Similarly, the initial scene in which Chryses enters

[15] Not to diminish the monumentality of Achilles' utterance, but the theme that many shall be defeated for the honour of the best among them reflects athleticism and is utter nonsense under battle conditions. The glory seeking behaviour ascribed to Homeric heroes is profoundly indicative of solitary agonistic performance appropriate to athletic festivals. The manipulation of Pelops' sceptre at this point in the poem appears to allegorize a preliminary ritual undergone by the competitors at Aulis. As perhaps too the beating of Thersites before the procession is formed and the ford is crossed.

the camp focusses on his golden sceptre, the iconic attestation to his status as priest (1.14-5). Achilles too dramatizes his dispute with the king by means of his physical manipulation of the ancestral sceptre of Pelops, made of "dead" wood coated in bronze with golden studs (1.234-46).[16] The priest, holding before him his golden sceptre garlanded by the fillets *stémma* normally worn as a head dress and his great ransom in tow, gains the immediate approval of the army, but Agamemnon, reacting like the Silver People after being cloven to their mothers for a hundred years, dishonours the gods by rejecting the ransom and threatening violence to the priest. Like the other Silver People of the poem, the Trojan Priamids, Agamemnon refuses to act upon the counsel of his people and keeps the "Golden girl" Chryseis for himself. Although the Achaeans support the priest's claim, they nonetheless are made the target of the god's reprisal.

Achilles' oath imitates Chryses' prayer by targeting the reprisal for the king's dishonourable behaviour on those who allotted the prize originally, the Achaeans. In Achilles' case, the Achaeans do not impose themselves on the debate in the way that Athena does; it is only after Achilles utters his oath and casts the sceptre onto the ground that Nestor intervenes and declares that a great grief entered the land of the Achaeans (1.254). After recalling to the army how he had fought alongside the mightiest men on earth -- men who were much better than present-day ones -- Nestor instructs Agamemnon to leave Achilles' prize to him, and for Achilles to honour the sceptre-

[16] Recall that in the Hesiodic myth of the mortal races, the heroes exist in conditions reflecting the Bronze Age, but a select few go on to achieve an afterlife that repeats the Golden Age.

holding king (*Iliad* 1.254-84).[17] Agamemnon first acknowledges Nestor's wisdom, but he harps about Achilles overstepping himself and again draws attention to his relationship with divinity (*Iliad* 1.286-91). Achilles responds by rejecting Agamemnon's authority over him, stating that he will not resist the removal of Briseis, and concludes by threatening death if anything else of his is taken (*Iliad* 1.293-303).

The scene concludes with Achilles, Patroclus and his generals withdrawing to their huts at the furthest extremity of the camp. Odysseus, meanwhile, has prepared his ship for the voyage to Chryse. Agamemnon calls upon his delegation to purify themselves and they offer hecatomb sacrifices to Apollo before departing. After Agamemnon's heralds remove Briseis, Achilles succumbs to tears, drops to the sand at the sea shore and prays with his hands outstretched (*Iliad* 1.348-51). He calls out to his mother by invoking her as having born him into a brief existence (*Iliad* 1.352). He then states that Zeus owed him a "debt" *opheílō* and should have put honour into his hands, but instead he did not honour him in the slightest (*Iliad* 1.353-4). Thetis appears to her boy in a state of lamentation, strokes him and asks about the sorrow in his heart. After Achilles revisits his crisis, he asks his mother to petition Zeus to carry out his curse against

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[17] The sermon puts the current conflict over a woman in the context of a bride abduction, which is also the broader context of the Trojan War. Because Nestor's presence positively resolved the earlier contest, he is claiming a similar result if the two follow his current advise, see Alden 2000: 76-82. Nestor provides no details about the battle, nor does he directly refer to the enemy as the Centaurs. The Centaurs, relatives of the Lapiths, were invited to the wedding of Peirithous and Hippodamia. Unable to control their intake of wine, they became drunk and set about raping the women present at first sight of the bride. Nestor refers to Peirithous' bride by the name of Pelops' wife whom he won from Oenomaus. Interestingly, this change of names manages to combine both contest scenes that would later adorn the west and east pediments of the classical period Zeus temple at Olympia, see Barringer 2005: 221-35.

the Achaeans in punishment of Agamemnon's "sacrilegious blindness" *átē* in dishonouring the best of the Achaeans (*Iliad* 1.407-12). Thetis responds to her son by stating the grief she bears at giving birth to him and then by confirming what he already knows; that his fate is now to be fulfilled, his brief life is to end. Before agreeing to his request and instructing him to maintain his wrath against the Achaeans by remaining at the ships, she states that she bore him to an "evil fate" *kakê aísē* (*Iliad* 1.414-22).

In conclusion, Achilles' curse is a curse against himself. By empowering Hector to carry out his oath to slay the Achaeans, he sets into motion the conditions of his own fate as the city-sacking serpent of Hera's wrath. As an Achaean himself, his curse to bring death upon the Achaeans is also an oath of self-annihilation.[18] The Bronze Age funerary environment of the camp creates an underworld context in which the raw eating wrath of the goddess first expresses itself. Hera first inspires Achilles to act out of care for the Achaeans, which leads to the calling of the assembly and the quarrel with Agamemnon. Athena then seizes Achilles by the hair to prevent him from slaying the king, offering him glorious gifts three times greater if he obeys and desists. Finally, Thetis visits her boy and takes him in her arms to lament with him over his brief existence, ordering him to maintain his isolation and wrath against the Achaeans. While, on the earthly level, Achilles expresses a violent rejection of the army's Zeus-determined

[18] Heiden 2008: 34; "Thus the action of the *Iliad* is built upon the folktale motif of the 'backfiring wish': a mortal speaks words that magically determine the future, but the meaning of those words and the future they create is not what the mortal intended or desired."

authority, on the heavenly level, he acts with obedience by carrying out the gods' orders.

B. The Delegation to Achilles' Huts

As discussed earlier, on the evening of the day (second day of hostilities) in which Zeus turns the tide of battle, announces Patroclus' death, and drives the Achaeans out of the plain, Agamemnon admits that he had been deluded by the father of the gods and now calls upon the army to leave in the ships for the second time, but this time he does so in earnest. After Nestor and Diomedes take charge, the senior counsellor convenes a delegation of two senator-kings, Odysseus and Ajax, and the most senior of the Myrmidon leaders, Phoenix. Just as Agamemnon had assigned to Odysseus the leadership of the delegation to return Chryseis, Nestor similarly empowers him to return Briseis, along with many other gifts, as a way of making Achilles cease his wrath and revoke his curse.

In the opening book of the poem, Achilles is visited by three goddesses, with each visitation representing a descending level of divinity: from Hera who has chosen him, to Athena who has assisted him, and to Thetis, finally, who had given birth to him. While the immortal contacts are on an increasing scale of personal intimacy, the intent of each serves to separate Achilles from his human community. Hera begins by inspiring concern in him and Thetis ends by instructing him to maintain his wrath in isolation from his community. In the second scene that features Achilles, the Embassy Scene, a similar series of three visitations is conducted by his human community as it seeks to

counteract the divinely created cleavage between Achilles and the Achaean army. The approach the delegation takes is to focus on the angry warrior's fatherly connections and, to this end, puts the paternal voice of Peleus into Odysseus, that of the mother into Phoenix, and that of the broader fraternity into his blood relative Ajax.

Whereas the opening scene leaves Achilles at the shore of the barren sea weeping bitterly in his mother's arms, his next appearance establishes an altogether different mood. The delegates come upon Achilles as he is playing the phorminx he had taken from Eetion's palace and pleasuring his *thumós* by singing the glories of men (9.185-90).[19] He greets the delegates warmly and orders Patroclus to prepare wine and meat for the guests, finally instructing his attendant to sacrifice to the gods as he sits down across from Odysseus (9.218-20).

Odysseus lets Achilles know that Zeus is favouring the Trojans and that Hector is boasting that he will burn the ships at sunrise, making it their fate to perish *phthīō* at Troy (9.236-46). Assuming the voice of Peleus, Odysseus reminds the youth of his father's admonishment when he had sent him from Phthia, his homeland, to Agamemnon:

> ὦ πέπον ἦ μὲν σοί γε πατὴρ ἐπετέλλετο Πηλεὺς
> ἤματι τῷ ὅτε σ' ἐκ Φθίης Ἀγαμέμνονι πέμπε·
> τέκνον ἐμὸν κάρτος μὲν Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη

[19] Just as Helen, who is also isolated from her Achaean community, busies herself by weaving the contests between the Achaeans and Trojans, Achilles is singing of the glorious deeds of the battle. When Demodocus sings of the glories of men in the Odyssey he is singing of the Trojan war (Odyssey 8.73-4), see Nagy 1999: 100-14. The few references to Achilles' encampment define it as peaceful location. Just as Achilles is described at leisure and singing, the poet also states that his people took pleasure in the discus, the javelin toss and archery.

δώσουσ᾽ αἴ κ᾽ ἐθέλωσι, σὺ δὲ μεγαλήτορα θυμὸν
ἴσχειν ἐν στήθεσσι· φιλοφροσύνη γὰρ ἀμείνων·
ληγέμεναι δ᾽ ἔριδος κακομηχάνου, ὄφρά σε μᾶλλον
τίωσ᾽ Ἀργείων ἠμὲν νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες.

Young boy, it was to you father Peleus issued his command on that day when he sent you from Phthia to Agamemnon: "My child mighty force will Athena and Hera give you, if they so choose, but you must keep your great-hearted spirit within your chest, as caring-mindedness is better. Restrain, then, your evil-contriving strife so that both the Argive young and old may honour you all the more (Iliad 9.254-258)

This brief statement identifies the paradoxical nature of Achilles' existence and situates it within the contrasting plans of his parents. Achilles does possess the might of the goddesses, but it is given to him to actualize their plans. Although she deeply laments this, Thetis orders her boy to keep nourishing his wrath, whereas Peleus stresses the basic requirement of *philophrosúnē*, which finds its fullest expression among the Achaeans, who are always eager to defend one another. Odysseus' appeal to Achilles seeks to return Achilles to Agamemnon by first recollecting how his own father had given him over to the king and then by offering him the restitution, which includes marriage and settlement within the king's family and domain. Such prospects are beyond Achilles' fated allotment, of which he is fully conscious, as his mother has told him that his life is brief and that he is soon to die. In order for Achilles to realize his fate, he must obey the gods, and this means that he must nurture the evil-contriving strife until they instruct him to do otherwise.

Peleus is an ambiguous but constant presence in the *Iliad*. Achilles often evokes him by wondering if he is still alive, or if he has died in his palace in Phthia, the land of withering.[20] While he sent his son to Agamemnon to be a "speaker of words and a doer of deeds" (*Iliad* 9.443), he is consistently depicted as a redeemer of outcasts, or murder-convicted exiles.[21]

Among these redeemed outcasts is Phoenix, whose name conveys something of a redemptive motif as it also denotes the bird which regenerates from its own ashes. The senior general of the Myrmidons follows Odysseus in attempting to persuade Achilles. Whereas Odysseus assumed the paternal voice and made the offer of compensation, Phoenix casts himself in a motherly role and concludes his appeal by pointing out the need to show reverence to the gods. He leads off in a similar way as Odysseus by stating that Peleus sent Achilles to Agamemnon in order for him to learn about war and politics, describing him as an "inexperienced," *nḗpios*, when he departed from home (*Iliad* 9.440). He then recalls his own early departure from his homeland and how he came

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[20] See Nagy 1999: 100 for a fascinating discussion of the poetic deployment of the term as a "much-nurturing" homeland that evokes fatality. Phthia is situated in Thessaly along the banks of the river Spercheus and on the slopes of Mount Pelion. Nestor, who accompanied Odysseus when they went to Phthia to enlist Achilles into the army, refers to Peleus as something of a "*patḗr Achaiôn*" when Hector issues the challenge of a duel and only Menelaus responds. He repeats his expression that a great suffering has come upon the land of Achaea and that the great statesman of the Myrmidons would the elder Peleus groan at the current state of affairs. He recalls how Peleus rejoiced at hearing of the birth and lineage of all the Argives (*Iliad* 7.124-8). The implication in Nestor's invocation of Peleus is that he would be deeply upset to hear that any of the sons of the Achaeans have held back from fighting Hector and the Trojans, including his own son.

[21] When Achilles accuses Agamemnon of treating him like a "no-account hoboe" *atímētos metanástēs (Iliad* 9.648; 16:9) there is an ironic pathos at work, given that Peleus is a redeemer of such individuals and has entrusted these to educate his son.

to Peleus after a dispute with his father over a concubine. After being compelled by his mother to sleep with the woman, young Phoenix was cursed by his father and rendered sterile. Furious, the boy plotted to avenge himself by murdering his father. The Achaeans, however, intervened and held him back, hiding him indoors to prevent him from carrying out a plan for which he would suffer the wrath of the Erinyes. They kept him in seclusion for nine days, during which time he feasted on his father's herds and wine. On the tenth night, young Phoenix fled his father's home to Phthia, where he was welcomed by Peleus and appointed to rule over the Dolopians. Unable to have children of his own, Phoenix describes his role in a motherly way, recollecting how he was the only one the infant Achilles permitted to feed him wine and meat at the banquet (*Iliad* 9.434-498).

Whereas Odysseus had previously adopted a paternal tone to Achilles in reminding Achilles of his father's wishes, Phoinix identifies himself in motherly terms, calling the angry warrior his *phílon tékos* and reminding him of maternal care he received from him at home, before joining the army. While Odysseus takes a more direct approach and lays out for Achilles the restitution Agamemnon is offering, Phoenix follows up with a very personal and emotional appeal, which he concludes by alluding to Achilles' sinfulness. This is brought to the fore in his concluding sermons, the *"átē-lítai"* and Meleager speeches that follow after Achilles' rejection of the compensation offered to him.[22]

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[22] For a very detailed discussion of Phoenix's sermons see, Alden 2000: 179-290.

The pathos of Phoenix's "motherly" appeal to honour the gods comes through in its contrast with the instructions he receives from Thetis, who ordered her son to remain apart and to maintain his wrath. It should also be pointed out that Patroclus too was also welcomed into Peleus' home to assist his son after he killed a fellow boy out of rage (23.84-90). Whereas Peleus offered sanctuary to exiled murderers, he, by the will of the gods, fathers lion-hearted, man-destroying Achilles (*Theog.* 1005-6).[23]

Peleus not only sent his son off to battle with Phoenix and Patroclus to help him achieve the everlasting fame, he also provided him the divine equipment he received at his wedding feast. The armour in which both Patroclus and Hector die was given to Peleus by the gods as a wedding gift (*Iliad* 18.82-5), and Poseidon gave the groom the chariot driven by the immortal horses borne from Boreas and the Harpy Podarge (*Iliad* 16.148-51). His massive spear was given to Peleus by the centaur Cheiron (*Iliad* 16.140-4). Achilles also acquired the knowledge of healing from the "most just of the centaurs" Cheiron (*Iliad* 11.831-2). Thus, Peleus supplied his boy with the practical and instructional means to achieve renown in the great battle of Troy, the battle to bring Helen home.

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[23] Epeigeus was sent to Peleus and Thetis after slaying a kinsman and then sent to Troy to accompany Achilles (*Iliad* 16.571-6), see Heiden 1998: 4-6. The myth of the slaying of Phocus is suggested by having Telamon too offer sanctuary to the exiled murderer Lycophron who, like Patroclus, serves as Ajax' attendant (*Iliad* 15.430-2). Both of these are killed by Hector. Heiden also makes the point that Thetis herself is something of an exile as she was sent to earth to marry a mortal. Recall too that she was fated to give birth to a son who would best his father, and this is why Themis prevents her from marrying Zeus (Pindar *Isthmian* 8.26-36).

After hearing of the gifts of restitution provided by Agamemnon and the offer of the hand of the daughter of his choosing, Achilles rejects them as trivial offerings, given that he has wealth at home and has amassed an even greater supply since leaving for war (*Iliad* 9.364-87). To return to the point made at the introduction, Achilles utterly rejects the offer of marriage and defines the taking of his prize in the same way as Paris' abduction of Helen, as Agamemnon having taken away his wife (*Iliad* 9.336). He later returns to the topic of his wedding and states that, should the gods grant him a return, he will marry the bride chosen for him by Peleus.[24] As he did in the quarrel with Agamemnon, Achilles misstates his situation and confuses both his marital status and prospects upon his return.

Also reflecting the earlier quarrel with the king, Achilles takes complete credit for having destroyed the twenty-three Trojan cities. There is no mention that the Trojans fight like "deer," nor that the Achaeans as a unit are vastly superior than he alone. Instead, it is only about Agamemnon's insatiable greed and how he has been drawn into the position of having to satisfy it. In laying out the lazy, greedy king's lack of gratitude, he uses the ill-omened analogy of the mother bird who labours to bring food back to her nestlings, just as he did in fighting while Agamemnon stayed behind, apportion-

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[24] Interestingly, he states that he would not marry a daughter of Agamemnon's even if she competed in beauty with Aphrodite and in craftwork with Athena, details which also evoke the contestants at the Judgement of Paris (*Iliad* 9.388-90). When Achilles states that he could have his choice of any woman in all of Hellas and Phthia, there is a suggestion of the broader myth that Achilles was never one of Helen's suitors as she would have married him instantly, see Gantz 1993: 564-7. The Achilles cult at the White Island honours Achilles Pontarchus who is married to Helen, making of the two a divine couple in compensation for the wedding that was denied them in their mortal life (Pausanias 3.19.13).

ing a few of the goods but keep most for himself (*Iliad* 9.323-33).[25] Again, he omits any reference to the "force" *krátos* given to him by the goddesses. Achilles begins his misrepresentations[26] by stating that a man who conceals one thing and says something else is as hateful to him as the gates of Hades (*Iliad* 9.312-3), and yet he does this very thing. What Achilles is concealing in his mind is his fated and fast approaching death at Troy, as prophesied to him by his mother. He also misleadingly states to Odysseus that his mother has given him a double fate; that he will either die soon and win everlasting renown, or, if he leaves, he will live long and anonymously in Phthia.[27] Returning from Troy is never an option extended to Achilles by Thetis and, given this, the journey back to Phthia and to Peleus -- who awaits him with his wealth and a bride in *bōtiáneira Phthíē*, the "man-nourishing Land of Perishing -- is then an allegory of death and entry into the underworld.[28]

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[25] When the portent at Aulis is applied to Achilles' self description as the mother bird, he is announcing that he too will be consumed by the goddess' wrath he nurses.

[26] I realize that this is a contentious assessment, given the way Achilles' situation with respect to Agamemnon's authority is typically handled, but one has to assess his statements in light of the details provided in the poem. Furthermore, one has to regard the Achilles figure as a youth who is in the process of moving out from the influence of his parents.

[27] For a recent discussion of Achilles' reply to Odysseus that astoundingly does not engage Achilles' statement regarding his double fate, but instead sees in the reply Achilles' awakening to the futility of war and heroic values, and an awakening too of the inner dimension of the person, see Rinon 2008: 24-27. In the closed world of hero myth, there are no double destinies, especially in the case of a hero such as Achilles. The return to Phthia and to Peleus is not an option, but rather an allusion to dying, to passing through the gates of Hades. For the indelible relationship between heroic death and undying fame as the two are connected in Achilles' articulation of his double fate, see Nagy 1999: 184-5.

[28] The funerary nature of Achilles' return to battle will be discussed shortly.

Finally, Ajax, as discussed in the previous chapter, puts it to his cousin directly by citing the example of "restitution" *poiné* that enables a murderer of a countryman's son or brother to remain in his homeland. This may allude to the myth of Phocus, murdered by his brothers Peleus and Telamon, who were both exiled by their father for their crime. Of course, there is no mention of Phocus in the *Iliad*, which never refers to Ajax as an Aeacid either, but, as I have indicated, both the households of Achilles and Telamon are identified as providing sanctuary to exiled murderers. Peleus and Telamon either killed Phocus in anger at being bested in athletic competition (this is alluded to in Patroclus' crime), or else they murdered him on instructions from their mother who was jealous of the goddess-begotten boy (alluded to in Phoenix' biography).[29] For their crime, the two brothers were exiled from Aegina and both later provide sanctuary, exiled murderers in their own lands of banishment. Thus, when Ajax states the importance of accepting restitution to Achilles, he can be seen as reminding his cousin of their own fathers' shared crime and punishment. Achilles replies as follows:

Αἶαν διογενὲς Τελαμώνιε κοίρανε λαῶν
πάντά τί μοι κατὰ θυμὸν ἐείσω μυθήσασθαι·
ἀλλά μοι οἰδάνεται κραδίη χόλῳ ὁππότ᾽ ἐκείνων
μνήσομαι ὥς μ᾽ ἀσύφηλον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρεξεν
Ἀτρεΐδης ὡς εἴ τιν᾽ ἀτίμητον μετανάστην.
ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς ἔρχεσθε καὶ ἀγγελίην ἀπόφασθε·
οὐ γὰρ πρὶν πολέμοιο μεδήσομαι αἱματόεντος
πρίν γ᾽ υἱὸν Πριάμοιο δαΐφρονος Ἕκτορα δῖον
Μυρμιδόνων ἐπί τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἱκέσθαι
κτείνοντ᾽ Ἀργείους, κατά τε σμῦξαι πυρὶ νῆας.
ἀμφὶ δέ τοι τῇ ἐμῇ κλισίῃ καὶ νηῒ μελαίνῃ
Ἕκτορα καὶ μεμαῶτα μάχης σχήσεσθαι οἴω.

[29] Gantz 1993: 222-3 discusses the variant accounts of the death of Phocus at the hands of his brothers.

God-born Telamonian Ajax, leader of the people, you seem to say all of this to me according to my thumos but the heart in me swells with anger when I remember that one and how he abused me in front of the Argives, son of Atreus! as if I were some no-account hoboe. Now go to him and declare my message; that I will not consider joining bloody war until fiery-minded god-like Hector, son of Priam, comes to the huts and ships of the Myrmidons slaying Argives, and burns their black ships with fire (Iliad 9.644-654).

C. The Death of Patroclus

At the conclusion of the first book of the poem, Zeus nods his assent to Achilles' curse in response to Thetis' supplication, making the desire expressed in the petition the reality the poem relates. On the day of fighting before the delegation to Achilles is convened, Zeus tells them that he will empower Hector until the fighting is taken to the ships before Achilles returns to the fighting. The bitter consequence of Zeus' fulfilment of his prayer is that the Achaean Patroclus is to die (*Iliad* 8.470-6). In cursing the Achaeans with death at the hands Hector, Achilles imitated the Apollo priest Chryses, but what he fails to factor into his prayer is that he too is an Achaean. Therefore, in cursing his community with death he is opening himself up to having his curse rebound against himself.[30] Achilles, of course, never intended for Patroclus to die, but Zeus builds this eventuality into his curse, which results in having Achilles suffer far more for his blindness than Agamemnon does.

Just as Achilles was inspired by Hera to summon Calchas and offer him protection so that he could determine the source of the plague afflicting the Achaeans, he summons Patroclus to determine the identity of a wounded Achaean on the morning of

[30] See page 13, note 18.

the great battle. Suspecting that it is Machaon, the healer of the Achaeans, who has been wounded by an arrow shot by Paris, he dispatches Patroclus to Nestor's hut to confirm his identity (*Iliad* 11.611-5). In the opening scene of the poem, the priest invokes Apollo Smintheus, who rules over Chryse, Cilla and Tenedos, to both infect and heal the Achaeans; this transposes itself onto Patroclus' mission when he witnesses Hecamede of Tenedos preparing a recuperative drink in Nestor's great goblet for the returning combatants (*Iliad* 11.624-44). Nestor then draws Patroclus in and persuades him to bring aid to the Achaeans by driving off the Trojans in Achilles' armour (*Iliad* 11.796-801).[31] Having determined that it is indeed Machaon who was injured, Patroclus resumes his run and returns to Achilles. He is stopped at Odysseus' ships by Eurypylus, who lies bleeding at the altars of the gods (*Iliad* 11.806-11).[32] Patroclus then applies the healing arts Achilles taught him and delays his return, permitting Hector to lead the Trojans through the wall.

When Patroclus returns to Achilles, he is rebuked for weeping and then sardonically asked if either of their fathers has died (*Iliad* 16.7-19). Patroclus reports back to him regarding the wounded Achaeans, leaving out Machaon's status, and then puts the request forward to enter the battle in the armour Peleus had given his son. Although

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[31] Nestor appears to know that Thetis and Zeus are involved in Achilles' withdrawal (11.795-6).

[32] These woundings by Paris anticipate Achilles' death. Machaon is hit in the shoulder, Eurypylus in the thigh and, moving down the body, the inference is that Achilles, like Diomedes, will receive his strike in the foot.

Patroclus is motivated to bear aid to the Achaeans, Achilles approves as he sees in the plan an opportunity to win honour and glory at the hands of the army:

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς Πάτροκλε νεῶν ἄπο λοιγὸν ἀμύνων
ἔμπεσ' ἐπικρατέως, μὴ δὴ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο
νῆας ἐνιπρήσωσι, φίλον δ' ἀπὸ νόστον ἕλωνται.
πείθεο δ' ὥς τοι ἐγὼ μύθου τέλος ἐν φρεσὶ θείω,
ὡς ἄν μοι τιμὴν μεγάλην καὶ κῦδος ἄρηαι
πρὸς πάντων Δαναῶν, ἀτὰρ οἳ περικαλλέα κούρην
ἄψ ἀπονάσσωσιν, ποτὶ δ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα πόρωσιν.

But even so Patroclus ward off destruction from the ships and attack them with force, so that fire may not be kindled up and the ships burnt thus taking away dear return. Obey! So that I put into your mind the purpose of my instruction and that you gain for me great honour and glory from all of the Danaans, and they send back the beautiful girl, along with splendid gifts (Iliad 16.80-86).

He then cautions Patroclus not to assault the polis, not out of concern for him, but because such a manoeuvre would reduce his honour (*Iliad* 16.90). Finally, he concludes by expressing a presumptuous wish:

αἲ γὰρ Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον
μήτέ τις οὖν Τρώων θάνατον φύγοι ὅσσοι ἔασι,
μήτέ τις Ἀργείων, νῶϊν δ' ἐκδῦμεν ὄλεθρον,
ὄφρ' οἷοι Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύωμεν.

If only Father Zeus, Athene, and Apollo would let none of the Trojans flee death however many they are; nor any of the Argives either, but let the two of us instead escape destruction, so that we alone may loosen Troy's sacred veil (Iliad 16.97-100).[33]

[33] Note the marriage symbolism at work. The capture of Troy by himself and Patroclus alone is equated to the nuptial night. Again, the allegorical nature of the *Iliad* as it relates to the transition of males from military serves and bachelorhood to enfranchised citizenship and marriage provides a far more meaningful reading of the poem than the warrior society model that seeks to explain selfish behaviour by putting it the context of the conjectured Hobbesian world of Dark Ages Greece.

The irony of the wish is evident; neither warrior will live much longer, let alone see the fall of Troy.[34] The wish also brings to the fore the great extent of Achilles' disassociation from the Achaeans, as he wishes on the one hand to win honour from them still but, all the while, wishes that they too would perish in order for himself and Patroclus to experience the "loosening of Troy's sacred veil" alone.[35] At this point Achilles demonstrates that he has lost all care for the Achaeans and that his concern for Patroclus only extends as far as he does his bidding properly.[36]

After handing over to Patroclus the armour and the horses the gods had given to Peleus along with the command of the Myrmidons, Achilles pours libation from the cup Thetis had given him and petitions Zeus with a prayer. Invoking Zeus of Dodona, Achilles reminds the god that he had shown him honour by greatly afflicting the Achaeans and wishes him to fulfill his desire to have Patroclus drive the Trojans from the ships before returning unharmed (*Iliad* 16.233-48). Having already determined Pa-

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[34] Janko 1994: 328.

[35] The erotic connotations are evident. That the veil has a nuptial reference, recall that Aphrodite gave such a garment to Andromache when Hector led her out of Eetion's home (22.469-72).

[36] Although he is often described as Achilles' *philos hetairos*, Patroclus never demonstrates himself to be more than an attendant, or *therapōn*, as he only ever acts to perform manual tasks for his Achilles. The designation of him as *therapōn* is significant as it draws out his role as Achilles' ritual substitute, enabling the poet to include Achilles' death within the poem without having him actually die. On Patroclus as Achilles' ritual substitute, see Nagy 1999: 292-5.

troclus' death, Zeus grants the portion of the prayer that corresponds with the plan he has already contrived and announced to the gods (*Iliad* 16.249-52).[37]

Patroclus is described as *méga nḗpios* (*Iliad* 16.46) before setting out from the security of Achilles' side and thus reflects the Silver People when they are at their mother's sides.[38] Like this second generation of mortals, Patroclus only lives a short time after donning Achilles' armour and leaving the protection of the camp. He disregards the instructions given to him and does not return after repulsing the Trojans, but drives into the plain and makes an attack on Troy. Although Patroclus is initially motivated out of a need to bring assistance to the Achaeans, his god-granted success inflates his pride and causes him to ignore Achilles' instructions.[39] Having despoiled Sarpedon's armour, Patroclus goes on to slay nine warriors before making three rushes at the Trojan wall. Apollo repulses each assault and orders him to go back, telling him that it is not ordained for either him or Achilles to sack Troy (*Iliad* 16.707-9).

Filled with hubris and behaving like the Silver Men, Patroclus ignores the god's orders and makes three more rushes, each time killing nine warriors. On the fourth assault, Apollo approaches him from behind and strikes him with the flat of his hand, a

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[37] Achilles is always devout and the description of his reverent pouring of the libation contrasts with Hector's refusal to perform such a rite at his mother's prompting. Nonetheless, the death of Patroclus also conveys a punishment of Achilles' presumptuousness in treating his comrades as tools in advancing his self-interest. Patroclus's death also is a reprisal for his failure to provide a positive example to Achilles, as his own father Menoetius had exhorted him to do.

[38] *W&D* 131.

[39] Ares assists him to slay Sarpedon (*Iliad* 17.480-481).

blow that removes the divine armour from his body. Left naked and dazed on the battlefield from the god's "blow" *plēgḗ*,[40] Patroclus is then pierced through by the spear of Euphorbus, son of the Trojan senator and Apollo priest Panthous (*Iliad* 16.786-817). Near death, he attempts to crawl back into the Achaean ranks before Hector delivers to him a gratuitous -- but fatal -- spear thrust (*Iliad* 16.828).

Patroclus' death foreshadows Achilles' own demise. Just as the death of Hector anticipates the fall of Troy within the narrative, the death of Patroclus, his *therápōn* -- ritual substitute of Achilles -- serves to signal his own death. Achilles is to die in the same way as Diomedes is wounded at the tomb of Ilus, that is, by Apollo who will guide Paris' arrow into his heel. Patroclus, however, is not killed by an arrow, but rather by a spear such as the one Achilles fights with. Patroclus is also slaughtered by the double action of Apollo and a mortal, Euphorbus, who is described as surpassing his peers in the martial and athletic skills of the spear throw, horsemanship and foot racing (*Iliad* 16.808-810) and later as "the best of the Trojans" (*Iliad* 17.80). Such designations mirror the defining characteristics of Achilles, who fights with the spear and also drives horses. Apollo, to repeat, strikes Patroclus' back, rendering him dazed and naked before Euphorbus drives his spear into him, presumably in the same location as Apollo had struck him. Given the way in which Euphorbus is described, the scene is poetically crafted to both foreshadow Achilles' own death and to identify Achilles, the

[40] The use of this term and the placement of Apollo when he delivers the striking blow invests the scene with a sacrificial quality.

Achaean who curses his community with death, as complicit in the death of his beloved Patroclus.

Even before he is told of Patroclus' death, Achilles surmises it as he observes the battle and recalls of his mother's prophecy that the best of the Myrmidons would die before him (*Iliad* 18.6-14). Preoccupied with these thoughts, Nestor's son Antilochus confirms what he already knows, launching Achilles into a delirium of guilt-ridden grief. His pitched wailing sets off the entire camp; the captive women join the lamentation and the sound of his grief reaches the undersea cave of the Nereids. Thetis and her fifty sisters leave their father's undersea cave for the camp to weep for Achilles' imminent death.[41]

Achilles tells his mother about the death of Patroclus and the loss of his father's armour; he also states that he will repay Hector for killing his dearest companion (*Iliad* 18.79-93). Upon hearing this, Thetis confirms her earlier prophesy and announces that his death will follow shortly after that of Hector (*Iliad* 18.95-6). Achilles replies as follows:

αὐτίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ἑταίρῳ
κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμῦναι· ὃ μὲν μάλα τηλόθι πάτρης
ἔφθιτ', ἐμεῖο δὲ δῆσεν ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα γενέσθαι.
νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὐ νέομαί γε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
οὐδέ τι Πατρόκλῳ γενόμην φάος οὐδ' ἑτάροισι
τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἳ δὴ πολέες δάμεν Ἕκτορι δίῳ,
ἀλλ' ἧμαι παρὰ νηυσὶν ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης,
τοῖος ἐὼν οἷος οὔ τις Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων
ἐν πολέμῳ· ἀγορῇ δέ τ' ἀμείνονές εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι.
ὡς ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν ἔκ τ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο

[41] Book 24 of the *Odyssey* describes the grand funeral and lamentations of Achilles.

καὶ χόλος, ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ χαλεπῆναι,
ὅς τε πολὺ γλυκίων μέλιτος καταλειβομένοιο
ἀνδρῶν ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀέξεται ἠΰτε καπνός·
ὡς ἐμὲ νῦν ἐχόλωσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων.
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν ἀχνύμενοί περ,
θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλον δαμάσαντες ἀνάγκῃ·
νῦν δ' εἶμ' ὄφρα φίλης κεφαλῆς ὀλετῆρα κιχείω
Ἕκτορα· κῆρα δ' ἐγὼ τότε δέξομαι ὁππότε κεν δὴ
Ζεὺς ἐθέλῃ τελέσαι ἠδ' ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι.
οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ βίη Ἡρακλῆος φύγε κῆρα,
ὅς περ φίλτατος ἔσκε Διῒ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι·
ἀλλά ἑ μοῖρ' ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀργαλέος χόλος Ἥρης.
ὣς καὶ ἐγών, εἰ δή μοι ὁμοίη μοῖρα τέτυκται,

I pray that I die straightaway seeing as I did not think to assist my companion who is now dead: Who far from his home has perished, and needed me to be his protector against destruction, but now because of this I will not go to my dear homeland, nor in any way did I become a beacon to Patroclus or to my other comrades, those many slain by god-like Hector, but sat by the ships, a fruitless weight on the fertile soil, myself who is like no other among the bronze-coated Achaeans in battle, although in the agora others are better. May strife thus be utterly destroyed from gods and men, and anger; anger that incites a thought-burdened man to rage bittlerly, anger that is much sweeter than dripping honey, and thickens like smoke in the breasts of men even so now did the king of men Agamemnon enrage me. But we will let go of these past things, we who grieve, out of necessity we subdue the dear thumos in our breasts. Now I go to strike back at the murder of this dear head, at Hector... I accept my end seeing as Zeus and the other immortals will its fulfillment. No, not even mighty Heracles fled death, He who was most dear to king Zeus son of Cronus, but fate and the grievous wrath of Hera overpowered him. (Iliad 18. 115-119)

In this statement, Achilles awakens to his responsibility for causing Patroclus death. Having been consumed by his anger at Agamemnon, he put himself above his community by exploiting the debt owing his mother to bring destruction upon them, ignoring his paternal exhortation to act out of *philophrosúnē*, to take his place among the Achaeans who love him most of all, and to be always eager to defend his fellows. Just as with

the two other agents in his curse, Hector and Agamemnon,[42] Achilles misreads the response Zeus gives to his prayer, investing the response with a false, self-serving hope. Although he was never told by his mother that he will survive to see Troy fall, the self-aggrandizing effect of witnessing Hector, the agent of his curse, attack the ships and slay the Achaeans leads him to express the desire that both he and Patroclus alone will be the surviving victors. Upon realizing that it was his own behaviour that caused Patroclus' death, he accepts his fate and resolves to return to battle to kill Hector so that he too may die.

In conclusion, the death of Patroclus, himself the victim of Achilles' murderous rage, expresses the end of Peleus' desire for his son to win renown and return victorious to Phthia. Having lent to Patroclus the bronze armour and chariot given to Peleus by the gods at his wedding, he sends the "greatly inexperienced" *méga nḗpios* Patroclus off to meet his doom.[43] Patroclus' death marks the end of any hope for return to Peleus' kingdom, for marriage, and for a comfortable longevity. Whereas Patroclus attended to Achilles in life, in death the situation reverses itself as the spirit of slain warrior, after revealing that he too had slain his fellow countryman, instructs his former master to

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[42] Recall that Agamemnon interprets his dream to mean that he will sack Troy that very day, despite Achilles' withdrawal and Hector interprets his message from Iris to mean that he destroy the fleet before sundown. The situation with Achilles is complicated by the fact that Zeus does not send him a portent directly, but orchestrates the fulfilment of his prayer by sending messages to the other parties. Achilles does not misinterpret a Zeus-sent message, but rather invests a false hope in its outcome; he hopes that the Achaeans really will all be killed so that he and Patroclus may have Troy to themselves.

[43] On the name of Patroclus as denoting "the glory of the ancestors," see Nagy 1999: 102-105. Given that Peleus' and equipment is given to him, I would rather place the emphasis of the death of Patroclus on the end of any possibility for the son to return and to take over the family household from the father.

combine their bones in the same urn given to him by Thetis (*Iliad* 23.91-2). Achilles consents and, after the corpse has been placed on the pyre, shears off his long hair. Achilles then calls to his native River Spercheus and tells the god that the vows Peleus had made to him were in vain.[44] He finishes his prayer by telling the River that, because he will not return to his native land, he is now offering his lock of hair to Patroclus to take with him as he passes through the fire. With the death of Patroclus, Achilles is both slayer and slain, as Patroclus' death and the loss of Peleus' armour symbolize loss of any hope for return and the termination of the paternal line.[45]

D. Achilles Returns to the Battle

The early scene in which Athena makes her first appearance reflects somewhat Patroclus' slaying. In both the hero is set to attack but is prevented by a god who approaches from behind and comes into physical contact with the hero in a manner that suggests a cult operation. In the death of Patroclus, Apollo's blow suggests the axe falling upon the back of the victim before the sacrificial blade ends its life. Athena's intervention seems to allude to the hair offering, given that she seizes Achilles by his hair and promises him three times more gifts if he leaves off from the hubris of murdering Agamemnon (*Iliad* 1.213-4). Effectively, Achilles does receive three allotments of gifts. First, he receives from Thetis the golden armour of Hephaestus (*Iliad* 19.3-13). Achilles then re-

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[44] Peleus had vowed to the River that, upon Achilles' return, his son would perform the hair offering accompanied by a sacrifice of fifty rams.

[45] For the view that it is Achilles who dies when Antilochus announces Patroclus' death, see Mackie 1999: 499-500.

ceives from Agamemnon a store of gifts, including Briseis, accompanied by the king's oath that he had not violated her (*Iliad* 19.242-75). Finally, Priam brings to him the ceremonial implements, including the great Thracian goblet, to exchange for Hector's corpse.

Achilles' return to battle begins, to repeat, with the death of Patroclus. Upon hearing of it, he befouls himself with dirt and tears at his hair. When the corpse is brought to the camp, Achilles lays his "manslaying hands" (*Iliad* 18.317) upon Patroclus' chest and recalls how he promised Menoetius he would return with his son to Opoeis after he had sacked Troy (*Iliad* 18.324-7).[46] He then declares that Zeus does not fulfil all the desires of men, as his own desire to be welcomed back by Peleus, he now fully realizes, cannot be. Finally, he promises Patroclus that he will attend to his burial after he slays Hector and sacrifices twelve sons of the Trojans over his pyre (18.333-42). As the Achaeans cleanse the corpse, Zeus comments to Hera that she has accomplished her plan now that Achilles has returned to battle:

ἔπρηξας καὶ ἔπειτα βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη
ἀνστήσασ' Ἀχιλῆα πόδας ταχύν· ἦ ῥά νυ σεῖο
ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί.

Cow-eyed Lady Hera you have done it seeing as you have raised up swift-footed Achilles! Truly now the long-haired Achaeans were born of you! (18.358-9)[47]

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[46] The irony of this desire is later revealed when Patroclus' spirit discloses that he was in life an exiled murderer and thus the possibility of ever returning to Opoeis never existed.

[47] While Zeus fathered the Trojans and established the Golden Age of their mythic history, Hera gives birth to the bronze-clad Achaeans, the serpents of her wrath, who slaughter the Priamids and set up Aeneas, child of Golden Aphrodite, as king over the cosmic polis.

In conclusion, Hera, Athena and Thetis all visit Achilles at the outset of the poem and condition his behaviour in such a way as to enliven within him the "raw eating" monstrous rage required to mete out punishment against Priam and his people. In obedience to the goddesses, Achilles remains isolated in his camp and nurses his wrath as he watches Zeus fulfil his curse against Agamemnon by having Hector attack the ships. Seeing that his curse is actually brought to pass, Achilles allows himself the hope that Zeus will permit him to return victorious, thereby achieving renown for himself and for his father. After handing over to Patroclus the equipment the gods had given to Peleus, Achilles does not seek after his mother but rather prays to Zeus directly, hopeful, perhaps, that Zeus will override the fate his mother had revealed to him and enable himself and Patroclus to "remove Troy's sacred veil." Patroclus, donning the divine armour and assuming the persona of Achilles, acts out of hubris when he attacks the polis Troy, which provokes divine reprisal. While Achilles did order his attendant to return to him after driving the Trojans from the plain, he did this not out of concern for him but out of a desire to not have his own honour diminished.

Unlike Hector who declines his mother's libation cup and does not wash before praying to Zeus, Achilles exercises the piety he has always expressed by washing and honouring Zeus with the cup his mother had given him for this purpose. He prays to Zeus who has fulfilled his curse and asks Zeus to see to it that Patroclus both drives the Trojans from the ships and returns, along with the Myrmidons, unharmed. When this

prayer is not fulfilled and Patroclus body is returned to him naked and gored, Achilles does not curse the father of the gods for not having done his bidding, but realizes that he does not fulfil all the wishes of men. Rather than cursing the gods, Achilles accepts that his prayer to have Patroclus return to his side has failed as a result of his behaviour. He accepts, too, his fate and resolves to die at the gates of Troy on the same spot where his attendant died in his father's armour at the hands of the same god who will soon kill him. With Patroclus dead, the possibility of a triumphant return to Peleus and to a settled, married life in Phthia ends.

Chapter 6. Achilles Rises Up

A. The Crossing of the Scamander

On the morning of the first day of battle, Agamemnon gathered the army and held a grand sacrificial feast. Having received a Zeus-sent dream of victory,[1] the king prayed to the father of the gods to grant that he sack Troy, putting the polis to the torch and killing Hector before the sun has set upon that very day (*Iliad* 2.412-8). Zeus accepted the sacrifice, but not in the manner Agamemnon expected; the god imposed upon the army a dreadful toil before finally accomplishing their predestined victory (*Iliad* 2.419-20). Zeus grants only the part of the wish that was announced to the army at Aulis, but he does not grant to the "fool" *nḗpios* Agamemnon his wish to have it all done with on that day. After the sacrifice and feast, Nestor calls the army to form a procession as Athena shakes the golden-tasseled aegis over their heads and emboldens the men to battle, making war sweeter for them than a return to the land of their fathers (*Iliad* 2.446-54). As the army snakes towards the ford of the Scamander, the poet describes the soldiers' bronze armour as shining up to the heavens like fire blazing through a mountain forest (*Iliad* 2.455-8). This poetic image of the army moving into the plain like a fire consuming a forest is then expressed in mythological terms by comparing the bronze-clad Achaeans to the cosmic monster Typhoeus and compares the clamour of the march to

[1] Recall that Agamemnon hubristically interprets the dream to signal that Troy will fall before the end of the day (*Iliad* 2.37-40).

the groans of the earth at the time when Zeus stifled the monster in the land of the Arimi (*Iliad* 2.780-5).[2]

Remaining with this scene a little longer, immediately before this mention of Typhoeus there is a contrasting reference to Achilles and his army, who are described as staying by the seashore, taking pleasure in athletics and not fighting. Achilles remains at the ships as the procession of the Achaeans enters the plain, which the poet compares to both a forest consuming fire and to the earth-born, fire-bellowing monster Typhoeus. This evocation of Typhoeus connects with the portent at Aulis insofar as it conforms with the Achaeans' depiction as a serpent moving out of the ground, slithering into the tree and devouring the family of sparrows. The fact that the army is compared to Typhoeus identifies the epochal nature of the combat; the event the poet is relating has a cosmic dimension as it identifies the agency of the goddesses who have generated a wrath-filled serpent to dislodge from the earth the Zeus-favoured Trojan rulers.

Although Achilles has no part in this procession, the scene serves to anticipate his eventual entry into the plain four days later, the final day of fighting. This initial mention of Typhoeus draws the Achaeans into the goddesses' project of destroying Troy,

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[2] Before marrying Metis, Zeus confronted an initial challenger, the spawn of Gaia. After Cronus was cast out of heaven, Gaia made love to Tartarus with the assistance of golden Aphrodite and gave birth to hundred headed Typhoeus (*Theog.* 820-5). He would have ruled over gods and mortals on the day he emerged out of the Tartarus had Zeus not been quick to act (*Theog.* 837-8). Typhoeus' blasts of fire risked consuming the entire cosmos in a great conflagration, but Zeus immediately burned off his many heads with his thunderbolt, beat him with blows (*Theog.* 854-61) and thrust him with grief in his *thumós* back into Tartarus. The evocation of this monstrous beast identifies the cosmic nature of the battle and foreshadows Achilles' entry into the plain, given that he is the new spawn of the goddess. *Cypria* fr. 3 identifies the epochal nature of the Trojan War and how it was motivated by Typhoeus' mother Gaia to end the Heroic Age.

but it functions primarily to foreshadow the poem's climactic episode when Achilles himself enters into the plain. On this final day the conditions are reversed; the Achaeans are now pent in by their ships and Achilles rises up to cross the ford to battle the Trojans. Whereas the Achaeans celebrated a great feast before entering the plain on the first day of contests, on the fifth day Achilles refuses to eat until Hector has been killed (19.199-214).[3] Both episodes contain a prayer to Zeus which is only partially answered and, additionally, Athena intervenes to amplify the strength of the contestants as they prepare to cross over the river.[4] Finally, the reference to Typhoeus anticipates the way in which Achilles is depicted as he crosses the ford and enters the plain. I shall discuss Achilles as the monstrous serpent of the goddesses' wrath in detail but, for the time being, I hope to identify how the reference Typhoeus serves to foreshadow this. Table 6 identifies the correspondences between the preliminary events of the first day of battle, in which the Achaeans evoke the memory of Typhoeus, and those of the final day in which Achilles is "raised up" *anístēmi* (*Iliad* 18.358) by Hera.

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[3] The symmetry operating between the first and last day of battle is maintained by having the first day end with Ajax' victory over Hector, followed by feasting and a day of burial. These events foreshadow Achilles' defeat of Hector and the burial of Patroclus. See Table 6, p. 189.

[4] Athena's amplification of Achilles' battle strength is also foreshadowed by Diomedes' entry into battle at the opening of Book 4. Nonetheless, she works her magic over the Achaeans and thus demonstrates that she is attending to their success. In her first appearance, we are made to know that Athena has previously appeared to Achilles and gave him battle might to destroy Troy's network of vassal cities (*Iliad* 1.202). As with the army and Diomedes on the first day of battle, Athena announces Achilles' successful entry into the battle and the plain by casting the aegis over his head and igniting her beacon above him (*Iliad* 18.203-6).

Table 6. Correspondences Between First and Last Days of Battle

First Day	Final Day
Zeus sends Dream to announce the victory to Agamemnon.	Zeus announces the Achaean victory to Hera
Reconciliation with Agamemnon. Sacrifice, feast, Achaean procession over which Athena shakes the aegis	Gathering of army at the ships in which Achilles reconciles with Agamemnon. Boar sacrifice (19.250-6), refusal of feast.
Gathering of the senators except for Achilles	Gathering of the senators except for Diomedes, and the two Aiantes (19.309-11)
Athena shakes the aegis of the army	Athena infuses nectar and ambrosia into Achilles' chest (19.352-4)
Achaeans compared to fire and Typhoeus	Achilles shines like fire and the harvest star as puts on the armour of Hephaestus (19.19.364-83)
Duel between Menelaus and Paris who is wearing Lycaon's armour.	Achilles slaughters Lycaon who is naked.
Duel between Ajax and Hector at day's end.	Duel between Achilles and Hector at day's end.
The following day marks a rest from battle, a victory feast for Ajax and burial of the Achaean youths.	The following day marks a rest from battle, the burial of Patroclus and the celebration of the Funeral Games.

B. Achilles as the Monstrous Serpent of Hera's Wrath

As Achilles rides his chariot towards the Scamander, Zeus convenes the pantheon and divides the gods who are to descend into the plain and battle on opposite sides. The reason for having the gods on the plain is to prevent Achilles from exceeding his fate by demolishing Troy's wall since, even if fighting alone, the Trojans would be incapable of defeating him (*Iliad* 20.26-30). Achilles' godlike state and the supernatural power he now possesses requires the direct involvement of divinity, but there is more to the scene than this; the presence of the gods and the way they conduct themselves identifies the epochal nature of the event.

The gods pair off for battle but they do not confront one another directly; they instead act to arouse strife among the mortal combatants (20.54-5). Athena and Ares exchange terror-inducing battle cries, Zeus hurls his thunder bolts and Poseidon causes such powerful tremors that Hades leaps from his throne and cries out to prevent the earth from being torn open and the dead exposed to view (20.61-6). The scene thus evokes a cosmic disruption in which all three strata are identified and the effects of the gods permeate all of the orders of reality. The opening of the underworld further identifies the emergence of the serpent from out of the ground, such as it is depicted in the portent at Aulis and, also, as when Typhoeus rose up from the earth to set the world aflame and to attempt to dislodge Zeus from Olympus.[5]

This first episode of the Theomachy[6] ends with the confrontation between the two children of the gods, the future king Aeneas and Achilles. The gods settle down and resume their more typical involvement by intervening to ensure that all goes according to plan.[7] Following his confrontations with Aeneas and Hector, Achilles begins

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[5] Schein 1985: 50-1 draws attention to the correspondence between the cosmic battle between Zeus and Typhoeus, described in Hesiod, and the Theomachy, the battle of the gods that is spread over books 20 and 21. His treatment of the battle of the gods provides a more typical reading of the Theomachy and repeats the view that the episode is construed by the poet in such a way as to undermine the gods' divine status.

[6] This initial phase of the battle between the gods is grim and portentous. The gods do not confront each other at this point, but the references to Zeus, Poseidon and Hades create an apocalyptic mood that has been compared to the Titanomachy, see Edwards 1991: 287.

[7] Poseidon saves Aeneas from Achilles (*Iliad* 20.318-23). Apollo, who does not disguise himself, first warns Hector to avoid Achilles (*Iliad* 20.376-8), then he saves him after his warning is ignored (*Iliad* 20.441-4). Before this, Athena blows lightly upon Hector's spear after he hurled it at Achilles, forcing rebound backward and fall at his feet (*Iliad* 20.438-41).

his assault by driving through the Trojan army, sending part of it back towards the polis and hemming the other part in at the fording point of the Scamander (*Iliad* 21.1-4). With a portion of the Trojans trapped along the river bank, Hera produces a thick fog that disorients the army and causes half of it to submerge in the water.[8] At this point, Achilles leans his spear against the tamarisk bushes,[9] dives into the water and slaughters the army to the point of turning the water red with blood. From out of this carnage, he chooses twelve living youths,[10] the "glorious sons of the Trojans," as "restitution" *poiné* promised for Patroclus (*Iliad* 21.17-32).[11] His hands now weary from the killing, Achilles binds the youths and gives them over to his comrades to bring back to the ships (*Iliad* 21.26-32).[12]

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[8] Hera's control over light and darkness is first expressed at the end of the previous day, when she causes Helios to set against his will. After this, there is no longer any specific reference to the sunset, making the transition of days more complex to identify. The broader effect of this is to impose an infernal mood upon the concluding portion of the poem; we are to imagine Achilles as both dead and, at the same time, shining like Sirius against the backdrop of the crepuscular sky.

[9] The identification of tamarisk bushes at the riverbank connects this scene with the Doloneia in which Diomedes and Odysseus slaughter Dolon, Rhesus and the twelve Thracians as a foreshadowing reflection of Achilles' treatment of Lycaon, Asteropaeus and the Twelve Trojan youths (*Iliad* 10.465-8).

[10] The twelve youths taken balance out the twelve noble youths of the Achaeans who fell as Achilles shouted from the trenches in the final hour of the battle over Patroclus' corpse (*Iliad* 18.230-1).

[11] The horrific description of Achilles as he slaughters the army in the water suggests the presence of Apllo in several ways. First he is referred to as Zeus-born (*Iliad* 20.17), then he is described as "equal to a god"*daímoni îsos* as he leaps into the water with only his sword (*Iliad* 20.18-9), and finally he is compared to a dolphin (*Iliad* 20.22). Taken together, all of these features suggest the presence of Apollo and heighten the impression of Achilles as embodying a godlike state.

[12] To repeat, this scene is anticipated by Diomedes' slaughter of the twelve Thracian men asleep at the river (*Iliad* 10.487-8). The slaughter of Rhesus, the Thracian king, in the Doloneia reflects the late-arriving Paeonean king Asteropaeus who is slaughtered on the twelfth day after arriving at Troy. Lycaon too is described as having spent the previous eleven days feasting at Imbros with his friends after having been ransomed from the island of Lemnos (*Iliad* 21.40-8). On the twelfth day, Apollo, who had earlier taken on his appearance in prompting Aeneas to confront Achilles, calls Lycaon to his death at Achilles hands.

Having delivered the prisoners, Achilles returns to the river and comes upon Lycaon who, like Patroclus at the time of his slaughter, is naked and unarmed (*Iliad* 21.49-52).[13] Refusing supplication from his victim, Achilles states that he no longer accepts "ransom" *ápoina* now that Patroclus is dead (*Iliad* 21.99-100).[14] In an act that suggests a sacrificial operation, Achilles strikes Lycaon's shoulder at the point where the collar bone joins the neck, producing a heavily bleeding gash. He then grabs his victim by the foot, hurls him into the Xanthus-Scamander, and utters the following:

οὐδ' ὑμῖν ποταμός περ ἐΰρροος ἀργυροδίνης
ἀρκέσει, ᾧ δὴ δηθὰ πολεῖς ἱερεύετε ταύρους,
ζωοὺς δ' ἐν δίνῃσι καθίετε μώνυχας ἵππους.
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ὀλέεσθε κακὸν μόρον, εἰς ὅ κε πάντες
τίσετε Πατρόκλοιο φόνον καὶ λοιγὸν Ἀχαιῶν,
οὓς ἐπὶ νηυσὶ θοῇσιν ἐπέφνετε νόσφιν ἐμεῖο.

Not even will the fair-flowing, silver eddying river protect you, to whom you have of old sacrificed many bulls and cast into his whirlpool single-hooved living horses. But even so will you be destroyed by an evil fate, until one and all shall pay for the murder of Patroclus and the ruin of the Achaeans whom you struck down by the swift ships while I stood apart (Iliad 21.130-135).[15]

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[13] Paris is described as wearing the armour of Lycaon, which he borrowed before facing Menelaus in the duel (3.332-3).

[14] As he had done with Andromache's mother in the raid on Thebes, Achilles had previously ransomed Lycaon when he sacked Pedasus. Reflecting Agamemnon's battle attitude, Achilles who now fights to avenge Patroclus, no longer has any interest in obtaining wealth given that he now has a personal stake in the battle. Achilles' habit of taking prisoners for ransom and providing funeral rites to his victims (Eetion of Thebes) is now completely inverted.

[15] Lycaon is accused by Achilles of deaths he could not have caused, as he had been told that his former prisoner had only returned to battle that very day and thus was not among the Trojans who attacked the ships. Achilles too implicates himself in the destruction of his comrades by stating that he did not assist them.

Achilles' extreme violence at the riverside identifies the transference of his *mênis* away from Agamemnon, as ordered by his mother (19.35), and towards Hector. It must be pointed out that the gods had told him Apollo had slain Patroclus (19.413-4) and not Hector; therefore Achilles' monstrous fury cannot simply be understood as his vengeance against his dear comrade's slayer.[16] Nor can these acts of outrageous violence be regarded simply as poetically embellished battle episodes; Achilles needs to be regarded as a Typhoeus-like monster who acts at Hera's bidding to eliminate the Golden Age privileges Zeus has granted to the Trojans. His treatment of Hector's half-brother Lycaon is meticulously described to reflect the operations of the Scamander cult.[17] Rather than the live horse and bull sacrifices given Scamamnder-Xanthus, Achilles substitutes these with Priam's youngest son and, in so doing, performs the initial act of removing "sacred" Troy's Zeus-granted privileges.

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[16] Recall too that Iris had apprised Achilles of Hector's intention to abominate the corpse and instructed him to show reverence for Patroclus before the goddesses "raised him up" (19.175-9). The term denoting reverence *sébas* is used also in connection with Eetion of Thebes whom he cremated in his armour (6.416). Because the term has only one other mention in the poem (6.167), the two episodes need to be brought into association. Whereas previous to the inflaming of his wrath, Achilles was inclined to extend religious observance and bury his victim (the account of Eetion's burial suggests the establishment of hero cult), now that his wrath has resulted Patroclus' death, he is called upon to act out of reverence and insure that Patroclus' body remains intact and thus honoured with funeral rites. While both episodes contrast radically, they both identify Achilles as a figure who effectuates the transition of the dead into Hades.

[17] The offering of a human victim to a god is the topic of many myths, such as that of the child Pelops, and Lycurgus. For an anecdote on the purity of a river and the extent to which it will safeguard itself from defilement by the blood of a murderer, Pausanias (8.30.8) draws attention to an unusual feature of the river Helicon in Boeotia. At a point in its course, the river submerges before resurfacing under the name of the Baphyra. The local mythic explanation for this natural phenomenon identifies a crucial feature of river worship that I see at work in this scene. The myth states that Orpheus' murderers attempted to wash the blood from themselves, but that the river submerged itself to prevent having its water cleanse the murder. Of course, the Scamander is throughout this entire episode described as being glutted with the bodies of youths and flowing red with their blood, but the treatment of Lycaon serves to identify the termination of the Scamander's role in maintaining the idyllic, Golden Age conditions of the Trojan plain.

The sacrifice of Lycaon causes the river god Scamander to become enraged and to seek to end Achilles' labour *pónos* by summoning Asteropaeus, leader of the Paeonians, to confront him (21.136-49).[18] Announcing himself, Asteropaeus states that this is the eleventh morning of his arrival at Troy and that his grandfather was the river of his homeland, the Axius (21.155-60). He then hurls both his spears at once, wounding Achilles by grazing his arm, but is soon killed by Achilles, who then despoils the corpse and utters the following curse over the Paeonian's dead body:

κεῖσ᾽ οὕτω· χαλεπόν τοι ἐρισθενέος Κρονίωνος
παισὶν ἐριζέμεναι ποταμοῖό περ ἐκγεγαῶτι.
φῆσθα σὺ μὲν ποταμοῦ γένος ἔμμεναι εὐρὺ ῥέοντος,
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γενεὴν μεγάλου Διὸς εὔχομαι εἶναι.
τίκτέ μ᾽ ἀνὴρ πολλοῖσιν ἀνάσσων Μυρμιδόνεσσι
Πηλεὺς Αἰακίδης· ὃ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ Αἰακὸς ἐκ Διὸς ἦεν.
τὼ κρείσσων μὲν Ζεὺς ποταμῶν ἁλιμυρηέντων,
κρείσσων δ᾽ αὖτε Διὸς γενεὴ ποταμοῖο τέτυκται.
καὶ γὰρ σοὶ ποταμός γε πάρα μέγας, εἰ δύναταί τι
χραισμεῖν· ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἔστι Διῒ Κρονίωνι μάχεσθαι,
τῷ οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀχελώϊος ἰσοφαρίζει,
οὐδὲ βαθυρρείταο μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο,
ἐξ οὗ περ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
καὶ πᾶσαι κρῆναι καὶ φρείατα μακρὰ νάουσιν·
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃς δείδοικε Διὸς μεγάλοιο κεραυνὸν
δεινήν τε βροντήν, ὅτ᾽ ἀπ᾽ οὐρανόθεν σμαραγήσῃ

Lie flat as you are! Hard is it for you to struggle against the children of the mighty son of Cronus, sprung as you are from a river. You declared that your race is from a wide-flowing river, But I declare that my lineage is of great Zeus. The man who rules over the many Myrmidons produced me, Peleus, son of Aeacus, and Aeacus was the son of Zeus. Just as Zeus is mightier than the rivers flowing into the sea, so too is the line of Zeus mightier than that of a river. For indeed beside you is a great river, if he has the power to help anyone; but he cannot fight against Zeus, son of Cronus. For whom neither is lord Achelous a match, nor

[18] Patroclus' first victim was the other leader of the Paeonians, Pyraechmes, whom he killed at the stern of Protesilaus' ship before dousing the fire Hector had set to it (16.284-93). Patroclus then slays twelve warriors (16.394-418). After Sarpedon succumbs to his spear, Patroclus kills Hector's half-brother Cebriones and makes off with the corpse (733-82).

the great strength of deep-swirling Oceanus, Out of whom all rivers and all seas, and all springs and large wells flow. Even he fears the thunderbolt of great Zeus, which is fearsome and loud as it crashes down from the sky (Iliad 21.184-199).

Achilles boasts over Asteropaeus' corpse as the river eels and fish devour its exposed entrails. He declares that he is descended from Zeus, and therefore greater than the offspring of the rivers. Achilles does not refer to his maternal ancestry, but identifies that his paternal great-grandfather -- his *tritopatêr* -- is Zeus himself.[19]

After further slayings of the Paeonians,[20] Scamander intervenes directly by speaking to Achilles. Although enraged, the River addresses Achilles with respect (*Iliad* 21.214-5), and pleads with the hero to do his slaughtering on the plain, not in his stream (*Iliad* 21.214-221). He states that the corpses of the slaughtered men have dammed the river, preventing its waters from washing into the sea. Achilles, who always obeys the gods, complies and states that he will leave off and now turn his attention to the portion of the army that followed Hector back to the polis (*Iliad* 21.223-226). What follows is the first leg of Achilles' foot race as he crosses the river and enters the plain.

C. The First Leg of Achilles' Race with Scamander

Following the slaughters of Lycaon and Asteropaeus, Achilles' first foot race begins when Scamander calls upon Apollo and reminds him of Zeus' order to assist the Trojans until the end of the day (*Iliad* 21.228-32). Seemingly preparing an ambush for Achilles,

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[19] Oceanus, whom the poet refers to as the genesis of all the gods, is Achilles' maternal great-grandfather, thus making Achilles both the descendant of the first Titan (*Theog.* 133) and Zeus, the last of the Olympian children.

[20] This name too reflects the presence of Apollo, as does Lycaon. Recall that Pandarus' father also had the name Lycaon and that he prayed to Apollo Lycegenes before breaking the oath of faith (4.101).

the River then forms into a flood and rushes at him as he leaps into the middle of the river (*Iliad* 21.229-34). Scamander is now a great wave and, bellowing like a bull, he beats down upon the hero's shield, throwing him off his feet and away from the opposite bank. Achilles attempts to hold onto a tree to steady himself and uproots it, creating a dam and momentarily preventing the river surge from drowning him (*Iliad* 21.242-6). The foot race now fully underway, Achilles seizes the opportunity by running in escape towards the plain (*Iliad* 21.246-64). Unable to outrun the River, Achilles chooses to face his assailant as a way of determining if the gods have abandoned him (*Iliad* 21.265-7).[21]

Achilles now fears for his life and prays for deliverance. In his prayer to Zeus, he states that his mother had spoken falsely to him by forecasting his death from Apollo's arrows at the walls of Troy (21.276-8). He also wishes that Hector had slain him (recall that Athena had turned his spear away to protect him) as he now faces is an "ignominious death" *leugaléos thánatos,* such as the one a boy might experience while fording swine in the winter (*Iliad* 21.281-283).[22] His prayer is immediately answered by both Athena and Poseidon, who appear to him as mortals and take hold of his hand. Poseidon then declares to Achilles that he will indeed be victorious:

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[21] Despite having been fed the food of the gods and having had the aegis shaken over his head, Achilles was still wounded by Asteropaeus, thereby suggesting that his divine support may have been withdrawn.

[22] Death by drowning is especially miserable as the loss of the body means funeral rites cannot be properly performed. This is an a recurring theme in the *Odyssey* that finds its clearest expression when Odysseus wishes that he had died on the Trojan plain fighting over the body of Achilles as he would then have received burial and the Achaeans would have promoted his fame *kléos* (15.299-312).

Πηλεΐδη μήτ' ἄρ τι λίην τρέε μήτέ τι τάρβει·
τοίω γάρ τοι νῶϊ θεῶν ἐπιταρρόθω εἰμὲν
Ζηνὸς ἐπαινήσαντος ἐγὼ καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη·
ὡς οὔ τοι ποταμῷ γε δαμήμεναι αἴσιμόν ἐστιν,
ἀλλ' ὅδε μὲν τάχα λωφήσει, σὺ δὲ εἴσεαι αὐτός·
αὐτάρ τοι πυκινῶς ὑποθησόμεθ' αἴ κε πίθηαι·
μὴ πρὶν παύειν χεῖρας ὁμοιΐου πτολέμοιο
πρὶν κατὰ Ἰλιόφιν κλυτὰ τείχεα λαὸν ἐέλσαι
Τρωϊκόν, ὅς κε φύγῃσι· σὺ δ' Ἕκτορι θυμὸν ἀπούρας
ἆψ ἐπὶ νῆας ἴμεν· δίδομεν δέ τοι εὖχος ἀρέσθαι.

Son of Peleus, do not quake and have so much fear. For we are two helpers come to you from among the gods, Zeus-Sanctioned, even myself and Pallas Athena. Thus it is not fated for you to be laid low by a river, rather indeed, he will soon cease, and you yourself will go on. But we will counsel you wisely, if you should obey. First do not stay your hands from war that levels all alike until you have enclosed the Trojan army within the famous wall of Troy, should it attempt to escape. But you, having robbed Hector of his thumos, *return to the ships. We grant fulfilment to your prayer* (Iliad 21.288-297).

Achilles is rescued but not before experiencing the extreme fear of his own mortality as he attempts to cross the fording point of the Scamander, "the marker of men."[23] Following the divine rescue and proclamation, Achilles resumes his run towards Troy with his courage restored and his strength again amplified by Athena (*Iliad* 21.304).

The plain is now flooded and the corpses of the battle dead are described as floating about amid their armour and weapons (*Iliad* 21.300-2). No longer able to impede Achilles (*Iliad* 21.303-4), Scamander calls upon his brother Simoeis to well up and join

[23] Athena and Hermes had similarly rescued, Troy's first sacker Heracles from drowning in the Styx (*Iliad* 8.367-9; *Odyssey* 11.626).

the pursuit and prevent Achilles from having a proper burial (*Iliad* 21.308-23).[24] Again, he forms into an enormous foaming wave of blood and corpses and sets to crash down upon the hero (*Iliad* 21.324-7). Enshrouded in Hera's mist and inundated by the corpse-filled flood, Troy's plain has, upon Achilles' entry, been transformed into an inferno. When Achilles first entered the ford, the carnage he meted out against the Trojan forces trapped in the water effectively transformed the river into a flow of blood. The mass of corpses glutted it, causing it to dam up and flood the plain with its gory contents. With the first leg of his race complete, the morbid effects of Achilles' presence are now spread into the once idyllic, Golden Age environment of the Zeus-blessed Trojan plain.

D. The Second Leg of Achilles' Race with Scamander

The Scamander, by whose banks the divine horses of Tros grazed and where also the gods took their pleasure with mortals, receives no support from Apollo but looks now to his network of divine brethren, Simoeis and the other rivers, to drown the fiery monster of Hera's wrath.[25] Still darkened by Hera's thick mist and now transformed into a Bronze Age setting of violent death, the Trojan plain appears as an underworld locale,[26] as anticipated at the opening of the Book, when Hades feared that the land of the dead

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[24] The race with Scamander suggests features of the Achilles cult. As Pontarch, Achilles likely would have been offered devotions to ensure safe passage through the Hellespont, which was also know as the Race-course of Achilles, see Burgess 2009: 126. Additionally, it is very likely that he, along with Thetis and the Nereids (their cave is identified as being located midway between Samos and Imbros at *Iliad* 24.78), had as a feature of his cult the ritual transfer to Hades of souls lost at sea. This seems to lie behind the Greek tradition of setting up Nereid shrines, including Achilles icons, at harbours, see Pausanias 2.1.8.

[25] Hesiod states that the daughters of Oceanus, among whom are listed the mothers of Aphrodite (Dione), Thetis (Doris), and Athena (Metis), share with both Apollo and the Rivers the task of raising boys into men (*Theog.* 346-8). Hesiod identifies Troy's divine rivers except for the Caresus (*Theog.* 340-5).

[26] Mackie 1999: 497-8.

would be exposed to daylight. Although it is awash with blood and corpses now that Achilles has entered into it, the blighting of the plain remains incomplete following the first leg of Achilles' race with the Scamander.

Rescued and reenergized by Poseidon and Athena, Achilles dashes on in confidence that gods have determined his victory. Nonetheless, the fight is not out of Scamander who, now allied with Simoeis, joins in the chase and again forms into a massive gore-filled wave set to drown Achilles and deny him his tomb (21.324-7). Overcome with fear for Achilles, Hera herself intervenes by summoning her "club-footed" *kullopodíōn* son Hephaestus to assist the swift-footed hero.[27] As the wave is set to crash over Achilles, Hera sets loose Hephaestus and gathers the West and South Winds[28] to disperse her mist and blast the fire her son emits (*Iliad* 21.330-1). The poet allegorizes the blighting of the plain with the state of an orchard after the harvest:

πᾶν δ' ἐξηράνθη πεδίον, σχέτο δ' ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ.
ὡς δ' ὅτ' ὀπωρινὸς Βορέης νεοαρδέ' ἀλωὴν
αἶψ' ἀνξηράνῃ· χαίρει δέ μιν ὅς τις ἐθείρῃ·
ὣς ἐξηράνθη πεδίον πᾶν, κὰδ δ' ἄρα νεκροὺς
κῆεν· ὃ δ' ἐς ποταμὸν τρέψε φλόγα παμφανόωσαν.

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[27] Hera uses the name "Club-Foot" in summoning her son to ally himself with Achilles against the River brothers. Hephaestus' divine function in the *Iliad* requires a far more substantial treatment than I can provide, but I must point out that the craftsman god's descent into the plain must have been experienced as an emotional highpoint for the ancient audience. The imagery of the wobbly, misshapen --but fiercely powerful -- god joining with the beautiful young hero is a moment of poetic genius that still captivates one's imagination.

[28] The North Wind is not summoned as it is a life-granting wind. Recall that Sarpedon was revived by Boreas under the oak of Zeus, also that the Wind sired the flock of Erichthonius. While Hephaestus and the Winds replicate the effects of the conflagration associated with Typhoeus, Hesiod states that the beneficial winds, the Southerly, Northerly and Westerly, are heaven-sent whereas Typhoeus emits the Eurus, the Easterly, and other baneful winds (*Theog.* 869-71).

The entire plain was parched, its shimmering water restrained. As when at harvest time Boreas quickly withers the freshly wetted orchard, and he rejoices, whoever laboured it. So was the whole plain parched and the corpses consumed. The god then turned his blazing flame towards the river (Iliad 21.345-9).

The corpse-filled river set aflame is compared to rendered pork lard in a burning cauldron (21.361-5).[29] The bodies within it now consumed, the rivers and plain undergo a purifying elimination of the death they contained through the passage of Hephaestus' wind-blown fire. Scalded and unable to offer any resistance to Hera's son, Scamander appeals to Hera:

Ἥρη τίπτε σὸς υἱὸς ἐμὸν ῥόον ἔχρασε κήδειν
ἐξ ἄλλων; οὐ μέν τοι ἐγὼ τόσον αἴτιός εἰμι
ὅσσον οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, ὅσοι Τρώεσσιν ἀρωγοί.
ἀλλ᾽ ἤτοι μὲν ἐγὼν ἀποπαύσομαι εἰ σὺ κελεύεις,
παυέσθω δὲ καὶ οὗτος· ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐπὶ καὶ τόδ᾽ ὀμοῦμαι,
μή ποτ᾽ ἐπὶ Τρώεσσιν ἀλεξήσειν κακὸν ἦμαρ,
μηδ᾽ ὁπότ᾽ ἂν Τροίη μαλερῷ πυρὶ πᾶσα δάηται
καιομένη, καίωσι δ᾽ ἀρήϊοι υἷες Ἀχαιῶν.

Hera why has your son tormented my stream, singling me out from the others? I am not so blameworthy against you as the many others who have abetted the Trojans. I shall cease, if you so command, but make Hephaestus cease too. Furthermore, I will swear that I will not ward off the day of evil from the Trojans. When set ablaze, all of Troy will burn under a devouring conflagration, kindled by the warring sons of the Achaeans (Iliad 21. 369-376).

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[29] Mackie 1999: 491; "While it is important to recognize that the river at Troy is associated with the river of the Underworld, even though no overt statement of this is ever made, it is equally noteworthy that the character of the river is appropriate to the action being undertaken. Scamander has a variable nature above the earth, just as the Underworld rivers do below it." Scamander, Troy's divine river, transforms from its life-bestowing function (divine horses, resuscitation of Hector at 15.433-9), to an infernal stream once Achilles sets foot in its waters. Finally it, like the plain, is lifeless river after it has been purified by the fires of Hephaestus, which allegorize the parching heat of summer before the second harvest. Whereas Mackie 2008: 180-6 sees in the burning river a foreshadowing of the fate that is to befall Troy, I rather put the emphasis of the transformation on both the epochal shift out of the mythic Heroic Age and the initiatory process of Achilles' establishment as a cult entity. In the broader tradition, Troy will indeed be put to the flame because of the "fire breathing hecatoncheire" Paris (Pindar *Paean* 8), but the Iliad does make clear that it is the Priamid rulers that are to be displaced and Golden Aphrodite's son Aeneas to be established as king over the mythic polis.

After Scamander's promise, Hera orders her son to cease fighting another god for the sake of mortals and the river then resumes its flow as it had before Achilles crossed the ford (*Iliad* 21.377-85).[30]

E. The Foot Race into the Plain and the Presence of Apollo

The preparation for Achilles' entry into plain began the previous evening, which was the beginning of the day in ancient Greek time reckoning, when the goddesses "raised up" Achilles. Following his symbolic death at the news of Patroclus' fall, Thetis and the Nereids emerge from their underwater cave and lead the lamentations. The goddesses then enliven Achilles' monstrous wrath by having Iris tell him of the treatment Hector has in store for his comrade's corpse. They then set to work; Hera forces the sun to set, Athena shakes the aegis over Achilles, thereby making of him a harvest star beacon, and, at dawn, Thetis equips him with the golden armour of Hephaestus, which shines like fire as he leads the bronze-clad Achaeans into battle.[31] The epochal, Typhoeus-like dimension to Achilles' entry into the plain is announced by the cosmic upheaval caused by Zeus' thunder and Poseidon's quakes. Finally, the funerary, underworld setting for the foot race is anticipated by Hades' fear that the dead will be exposed to the daylight. Thus, if the Theomachy is to be regarded as integral to the poem, then its cosmic dimension must be fully appreciated as a poetic announcement of the end of the Heroic Age,

[30] Before Achilles entered the water, Troy's divine rivers provided a Golden life of ease for its inhabitants, and provided the immortal visitors too with ambrosial sustenance (*Iliad* 5.775). Achilles' entry into its waters ends the river's sanctity and transforms the plain into a Brazen locale of death. Finally, the fires of Hephaestus complete the process by withering the plain's vegetation like the dry west wind at harvest time and purifying the waters of slaughtered youths that had fallen victim to godlike Achilles.

[31] For a thorough discussion of Achilles as an embodiment of fire, see Mackie 2008: 180-3.

that time when the immortals took pleasure with mortals and, in consequence, produced great sufferings among all concerned.

Achilles' crossing of the Scamander stands as perhaps the most emotionally intense episode in the *Iliad*, also the most opaque one in terms of arriving at a sense of what is going on within it. The name of the river, the Scamander suggests athletic competition, as the *skámma* "the furrows" was the name given to the marker lines made in long jump contests and also to the wrestling pits. Joined with *anḗr*, the name given to the river by mortals suggests a ritual transition from youth to adulthood. This is amplified by the river's divine name Xanthus, a name shared with the great river of Sarpedon's homeland of Lycia. As a colour, *xánthos* refers especially to hair, but it also stands as an indication of ripeness and therefore alludes to the harvest. Just as the River is associated with the Troy's exceptional horses, Xanthus is also the name of one of the immortal horses given to Peleus by Poseidon that was born to Podarge and the West wind after coupling at the banks of Oceanus (*Iliad* 16.149-51). One of Hector's four horses of Tros is also called Xanthus (*Iliad* 8.185).[32] Finally, the lock of hair Achilles has left unshorn as a river offering for his return to his homeland is also described as being *xánthos* in colour (*Iliad* 1.197).

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[32] Horses are associated with the god Poseidon who, in the mythic lore of Olympia, had given to Pelops his chariot and horses so that he could win his bride. A fascinating association of the myths of Achilles and Pelops is made by Pindar in 1 *Olympian* where he clearly models his account of Pelops' coming of age myth, his chariot race with Oenomaus, on the Homeric portrayal of Achilles. In both accounts, the hero prays to a god at the seashore and, upon declaring the necessity of death and the folly of remaining aloof from the contest, is finally rewarded by the god with gifts of golden equipment, see Griffith 1989: 171-4.

In Hesiod, the Rivers assist Apollo in raising boys into men (*Theog.* 347-8).[33] While Apollo does not appear directly in Achilles' crossing of the Scamander, his presence, as stated above, is identified by Achilles himself when he enters the water with his sword and slaughters the youths. Apollo is also reflected in the sacrificial victim Lycaon who has just returned from Arisbe where he feasted for eleven days with his friends after having been delivered by Eetion of Imbrus. The poet states that a god had put him in the hands of Achilles who, in turn, was to send him off to Hades, and not to Lemnos as Achilles had done previously (*Iliad* 21.45-8). This god is Apollo, as is made clear in the earlier confrontation between Achilles and Aeneas, when Apollo takes on the form of Lycaon.

A similar allusion to Apollo exists with Asteropaeus, leader of the Paeonians who had arrived in Troy eleven days before his death at Achilles' hands (*Iliad* 21.155-6). The semantic allusion to Apollo is by means of the paean, the choral ode sung to honour Apollo, and expresses itself in Asteropaeus' homeland.[34] Apollo, the god who oversees the raising of boys to men and who is assisted in this function by the Rivers and the

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[33] Hesiod names the rivers of the Troad and concludes his catalogue with divine Scamander (*Theog.* 337-45)

[34] The name of the Paeonian general too seems to allude to Apollo, the son of Leto who is an astral goddess (*Theog.*404-8). Within the span of epic time, the first mention of the paean occurs on the tenth day, when Odysseus and the twenty Achaean youths sing the "beautiful paean" at Chryse to propitiate Apollo and to end the god's plague (1.473-4). The god who heals Ares on Olympus is referred to as Paeeon, although the tendency is to distinguish this god from Apollo, see Kirk 1990: 153. Another semantic allusion to Apollo occurs when Diomedes is wounded by Paris as he is stripping the armour from Agastrophus, son of Paeon (*Iliad* 11.368). Reflecting the early scene when the paean was sung to end the plague, Achilles calls upon the Achaean youths to sing the beautiful paean as they carry Hector's body back to the camp (*Iliad* 22.391).

Oceanids, has his presence reflected in each of the three mortal actors of the first episode in which Achilles slaughters the Trojan army.

The second part of the scene, Achilles' foot race across the fording point, begins with a mention of Apollo's name. This first mention occurs after Achilles obeys Scamander's instructions to do his ghastly work on the plain. The River then calls to Apollo and reminds him of Zeus' instructions to support the Trojans until the end of the day. Once Achilles leaps into the river, Scamander begins the chase (*Iliad* 21.233-6). The second mention comes when Achilles prays to Zeus and states that his mother had prophesied to him that Apollo was to be his slayer, not a river. It is at this point that Athena and Poseidon rescue him and declare to him that he will kill Hector. While Apollo does not involve himself directly in Achilles' run across the river's ford, his vigilant presence is nonetheless reflected in the episode up to the point of the divine intervention and the declaration that Achilles' prayer is answered.

F. Achilles as Sirius

At the conclusion of the Theomachy, the gods return to Olympus while Apollo enters Troy to prevent the destruction of the wall (*Iliad* 21.514-9). Achilles' shining armour, now within view from the walls, is compared to a polis set aflame for having provoked the wrath of the gods (*Iliad* 21.522-5). In a scene that recalls the Teichoscopia of book 3, Priam gazes over the plain and sees "monstrous" Achilles, prompting him to order the

opening of the gates (*Iliad* 21.526-36).[35] Moving towards the polis and slaughtering the remainder of the retreating army, Achilles now displays himself to Priam as the monstrous personification of the Hera's wrath. It is at this point that Apollo finally intervenes to prevent Achilles from taking Troy and exceeding his fated allotment (*Iliad* 21.538-9). As the parched and routed army flees within the wall, Apollo inspires Agenor to confront Achilles at the oak (*Iliad* 21.545-9). He hurls his spear and strikes Achilles in the lower leg, but does not pierce through the divine greave. When Achilles drives at him, Apollo removes Agenor from the scene, taking on his form before running from the oak into the plain. Unaware of the god's presence, Achilles takes up the chase, thus beginning his second foot race with a god, but this time the race is westward from the oak and the gate.

Meanwhile, the routed Trojans, again described as fawns, gather at the wall and form as spectators (*Iliad* 22.1-4).[36] Hector does not join them, but remains outside the gates, taking the position Agenor previously held as the army streamed into the polis (*Iliad* 22.1-6). Now that the audience has taken its place and Hector has taken his stand

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[35] In the book 3 episode, Priam refers to Menelaus as *pelôrios* when he asks Helen as to his identity. Helen later refers to Ajax as "monstrous." Ajax is the mortal who is most decribed by this adjective, which connects both of the Achaeans who duel with the sons of Priam on the first day of the battle. Patroclus uses the term to describe Hector (*Iliad* 11.820). The term describes the gods of death (Hades at 5.395), violence (Ares's spear at 5.594 and Ares himself at 7.208), and wrath (Hera' spear at 8.424). In addition to the spears of the gods, it is used to describe the golden armour given by the gods to mortals (*Iliad* 10.439; 18.83)

[36] The defensive battle arrangement that, in book 6, Andromache had implored her husband to assume is now effectively reversed. Recalling the past three Achaean assaults, she advised her husband to remain at the wall while the army gathers at the wild fig tree (*Iliad* 6.431-4). Under this arrangement, Troy could not be taken, and Hector could not be defeated, not even by Achilles. Now with Achilles running toward Troy, the army that is on the wall while Hector awaits him at the Scaean Gates.

at the gates, Apollo reveals himself to Achilles and taunts him for having let the army escape (*Iliad* 22.8-13). Achilles responds to the god who he knows will eventually slay him by declaring that, had he the power, he would make him pay for having saved the polis (*Iliad* 22.19-20).[37] Unlike Heracles, the first sacker of Troy,[38] Achilles does not attempt to attack his divine antagonist, but instead leaves off the chase and races back toward the polis. Now described as a prize-winning horse (*Iliad* 22.22), Achilles abandons the race with Apollo and doubles back toward Troy; again it is Priam who first sees him approaching:

τὸν δ' ὃ γέρων Πρίαμος πρῶτος ἴδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσι
παμφαίνονθ' ὥς τ' ἀστέρ' ἐπεσσύμενον πεδίοιο,
ὅς ῥά τ' ὀπώρης εἶσιν, ἀρίζηλοι δέ οἱ αὐγαὶ
φαίνονται πολλοῖσι μετ' ἀστράσι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ,
ὅν τε κύν' Ὠρίωνος ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσι.
λαμπρότατος μὲν ὅ γ' ἐστί, κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται,
καί τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν·
ὣς τοῦ χαλκὸς ἔλαμπε περὶ στήθεσσι θέοντος.

Then venerable Priam first witnessed him with his eyes as moved over the plain shining brightly as a star, the one that signals harvest. Its bright rays stand out as they blaze among the many stars in the deadly dark night. This star they call by name Dog of Orion. It is in-

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[37] Apollo is carrying out Zeus' orders to prevent Achilles from exceeding his fate and taking Troy. Nagy 1999: 143-4 discusses this scene and its precursor (20.443-54) along with the foreshadowing confrontations between Diomedes and Patroclus with Apollo. Nagy points out the crucial feature of Apollo as he acts in the poem as Troy's protector; "With the perspective of ritual at our disposal, and with the evidence of the traditional epic diction that keeps formally matching the figures of Achilles and Apollo, we may now even ask whether the antipathy of the god toward the Achaeans in the *Iliad* has less to do--at least in origin--with his sympathy toward the Trojans and more with the theme of his antagonism toward the hero of the *Iliad*." (p. 144).

[38] In my discussion of Diomedes, I drew attention to the observation that mortals who attack the gods do not live long. Heracles had injured both Hera and Hades, but Achilles does not act in this manner. In neither of his foot races with the gods does Achilles attempt to injure either of them, but in both cases he follows their directives. Achilles' reverent attitude towards the gods must condition the way we appreciate his extreme behaviour; it also lends emphasis to the tragic nature of his birth and fate as the mortal ordained by the gods to rid Troy of its divine qualities.

deed the brightest, but it makes of itself an evil sign and brings feverish heat to wretched mortals. Thus did the bronze on his chest shine as he ran (*Iliad* 22.25-32).

G. The Death Race around Troy

Horror-stricken at Achilles' approach, Hector's parents implore their son to come within the walls.[39] The bronze on his golden armour gleaming in the distance, Achilles is now compared to the Dog of Orion, the beastly canine that devours the son as the father looks on helplessly.[40] Poetically identified as Sirius, Achilles races eastward over the parched and blighted plain towards the polis gates, where Priam's son awaits him in the armour that his own father Peleus had given him.[41] Polis-defending Hector, equipped to appear as Achilles himself, before he sent Patroclus to his death, is now compared by the poet to a wrath-filled and poisoned serpent awaiting a man at its hole (*Iliad* 22.93-6).

The reference to the serpent identifies the raw-eating wrath of Hera as operating within Hector as well as Achilles. As discussed previously, Hector, before being supernaturally invested with manslaying might by Achilles' curse, had followed the senators' instructions and defended the polis at the gates and under the oak (*Iliad* 15.720-3).

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[39] Priam curses Achilles by wishing upon him a raw-eating death by dogs and vultures (*Iliad* 22.42-3) and then evokes the possibility of such a demise for himself should Hector not enter the wall (*Iliad* 22.66-7). See Chapter 1, p.13.

[40] See the earlier discussion of the Aristaeus-Actaeon myth in Chapter 2, p. 13 n. 21.

[41] The poetics of the broader episode must be appreciated. Priam's youngest son Lycaon is slaughtered at the western bank of the river before Achilles crosses the ford and enters the plain. Priam's oldest son stands at the other extremity of the plain where he will be similarly slaughtered. The deaths of Priam's first and last sons signals the end to line of Ilus. On the cosmic level, it also announces the end to the Heroic Age, the mythic time in which mortals and immortals commingled.

Three times before the gods made Hector their general, the Trojans fought off the Achaeans at the walls (*Iliad* 6.435-9). Also on three occasions, Hector faced the "best of the Achaeans" in individual combat under the oak of Zeus.[42] On this fourth occasion, Hector holds his ground as his parents implore him to pass through the gates and save the Trojans (*Iliad* 22.6-7). Not persuaded by Priam's grim forecast of his own death at the jaws of the palace dogs, Hector is not minded to pity him, but instead stays put, remains silent and leans his shield against the wall (*Iliad* 22.97) in passive defiance of his father's instructions.[43] Unwilling to save the Trojans by entering the walls, Hector is as much a participant in carrying out Hera's punishment as Achilles, the armour of whom he now wears.

After ignoring his parents' entreaties, Hector turns inward and recriminates himself for having brought destruction upon the people by his own sinfulness. He states

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[42] These three confrontations were as follows: Achilles recalls to the delegation how Hector, before his curse to cause death to the Achaeans, never ventured beyond the gates and the oak, and how he once faced him there (*Iliad* 9.351-5). Reflecting the earlier duel with Achilles, Hector faced monstrous Ajax (*Iliad* 7.208; 211) in the duel at the end of the first day of hostilities, and required the assistance of Apollo to endure the contest (*Iliad* 7.244-76). Finally, Agamemnon chases Hector from the river to the oak, where Zeus ends to the duel before it begins (*Iliad* 11.170-1). Added to these, there are three occasions in which Apollo intervenes to prevent Hector from dying: Hector's Apollo-given helmet saves him from Diomedes' spear (*Iliad* 11.352-6). Next, he is revived by Zeus and reanimated by Apollo at the river after Ajax clobbered him with a boulder (*Iliad* 15.239-43). Finally, Apollo shrouds him in mist and carries him away as Achilles made three lunges at him (*Iliad* 20.443-6).

[43] This scene is best read as an ironical reflection of the scene on the first day of battle when Hector returned to the polis to set in motion the propitiation of Athena. At that time it was himself and his wife who stood where his parents now stand. Andromache then advised Hector to remain at the walls and save the Trojans. Hector, covered in blood, stated that he was less moved by the death of his parents than by the thought of his wife being taken into captivity, and stated, finally, that he wished to die rather to witness this (*Iliad* 6.441-65).

that if he were to go inside, Polydamas[44] would be the first to chastise him for ignoring his counsel to lead the army into the polis when Achilles returned to battle (22.99-107). No longer the wrath-filled serpent, Hector is now a guilt-laden, failed general who is ashamed to face the remainder of his devastated army.[45] Hector had imposed a self-serving interpretation upon Zeus' message and refused to accept that his allotted period of *krátos* expired with the Hera-willed setting of the sun.[46] In doing so, he not only rejected Polydamas' counsel and lied to the army, he sinned against the gods by failing to adhere to their instructions. Although he had accused his hated brother Paris for having been an affliction to his father, polis and people, Hector identifies that it is himself

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[44] Recall that Polydamas first interpreted the serpent portent and advised Hector to retreat from the ships. As discussed previously, Hector not only rejected the omen and Polydamas' advise to leave off the assault of the ships, he also threatened to kill him (12.248-50). When Andromache's advise to defend the polis at the wall is included, Hector rejects three times the senators' advise to defend the polis at the walls.

[45] It should be noted that the army, deluded by Athena, also rejected Polydamas' advise, but only after Hector deceived them by stating that there was no longer any treasure with which to pay them (18.288-92).

[46] Zeus' message is delivered by Iris at 11.200-9 while the sun sets and the sacred darkness comes on at 18.238-42). Sirius-Achilles "rises" at sunset (18.202-14). The poet describes the gleam of the blaze Athena creates around Achilles' head in such a way as to evoke the Sirius; "The Dog appears on Keos's fourth-century coinages, rays emanating from its head," Davidson 2007: 207. Hesiod describes the quality of time in which Sirius, "The Scorcher," is visible as one in which women are most sexually aroused and men are at their weakest. The time span in which Sirius is most visible is between the corn harvest and the grape harvest, corresponding roughly to the contemporary months of July and August (*Works and Days* 582-618). Brosch 2008: 23; "The heliacal rising of Sirius was taking place in antiquity during the hottest season of the year, when only mad dogs would venture out in the open. This is why the Romans use to call the period near the heliacal rising *dies canicullariae* or Dog Days. In principle, this period of about 40 days long extended from 20 days before to 20 days after the conjunction of Sirius with the Sun, from about July 3 to August 11, ..." In the Athenian calendar of festivals, this period roughly corresponded to the time between the celebration of the Plyntaneria festival, after which Athena left her temple for her bathing and residency in the Erechtheum, and the Skira festival seventeen days later (on 12 Skirophorion) and the Panathenaia in which the goddess' tutelage was renewed with the offering of the peplos and the celebration of Games. The month of Skirophorion was a time of indolence, countryside retreat and of the Women's Assembly (alluded to in the Hesiod citation above), see Burkert 1985: 230.

who destroyed the people by his sinfulness (22.104) and now deliberates whether to remove his armour and "banter" *aorizémenai* with Achilles, offering him Helen and the rest of Paris' treasure, a negotiation that he equates to the banter exchanged between a soon to be wedded couple (*Iliad* 22.127-8).

Hector rejects this prospect in a statement that evokes Achilles' earlier treatment of Lycaon, who was slaughtered naked and fed to the fishes after attempting to barter a ransom. By satisfying himself that Achilles would show him neither pity nor respect, but would slaughter naked as though he were a woman (*Iliad* 22.123-5), Hector determines that the best option is for him and Achilles "to come together" *sunelaúnō*, not as a prenuptial couple (bantering),[47] nor as lovers (himself as the naked woman), but in strife, and with all haste (*Iliad* 22.129). Unlike his confrontation with Achilles earlier that day, in which he contravened Apollo's instructions and carried out his pledge to the

[47] Given that Hector deliberates the possibility of a *philia* with Achilles, the view that his wrath is directed at Priam is strongly reenforced. The scene of the hero engaging in an inner deliberation before the opponent is foreshadowed in the previous episode in which Agenor awaits Achilles under the oak (*Iliad* 21.553-70). Agenor holds his shield securely and opts to stay put (*Iliad* 21.579-80). On the Achaean side, Odysseus debates fleeing the onset of the Trojans, but, like Agenor, resolves to face them before being wounded (*Iliad* 11.404-10). Menelaus too deliberates fleeing after slaying Patroclus' attacker Euphorbus and standing over the body and the armour (*Iliad* 17.91-105). Like Hector, Menelaus flees and thus enables Hector, whom he knows is supported by the gods, to obtain the armour of Peleus. While both Odysseus and Agenor resolve to hold fast and are both saved from death by the gods, the situation is more complex in associating Menelaus' flight with that of Hector. Menelaus does not flee but withdraws to enlist Ajax into the battle over Patroclus' body (*Iliad* 17.114-22). Neither does Hector attempt to flee into the open gates initially, but runs past them (22.136-8). The inner deliberations have received considerable scholarly treatment, largely in response to Bruno Snell's views on the matter of agency and psychological autonomy, see Williams 1993: 21-26, and Gaskin 2001: 147-61.

troops by facing Achilles after his half-brother Polydorus was killed,[48] Hector carries out neither of his deliberated options, but is overcome at the sight of Achilles' fiery presence and sets off from the gates in a fear-induced run (*Iliad* 22.131-7).

With the remainder of the Trojan army perched on the wall and Hector's horrified parents watching from above the gates, Achilles now begins his final foot race[49] to claim Hector's "soul" *psūchē* (*Iliad* 22.161) and to precipitate his own death.[50] Joining the Trojans as spectators are Achilles' people (*Iliad* 22.205), who watch the race from the plain and are instructed not to shoot at Hector, which would deny Achilles *kûdos* for arriving

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[48] The pattern of this confrontation matches the previous one with Ajax. In the earlier episode, Hector initiates the challenge bravely after hearing of his brothers' injuries (*Iliad* 13.781-3) by setting off towards Ajax. Upon seeing him, Ajax makes a verbal threat, Hector replies with a taunt of his own (*Iliad* 13.810-32) before casting his spear at his opponent (*Iliad* 14.402-5). Having failed to cause injury, he withdraws and obtains divine assistance in preserving his life. Although its features are difference, the same sequence of events appears in the later fight with Achilles.

[49] The poet makes two allusions to athletic competitions. He states that the race was not for the sacrificial beast (*Iliad* 20.19), which suggests the stadion foot race victor's honour in lighting the great altar of Zeus for the sacrificial banquet. Secondly, he also distinguishes the competition from the chariot race for either a tripod or a woman that commemorates a dead man. This alludes to the Pelops myth as the tripod suggests his "trial" in his father's cauldron for which he was brought up to heaven and the woman likewise refers to Hippodameia, the prize for his chariot race victory over Ares' son king Oenomaeus. Both of these myths are presented in Pindar's *Olympian* 1 in which he clearly draws from Iliadic Achilles in retelling the Pelops myth, see Griffith 1989: 171.

[50] Recall that Thetis had declared Achilles' was to die shortly after Hector's death (*Iliad* 18.96). Achilles responds to this by accepting his fate as the rightful outcome for not having assisted his comrade (*Iliad* 18.98). Achilles knows that Hector was not Patroclus' slayer, but that it was Apollo, the "best of the gods," who killed him and gave glory to the Trojan (*Iliad* 19.413-4). Hector's acts of violence against the Achaeans all have their source in Achilles' Zeus-granted curse, and therefore Achilles is finally complicit in the assault upon the ships. Achilles accepts his responsibility for the deaths of Patroclus and his other comrades at the hands of Hector (*Iliad* 18.101-6). Because of these details, it is best to regard Achilles' rage against Hector as self-directed and thus, like the earlier episode in which he hears of Patroclus' death, a poetical suicide. This is expressed through the poetic imagery of having him kill Hector in his own armour.

second on the scene (*Iliad* 22.206-7).[51] Finally, joining the mortal spectators, the entire pantheon observes (*Iliad* 22.166) as the two set off to race.[52] Having left off the pursuit of Apollo and now driving at Hector with his spear poised to strike, Achilles, his mother's golden armour blazing like fire or like the rising sun, bears down upon terrified Hector, clad in the bronze of Peleus, who flees like a trembling dove from a mountain hawk at the sight of his assailant.

Running the length of the polis wall, the race course follows a wagon trail from the gates to the two springs and stone washing tanks at the furthest point, the watch-tower and wild fig tree stand as its other points of demarcation (*Iliad* 22.144-56). The runners make three laps of the course, with Achilles taking the lead each time as they neared the gates, preventing Hector from coming close to them and forcing him back into the plain. After three passes of the gates, Apollo, who had energized Hector to maintain the run (*Iliad* 22.203-4), departs from the course as the racers arrive at the springs for the fourth time (*Iliad* 22.209). With Hector at the furthest extremity of the course, Zeus raises the scales signalling the Trojan's defeat. With Hector's "fate" *kêr* departing into Hades, Apollo returns to Olympus and Athena descends to Achilles' side (*Iliad* 22.210-5).

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[51] This detail evokes Hector's slaughter of Patroclus who arrived second after Euphorbus thrust his spear into him. Recall that, in the scene that anticipates Hector's death, Patroclus' final statement confirms that there is no glory for Hector insofar as he states that the victory was obtained by the gods and that Hector himself arrived third in the slaying, after Apollo and Euphorbus (*Iliad* 16.846-50). Patroclus reveals to Hector the identity of his slayer, just as Hector will later do with Achilles.

[52] The fourth day of fighting began with Zeus' call for an assembly of the pantheon to which all went except Oceanus (*Iliad* 20.1-9).

The poetic depiction of the race course takes up the features of the Trojan plain as it is described in the poem. Apart from the mention of the two hills, Thorn Hill (the grave of the Amazon Myrine) and Fair Hill on the bank of the Simoeis (where the gods assemble, *Iliad* 20.151-5), and the wall built by Athena and the Trojan people (*Iliad* 20.145-6), the plain is also crossed by a mule cart trail.[53] At its eastern point stand the Scaean Gates and the oak of Zeus, which is never mentioned in Hector's death race, while its western endpoint is made up of the tomb of Ilus erected at the confluence of the two rivers. Standing between the tomb and the oak is the wild fig (*Iliad* 12.166-7). The oak, to repeat, is not identified in the death race, but is instead replaced by the "watchtower" *skopié*, under which lies the tomb of the senator Aesyetes.[54] The wild fig, marker of the point of vulnerability in the Trojan wall (*Iliad* 6.433-4),[55] signals the point at which the course leaves the walls and extends towards the plain. Standing beyond the watchtower-tomb (*Iliad* 22.145), the fig is passed by the runners before reaching the two springs and stone tanks, marking the point at which the course loops back towards

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[53] It is first crossed in the mule cart by Priam and Antenor who bring the two sacrificial victims for the swearing of the oath of faith before returning to the polis with the victims' remains. Finally, Priam and Idaeus set off on the trail in the same cart bearing the ransom for Achilles, while the king returns alone with his son's divinely preserved body. For an extended discussion of the main features of the Trojain plain, as well as its dramatic function, see Thornton 1999: 357-69.

[54] The watchtower (tomb of Aesyetes), like the tomb of Myrine, is mentioned in the first episode in which the plain serves as setting, the scene in which Hector is declared by the gods to be general over the army. It is only referred to again in this final scene in which he is made to pay the price for his shameful treatment of the army. The oak is not referred to in either of these opening

[55] Andromache had reminded Hector that the "best" *hoi áristoi* of the Achaeans accompanied the two Aiantes, Idomeneus, the Atreides and Diomedes when they attacked this place of vulnerability three times previously (*Iliad* 6.433-9). By elimination, the senator-kings Andromache does not mention are; Nestor, Odysseus and Achilles.

the polis. In treating the course as a condensed depiction of the plain, the springs and stone tanks can be seen to substitute for the confluence of the Scamander and Simoeis, before which lies the *sêma* of the polis founder Ilus.[56]

Now in the final hours of the fourth and last day of Hector's command, the poet describes the setting at the polis gates as he had on the first morning, when Hector was given command over the allied army by the gods (*Iliad* 2.802-7).[57] Whereas the oak identified a place of sanctuary and divine contact for Hector, its substitution with the tomb indicates the end of the supernatural assistance he received previously. On three occasions, Hector stood at the oak and faced the best of the Achaeans in individual combat under its branches. In his duel with Ajax, observed by Athena and Apollo who sat perched as vultures in the oak, Hector managed to survive with the aid of Apollo, but he could not do any serious harm to his opponent. Similarly, when Agamemnon furiously chased Hector in his chariot from the fighting at the tomb, Hector stopped to confront him only after he had reached the safety of the oak. Finally, Achilles had previously fought Hector at the oak and although, like Ajax, he easily bested him, he was

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[56] The tomb of Ilus is never described as being marked by a stone, or a stonework construction similar to the tanks. In the chariot race at the Funeral Games, the endpoint in the course is marked by a wooden pole (either of oak or pine) and two white stones which the poet suggests was the *sêma* of a former mortal (*Iliad* 23.327-32). Thus, in the poem itself supplies an example to support the very reasonable inference that the tomb of Ilus is a stone or stonework construction.

[57] Before his appointment, Hector followed the orders of the Trojan senators who previously rejected his stratagem to conduct an assault upon the ships (*Iliad* 15.721-3).

unable to defeat him (*Iliad* 9.352-5). Clearly, Hector could not be defeated so long as he stood defending the polis under the oak.[58]

While the watchtower above Aesyetes' tomb identified the first point of contact between Hector and Zeus, it also served to foreshadow his doom.[59] In this first scene, the Achaean army is described as advancing into the plain like the devastating fire of the cosmic monster Typhoeus. As in the final scene at the walls, the poet locates the Trojans assembled in the agora at Priam's gate (*Iliad* 2.787-8).[60] Upon hearing Polites-Iris' announcement that he is now commander over the army, Hector orders the army out of the opened gates and into the plain, where they collect upon the tomb of Myrine. The situation has reversed itself on this fourth day of fighting, the final day of Hectors leadership and life. Whereas he ordered the army out of the gates from the agora above the walls, now the army has collected itself over the battlements as he alone races with Achilles, who prevents him from coming within missile range from the walls. Pre-

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[58] Andromache is first to counsel defence at the walls by instructing Hector to remain above them while the army defends the point of vulnerability, see note 41. The senators too ordered the defence to be conducted at the walls before Hector was given command, and finally Polydamas advised this after the sun had set on Hector's supposed day of glory. Three times, then, Hector rejects the prevailing wisdom to pursue his glory-seeking plan.

[59] Although it has disappeared from the poetic setting in the death race, the first mention of the oak also signals Hector's doom. Recall that Hector, pursuing the retreating Achaeans with Ares at his side, ignored Zeus' son pleas to be rescued, see Chapter 2, p. 32. This episode encapsulates Hector's hubris insofar as he imperils the lives of his people in his desire to win esteem for himself and for his father. This repeated neglect of his comrades is precisely why he is made to stand at the gates and face Achilles.

[60] The agora is on the walls above the Scaean Gates where the tower *púrgos* is located (*Iliad* 3.149-53). Like the plain, Troy itself is depicted with the flatness of a theatrical backdrop. Moving up a vertical line, the agora is located above the Scaean Gates where too the doors to Priam's palace are located (*Iliad* 7.344-7). Above the palace is the acropolis housing the Athena and Apollo temples and the Zeus altar at its topmost point. Other than its wide streets and the palaces of Hector and Paris, no other features of the polis are identified.

vented from fleeing within the walls by his swifter opponent, Hector is forced to turn back into the plain at the watchtower three times. Given that the oak of Zeus is no longer present, replaced now by the watchtower tomb of Aesyetes, there can be no thought of the sanctuary and divine support Hector had previously received when he fought earlier with Achilles.

The race ends at the springs when Athena replaces Apollo on the plain and arrives at Achilles' side to announce Hector's imminent death. She then tells Achilles to stop and gather his breath while she persuades Hector to fight with him (*Iliad* 22.216-23). Taking the form of his brother Deiphobus, Athena reassures Hector that he will assist him in his fight (*Iliad* 22.229-31). Hector does not recognize the voice of the goddess, as he had when Iris took the form of his brother Polites, but expresses his gratitude for having come out from behind the walls while the others remained within (*Iliad* 22.233-7). Emboldened by the thought of his brother's support, Hector turns to face Achilles and requests a pact of body exchange (*Iliad* 22.250-7). Uttering similes that reflect his carnivorous rage, Achilles declares to Hector that no oaths of faith are possible between them and that Pallas Athena will now kill him by his spear (*Iliad* 22.261-71).[61] Hurling his spear at Hector, Achilles states that he is now to pay retribution for the "grief" *kêdos* caused to his slain comrades (*Iliad* 22.271-2).

[61] For a discussion of Athena's part in the duel between Achilles and Hector, see Willcock 1999: 411-13.

Achilles' spear misses, emboldening Hector to reply to his foe that he is the "greatest affliction" *pêma mégiston* to the Trojans as he hurls his spear (*Iliad* 22.288). Hector's spear does not miss, but rather it bounces off of Achilles' shield. When he calls to his brother to give him another spear, Hector realizes that he is alone, that Athena had duped him and that the gods now call him to his death (*Iliad* 22.297-9). Stating that Zeus and Apollo had been vigilant in the past and had "rescued" *eirúato* him from situations such as this one, he now asserts that his fate is at hand (*Iliad* 22.301-3). Rather than pleading for his life as Lycaon had done at the river bank, Hector exclaims that he does not wish to die passively and ingloriously but wishes instead to do a great deed and thus serve as an example for others later on (*Iliad* 22.304-5).

At the beginning of the footrace Hector was likened to a poison-fed serpent awaiting a man at its mountain cave as he listened to the horrified pleading of his parents. At the race's conclusion, Hector is described as an eagle diving from on high and passing through the dark clouds to seize its meal, either a tender lamb or timid hare standing on the plain.[62] Although he had previously made aggressive advances upon both Ajax and Achilles, these were done in the knowledge that Zeus and Apollo stood by as his protectors. Earlier that day, Apollo rescued Hector when he confronted Achilles in response to the death of his half-brother Polydorus, despite having warned him directly not to fight with the hero (*Iliad* 20.376-80; 431-7; 449-4). Indeed, before his final

[62] The imagery evokes the Zeus-sent portent on the morning of the previous day in which the eagle, although gripping the "monstrous" serpent in its claws, is finally struck in the breast beside the throat (12.204).

charge at Achilles, Hector was incapable of any significant battle success and, as discussed already, his assault upon the ships was entirely orchestrated by Zeus in fulfilment of Achilles' prayer. More than any other character in the poem, Hector received divine assistance but, upon realizing that this has now been rescinded, he acts bravely and wins glory for himself by finally facing his slayer.

Armed with the Pelian spear retrieved by Athena and returned to him (*Iliad* 22.276-7), Achilles aims at his opponent's neck, which is unprotected by the divine armour. In his dying breath, Hector now pleads with Achilles not to carry out his threat to feed his corpse to the dogs at the ships.[63] When this is rejected and Achilles expresses the desire to eat him raw as his rage compels to do, Hector ends off by uttering the prophetic curse that he may "bring about" *génōmai* the wrath of the gods on the day when Paris and Apollo slay him at the Scaean Gates. Achilles replies by telling his foe's lifeless body that he will accept his own death as the will of the gods, and then removes his armour leaving Hector's corpse naked.

After an Achaean delivers a wound to the body (*Iliad* 22.375), Achilles calls upon the army to turn their attention to the Trojans but interrupts himself after he recalls that Patroclus remains unburied. He then orders the Achaean youths to sing the paean and

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[63] This plea repeats Hecabe's final statement to her son at the outset of the footrace (*Iliad* 22.89). Recall that Hector had planned to decapitate the corpse of Patroclus and feed the body to the dogs of Troy, a point made repeatedly during the battle over the corpse (*Iliad* 17.125-7; 240-1; 255; 272-3). The "unspeakable glory" the poet states that Hector would have won at *Iliad* 18.165 alludes to the atrocities committed against Patroclus' corpse, had he prevailed in the battle. This eventuality is directly communicated to Achilles by Iris shortly thereafter (*Iliad* 18.178-80).

carry the corpse back to the ships as he speaks on the army's behalf, announcing to them the great glory they have won for having slain godlike Hector, to whom the Trojans prayed throughout the town as to a god (*Iliad* 22.378-94). In his speech, Achilles makes two references that suggest cult. The first reference is overt and appears in his exhortation to the "Achaean youths" *koûroi Axaiôn* to sing the paean as they lead the corpse to the ships. Recall that at the end of the Apollo priest's curse against the Achaeans for their king's insult, Odysseus led the twenty youths in singing the paean that propitiated the god and ceased the plague. Achilles, who modelled his own curse after the priest's, calls upon the youths to sing the paean now that Hector, his designated agent of affliction has been killed.[64] The singing of the paean marks the end of suffering for the Achaeans and points the way to the rehabilitation of the community undertaken the following morning at the celebration of Games.

The second reference is more vague and appears to identify a feature of the ancient Greek Achilles cult for which no ritual details survive. In recollecting that Patroclus remains unburied, Achilles states:

> τοῦ δ' οὐκ ἐπιλήσομαι, ὄφρ' ἂν ἔγωγε
> ζωοῖσιν μετέω καί μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρῃ·
> εἰ δὲ θανόντων περ καταλήθοντ' εἰν Ἄϊδαο
> αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ κεῖθι φίλου μεμνήσομ' ἑταίρου.

[64] For the parallelism operating between god and hero, particularly with reference to this episode in which the paean is sung at Hector's death, see Nagy 1999: 142-3.

"I shall have no cause to forget (Patroclus) so long as I among the living and my dear knees may propel me. But when in Hades among the dead and utterly forgotten, nonetheless even there I will have remembered my dear comrade (Iliad 22.387-90).[65]

Achilles' actions after receiving the news of Patroclus' death are those of a "living dead man." That is, after Thetis and the Nereids emerge from the sea to mourn Patroclus, Achilles appears to have died as well, and his actions, culminating in his participation in the slaughter of Hector, are undertaken to consciously precipitate his own death by Apollo. Now that he has recovered the armour given to him by his father Peleus and, most especially, now that he possesses both Patroclus' and Hector's corpses, Achilles appears to act in the poem as a cult entity that functions to ensure the transition of the dead into the underworld. I shall endeavour to clarify this statement in the remainder of the chapter.

H. Achilles and the Corpses

Before exploring how Peleus' poetic function as a redeemer of exiled murders operates to inform the way in which Achilles actions' are to be appreciated in the concluding portion of the poem, I shall first discuss the way in which Achilles is depicted as a "living dead man" upon hearing of Patroclus' death. First, Achilles' poetical death is expressed in the groan he emits, which prompts Thetis and the Nereids as well as the women in the camp to cry in lamentation, and is visually evoked by his filth-befouled physical body as he writhes in grief at the news of his beloved companion's slaughter. From this

[65] Richardson 1993: 146 points out that the statement Achilles makes refers to his attitude after his own death.

point on to his meeting with Priam, Achilles refuses all food and, most importantly, proclaims his determination to cause to die Patroclus' death. After learning of Patroclus' death, Achilles acts out of a suicidal determination in returning to battle, as he fully appreciates the extent of his own responsibility in bringing it about (*Iliad* 18.98-9). After declaring to his mother his own imminent death as the fitting consequence for his behaviour, he is paradoxically elevated to a quasi divine state by the Trojan-hating goddesses, who "raise him up" by feeding him the immortal sustenance, by shaking the aegis over him and by equipping him in the divine armour that glows like the death star and like the sun as it cracks the earthly horizon. Achilles is elevated to a godlike state in order for him to "desecrate" the Golden Age-like Trojan plain and to mete out punishment to Priam by having his son slaughtered before his helpless gaze.

Achilles' fated function as the monstrous "Dog Star"[66] ends with the death of Hector, who had been supernaturally empowered to bring fire and death to the Achaeans. After calling upon the youths to sing the paean, Achilles drags Hector's despoiled and abominated corpse back to his hut.[67] Once there, he addresses the divinely pre-

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[66] To repeat, there is no mention of the sunset after Hera orders Helios to set, an event which is simultaneous with Athena's raising up of Achilles, which is poetically depicted as the shining of Sirius. The end of the following day is announced by Apollo's abandonment of Hector (recall that Scamander had reminded him of his commitment to bear aid to the Trojans until the end of the day at *Iliad* 21.230-2) and the simile of Achilles' spear as the evening star (*Iliad* 22.317-8). The raising up of Achilles, through which he passes from being an embodiment of death to being the Dog Star ablaze with divine fire, on the previous day matches the moment of Hector's slaughter.

[67] The view that Achilles' hut, located by the seaside and at the extremity of the Achaean camp, constitutes an underworld locale is made by Mackie 1999.

served corpse of Patroclus,[68] whom he identifies as residing in the domains of Hades. He apprises his deceased companion of the imminent fulfillment of his promise to give Hector's body to the dogs and to cut the the throats of the twelve Trojans youths over his pyre (*Iliad* 23.19-23).[69] Patroclus, whose body was carried to his hut by the Achaeans after a struggle in which twelve of them perished, now lies on a bier with his face heavenward, his imperishable flesh cleaned and clothed in anticipation of his funeral. After his address, Achilles hurls the naked, filthy corpse of Hector face down in the dust before the bier, thereby creating a poetical reflection of own divided state; Patroclus' corpse radiates with the attention of Thetis, who made it more beautiful than it was in life, whereas Hector, now lying at the base of the bier, expresses the extreme opposite, the ignominious *death* that Achilles so dreaded in his race with Scamander. On the more immediate level, the imagery of the two corpses reflects Achilles' own mortified, befouled and condemned flesh that, paradoxically, is divinely protected by the golden armour of the fire god.

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[68] Patroclus' corpse was carried on a bier into the huts after sundown on the previous day. Achilles then cleansed, anointed and dressed it (*Iliad* 18.343-53). At sunrise, Thetis infused nectar and ambrosia into its nostrils, making the flesh "forever firm" *aieì ... émpedos* (*Iliad* 19.33, 38-9). This account differs from the treatment of Sarpedon and Hector whose bodies are anointed with the immortal sustenance, see Edwards 1991: 238.

[69] That the slaughter of the Trojans reflects the sacrificial operation accorded to the hero is reflected both in the description of the youths as *aglaós*, a term that designates them as worthy gifts such as any selected victim offered in sacrifice. This is made more clearly in the use of the verb *apodeirotoméō* to describe the slaughter. The same verb, meaning "to cut the neck completely" is used at *Odyssey* 11.35 when Odysseus describes the sacrificial procedures he performed in the grove of Persephone. The fact that the victim is chosen as an outstanding specimen from the flock is stated at *Odyssey* 11.33, and this corroborates with the view that the twelve youths are *aglaá*. The slaughter of the youths followed by relegating their corpses to the funerary fire follows the same ritual pattern as the sacrifice performed by Odysseus.

To pursue this point further, the poetics of the divided states embodied by Achilles himself and represented by the two corpses at his hut suggest the Hesiodic myth of the mortal races, particularly the bridging of the Bronze and Golden Ages the poet elaborates in his account of the afterlife conditions of the Heroic Age. Treating the two corpses first in this context, the beauty of Patroclus' body -- rendered imperishable by Thetis -- symbolizes the strong and perfect age, the Golden Age, when death held no corrosive force. In stark contrast, lying beneath the bier of Patroclus, Hector's horrifically abominated body stands out as a grim indication of death during the Bronze Age, given both its condition and, more importantly, given its separation from its community of mourners. To complete the pattern of the Hesiodic myth, the lives of both men were cut short, either directly or indirectly, by Achilles, but also by the gods in a manner that reflects the account of the Silver People. Table 7 below identifies the points of correspondence between both Hector and Patroclus as they are presented in the poem; these in turn conform with the account given in the Hesiodic myth of the Silver People who, despite their great ignorance, were accorded cult honours as the blessed dead below the earth (*W&D* 141).

Table 7. Features Associating Hector and Patroclus

Hector ordered by the Trojan senators to remain at the Scaean Gates until he is made general over the Trojan army.	Patroclus ordered by Achilles to remain at the ships until he is given the leadership over the Myrmidons.
Desires Diomedes' divine breastplate and Nestor's golden shield to drive the enemy in retreat (8.191-7).	Desires Achilles' divine armour to drive the enemy in retreat (16.40-5).
Ignores instructions to attack the enemy until he has reached the ships and the sun has set.	Ignores instructions to attack the enemy and drive it from the ships into the plain.
Kills Patroclus and despoils him of his bronze armour.	Kills Sarpedon and despoils him of his bronze armour (16.663-5).
Rushes away from the Scaean Gates three times before the gods intervene and arrange for his slaughter.	Rushes three times at the Scaean Gates before the gods intervene and arrange for his slaughter.
Announces before dying to his mortal assailant who his own killer will soon be.	Announces before dying to his mortal assailant who his own killer will soon be.
Corpse kept in Achilles' huts where it is preserved by the gods.	Corpse kept in Achilles' huts where it is preserved by the gods.
Lavish funeral celebrated with the bones deposited in a golden amphora over which a mound is piled up.	Lavish funeral celebrated with the bones deposited in a golden amphora over which a mound is piled up.

The death of Hector has several points in common with that of Patroclus. They both die while wearing the star-embossed bronze armour of Achilles, which he received from Peleus who, in turn, received it from the gods at his wedding to Thetis (18.84-5). Both resent their orders to remain at the "home base" or, to use the Hesiodic analogy to remain at their mother's sides, rather than leading an assault upon the enemy as a way of protecting their people. Like the Silver People, both men die shortly after leaving their sheltered milieus as a result of their hubris.

In Patroclus' case, he is given Achilles' battle equipment and is ordered to drive off the Trojans from the ships, but not to enter the plain and attack the polis. Not the child of the gods, Patroclus is hubristically inflated by the success he experiences while

wearing the divine equipment and foolishly ignores the orders of both Achilles and Apollo to desist from taking Troy. Patroclus, described by the poet as *méga nḗpios*, finally leaves his "mother" Achilles' side only to die shortly thereafter.[70] Although he was foolish in seeking to wear the armour of Achilles and succumbed quickly to hubris as a result, Patroclus nonetheless was motivated to act out of care for the Achaeans when he was persuaded by Nestor to enter the battle. Thus, despite his fatally foolish mistake in ignoring both Achilles' and Apollo's instructions, Patroclus embodies the Achaean attitude of *philophrosúnē* by demonstrating his eagerness to assist his comrades.[71]

I have already discussed the way in which the pattern of the Silver People expresses itself in Hector's dramatic situation.[72] To recap: Before succumbing to the hubristic delusion that Zeus had granted him the power to defeat the enemy, Hector held off the Achaeans for nine years by following the senators' instructions and defending the polis at the gates. Although the third day of hostilities, referred to as the Great Day

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[70] Achilles describes Patroclus as a baby girl *koúrē nḗpiē* running to her mother when he returns from Nestor's huts to report to him about the sufferings of the Achaeans (*Iliad* 16.7-11). Previously, Achilles had described himself as the mother bird carrying food back to her nestlings (*Iliad* 9.323-7). Utterly dependent upon Achilles, Patroclus fails at following his father's exhortation to act as a guide and teacher to the younger, but more noble Achilles and thus provokes the contempt of the poet. On two occasions the poet defines Patroclus with the term that most characterizes the Silver Man as he sets out from his mother side, *méga nḗpios* (*Iliad* 16.46; 685-6). Finally, Patroclus' spirit calls himself a fool when he reveals to Achilles that he was banished from his homeland (and his mother's side) after murdering Amphidamus' son (*Iliad* 23.88). The poet also calls Hector, Aeneas, Chromius and Aretus fools when they set out to attempt to capture Achilles' divine horses (*Iliad* 17.497), but Patroclus remains the character who is most defined by the term.

[71] Menelaus, for whom all the Achaeans are fighting, identifies the fallen Patroclus as "the best of the Achaeans" (*Iliad* 17.689). This designation both attests to his role as Achilles' proxy and acknowledges his service to the army in driving off the Trojans and killing Sarpedon.

[72] Chapter 3: 38-9.

of Battle, was to be the time of his Zeus-granted power to slay the enemy and set fire to the ships, Hector hubristically assumed that he had been granted the ability to rout the enemy. Despite the completion of the day, he once again abused Polydamas and, now wearing Achilles' armour, ordered the army to remain at the riverside camp and attack the ships at sunrise.

With the sun having set on his supposed day of glory, Hector could not cease from his hubris and sinfulness. Having gathered from the battlefield the divine armour loosened from Patroclus by Apollo's blow, Hector sought to claim Patroclus' corpse and to decapitate it; impaling the head over the wall of Troy and feeding the remains to the dogs below (*Iliad* 17.125-7).[73] On the eve of his death, Hector takes on the outward appearance of Achilles by equipping himself in the star-studded armour.

[73] Iris later conveys this information to Achilles, thus fomenting his goddess-induced, raw eating wrath against the Trojan (*Iliad* 18.175-9). This stands in stark contrast to Hector's statement at the close of the first day of battle, at which time he vowed that he would offer the armour of his vanquished opponent to Apollo, but would return the corpse for burial by the Hellespont. On Hector's foreshadowing at *Iliad* 7.81-8 of the tumulus of Achilles-Patroclus, the grave of both his victim and slayer, see the discussion in Burgess 2009: 113.

Table 8. Features Associating Hector and Achilles

Hector refuses wine and to wash the gore from his hands (6.266-8).	Achilles' hands are described as gore-strained (20.503). He also refuses food and does not wash the gore from his body (23.41).
He sets up camp by the waterside at the extreme end of the Trojan plain.	He has a camp by the seaside at the furthest point from the plain.
He accepts the request of a messenger (Dolon) to gather information in the Achaean camp. He also grants his request to offer him Achilles divine horses and chariot upon completion of the mission. Failing at his mission, the messenger is slaughtered in ritual fashion by an "Achilles substitute" (Diomedes) and his equipment is obtained as a victory prize.	He sends a messenger (Patroclus) on a foot race into the Achaean camp to gather information. He grants his request upon completion of the mission by offering him his horses, chariot and armour. Failing at his mission, he is slaughtered in ritual fashion by an "Achilles substitute" (Euphorbus) and his equipment is obtained as a victory prize.
He is compared to the death-bringing star (11.62).	He is compared to the harvest star Sirius, the sign of evil (22.29-30).
His eyes blaze like fire as he orders the Trojans over the Achaean wall (12.467).	Achilles is described as blazing like fire as he returns to battle (his head at 18.206; hands at 20.371-2; armour at 22.135).
He is revived at the Trojan camp by the river's edge and has his strength amplified by an aegis-bearing god (15.254-70; 307-10).	He is revived at the seaside Achaean camp and has his strength amplified by and aegis-bearing god (18.203-4).
He seeks to decapitate Patroclus' corpse and feed the body to the dogs (18.175-9).	He tells Hector as he is dying that he will feed him to the dogs (22.348-354).

Table 8 above identifies corresponding motifs that serve to connect Hector with Achilles. To repeat, Hector's man-slaying might and his ability to bring fire to the ships come about purely as a result of Achilles' curse, thus making Hector Achilles' chosen agent of destruction. In keeping with this assignment, certain of Hector's actions foreshadow those of Achilles after he returns to the war. Having pent the Achaeans back within the walls, Hector sets up camp at the water's edge, not of the sea, but rather at the bank of the river. Although he is a pallid reflection of Achilles as a fire-bringer, Hector does nonetheless set fire to a ship after breaking through the wall, an act that both

fulfils Achilles' curse and foreshadows the burning of Troy by Achilles on the following day.[74]

Another feature of Hector's dramatic actions that foreshadow Achilles' entry into battle is the detail that Hector accomplishes all of his slaughters upon youths at the eastern bank of the Scamander.[75] As discussed above, this is the same location where Achilles later inflicts his extreme carnage on the Trojans, but on the western bank. Moreover, just as Achilles is compared to the fever-bringing harvest star, the Dog of Orion, Hector too is compared to the death-bringing star on the morning of the Great Day of Battle (*Iliad* 11.62) immediately before Zeus turns the tide of battle and empowers him to begin his slaughters (*Iliad* 11.301-3; 497-04).[76] Added to their shared astral symbolism, Achilles is further reflected in Hector's transformed battle function -- his

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[74] After Zeus strengthens Hector to lift the stone and hurl it through the gates of the Achaean wall, Hector's face is described as the "fast-arriving night," his bronze armour gleaming and his eyes blazing with fire (12.462-6). He is again described in Typhoeus-like terms at *Iliad* 15.605-12, after Zeus states that he will give glory to Hector by having him set the ships ablaze (recall that he only manages to burn half of Protesilaus' ship) to fulfill the "overreaching prayer of Thetis" (*Iliad* 15.596-8). Similarly, Hector is described as shining like fire when he slays his only opponent and takes hold of the stern of Protesilaus' ship (*Iliad* 15.623; 638-3).

[75] Hector's first series of slaughters (*Iliad* 5.703-10) is accomplished as the Achaeans are retreating to their ships after Diomedes announced that Ares was fighting alongside of him. When Hera and Athena descend to help the Achaeans, they settle down at the confluence of the Scamander-Simoeis (*Iliad* 5.773-6) and shortly after Athena assists Diomedes to injure Ares, Hector's divine helper, stimulating Hector to attempt to propitiate the goddess. The location of the vast number of Achaean youths that died on the first day of battle is precisely identified by Nestor at *Iliad* 7.327-30, who gives no credit to Hector, but states that it was Ares who slew them at the Scamander. Hector is only attributed with one slaughter (*Iliad* 7.11) between the time of Ares' wounding and the duel with Ajax. Finally, Hector is described as fighting against Nestor and Idomeneus who are leading a phalanx of youths in a particularly pitched and casualty-filled battle at the Scamander (*Iliad* 11.497-504).

[76] The list of the nine named victims of Hector are singly mentioned, four of whom are also the names of singly mentioned Trojans.

change from polis defender to ship attacker -- following Zeus' bringing to fulfilment the curse against Agamemnon and the Achaeans. Finally, as with Achilles, Hector is described as having gore-stained hands, his eyes are likened to fire, and he is invested with both the divine power to slaughter many men and to inflict fire upon his victims.[77]

In the final two books of the poem, Achilles still appears as a quasi divinity. His function as the goddesses' agent of wrath complete, Achilles now appears to reflect a cult entity that exercises a power over the dead, particularly in expediting the soul's transition into the underworld through the exercise of funerary rites. The resolution of the poem is occupied by the two days of lamentation, burial and commemorative celebration of games for Patroclus, then followed by Priam's supplication and recuperation of Hector's corpse twelve days after his death, finally ending with his burial eleven days later. In attempting to clarify this insight, I wish to draw attention to the poetical insertion of Peleus into burial episodes of both Patroclus and Hector, the heroes who died in the armour "of the father in which the son did not grow old" (*Iliad* 17.197).

As discussed previously, Peleus is given the function of a redeemer of the "exiled vagrant" *atímētos metanástēs*.[78] Phthia, the Land of Perishing and his royal home, is also a sanctuary and a place of renewal for characters such as Phoenix and Epeigeus, characters who have been banished from their homelands for crimes against their kin. I have

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[77] Besides Hector and Achilles, Agamemnon is described as having gore covered hands (*Iliad* 11.169). In the blood coloured tapestry Helen weaves, the prize-contests vied for by the Trojans and Achaeans are staged within the palms of Ares (*Iliad* 3.125-8). A common epithet of Ares is "blood-defiled" *miaiphónos*.

[78] Chapter 5: 17-22.

argued that the myth of the murder of Phocus is the reason both he and his brother Telamon, who is never identified in the poem as an Aeacid, live apart from their native Aegina. The motif of the exiled murderer is indelible to Peleus' poetic biography and surfaces also in the biography of Telamon, as he offered sanctuary to the exiled murderer Lycophron of Cythera who, reflecting Patroclus' relationship to Achilles, served as his son Ajax's "attendant" *therápōn*.[79]

Peleus' poetic function as a redeemer of exiled murderers surfaces in the visitation of Patroclus' spirit to Achilles as he lies asleep at the seashore.[80] The spirit first commands Achilles to do what he has already vowed to do, to bury him quickly that he may pass through Hades' gates (*Iliad* 23.69-92). The spirit then says that he is prevented from crossing the river to join the spirits, the "phantoms of the expired." These shun him as he remains unburied and has yet to pass through the fire. After calling out for Achilles' hand, the spirit states that he has succumbed to his fate and tells Achilles what he already knows, that he too will fall before the gates of Troy. Patroclus' spirit then makes another request of Achilles, to have their bones joined and buried together. In so doing, the spirit reveals to him that when he was a boy he, a "fool" *nḗpios*, killed Amphidamus' son out of rage during a game. His father Menotius brought him to Phthia

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[79] Thus, in the Embassy Scene, when Ajax expresses his hurt at Achilles' disregard for the *philótēs* of his comrades, and equates the hero's grievance with Agamemnon with that of compensation for the murder of a son or a brother, he is not only implying that family relations obtain among all the Achaeans, but is also identifying an intimate feature of their own family's past. Recall too that Nestor invokes Peleus as a father-figure for the Achaeans at 7.125-8.

[80] This is the same location where he is visited by Thetis at 1.348-50 and at 18.67-9.

where he was received by Peleus who prepared him to serve as Achilles' attendant *therápōn* (*Iliad* 23.85-90). This biographical information, it appears to me, conditions how we are to understand Patroclus' final request to have both of their bones encased in the golden amphora given to Achilles by his "revered mother" *pótnia mḗtēr* (*Iliad* 23.91-2).

I wish here to highlight how the persona of Peleus is drawn into Achilles' final expression of magnanimity in accepting Priam's supplication and releasing to him his son's corpse. From the outset of this final episode, the father-son analogy operates to define the contact between Achilles and Priam. The poet compares Achilles' amazement at Priam's sudden appearance to the "sudden blindness" *átē pukinḗ* that comes over a wealthy man when an exiled murderer enters his house (*Iliad* 24.480-4). This complex simile associates Achilles with the role of the redeemer of the exiled murderer, the role that the poet has ascribed to Peleus. Kissing the hands that killed his many sons, Priam immediately appeals to Achilles to remember his father and to see in him Peleus' own miserable situation (*Iliad* 24.486-506).[81]

Priam implores Achilles to take pity on him by invoking both reverence for the gods and, for the second time, the memory of Peleus (*Iliad* 24.503-4). The supplication succeeds and Achilles laments for his father and for Patroclus, whose name expresses the failed possibility of his return to his homeland to carry on his father's legacy. Sof-

[81] In the Embassy Scene, Odysseus' initial appeal is made in the voice of Peleus. Speaking as his father, he exhorted Achilles to curb his anger and act out of *philophrosúnē* in order for the Argives to honour him especially (*Iliad* 9.254-8). This instruction is finally fulfilled when Achilles returns Hector's body out of compassion for Priam.

tened by the old man's suffering, Achilles responds to Priam by relating to him Peleus' equally grievous plight, lamenting that the gods have spun it out for wretched mortals to live in grief while they are themselves sorrowless (*Iliad* 24.525-6).[82] Zeus, Achilles states, dispenses evils and benefits from two jars. He first gives the example of the man who has a mixed lot, first experiencing evil and then good. He follows this by presenting the case of a man who receives only misery, identifying the horrors that result. Achilles then relates this circumstance -- the utterly miserable man -- with Peleus' situation. Peleus, Achilles states, experienced nothing but good things, receiving glorious gifts from the gods throughout his life, even receiving a goddess in marriage. Nonetheless, he too, like the man who receives only evil, will end his life in misery as he produced only one untimely *panaôrios* son who will not attend to his old age (*Iliad* 24.534-42).

Achilles finally compares Priam to Peleus by stating that he too was "at first blessed" *tò prìn... ólbion eînai* (*Iliad* 24.543). Priam was without equal throughout his vast kingdom by reason of his wealth and many sons, but he too is brought to grief by Achilles, who leaves both men without an heir to their respective thrones. Achilles concludes his speech by telling Priam to compose himself and to cease lamenting for his

[82] Achilles is of course acutely aware of the sorrows his divine mother has had to bear for having married a mortal. Wearing a veil of mourning, Thetis visited her son the previous day to announce to him the gods' anger and to instruct him to accept ransom for Hector (*Iliad* 24.133-7). Achilles' speech to Priam anticipates Zeus' statement about mortal suffering at *Odyssey* 1.36-43, see Richardson 1993: 332.

son as it will not return his son to life; moreover it may bring to pass another evil (*Iliad* 24.549-51).

It is at this point that Priam blunders. He impatiently orders Achilles not to have him seated, but to quickly return Hector's body to him. He then draws attention to the ransom, telling his host to accept it. Finally, Priam adds the impossible wish that Achilles might take the wealth and return with it to his father's kingdom, as he has spared Priam his life (24.552-8). This presumptuous statement by Priam, in which he proposes an impossible outcome to their encounter, violates the protocols of the supplication and provokes the hero's anger. Shortly before, in their shared lament, Achilles likened Priam to his own father and revealed his own fate to the Trojan king (24.540-2). Priam did not seize upon this and failed to understand that, like himself, Peleus too will be left to die without an heir, as Achilles will soon follow after Hector in meeting his fate below the walls of the polis. Not only, then, is the suggestion that Achilles might return to Peleus with the wealth obtained from Priam incongruous with the dictates of his fate,the assertion that Achilles has chosen to spare his life is also premature, as the king has not yet been granted safe passage from the hut.[83]

Achilles responds to Priam by angrily asserting the sacred context of their encounter. He too had been informed by the gods as to its occurrence and been instructed

[83] For a discussion of Achilles' life following the narrative span of the *Iliad*, see Burgess 2009: 86-87. It is entirely reasonnable to interpret Thetis' statement at 18.96 to mean that Achilles is to die on the day after Hector's burial. If the chronology of the *Odyssey* is taken into account, then Achilles would have been buried thirty days after he returned Hector's corpse to Priam (*Odyssey* 24.63-8).

too to relinquish Hector's corpse (24.560-2). Achilles reveals to Priam his knowledge that a god had delivered him into the hut, and thus makes it known to his supplicant that his awareness is beyond what is accessible to mortals; that he knows the actions of the gods. Achilles ends his reply by threatening that he may sin against Zeus and retain the corpse should Priam stir up further the hurts within him (24.560-70).[84]

This instils in the supplicant an attitude of awe (24.571) and Achilles' attitude changes correspondingly. As Priam accepts the seat offered him, Achilles orders Automedon and Alcinus to assist him in exchanging the treasure for the corpse.[85] After inviting the king's herald (the god Hermes)[86] into the hut, Achilles removes a chiton and two robes from the ceremonial vestments included in the ransom. Once the body is cleaned, anointed and clothed, Achilles places the corpse upon the bier before he and his attendants transfer it to Priam's wagon. He then makes a final prayer to Patroclus, appealing to him not to be angry and declaring that he will give him the ransom just obtained. Achilles finally returns to the hut and feasts with his guest, permitting him safe passage and the requisite amount of time to accomplish Hector's burial.

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[84] In keeping with the depiction of the scene as an underworld journey, Achilles assumes the role of a cult entity who has power over the dead. The offering of ransom to him and the obsequious attitude Priam must adopt in his presence evokes the mood of a hero cult propitiation.

[85] Again, Achilles has the anointing of the corpse done beyond the view of Priam so as not to provoke in the father excessive grief and thus arouse again Achilles' murderous rage. A proscription against excessive emotions during the operations of the funerary rite appears to lie in the background of this; Priam needs to maintain his composure throughout in order for him to successfully prosecute a return from Achilles' hut. See Seaford 1994: 74-8 for a discussion of legislation against excessive mourning at Athens and its manifestations in Homer and tragic theatre.

[86] The identity of the herald as Hermes is given at the conclusion of the scene, as they depart the hut at dawn (*Iliad* 24.689-90)

In conclusion, Achilles' final actions in the *Iliad* express the attitude of *philophrosúnē* that his father exhorted him to keep at the forefront of his mind. Peleus, whom the poet identifies as host and redeemer of exiled murderers, presents himself finally to Achilles as Priam, father of Hector whom Achilles invested with the power to carry out his curse against Agamemnon, and whom he killed in the bronze armour given by his father. Achilles does more than obey his mother's orders in ceasing his abuse of the corpse and agreeing to its return; he experiences genuine compassion for the grief-stricken king as he realizes the extent to which Priam's predicament reflects that of his father. In some ways Peleus is worse off, as Achilles can make it possible for Hector's community to properly mourn him and to return his bones to their native soil. No such postmortem outcome awaits Achilles. Not only is he fated to die under the walls of Troy, as the gods have revealed to him, he has also been informed by the spirit of Patroclus that he is to be buried in the soil beneath his hut, which housed him for the past ten years, thus leaving Peleus without any means of effective mourning.

Achilles was born to an evil fate, as his mother had lamented. He, the best of the Achaeans, had to die before the fall of Troy. Worse still, he was born to carry out the goddesses' plans, on the mundane level, to punish Priam for consenting to Paris' marriage and, on the cosmic level, to end the Heroic Age and its sufferings resulting from the existing between mortals and immortals. Seen in this light, the reference to "wrath" *mḗnis*, with which the poem leads off, is not of Achilles or, rather, it does not originate

with him, but with Hera. Achilles had been, before the Apollo-delivered pestilence and Hera's intervention, not only the most effective fighter but, as Ajax reminded him in his exhortation to accept Agamemnon's compensation, the most honoured and beloved of the Achaeans (9.630-1). The Achilles of the *Iliad* is from the outset in the hands of Hera and Athena, and it is they who foment within him the violent hubris needed to draw Hector out of the plain and to nullify the sacred gifts of wealth and protection Zeus had bestowed upon his most beloved polis.

Although he is obedient to the gods throughout, Achilles succumbs to the infatuation that Zeus will fulfil his desires. This occurs, to repeat, when he orders Patroclus out of the huts in his armour to drive off the Trojans and, in so doing win the Achaean's honour. Thus, somewhat like Agamemnon and Hector, Achilles makes the arrogant mistake of believing that Zeus will grant his wish that all will die so that he and Patroclus alone may win Troy, rather than having it that they two alone should be buried at the seashore beyond the plain. With his hands upon Patroclus' lifeless body, Achilles states his bitter insight that Zeus does not fulfill all the desires of men before announcing his plan to kill Hector and retrieve the armour. It is following this speech, to repeat, that Zeus acknowledges Hera's victory in raising up Achilles (*Iliad* 18.357-9). Finally, it is after his wizened resolution to return to battle that he receives the threefold greater gifts Athena promised him in book 1, when she ordered him not to murder Agamemnon in the agora. From Agamemnon Achilles receives back the daughter of

Briseus, from Thetis he receives the golden armour of Hephaestus and, lastly, from Priam he receives the gift of expressing the redemptive magnanimity that defines him as the son of Peleus.

I. Achilles and the Myth of the Mortal Races

The poetic experience of Achilles' tragic situation as it is elaborated in the *Iliad* effectively defines the homeopathic healing myths of the gods and the former mortals which were, as Hesiod states, intended to produce. Swift footed Achilles, imbued with all the qualities necessary for success, is fated to die before the goal of Troy is achieved. Worse still, his behaviour appears to imperil the final goal, as the hero hubristically models himself upon Apollo in uttering his curse to have the Achaeans die and their means of return burned by Hector for the dishonour Agamemnon dealt him. And yet Achilles' wrath-induced curse was determined by his fate, by his having been chosen by the goddesses to desecrate Troy and to end the intermingling of mortals and immortals. Himself the product of such a woeful union -- the only child of Thetis and Peleus -- Achilles fully embodies the ontological conflict of the half-god, half mortal demigod; the marriage of his parents and his birth were, after all, willfully produced by Hera to end such baneful couplings, along with mythic age in which they occurred. Seen then, from the perspective of a homeopathic healing, the hearing of Achilles' sufferings makes those of the contemporary age infinitely more bearable.

Conclusion

My study of the *Iliad* has attempted to arrive at a sense of its meaningful reception among the ancient Greeks, and to attempt to account for its inclusion as ritual performance that was also a competitive medium at the Greater Panathenaia. In my introduction, I explored the points of structural correspondence, the space-time points of reference, shared by both the ritual setting of the games at Olympia and the dramatic context of the hero myth that is the *Iliad*, the plain of Troy. Like the heroes of myth and cult, whose undying acclaim is maintained by the ongoing ceremonial performance of Homeric poetry, the victors achieved a status that made of them a sacred presence, a manifestation of the continuing viability of the Zeus-willed cosmos. Along these same lines, I touch upon the Achilles cult and how it corresponds to the ordeals undergone by "the collective pool of the dead," the body of athletes gathered in the plane-tree shaded precinct in Elis on the month before their procession along the Sacred Way to Olympia. The *Iliad*, and the *Odyssey* for that matter too, treats exclusively the death of Achilles and the erection of his tomb at the mouth of the Hellespont. Roughly contemporary with the poem's performance at Athens in the mid sixth century BCE, was the Athenian campaign to establish their influence over the navigation routes into the Euxine (Black Sea).[1] Seemingly reflecting this strategic manoeuvre is the strong emphasis on the building of the tomb shared by Achilles and Patroclus in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

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[1] A more clearly defined propagandistic element had been identified in the invocation of Homer to assert Athenian claims over the island of Salamis, the ancient homeland of the Greater Ajax, see Pozzi and Wickersham 1991: 16-31.

While the political motives behind this emphasis are obscure, the poem does put its stress on the tomb cult dimension of Achilles worship and only alludes to the hero's apotheosis, as it was expressed in the establishment of his temple cult on the White Island.[2]

Having identified the structural correspondences operating between the *Iliad* and Olympia, I have engaged Hesiod's Myth of the Mortal Races as an interpretive template in my study of the heroes in the poem. The wealthy Trojans, privileged by Zeus over the course of many generations, demonstrate themselves to be like the Silver People. Because they could not desist from treating others with hubris they have brought upon themselves the wrath of the gods. In consequence, the Golden Age circumstances they enjoyed when they first formed their polis devolve, once Achilles crosses the Scamander, into the dire underworld conditions of the Bronze Age. Thus, the Trojans attest to the declining arc of mythic time, the descent from the Golden Age to that of the Bronze.

The Achaeans, on the other hand, demonstrate themselves to be true heroes. Living in huts on the western shores of the salty sea and determined to bring Helen home, the Achaeans remain steadfast in their endeavour. Always eager to defend each other, they effectively compensate for Agamemnon's failure to lead them. Also, when their most experienced fighters are forced to withdraw and Hector brings the battle into the camp, their youngest cohort, led by Idomeneus, Menelaus, and Ajax, hold divinely em-

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[2] See Nagy 1999: 174-210.

powered Hector off and later prevent him from making off with Patroclus' corpse. Given their *esprit de corps* and their ability to adapt to Achilles' withdrawal and Hector's unprecedented surge of attack, the Achaeans demonstrate themselves to be true heroes. Because of their perseverance they move from their Bronze Age army camp conditions into the Golden Age realm of victory. Finally we learn in the *Odyssey*, that certain among them, most notably Menelaus and Odysseus, are granted places at the unending feast on the Isles of the Blessed.

Godlike Achilles hovers above all of this. His evil fate enlivened over the course of the five days of contests between the horse-taming Trojans and the bronze-clad Achaeans, Achilles succeeds in drawing Hector out of his sanctuary beneath the oak and at the gates. The focus of the poem is not on his fate, of course, but rather on how he experiences its grievous impositions. Finally he too shares with the Achaeans the upward movement of the ritual trajectory despite his premature death before Troy's as of yet unconquered walls. Beginning his tragic lot in anger and alienation, he degenerates into a deluded self-aggrandizement at witnessing his curse come into full expression with Hector and the flames at the ships. Like the Trojans, Achilles too behaves like the Silver People and suffers the loss of his most beloved Patroclus as a result. But he does transform himself after taking full responsibility for Patroclus' death. Finally behaving according to his paternal instructions, Achilles hosts feasts of reconciliation on behalf of the two men who died (and whom he killed) wearing his bronze armour. In

serving as host at his mortuary hut, Achilles too demonstrates that, even after death, the feast may go on.

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