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CONTACT BETWEEN MORTALS AND GODS

IN THE ILIAD

by

Allan J. Whitney

B.A., U.N.B. 1986

A REPORT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

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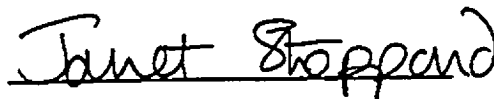
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of

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Abstract

This report undertakes to analyze the instances in which gods have contact with human characters in the *Iliad*. The analysis shall be restricted to cases in which characters

1. are in possession of gifts from the gods.
2. are rescued from danger by gods.
3. experience an encounter with a god which is not in disguise.
4. experience an encounter with a god which is in disguise.

These categories form the basis for the four chapters. The report suggests that a character's perception of and relationship with the gods is proportional to the heroic stature of the character, an idea which is a refinement upon a "convention" of classical studies published in 1904 by O. Jorgensen. Jorgensen proposes that the limited knowledge which the characters have of the gods is an aspect of the conventional dichotomy between the knowledge of the poet and that of the human characters, and that the superior knowledge which the poet has is due to the inspiration by the Muse.

There is also some discussion of the seemingly contradictory conception of divine-human interaction in the poem, which involves contact which is at one time figurative and at another time concrete. The report prefers to emphasize the more concrete manifestations and downplay the significance of the figurativeness.

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For Teresa

vi

INTRODUCTION

The main intention of this report is to assemble into a single collection a compilation of short excerpts, from the text of the *Iliad*, in which there may be found instances of gods having contact with the human characters of the poem. It is hoped that this compilation might provide a useful source of reference for others, as it seems to be the case that this material may not be organized in such a way elsewhere at the present time. There is no exhaustive analytical research of this type to be found, where a lengthy tabulation of passages involving divine-human interaction is subjected to analysis in this way. This report shall simply marshal exemplary instances, in which the contacts between the immortals and the mortals are made in the *Iliad*. It shall arrange them into the appropriate categories, and register certain observations about the circumstances associated with humans and gods as they come into contact with each other in the *Iliad*.

The "appropriate categories" shall each form one of the four chapters, entitled: 1. Gifts From The Gods; 2. Rescues By The Gods; 3. Appearances By Gods Without Disguise; and 4. Appearances By Gods In Disguise. The legitimacy of this sort of arbitrary categorization of passages from the text should, of course, be questioned. The relatively large number of these passages, however, necessitated their distribution into these categories in order to

facilitate a more manageable process of analysis. The analysis will concentrate mainly upon the text itself, and therefore the mention of ideas from commentaries or other scholarship are made only in the case of instances where an interpretation becomes difficult or controversial.

A substantial degree of the focus of the report shall be trained upon the relationship between the "heroic status" of the human characters in the *Iliad*, and the quality and quantity of their contact with the divine characters of the poem. The ultimate conclusion of the report shall indicate that this "quality of contact" does appear to be proportional to the "heroic status" of the characters. This fact seems to be observable in the circumstances which pertain to the gifts which humans have received from the gods, the events where humans are rescued from danger by the gods, and the interaction between humans and gods who appear either with or without disguises. The "quality of contact" shall largely be determined by an evaluation of such factors as a character's possession of gifts from the gods, the likelihood of being rescued from danger by a god, the frequency of contact between individual characters and gods, the reaction of the characters to the experience, and the manner in which the human is shown to manage any communication with a god or goddess. The characters with high "heroic status" seem to have the following six characteristics (in comparison with those of lower status):

1. They possess more gifts from the gods.
2. They are more likely to be rescued from danger by them.

3. They are better able to perceive that a god is present.
4. They have more frequent and more sustained contact with gods.
5. They have a more fearless reaction to the experience.
6. They are more adept at communicating with gods than are the characters of low "heroic status".

Some clarification is necessary in regard to the determination of the "heroic status" of the characters in the *Iliad*. Although it is realized that the ranking of each character into a discreet level of status is a highly subjective undertaking, this report proposes the following ranking system of characters in accordance with the level of their "heroic status".

1. High : Achilles
2. Medium: Aeneas, Diomedes, Hector, Menelaus, Helen, Priam, Ajaxes, Patroclus, Paris, Agamemnon, Nestor, Sarpedon, and the other chieftains.
3. Low : The regular soldiers.

The elements which seem to determine an individual's position in this are tentatively proposed to be:

1. Divine parentage
2. Divine allies
3. Social standing
4. Martial ability/courage

5. Knowledge of divine will

Achilles is the "most heroic" character in the *Iliad*, for he scores high in all five areas:

1. His mother is a goddess, and his father a grandson Zeus.
2. He has Zeus, Hera, Athena, Poseidon, Hephaestus, and Thetis for allies.
3. He is the leader of the Myrmidons, Hellenes and Achaeans and their fifty ships (2,684f).
4. He is the mightiest warrior of the Achaeans (2,769).
5. Thetis often told him about the will of Zeus (9,411f; 17,408f; 18,96f).

The status of the regular soldiers, on the other hand, is the lowest, because their "score" in the heroic elements, which have been proposed, is essentially zero. The distinction between the relative statuses of the heroes in the "medium" category may sometimes be assigned a rough approximation. Aeneas, for instance, appears to have a higher status than Paris, because Aeneas has a goddess for a mother and has Apollo (5,312f) and Poseidon (20,325) for allies, and is, furthermore, honored by the Trojans in a manner equal to Hector (5,467). Paris, however, is not related to the gods, and, although he has Aphrodite as an ally, he is unloved by the Trojans (3,454). His cowardly nature is described by Helen (6,350f) and Diomedes (11,390f).

This report, then, upon the finding that a character's perception of and relationship with the gods is proportional to the "heroic status" of the character, suggests a refinement to a so-called "convention" of classical studies, described by D.C. Feeney:

"This question of the characters' knowledge of the gods' actions is an important aspect of epic technique. In Homer, human characters very often recognize the divinity of a god. The god may be undisguised, or else the human senses their divinity, or has it announced. Sometimes, however, a disguised god remains unacknowledged by the humans, a usage which is an aspect of the conventional dichotomy between the knowledge of the poet and the knowledge of the human characters. The poet can tell of the gods in their own setting, or in their interaction with humans, because he is the mouthpiece of the Muses, who know all (Il.2.485-6). The human characters do not have access to this privileged information, and their apprehension of divine operations is consequently imperfect, with proper insight only being vouchsafed if the gods so will....The fundamentally important article of Jorgensen (1904) first laid out this convention."¹

¹ D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 85.
O. Jorgensen, "Das Auftreten der Gotter in den Buchern ε-μ der Odyssee'." *Hermes* 39 (1904), 357-82.

This "convention" of Jorgensen is also referred to by Nilsson: Martin P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*. trans. F.J. Fielden. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), 162-3:

Hitherto we have been principally concerned with the
(continued...)

The implication of this "convention" is that the knowledge which all characters in the *Iliad* have of the gods is equally poor. This report suggests, however, that the "dichotomy" exists not only between the knowledge of gods' activities shown by poet and characters, but is observable also between the individual characters themselves. The "dichotomy" is, further, proportional to the heroic status of each character. Achilles' knowledge of divine interventions is fairly complete, and it could conceivably be argued that his knowledge exceeds that of the poet, as he is shown to have knowledge of future events, something which the poet, for all his help from the Muse, could hardly boast to have!

The numerous and lengthy quotations from the *Iliad* and other sources are included in the report in order to enable the reader to

¹(...continued)

poet's own presentation, in particular with his divine apparatus. We have every reason to suppose that this form is adopted by the poet for the purpose of describing the relationships of the gods among themselves and to men, a description which is part of his poetic scheme, but that it does not accord with the Homeric man's real beliefs and expectations in regard to his gods. A means of distinguishing between the poetic presentation and the religious experience has been furnished us in the observation that the gods are treated quite differently in the poet's own presentation and in the speeches which he puts into the mouths of men. The divine apparatus belongs to the former, the speech of men does not make use of it. Where the poet can tell exactly which god it was that intervened, the human character, in reference to the same events, will speak quite vaguely about a *daimon* or some god or the highest god of all, Zeus.... With certain definite and easily determined exceptions, therefore, the people of Homer do not make individual gods responsible for all the experiences which they attribute to divine intervention. And these form a large element in their life.

follow the argument without having to look frequently through other texts. Greek text was copied from the 1985 Oxford Classical Text edited by Monro and Allen. The utility grade translations of the Greek text are my own.

GIFTS FROM THE GODS

This chapter entails the description of a number of items which are given, in one way or another, to human characters by gods in the *Iliad*. The chapter has been divided into six sections, and these are entitled: 1. Weapons, 2. Skills or Knowledge, 3. Personal Attributes, 4. The Sceptre of Command, 5. Horses, and 6. Other Objects.² In "Appendix 2" is included a table which outlines the identity of the giver of the gift, the verb which is used, the item which is given, and the name of the person to whom it is given. A few examples are pointed out to raise the issue of the distinction which is sometimes apparent between the knowledge of the gods

² S.R. Van der Mije, "Achilles' God-Given Strength : *Iliad* A 178 and Gifts From the Gods in Homer," *Mnemosyne* XL, fasc.3-4, (1987), 241-267. In a discussion of gifts from the gods, Van der Mije subdivides them in the following way:

- A. Material Gifts
 - 1. Prosperity and Misery
 - 2. Concrete Objects
- B. Immaterial Gifts
 - 1. Special Abilities
 - 2. Heroic Excellences
- C. The Sceptre of Agamemnon
 - 1. Does not fit neatly into single category, but is described as a gift from Zeus: once as a "material gift" from Zeus to Pelops, once as a "pseudo-material gift" to Agamemnon himself after the manner of the "special abilities", and once figuring in the topos on "heroic excellences".

exhibited by the characters on the one hand and the narrator on the other. In addition, the analysis comes to a point where it becomes necessary to attempt to reconcile the seemingly contradictory conception of divine-human interaction in the poem i.e. concrete vs. figurative relations between men and gods. There emerges the conclusion that since the poet must be considered to be capable of saying exactly what he means to say, and since the attempt to make the "world of the gods" conform to some kind of a rational framework appears to be a rather futile exercise, the gods in the poem may best be understood as real characters in a fictitious world. This report furthermore suggests that not only is the simple possession of a divine gift a feature of "heroic status", but also that the level of success achieved in the usage of a divine gift seems to be proportional to the "heroic stature" of the character who possesses the gift.

The first section deals with weapons or pieces of armor which are described as having been given to humans by gods- i.e. the bow, helmet, spear, breastplate, and "armor". Although divine arms "may not be vanquished or found inefficient to protect", the wearing of divine armor does not necessarily guarantee the safety of the wearer. There exists the concept that "divine gifts are not easily mastered by mortals" (20,265-66), and this concept seems particularly significant in the case of weapons and armor, where the very survival of the human who possesses the item depends not only upon the divine armor or weapon but also upon his own personal excellence and ability.

i Weapons

1.³

...Τρῶες, τῶν αὐτ' ἦρχε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός,

Πάνδαρος, ᾧ καὶ τόξον Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν. (2,826-7).

...the Troes, of whom the leader was the glorious son of
Lycaon, Pandarus, to whom Apollo himself had given the bow.

In quotation 1, Pandarus' bow is described as being a gift from Apollo himself (αὐτός), whereas in 2 the event of Pandarus himself (αὐτός) acquiring the bow is shown. Leaf⁴ explains this seeming contradiction with a reference to Schol. A as meaning that "the bow" actually has the sense of "skill in archery". Van der Mije (op. cit. p.250) comes to the same conclusion.

2.

αὐτίκ' ἐσύλα τόξον εὐξοον ἰξάλου αἰγὸς

ἀγρίου, ὃν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὸς ὑπὸ στέρνοιο τυχήσας

³ The quotations from the *Iliad* are numbered consecutively in boldface script and are listed in the Concordance on p.171f.

⁴ Homer, *The Iliad*, ed. Walter Leaf (London: MacMillan and Co., 1886), 2 vols. (vol.1), 83.

We are also told that Apollo had given Teukros bow and arrows (O 441). This time, the statement does not jar with other data, but it is reasonable to treat it analogously to Pandaros' bow. Both of these statements appear to mean that Apollo bestowed on them the art of shooting very well, in other words that they are outstanding archers.

πέτρης ἐκβαίνοντα δεδεγμένος ἐν προδοκῆσι
 βεβλήκει πρὸς στήθος· ὁ δ' ὑπτιος ἔμπεσε πέτρη.
 τοῦ κέρα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐκκαιδεκάδωρα πεφύκει·
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀσκήσας κεραοξόος ἤραρε τέκτων,
 πᾶν δ' εὖ λειήνας χρυσέην ἐπέθηκε κορώνην. (4,105f).

He (Pandarus) immediately took out the polished bow (made from the horn) of a wild springing ibex. One day he himself had been waiting in ambush when he encountered the animal from below when it emerged from behind a rock, whereupon he shot it in the chest and it fell back onto a rock. The horns had grown to a length of sixteen palms from its head, and the worker of horn skillfully joined them together, gave (the bow) a high polish and affixed a golden tip.

3.

τοῖσι δ' Ἐρευθαλίων πρόμος ἴστατο, ἰσόθεος φῶς,
 τεύχε' ἔχων ὤμοισιν Ἀρηϊθόιο ἀνακτος,
 δίου Ἀρηϊθόου, τὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν κορυνήτην
 ἄνδρες κίκλησκον καλλίζωνοί τε γυναῖκες,
 οὐνεκ' ἄρ' οὐ τόξοισι μαχέσκετο δουρί τε μακρῶ,
 ἀλλὰ σιδηρεῖη κορύνη ῥήγνυσκε φάλαγγας.
 τὸν Λυκόοργος ἔπεφνε δόλω, οὐ τι κράτει γε,
 στεινωπῶ ἐν ὀδῶ, ὅθ' ἄρ' οὐ κορύνη οἱ ὄλεθρον
 χραῖσμε σιδηρεῖη· πρὶν γὰρ Λυκόοργος ὑποφθὰς
 δουρὶ μέσον περόνησεν, ὁ δ' ὑπτιος οὐδὲ ἐρείσθη·
 τεύχεα δ' ἐξενάριξε, τὰ οἱ πόρε χάλκεος Ἄρης.

καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔπειτα φέρει μετὰ μῶλον Ἴαρος·
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Λυκούργος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐγήρα,
δῶκε δ' Ἐρευθαλίῳ φίλῳ θεράποντι φορῆναι.
τοῦ ὃ γε τεύχε' ἔχων προκαλίζετο πάντας ἀρίστους·
οἱ δὲ μάλ' ἐτρόμεον καὶ ἐδείδισαν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη.
ἀλλ' ἐμὲ θυμὸς ἀνήκε πολυτλήμων πολεμίζειν
θάρασσι ψ' γενεῆ δὲ νεώτατος ἔσκον ἀπάντων.
καὶ μαχόμεν οἱ ἐγώ, δῶκεν δέ μοι εὐχος Ἀθήνη. (7,136f).

(Nestor says), "Ereuthalion stood forth as champion for them, a man like a god, wearing on his shoulders the armor of king Areithous, the noble Areithous, whom both men and fair girdled women used to call "the mace bearer" because he never fought with bows or long spear, but smashed formations of men with an iron mace. Lycurgus killed this man by brain rather than brawn in a narrow way where the iron mace did not ward off destruction, for Lycurgus got him first by piercing his middle with a spear, and Areithous was pressed to the ground upon his back. Lycurgus then stripped off the armor which brazen Ares had given to him, and then he himself wore the armor in the conflict of Ares. And later, when Lycurgus had grown old in his palace, he gave the armor to his dear comrade Ereuthalion to wear. When Ereuthalion had possession of this armor he challenged all the best fighters, but they trembled fearfully and no one dared (to fight him). But my daring spirit urged me to fight courageously against him, although I was the youngest of all. I fought against him and Athena gave me glory."

This quotation (3) contains a number of elements which are common to passages where armor is said to have been a gift from a god. As in the case of Pandarus' bow in 1, it is unclear whether the armor was in fact physically presented to Areithous himself by Ares in person, or whether some other kind of arrangement is involved, such as Areithous' simply winning the armor in battle, with Ares being credited in a "metaphorical" or "figurative" way. There is also the matter of Areithous being killed by Lycurgus while wearing this suit of armor, and Ereuthalion, too, is in time killed in the armor by Nestor. It thus appears that the wearing of armor which comes from the gods does not guarantee the safety of the person who is wearing it, and this fact is borne out further by the episodes in which Patroclus and then Hector are killed while wearing Achilles' divine armor. Achilles himself, in quotation 10, is said "not to reach old age in the armor of his father", although it is unknown whether he wears his father's armor or the new armor, which was made by Hephaestus, when he is eventually killed. This is not to suggest, however, that the armor itself failed to perform its function of keeping sharp bronze away from smooth skin, as Achilles and Paris found the chinks in the armor, and Patroclus had the armor knocked away by Apollo. A more realistic understanding of the protective quality of armor which has been received from a god may perhaps be arrived at upon analysis of the following quotation:

4.

Ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἐν δεινῷ σάκει ἤλασεν ὄβριμον ἔγχοϛ,

σμερδαλέω· μέγα δ' ἀμφὶ σάκος μύκε δουρὸς ἀκωκῆ.
 Πηλείδης δὲ σάκος μὲν ἀπὸ ἕο χειρὶ παχείη
 ἔσχετο ταρβήσας· φάτο γὰρ δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος
 ῥέα διελεύσεσθαι μεγαλήτορος Αἰνείαιο,
 νήπιος, οὐδ' ἐνόησε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμὸν
 ὡς οὐ ῥήϊδι' ἐστὶ θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα
 ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι δαμήμεναι οὐδ' ὑποείκειν.
 οὐδὲ τότε' Αἰνείαιο δαΐφρονος ὄβριμον ἔγχος
 ῥῆξε σάκος· χρυσὸς γὰρ ἐρύκακε, δῶρα θεοῖο· (20,259f).

Thus (Achilles) spoke, and he struck the mighty spear against the fearsome, dire shield, and the shield clanged loudly around the point of the spear. The son of Peleus (then) fearfully held his (own) shield away from his body with his mighty hand, for he thought that the long-shadowed spear of great-hearted Aeneas would easily go through it. Like a child he did not realize in his heart and soul that the illustrious gifts of the gods are neither easily mastered by mortal men nor do they easily give way. Nor at that time did the mighty spear of wise Aeneas break through the shield, for the gold-the gift of the god- stopped it.

The poet indicates here that not only do the gifts of the gods "not easily give way", but they are not easily mastered by mortal men- something which even Achilles does not seem to be aware of. Paley (v.2 p.289) makes the comment: "Divine arms may be more or less damaged or penetrated (of which the Schol. Vict. collects many

examples), but not vanquished, or proved inefficient to protect." This fact seems to be true, but the other aspect- that the gifts of the gods are hard to master- is also a significant matter for consideration. There is a degree of responsibility which must be assumed by the human recipient in the utilization of the divine gifts. The gifts themselves do not ensure safety or survival or other success. See quotation 7 below for an additional example of this matter. For further discussion see also 15(p30, *infra*) in the section "Skills or Knowledge".

In quotation 3 is found the "handing over" of the armor to another individual when the owner reaches old age. In this instance it is passed on to a "dear companion" (φίλῳ θεράποντι), while, in quotation 9, the recipient is the son of the owner (i.e. Achilles). One further observation to be made is that it is apparently not always necessary to have the help of a god to defeat someone who is wearing armor which was given to him by a god, as Nestor does here, or Hector and Achilles do later. Lycurgus has no god to help him, but fights against Areithous and:

5.

...τὸν Λυκόοργος ἔπεφνε δόλῳ, οὐ τι κράτει γε... (7,143)

...*Lycurgus killed him not by any might but with guile...*

6.

ἀλλ' ἔφομαρτεῖτον καὶ σπεύδετον, ὄφρα λάβωμεν
 ἀσπίδα Νεστορέην, τῆς νῦν κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει
 πᾶσαν χρυσεῖην ἔμεναι, κανόνας τε καὶ αὐτήν,

αὐτὰρ ἀπ' ὤμοισιν Διομήδεος ἵπποδάμοιο

δαιδάλεον θῶρηκα, τὸν Ἥφαιστος κάμε τεύχων. (8,191f).

(Hector says), "Come and hasten so that we might capture the Nestorian shield, of which the fame that it is all of gold-the staves and the shield itself- has now reached to heaven. (And might we furthermore capture) the finely crafted breastplate from the shoulders of horse-taming Diomedes, which Hephaestus skilfully fabricated".

This is another example of the kind of military gear which might be given to a human by a god. In 1 the item was a bow (or perhaps the skill of archery), in 3 armor, here (6) a breastplate, 7 a helmet, 9 a spear. The gods which are mentioned in these examples are Apollo (1,7,8), Ares (3), Hephaestus (6,11), Cheiron (who is a centaur, 9), "the gods" (10), and Thetis (in 11). In the above quotation (6) the armor is described merely as being made by Hephaestus, but there is no mention of how Diomedes had come into possession of it. Again in 11 it is Hephaestus who makes the armor, but it is Thetis who actually presents it to Achilles.

7.

Ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἀμπεπαλῶν προΐει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος,
καὶ βάλεν, οὐδ' ἀφάμαρτε, τιτυσκόμενος κεφαλῆφιν,
ἄκρην κὰκ κόρυθα· πλάγχθη δ' ἀπὸ χαλκόφι χαλκός,
οὐδ' ἵκετο χροῶ καλόν· ἐρύκακε γὰρ τρυφάλεια
τρίπτυχος αὐλῶπις, τήν οἱ πόρε φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

Ἐκτώρ δ' ὤκ' ἀπέλεθρον ἀνέδραμε, μίκτο δ' ὀμίλῳ,
 στῆ δὲ γνύξ ἐριπῶν καὶ ἐρείσατο χειρὶ παχείῃ
 γαίης· ἀμφὶ δὲ ὄσσε κελαινὴ νύξ ἐκάλυπεν.
 ὄφρα δὲ Τυδείδης μετὰ δούρατος ὄχετ' ἐρωῆν
 τῆλε διὰ προμάχων, ὅθι οἱ καταείσατο γαίης,
 τόφρ' Ἐκτώρ ἔμπνυτο, καὶ ἄψ' ἐς δίφρον ὀρούσας
 ἐξέλασ' ἐς πληθύν, καὶ ἀλεύατο κῆρα μέλαιναν. (11,349f).

(Thus Diomedes) spoke, and he made ready and threw the long shadowing spear. He aimed at the head and did not miss, but hit the top of the helmet; the bronze was deflected by the bronze, and did not reach his fine skin, for the three-fold, socketed helmet which Phoebus Apollo had given to him protected him. Hector swiftly sprang back to a great distance and mixed with the crowd, where he fell to his knees and held himself away from the earth with his mighty hand. And black night covered his eyes. But while the son of Tydeus went far through the foremost fighters (following) the flight path of the spear (to the place) where it had fixed itself in the ground, Hector regained his breath. He sprang back into his chariot and drove into the crowd of soldiers, avoiding black death.

Here again is an example of someone wearing armor, which is a gift from a god, and yet being injured by an attack. The helmet perhaps prevents Hector from being killed, but he is knocked out by a spear which is thrown by Diomedes. It is impossible to speculate

as to whether a regular, "mortal" helmet would have given as much protection as this gift from Apollo, but Hector does quickly recover and escapes upon his chariot.⁵ In view of the fact that it is none other than Diomedes who hurls the spear (*οὐδ' ἀφάμαρτε*), it may be reasonable to assume that Hector's survival is in fact secured by the protection of the helmet, a circumstance which would be in agreement with Paley's comment (see 4). Other characters, moreover, are killed by a spear which penetrates a helmet, i.e. Damasus killed by Polypoetes (12,182-86); Hippothous killed by Ajax (17,293-99).

8.

"...τὸν δ' Ἐκτωρ μεγάθυμος ἀπέκτανε. ποῦ νύ τοι ἰοὶ

ὠκύμοροι καὶ τόξον, ὃ τοι πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων;" (15,440).

(Ajax says)"...Hector killed him (i.e. Lycophron). Where now are your swift-killing arrows and bow, which Phoebus Apollo gave to you (Teucer)?"

Leaf likens this instance of a gift from a god to that of 1, and refers to Aristonikos, who suggested that "λέγει οὐ τὸ σκεῦος

⁵ Van der Mije (248- 250) refers to this helmet as a "pseudo-material" gift i.e.:

...what is in fact conveyed in A 353 is that miraculously Hektor's helmet was not pierced by Diomedes' spear, and this miracle is explained as an intervention by Apollo in his capacity as the Trojans' supporter. That we are dealing with an intervention is confirmed by Diomedes' comment: "This time Apollo has saved you once again" (A 363).

τὸ πολεμικὸν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοξικὴν τέχνην"- he does not mean the weapon itself, but the skill of archery- (Leaf vol.2, p.110). Paley, too, quotes the same source and includes another: "Schol. Lips."; "οὐ γὰρ τόξον αὐτῷ παρέσχευ ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν τόξων ἐκηβολίαν"- Apollo did not give the bow to him, but the skill of archery.⁶ It seems peculiar that the scholia and other commentators insist upon attributing the meaning "skill of archery" to the word "bow" in these passages (1 and 8) and yet make no such distinction in regards to the other examples of military equipment which are given to humans by gods. There is no mention of "breastplate skill" or "art of the helmet" or "armor technology" or "spear deployment methodology" which had been communicated to people by the gods.⁷

⁶ Homer, *The Iliad*, ed. George Long, notes by F. A. Paley, Bibliotheca Classica (London: Whittaker and Co., 1866), 2 vols. (vol.2) 102.

⁷ In his analysis of "material and pseudomaterial gifts", Van der Mije (op. cit. p.248-249) writes:

The gods do not commonly give presents to men, as men (and gods, presumably) do to one another. When they appear to do so, we are either dealing with a marginal feature of the Homeric world, or with an "immaterial" gift in disguise.... When we turn to the instances of concrete objects given by gods to men, we notice that several recipients belong to an earlier generation and do not participate in the action of the epics. This is true of Pelops...Areithoos...Peleus.... It may be concluded that the gods giving presents to men belongs to a world of which Homer allows us a glimpse at times, but which he is concerned to keep apart from the one he is telling of. An exception to this rule seems to be Achilles, who gets a new suit of arms from the gods. But significantly, Hephaistos presents them to Thetis, not to him, and the gift is not intended to oblige Achilles but her, as Hephaistos points out emphatically (Σ 394 ff.).

Perhaps commentators were forced into calling a "bow" something else because passage 1 or 2 may have been a later addition to the poem. Again, with the exception of 1 and 8, where the items are "bows from Apollo", and also 3, "armor from Ares", the other examples of weapons are presented as though they were in fact given to a human by a god. Thus exists a seeming difficulty in the understanding of one of the "functions" of gods in the poem i.e. at one time a god may be seen as a "figurative source" for something (viz. "imparted skill of archery" for "gave a bow"), while at another time appear to be a "concrete source" (viz. "gave a breastplate or helmet"). Further discussion of this difficulty occurs under quotation 12 of the next section, "Skills or Knowledge" (p23 *infra*).

9.

ἔγχος δ' οὐχ ἔλετ' οἶον ἀμύμονος Αἰακίδαο,
 βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν· τὸ μὲν οὐ δύνατ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν
 πάλλειν, ἀλλὰ μιν οἶος ἐπίστατο πῆλαι Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Πηλιάδα μελίην, τὴν πατρὶ φίλῳ πόρε Χείρων
 Πηλίου ἐκ κορυφῆς, φόνον ἔμμεναι ἠρώεσσιν. (16,140f).

(Patroclus) took (all of Achilles' armor except) the spear of the blameless son of Aeacus- the spear heavy large and stout which no other of the Achaeans had the ability to use- Achilles alone was capable of brandishing the spear of Pelian ash which Cheiron (had acquired) from the peak of Mount Pelion and had given to (Achilles') dear father as a source of death for (enemy) warriors.

10.

στὰς δ' ἀπάνευθε μάχης πολυδακρύου ἔντε' ἀμειβεν'
 ἢ τοι ὁ μὲν τὰ ἅ δῶκε φέρειν προτὶ Ἴλιον ἱρὴν
 Τρωσὶ φιλοπτολέμοισιν, ὁ δ' ἄμβροτα τεύχεα δῦνε
 Πηλείδew Ἀχιλλῆος, ἃ οἱ θεοὶ Οὐρανίωνες
 πατρὶ φίλω ἔπορον· ὁ δ' ἄρα ᾧ παιδὶ ὅπασσε
 γηράς· ἀλλ' οὐχ υἱὸς ἐν ἔντεσι πατρὸς ἐγήρα. (17,192f).

(Hector) stood at a distance from the tearful battle and exchanged (suits of) armor- (the suit he had been wearing) he gave to the war loving Trojans to carry to holy Ilium, and then he donned the armor of Achilles the son of Peleus. The heavenly gods had given this armor to (Achilles') dear father, and he, when he reached old age, gave it to his son. The son, however, did not reach old age in the armor of the father.

11.

... "τύνη δ' Ἡφαίστοιο πάρα κλυτὰ τεύχεα δέξο,
 καλὰ μάλ', οἷ' οὐ πῶ τις ἀνὴρ ὤμοισι φόρησεν."

Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσασα θεὰ κατὰ τεύχε' ἔθηκε
 πρόσθεν Ἀχιλλῆος· τὰ δ' ἀνέβραχε δαίδαλα πάντα.

Μυρμιδόνας δ' ἄρα πάντας ἔλε τρόμος, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
 ἀντην εἰσιδέειν, ἀλλ' ἔτρεσαν. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
 ὡς εἶδ', ὡς μιν μᾶλλον ἔδυ χόλος, ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε
 δεινὸν ὑπὸ βλεφάρων ὡς εἰ σέλας ἐξεφάνθεν·
 τέρπετο δ' ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχων θεοῦ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα. (19,10f).

(Thetis says), "Receive this splendid armor from Hephaestus,

very fine armor such as no man has before worn upon his shoulders".

Having said this the goddess set the armor down in front of Achilles, and all the finely crafted armor rang loudly. Trembling seized all the Myrmidons, and no one dared to look upon it, but they turned away. When Achilles saw it, however, how greatly even more the wrath came upon him, and under his brows his eyes gleamed forth like fire. He held the glorious gifts of the god in his hands and was delighted.

These last three quotations (9,10,11) show Achilles and his father Peleus being favored with weapons by the gods: in 9 it is Cheiron who gives a spear to Peleus, in 10 the "heavenly gods" who give immortal armor to Peleus, and in 11 Thetis gives armor to Achilles. The word used for the transfer of the armor from Peleus to Achilles is "ἔπασσε" (in 10, line 196), and "δῶκε" for that from Lycurgus to Ereuthalion (in 3, line 149). The usual word for the giving of weapons to a human by a god, however, is some form of the verb "πορεῖν" (see relevant lines in 3,7,8,9, and 10).

ii Skills or Knowledge

In this section, there is a description and analysis of skills or knowledge which are said to be imparted to humans by gods in the *Iliad*. In some cases they are said to be given, while in others to be taught, but the precise distinction between the usages of these terms is not particularly clear from the examples which are used for illustration. It is also unclear what sort of process is meant to be visualized by the audience when there is mention of a god teaching something to a mortal. There is, furthermore, as in the previous section ("Weapons"), the impression that gods are seen at times as a "figurative source" for skills or knowledge, while at other times they are seen as a "concrete source". Although there is an indication that the poet used gods as "figurative sources" (as interpreted by modern authorities), this report argues that the poet does not necessarily always intend that such an interpretation be made, and that the poet often presents gods as "concrete sources" for the imparting of skills or knowledge, and other "gifts" as well. There is also an example of the possessor of "divine knowledge" suffering destruction (viz. 15), but again the destruction cannot be attributed to any deficiency in the "gift".

...Κάλχας θεστορίδης, οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος,
 ὃς ἤδη τὰ τ' ἐόντα τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα,
 καὶ νήεσσ' ἠγήσατ' Ἀχαιῶν Ἴλιον εἴσω
 ἦν διὰ μαντοσύνην, τήν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων. (1,69f).

...Calchas the son of Thestor, by far the best of the augurs,
 who had knowledge of the present, the future, and the past,
 and who was the guide for the ships of the Achaeans to Ilium
 by virtue of this art of divination which Phoebus Apollo had
 given to him.

Apollo has "given" (πόρε) the art of divination to Calchas. This fact seems to imply that "μαντοσύνη" is something that is given rather than taught by the god. The distinction between the giving of a skill and the teaching of it, however, may not be as clear as we should like it to be. In the following quotation (13), for example, Machaon is said to apply medicine which Cheiron had given (πόρε) to his father, yet surely this does not mean that the medication which Machaon had in his possession was the actual sample which his father had "received" from Cheiron, as one would expect medicines to go quickly stale. It is more likely that this "πόρε" is to be understood as a transfer of knowledge or teaching of a thing rather than the giving of the thing itself, as Paley, appealing to a scholion, reads it (-τὰ, 'the virtues of which' ...Paley, vol.1 p.137). The "art of pharmacology" is furthermore described (in quotation 14) as something which Cheiron has taught (ἐδίδαξε) to Achilles, while Artemis (quotation 15) is said to have

taught (δίδαξε) Scamandrius how to shoot, and Nestor claims (quotation 16) that Zeus and Poseidon taught (ἐδίδαξαν) Antilochus all about horsemanship. In these instances also it is unclear what sort of a process is meant to be understood by the audience when they visualize gods teaching mortals how to do something. The mind recoils from the thought of Zeus and Poseidon themselves teaching a young man how to ride, or the goddess Artemis teaching a man how to shoot. Thus the conjecture of Kirk becomes more attractive: ..."Being taught by Artemis herself means little more than that he was, precisely, a good hunter or rather a noble one."⁸

The relationship, therefore, between the "bestowal" of knowledge or skills and the "teaching" of them remains a rather muddled one. It seems eminently logical, for example, for Kirk to speculate that the poet means merely that Scamandrius is a good hunter when he says that Artemis was his teacher, but this line of reasoning becomes unsatisfactory when it is applied to some of the other "gifts" which are said to have come from the gods, e.g. the breastplate of Diomedes (8,195), the helmet of Hector (11,354), the armor of Achilles' father (17,195), the armor which Thetis gave to Achilles (19,13)⁹, the sceptre which Hephaestus had made and which

⁸ G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary*. gen. ed. G. S. Kirk (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), vols. 1 and 2 of 6. vol.2 p.59.

⁹ This report is, in this method of reasoning at any rate, in agreement with that of Oliver Taplin, *Homeric Soundings: The Shaping of the Iliad* (Oxford 1992), 105, n34, who makes the brief comment:

At 2.827 the bow is reported to have been the gift of
(continued...)

Agamemnon now possessed (2,99f), the horses which Zeus gave to Tros (5,265), the horses which Poseidon gave to Peleus (23,277), the chest which Thetis had given to Achilles (16,222), the veil which Aphrodite had given to Andromache (22,470).¹⁰ It is not so easy to

⁹(...continued)

Apollo. Since the armor of Peleus and the new armor of Achilleus are literally gifts of the gods, I do not go along with the standard view (e.g. Schein, 56-7) that gifts like this should be taken figuratively.

¹⁰ It seems that most of the difficulty may be attributed to the fact that commentators feel compelled to somehow forcibly connect the events and characters in the poem to a dramatic framework which is realistic in nature. This report suggests that this compulsion should be resisted, and that the gods should instead be viewed only as characters in a story which does not pretend to be realistic. Such a line of thinking seems to be evident in the two following quotations:

1. From David Daiches', *God and the Poets* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 213, in a discussion about "Poetry and Belief":

The problem with Christian faith is that it demands more than many other systems of belief. One can appreciate Homer and Virgil without being in the least troubled by one's failure to believe in their gods, because belief is not really an issue; the gods are characters in a story and have similar status to other characters in the story.

2. From Walter Burkert's *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* trans. by John Raffan (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 125, in a discussion of Homeric poetry:

Until the time of Pheidias, poetry is the leading force in all public life; it is the medium which reaches many people at once, and which expresses and shapes general opinions and ideas; until the middle of the sixth century it enjoyed a monopoly in this. Most particularly, speaking about gods is a matter for poets—a highly unusual manner of speaking, in a highly stylized artificial language never spoken at any other time, generally associated with music and dancing and declaimed on special festal occasions. The poetic language does not transmit factual information; it creates a world of its own, a world in which gods lead their lives. With the loss of this monopoly of poetry, with the rise of prose writing, the problem of *theologia* suddenly appears in the realm of rational, accountable speaking about gods.

This report undertakes to emphasize Burkert's point that Homeric
(continued...)

explain these concrete objects, which have been given to men by the gods, in the same way that abstract concepts, such as being a "good archer" or "good hunter", are deduced from verses which declare that someone "received the bow from Apollo" or "was taught to shoot by Artemis".

How, then, are these seemingly contradictory conceptions of divine-human interaction to be reconciled? On the one hand there is the notion (viz. analysis of Kirk et al.) that the poet introduces a god as a "figurative source" for some things (e.g. skill in hunting, archery, etc.) as though he is fully aware that the god did not in fact do the actual giving or teaching of the skill in question. He nevertheless uses words (e.g. *πόρε*, *ἐδίδαξε*) which preclude any interpretation other than that the god literally "gave" or "taught" something to somebody. On the other hand there is the pervasive and undeniable presence of the gods as "real" characters who have distinctively concrete contact with the "human world" in so many ways in the poem. It seems somewhat curious, then, that gods are presented at some times as entities having "figurative contact" with the world, while at other times they have "concrete contact". In other words, it is unclear why the poet appears to be careless in portraying the gods in these two contradictory fashions.

This report suggests, then, that there is in fact no such

¹⁰(...continued)

poetry does not transmit factual information, and urges that the gods be seen as characters in a story which should not be subjected to strictly logical analysis.

carelessness in the composition of the *Iliad*. It is felt that the poet is unquestionably competent enough to say that "Scamandrius is a good hunter" if that is indeed what he meant to say, but it is more than likely that the poet meant to say that "Artemis herself had taught him to shoot", and actually says this. The level of belief which is required from the audience for this statement is no different than that for countless others in the poem which involve activities by the gods.¹¹

¹¹ George M. Calhoun, "Homer's Gods: Prolegomena," *TAPA* 18 (1937), 11-25. Calhoun's conclusions in regard to this problem are appealing, and his viewpoint is generally adopted by this report, although the report does tend to emphasize the "concrete" participation as characters of the gods in the poem. Calhoun writes:

Attempts to explain the contradictions and inconsistencies of the Homeric pantheon have been unsuccessful, partly because they start from a *priori* assumption, partly from a failure to appreciate the extreme complexity of the poet's concepts. The gods are always present to his mind in all their manifold aspects, and all of these aspects must be taken into account, not singly but collectively, in interpreting any particular passage. We must explore all possibilities without insisting upon one or another to the exclusion of the rest. (p.11).

Calhoun goes on to identify six motifs or conventions by which gods are presented in the various ways. They are briefly summarized here:

1. A major character must be attended by gods.
2. Although he is assisted by gods, the hero shall act upon the human plane.
3. Certain primitive, naive conceptions of the gods are retained, simply because they are an integral part of material that evidently was too popular with Homeric audiences to be discarded.
4. Gods are found in scenes of "comic interlude": (Homer) understood fully that the grand style cannot go on indefinitely in an undisturbed succession of serious or tragic episodes.
5. Gods must lay aside godhead at times because of dramatic necessity: Zeus looks away in book 13 so Poseidon can take part; is also deceived by Hera, etc.
6. Gods are often no more than the expression of impersonal agency or chance.

(continued...)

13.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ἶδεν ἔλκος, ὅθ' ἔμπεσε πικρὸς οἰστός,
αἶμ' ἐκμυζήσας ἐπ' ἄρ' ἥπια φάρμακα εἰδὼς
πάσσε, τὰ οἷ ποτε πατρὶ φίλα φρονέων πόρε Χείρων. (4,217f).

Then, when (Machaon) saw the wound where the sharp arrow had penetrated, he sucked out the blood and skilfully applied (some) soothing medication which Cheiron had at one time kindly given to his father.

Perhaps Cheiron should not be included in the number of the gods which comprise the subject of this report, but it was decided that he be mentioned in conjunction with a comment by Paley:¹²

¹¹(...continued)

This report also finds the following thoughts of Calhoun deserving to be quoted in full:

The distinctions which have made it convenient to group references to the gods under one or another of these heads should not be too greatly emphasized, nor erected into final criteria of objective classification. It is quite impossible to construct a rigid system within which every instance will fall neatly into place. Our problems are only incidentally and to a minor degree those of logic; they are much more problems of psychology, the psychology of the artist whose art we are seeking to understand. And this artist is usually influenced by a complex of purposes and moods, many of them not consciously present to his mind; seldom is an utterance of any length the result of a single, simple stimulus. At one moment he is guided by logic, at another by feeling; now by the half remembered cadence of a phrase and now by the beauty of a visual image; again by the imaginative content of a single word or merely the harmony of its sounds, and sometimes, unquestionably, by the habit of rounding out a line with an appropriate and pleasing formula. And to these more general factors must be added the specific problems of plot and narrative that come up from moment to moment as the action moves on. (p22).

¹² Paley, vol.1 p.137.

... "As the name ('Handy') implies, this semi-mythical character seems to have been a sort of prehistoric hermit, who devoted himself to doing good to the wild mountaineers, by settling their disputes and healing their maladies, as well as humanizing them by music."

14.

ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν σὺ σάωσον ἄγων ἐπὶ νῆα μέλαιναν,
μηροῦ δ' ἔκταμ' ὀιστόν, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δ' αἶμα κελαινὸν
νίζ' ὕδατι λιαρῶ, ἐπὶ δ' ἤπια φάρμακα πάσσε,
ἔσθλα, τὰ σε προτί φασιν Ἀχιλλῆος δεδιδάχθαι,
ὄν Χείρων ἐδίδαξε, δικαιοτάτος Κενταύρων. (11,828f).

(Eurypylus says), "But rescue me and lead me to a black ship, and cut the arrow from my thigh, and wash away the dark blood with warm water, and apply soothing medication- the good kind which they say that you (i.e. Patroclus) have learned about from Achilles, whom Cheiron, the most noble of the Centaurs, instructed.

The above quotation (14), as well as (16) below, (3,6,8) of the first section ("Weapons"), and all of the examples in the next section (i.e. "Physical Attributes") are testimony to the fact that it is not only the narrative (or "Homer") which possesses knowledge of gods and their doings, but that the characters, too, sometimes are shown to have knowledge of the gods' involvement in human affairs.

15.

νιδὸν δὲ Στροφίοιο Σκαμάνδριον, αἶμονα θήρης,

Ἄτρείδης Μενέλαος ἔλ' ἔγχει ὀξύεντι,
 ἐσθλὸν θηρητῆρα· δίδαξε γὰρ Ἄρτεμις αὐτῇ
 βάλλειν ἄγρια πάντα, τὰ τε τρέφει οὖρεσιν ὕλη.
 ἀλλ' οὐ οἱ τότε γε χραῖσμ' Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα,
 οὐδὲ ἐκηβολίαι, ἧσιν τὸ πρὶν γ' ἐκέκαστο· (5,49f).

And Menelaus the son of Atreus killed with his sharp spear the skillful hunter, Scamandrius the son of Strophius. (He was called) the excellent hunter because Artemis herself had taught him to shoot (with bow and arrow) all the wild creatures which the wood nurtures in the mountains. But this time arrow-shooting Artemis was of no help to him, nor was his skill in archery, with which he had formerly been preeminent.

This is a further example of a gift from a god who turns out to be ineffective in protecting its owner from destruction. Kirk, in reference to this event, says that it is "a common Iliadic motif" that the gods do not always choose to protect their favorites, and that "it also exemplifies a more general trope, both ironical and pathetic, whereby a victim is killed, despite something that should or might have saved him" (Kirk, vol.2,p.59). Pandarus, also, had been "given the bow" by Apollo (2,826), but he was killed by Diomedes in a spear fight (5,280-96). Under closer scrutiny, however, the examples of Pandarus and Scamandrius might be seen as indicative of the general pattern which seems to exist in relation to the "gifts" which humans receive from gods.

These examples suggest that simple possession of a divine gift

does not guarantee success, because one must also have the ability to utilize it in the correct manner. It is not Scamandrius' skill in archery that fails to ward off his doom here; it is rather that the spear, which Menelaus drives into his back as he runs away, causes his death (5,55-58). It is, similarly, not the fault of Pandarus' bowmanship that he is killed by Diomedes, but rather the fact that he tries to fight (against Diomedes!) with a spear, and Athena directing Diomedes' spear into Pandarus' head (5,290-96) which destroys him. Paley's contention that "divine arms may not be vanquished or found inefficient to protect" (vol.2 p.289) seems thus also to apply to skills or knowledge which are acquired from the gods. It is not attributable to a deficiency in the divine gift that a human meets with destruction, but to other reasons.

16.

"Ἀντίλοχ', ἣ τοι μὲν σε νέον περ ἔοντα φίλησαν
 Ζεὺς τε Ποσειδάων τε, καὶ ἵπποσύνας ἐδίδαξαν
 παντοίας· τῷ καὶ σε διδασκέμεν οὐ τι μάλα χρεώ' (23,306f).

(Nestor says), "Antilochus, when you were merely a young man, both Zeus and Poseidon loved you and taught you everything about driving chariots. It is therefore hardly necessary to give you instruction."

iii Personal Qualities

There are some passages where the possession of personal qualities by a human is said to have been given by a god. Such things as hair and good looks, beautiful manliness, fine intellect, stature, strength, wisdom, and an enduring spirit are included in this category. "πολεμῆια ἔργα", or "warlike deeds", which could be included in "Skills or Knowledge", are also recorded in this section because they are the result of a "warrior personality" rather than "warrior skills". The quotations presented here are all in the direct speech of characters. They seem to exhibit an imprecise knowledge about divinities who are responsible for any divinely given personal qualities which they happen to be talking about. It is also apparent from some of the quotations that the claiming of a god as the source of personal qualities is almost proverbial in nature.

17.

οὐκ ἄν δὴ μείνειας ἀρηίφιλον Μενέλαον;
 γνοίης χ' οἴου φωτὸς ἔχεις θαλερὴν παράκοιτιν·
 οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίσμη κίθαρις τὰ τε δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης,
 ἦ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος, ὅτ' ἐν κονίησι μιγείης. (3,52f).

(Hector says), "Will you (i.e. Paris) not await (the attack of)

Menelaus the beloved of Ares? You would then realize what kind of man it is whose buxom wife you are in possession of. Neither your cithara nor the gifts of Aphrodite- your hair and good looks- would do you any help when you are sprawled in the dust.

The quotations in this section are all in the direct speech of characters in the poem. It is interesting to see that they generally conform to the observation made by Tsagarakis:¹³

"Significant in the study of Homeric religion was the distinction drawn between the poet's knowledge of divine intervention, which is nearly always precise, and that of the characters, which is nearly always vague."

In 18, 19, and 20 the characters do indeed display an imprecise knowledge of divine involvement, using the vague term "θεός" or "θεοί" when assigning responsibility for personal attributes to the gods. The quotation above (17), however, is an exception to this "general principle". It is in any case a somewhat inaccurate observation. Some other statements by characters in regard to "personal qualities" follow here:

¹³ Odysseus Tsagarakis, *Nature and Background of Major Concepts of Divine Power in Homer* (Amsterdam: B. R. Gruner, 1977), ix.

18.

...Σίσυφος Αιολίδης ὁ δ' ἄρα Γλαῦκον τέκεθ' υἱόν,
 αὐτὰρ Γλαῦκος τίκτεν ἀμύμονα Βελλεροφόντην.
 τῷ δὲ θεοὶ κάλλος τε καὶ ἠνορέην ἔρατεινὴν
 ὤπασαν' ... (6,154f).

(Glaucus says), "...Sisyphus the son of Aeolus (lived there);
 and he sired a son (named) Glaucus; and then Glaucus sired the
 blameless Bellerophon, upon whom the gods bestowed beauty and
 lovely masculinity.

19.

Τὸν δ' αὐτε προσέειπε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἴκτωρ·
 "Αἴαν, ἐπεὶ τοι δῶκε θεὸς μέγεθός τε βίην τε
 καὶ πινυτήν, περὶ δ' ἔγχει Ἀχαιῶν φέρτατός ἐσσι,
 νῦν μὲν παυσώμεσθα μάχης καὶ δηιοτήτος
 σήμερον' ... (7,287f).

Then great Hector of the flashing helmet spoke to him: "Ajax,
 since God gave stature and strength and wisdom to you, and you
 are (furthermore) the best spear fighter of the Achaeans, let
 us now cease from battle and conflict for today.

In regard to 19, Leaf¹⁴ says that "this chivalrous
 acknowledgement of an enemy's prowess is rare in Homer". These
 examples show that gods can be "called upon" not only for the
 purpose of enhancing a compliment to the enemy (as here in 19), but
 for underlining a rebuke to a "friend" (as in 17). They are

¹⁴ Leaf, vol.1 p.246.

sometimes also called upon for the purpose of emphasizing a reprimand to a superior, as Polydamas does to Hector in 20.

20.

"Ἕκτορ, ἀμήχανός ἐσσι παραρρητοῖσι πιθέσθαι.
οὐνεκά τοι περὶ δῶκε θεὸς πολεμήϊα ἔργα,
τοῦνεκα καὶ βουλῇ ἐθέλεις περιίδμεναι ἄλλων·
ἀλλ' οὐ πως ἅμα πάντα δυνήσεαι αὐτὸς ἐλέσθαι.
ἄλλω μὲν γὰρ δῶκε θεὸς πολεμήϊα ἔργα,
ἄλλω δ' ὄρχηστύν, ἐτέρω κίθαριν καὶ ἀοιδήν,
ἄλλω δ' ἐν στήθεσσι τιθεῖ νόον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
ἔσθλόν, τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἐπαυρίσκοντ' ἄνθρωποι,
καὶ τε πολέας ἐσάωσε, μάλιστα δὲ καὐτὸς ἀνέγνω. (13,726f).

(Polydamas says), "Hector, you are incapable of being won over by persuasive words. Do you, since God gave you warlike deeds in abundance, insist that you are therefore more intelligent than others in deliberation? You yourself are surely not able to lay claim to all things at the same time, for God has given warlike deeds to one man, dancing ability to another, the playing of the cithara and song to someone else, and in the heart of yet another thundering Zeus has placed a fine intellect. Many men enjoy the benefits of this, and he has saved many, and he himself knows this very well."

This passage (20) should perhaps have been discussed in the "Skills or Knowledge" section, but the "πολεμήϊα ἔργα" do not admit

of obvious classification. The "πολεμῆια ἔργα" should probably be regarded as deeds, which result from a personal quality in the warrior. It is not learned but given by the gods to mortals. The other items in this passage, too, i.e. the "ὄρχηστύν", "κίθαριν", "ἄοιδήν", might be placed in the "Skills or Knowledge" section, but "νόον ἐσθλόν" is plainly a personal quality, and it belongs to this section. The "νόον" is placed in men by Zeus in the "στήθεσσι", i.e. "the breast as the seat of feeling and thought, as we use heart", (see entry "στήθος" in LSJ lexicon). It also seems that "θεός" (13,730) may be used here as a substitute for "Ζεύς" (13,732), unless an "indefinite god" is credited with dance, cithara, and singing skill while Zeus is seen as the one who gives "νόον ἐσθλόν".

There is also a certain hard to define quality in these passages, especially 20 and 21. This quality elicits the feeling that the claiming of a god as the source of personal qualities is almost proverbial in nature.¹⁵ In 20, Polydamas introduces "θεός" or

¹⁵ This observation is made in Van der Mije's article (*op. cit* p.255) to good effect. He uses the term *idée reçue* to describe the phenomenon:

Poulydamas wants Hektor to listen to his opinion on the situation at hand. Before expressing that opinion, he attempts to establish his authority as a judge of matters. To this end he does not point to past occasions which have proved his good judgement, but advances a general sentiment: the gods do not give all excellences (notably: excellence in battle and in counsel) to one man. This implies that, should Hektor reject this general sentiment, Poulydamas' whole argument falls apart. Evidently Hektor is expected to accept the sentiment; apparently this sentiment is generally accepted, an *idée reçue*.

"Ζεύς" into his argument as sources of personal qualities (or skills) as though such a circumstance were indeed factual and could not be argued with. In 21, as well, the tone of Apollo's contention that the "Μοῖραι" have supplied men with a "τλητὸν θυμὸν" suggests that the concept may have been unlikely to arouse disagreement.

21.

μέλλει μὲν πού τις καὶ φίλτερον ἄλλον ὀλέσσαι,
 ἢ κασίγνητον ὁμογάστριον ἢ καὶ υἰόν·
 ἀλλ' ἢ τοι κλαύσας καὶ ὀδυράμενος μεθέηκε·
 τλητὸν γὰρ Μοῖραι θυμὸν θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν. (24,46f).

(Apollo says), "...Before now, no doubt, a man has lost someone dearer (than Patroclus was to Achilles) - either a brother from the same womb or even a son. After weeping and lamenting, however, one gives it up, for the Μοῖραι have given an enduring spirit to men.

iv The Sceptre of Command

"Σκῆπτρον" occupies an interesting position in the number of items which are alleged to have been given to humans by gods in the Iliad. Zeus himself is said to be the giver of the sceptre, which is connected to the power of the "βασιλεύς" (quotation 22), or

"ἄναξ" (in 24), or the verb "ἀνάσσειν" (in 25). They are all in reference to Agamemnon, and to the power of the "ποιμένι λαῶν" (i.e. Atreus) in quotation 25. Also closely associated with the sceptre are the "θέμιστες", or body of principles and customs for settling litigation. They are seen as things which Zeus gives to the "king". Three important characters (i.e. Odysseus, Diomedes and Nestor) state that Zeus gave the sceptre directly to Agamemnon, but the narrative voice gives a detailed provenance of the sceptre which proceeds thus: Hephaestus-Zeus-Hermes-Pelops-Atreus-Thyestes-Agamemnon. This seeming contradiction may perhaps be explained as resulting from the inferior knowledge which the characters often display as compared with that of the poet, but this report proposes that the characters are in this instance employing a way of speaking which is coordinate with their acknowledgement of "rule by divine right".

22.

οὐ μὲν πῶς πάντες βασιλεύσομεν ἐνθάδ' Ἀχαιοί·
οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω,
εἰς βασιλεύς, ᾧ δῶκε Κρόνου πάις ἀγκυλομήτεω
σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνα σφίσι βουλεύησι. (2,203f).

(Odysseus says), "We Achaeans shall not all be kings here. The rule of many is not a good thing. Let there be one commander, one king, to whom the son of crooked-counselling Cronos has given the sceptre and the power of judgement, in order that he may make decisions for his people.

In light of the fact that the gods are considered to be the givers of many important articles which are used by humans, it should not be surprising that the "σκῆπτρον", or sceptre of command, is said to have been bestowed by gods, or, to be more accurate, in this case, by Zeus. It is true that characters specifically identify Zeus as the source of the sceptre of command, but the superiority of the knowledge revealed by the poet as compared to that of the characters once again becomes evident upon analysis of this matter. The following four quotations include three (22,23,24) in the direct speech of characters and one (25) in the narrative voice.

In 22, then, Odysseus says that it is "the son of crooked counselling Chronos" (i.e. Zeus) who gives the sceptre to the "βασιλεύς" (i.e. Agamemnon). In 23, Diomedes, too, says that it is "the son of crooked counselling Chronos" (Zeus) who has granted that Agamemnon be honored with the sceptre. In 24, Nestor says that Zeus gives the sceptre to the "ἄναξ" (i.e. Agamemnon).¹⁶ There are thus three important figures who state that Zeus has given the sceptre to Agamemnon, and, in two instances (22 and 24), the term

¹⁶ See also note ². Van der Mije also finds that the sceptre is rather difficult to classify. In regard to Nestor's words he writes:

We should understand this statement of Nestor's in the same way as the bows that Pandaros and Teukros are said to have got from Apollo. There the gift was in fact "archery"; here it is 'supreme rule'. (op. cit. p.262).

"θέμιστας" is coupled with "σκήπτρον".¹⁷ It may be legitimate, now, to contrast these statements with the one which occurs in the narrative voice (25). There are two observations which might be pointed out here. The first is that the narrative voice reveals a far more complete knowledge of the circumstances pertaining to the transmittal of the sceptre from Zeus to Agamemnon than the characters do, while the second is that the characters appear to be referring to Zeus' bestowal of the sceptre in a "figurative" way. This is to say that they must know that Agamemnon did not in fact receive the sceptre from the "hands of Zeus" as it were, but from a family member, and yet they state that "Zeus gave Agamemnon the sceptre".

The characters reveal an attitude, which may have existed in relation to the transfer of royal authority from family member to family member, and this attitude seems to cause one to name Zeus as the bestower of the sceptre upon someone who has inherited it through the family line.¹⁸ The characters surely do not mean to say

¹⁷ From (Leaf, vol.1, p.291):

θέμιστες, "dooms", a primitive form of our "common law"; a recognized body of principles and customs which had grown up in practice, and on which the simple litigation of an early age could be settled. They were handed down traditionally in the governing families till they had attained a fixed form, and hence were regarded as definite things which Zeus entrusted to kings to protect from harm. The σκήπτρον indicates the right, probably, of political action, the "executive" as opposed to the "judicial" function. Hence the use of the sceptre to delegate the right of speaking in the ἀγορή.

¹⁸ There are other instances of gifts from the gods being passed from father to son found in the poem, and there is nothing
(continued...)

that they believe that Zeus himself appeared to Agamemnon and handed him the sceptre, but are merely using a figure of speech. In this case, then, the statement "Zeus gave Agamemnon the sceptre" would be understood as equivalent to "Zeus gave the sceptre to an ancestor of Agamemnon, and Agamemnon has gained possession of it through a legitimate process of inheritance". It may thus be necessary to envisage another nuance in the ways in which gods are understood to be sources of gifts for mortals. In addition to the terms "concrete source" and "figurative source" there might be the need for "alleged divine source of political power".

23.

σοὶ δὲ διάνδιχα δῶκε Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω¹⁸

σκήπτρω μὲν τοι δῶκε τετιμῆσθαι περὶ πάντων,

ἀλκὴν δ' οὐ τοι δῶκεν, ὃ τε κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον. (9,37f).

(Diomedes says), "The son of crooked-counselling Cronos has given half a measure to you (i.e. Agamemnon)- he granted that you have been honored above all with the sceptre, but he gave you no fortitude, which is the greatest (source of) might."

24.

¹⁸(...continued)

to indicate that such an occurrence is anything other than a normal, expected course of action, although none of the sons are said to have received the gift from the god himself; Machaon utilizes medical skill which he presumably learned from his father who had "received" it from Cheiron (4,217f). Peleus gives armor which he had received from the gods to Achilles (17,195-97). Apollo gave horses to Admetus who gave them to his son Eumelus (2,763-67). Achilles received horses from his father who had received them from Poseidon (23,277-78).

"Ἄτρεΐδη κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,
 ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι, οὐνεκα πολλῶν
 λαῶν ἔσσι ἄναξ καὶ τοι Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιξε
 σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνα σφίσι βουλευῆσθα. (9,96f).

(Nestor says), "Most glorious son of Atreus, king of men Agamemnon, I shall end with you and I shall begin with you because you are the king of many people and Zeus gave to you the sceptre and the power of judgement, in order that you might make decisions for them.

25.

σπουδῇ δ' ἔξετο λαός, ἐρήτυθεν δὲ καθ' ἔδρας
 παυσάμενοι κλαγγῆς. ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
 ἔστη σκῆπτρον ἔχων, τὸ μὲν Ἥφαιστος κάμε τεύχων.
 Ἥφαιστος μὲν δῶκε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι,
 αὐτὰρ ἄρα Ζεὺς δῶκε διακτόρῳ ἀργειφόντῃ
 Ἑρμείας δὲ ἄναξ δῶκεν Πέλοπι πληξίππῳ,
 αὐτὰρ ὁ αὐτε Πέλοψ εἴκ' Ἀτρέϊ, ποιμένι λαῶν
 Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπεν πολύαρνι θυέστη,
 αὐτὰρ ὁ αὐτε θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορῆναι,
 πολλῆσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἄργει παντὶ ἀνάσσειν. (2,99f).

The men quickly sat down, and when they were seated they stopped their clamoring. Mighty Agamemnon stood up holding the sceptre which Hephaestus had skillfully made. Hephaestus had given it to king Zeus the son of Cronos; Zeus in turn gave it

to Argeiphontes the messenger; king Hermes gave it to horse driving Pelops; and then Pelops in his turn gave it to Atreus, shepherd of the people; when Atreus died he left it to Thyestes rich in lambs; and then Thyestes in his turn left it to Agamemnon to bear, so that he might rule over many islands and all of Argos.

v Horses

26.

Ἴπποι μὲν μέγ' ἄρισται ἔσαν φηρητιάδαο,
 τὰς Εὐμηλος ἔλαυνε ποδώκεας ὄρνιθας ὡς,
 ὄτριχας οἰέτεας, σταφύλη ἐπὶ νῶτον εἴσας·
 τὰς ἐν Πηρείῃ θρέψ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων,
 ἄμφω θηλείας, φόβον Ἄρηος φορεούσας. (2,763f).

The very best of the horses were those of the son of Pheres, which were swift as birds and driven by Eumelus. They were identical in age and color and height. Apollo of the silver bow raised these horses in Pereia, both of them mares (capable of) bringing the panic of Ares.

There are a few examples in the *Iliad* of gods giving horses to mortals, but none of the characters had horses given to them directly by a god- they all got them from their fathers.¹⁹ Even though the horses have been given by the gods, those of Achilles

¹⁹ Zeus gave horses to Tros as recompense for his son Ganymede, and Anchises secretly bred his own mares with them. He then gave two of the six offspring to his son Aeneas, (5,265-72). The horses were given by Apollo to Admetus at the end of the god's year of servitude to the mortal prince, then by Admetus to Eumelos, (Kirk vol 1 p.240).

The horses were given to Peleus on his marriage with Thetis (Paley vol 2 p.390), and Peleus gave them to Achilles (23,273-74).

are the only ones which are said to be immortal.²⁰ Achilles himself, furthermore, seems to imply (see quotation 28) that his are the only immortal horses around when he makes the claim before the chariot race for Patroclus' funeral games that he would win, for the men know how much superior his horses are because they are immortal (23,277), a statement which appears to discount the possibility that any of the other horses are immortal. The text indicates merely that Apollo raised "θρέψε" the horses of Eumelus in Pereia (see 26), while the horses given to Tros by Zeus were the "best horses which existed under the dawn and the sun" (see 27), but not immortal.

The horses get the chance to demonstrate their ability during the chariot race for the funeral games of Patroclus, and the horses

²⁰ In a recently published article, E.L. Harrison, "Homeric Wonder Horses," *Hermes* 119 (1991), 252-54, claims that the horses which Zeus gave to Tros, the horses of Erichthonius, and also the horses of Aeneas are immortal. There are, in addition to this, other issues in this short paper which invite disagreement. Harrison argues that one of the "features of the *Iliad* which remind us where the allegiance of the poet lies is the uneven way in which he handles the motif of the immortal horses." It is apparently unfair "that a lesser hero [Aeneas] from a collateral line is able to take the field with the kind of horses he, the leader of the Trojans, is denied." It should be pointed out that Agamemnon, the leader of the Greeks, has no immortal horses either, and, furthermore, as this report intends to argue, the relative heroic status which exists between Hector and Aeneas might not favor Hector as much as Harrison assumes it does.

Perhaps one other quibble with Harrison's paper might be mentioned at this point. The author seems to express some dismay that the Trojans experience treatment in an "uneven vein" as compared to the Greeks; i.e. Diomedes captures Aeneas' horses but Hector does not capture Achilles' horses. It should perhaps be kept in mind that the war did not end in a tie, and it should not be surprising that the Greeks would gain certain advantages in the fighting.

which came from the gods do in fact turn out to be the best ones. The horses of Eumelus are described by the poet/Muse (in 26) as the best ones of the Achaean forces (with the exception of Achilles' horses: viz. 2,770), and they possess the lead in the race until Diomedes, driving the horses which had belonged to Aeneas (see 27), is on the point of "passing or running neck and neck with" him (23,382). Apollo, who had given these horses to Eumelus' father, tries to thwart Diomedes by knocking the whip from his hand, but Athena hands it back to him and breaks the yoke of Eumelus' chariot, whereupon he suffers a serious crash (23,383-99). Thus the race is dominated by the horses from the gods, with the victory going to Diomedes. After the wreck of Eumelus occurs, second place is captured by Antilochus, who learned how to drive a chariot from Zeus and Poseidon (23,306-08).

Is there any significance that can be attached to the outcome of this race? Eumelus was driving the best horses but finished last, while Antilochus drove the slowest horses (according to Nestor: 23,309-10) and finished second. Diomedes was driving horses which he had despoiled from Aeneas, who was at that time saved from him by Apollo. This god had given the horses to Eumelus' father and Eumelus now drove them. Apollo knocked the whip from Diomedes' hand in the race, but he finished first. It seems as though here, too, the pattern emerges once again: simply having "divine" weapons, armor, or horses does not guarantee the success of the character, even if he has a god as an ally, as Eumelus does in the race. Diomedes wins because he has excellent horses (whether or not they

are "divine" or immortal), because he has Athena on his side, and because he was "personally" by far the best (Τυδείδης ὄχ' ἀριστος ἐὼν : 23,357). Eumelus, on the other hand, is a relatively nondescript character without any personal distinction other than his good horsemanship and the horses which were raised by Apollo, and he encounters disaster when he comes up against Diomedes. Antilochus has the slowest horses (acc. to Nestor; Meriones had them acc. to the poet: 23,530), but learned how to drive a chariot from Zeus and Poseidon, and so comes in second. Menelaus has excellent horses but no outstanding personal qualities or divine help, coming in third. Meriones has the slowest horses and is the least qualified driver (23,530-31), with no gods to help him in the race- but he finishes before Eumelus.

Perhaps it can be concluded that there is a graduated system of factors which are necessary for the success of a Homeric warrior. At the bottom end of the scale, there are those like Meriones who have little skill and no divine equipment and no gods at their side. At the upper end there is Achilles, with his matchless ability, his immortal horses, and Zeus and Hera and Athena and Thetis for helpers. In between these two extremes are those who have various degrees of both ability and divine help, and also combinations of the two. The experience of Eumelus may also be seen as illustrative of the fate of those, such as Patroclus and Hector, who gain possession of divine articles and yet lack the skill to employ them correctly.

27.

... "Αἰνῖαο δ' ἐπαίξαι μεμνημένος ἵππων,
 ἔκ δ' ἐλάσαι Τρώων μετ' εὐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοῦς.
 τῆς γάρ τοι γενεῆς, ἧς Τρωί περ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
 δῶχ' υἱὸς ποινὴν Γανυμήδεος, οὐνεκ' ἄριστοι
 ἵππων, ὅσσοι ἔασιν ὑπ' ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε.
 τῆς γενεῆς ἔκλεψεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγχίσης,
 λάθρη Λαομέδοντος ὑποσχῶν θήλεας ἵππους.
 τῶν οἱ ἕξ ἐγένοντο ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γενέθλη.
 τοὺς μὲν τέσσαρας αὐτὸς ἔχων ἀτίταλλ' ἐπὶ φάτνῃ,
 τῷ δὲ δὴ Αἰνεΐδ δῶκεν, μῆστῳρε φόβοιο.
 εἰ τούτῳ κε λάβοιμεν, ἀροίμεθά κε κλέος ἐσθλόν." (5,263f).

(Diomedes says), "...remember (sc. Sthenelus) to make a rush for the horses of Aeneas and drive them away from the Trojans and amongst the (army) of the well-greaved Achaeans. (You should do this because) they are of that breed which loud-thundering Zeus gave to Tros as a recompense for his son Ganymede, since they were the best horses which existed under the dawn and the sun. The king of men Anchises, without the knowledge of Laomedon, clandestinely effected the fertilization of his mares from this breed. From these mares a stock of six horses was born in his palace. He himself kept four of them and raised them at the manger, but he gave a pair to Aeneas- authors of panic. If we were to capture these horses, we would gain wonderful renown.

28.

εἰ μὲν νῦν ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ ἀεθλεύοιμεν Ἀχαιοί,
 ἢ τ' ἂν ἐγὼ τὰ πρῶτα λαβῶν κλισίηνδε φεροίμην·
 ἴστε γὰρ ὅσσον ἐμοὶ ἀρετῇ περιβάλλετον ἵπποι·
 ἀθάνατοί τε γὰρ εἰσι, Ποσειδάων δὲ πόρ' αὐτοῦς
 πατρὶ ἐμῷ Πηληϊῆϊ, ὃ δ' αὐτ' ἐμοὶ ἐγγυάλιξεν. (23,274f).

(Achilles says), "If we Achaeans were now holding games for the burial of some other man, I would surely win the first prize and take it back to my hut, for you know how great the excellent superiority of my horses is. (You know that this is true) because they are immortal; Poseidon gave them to my father Peleus, and he in turn gave them to me.

vi Other Objects

29.

...αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
 βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν ἐς κλισίην, χηλοῦ δ' ἀπὸ πῶμ' ἀνέωγε
 καλῆς δαιδαλέης, τῆν οἱ θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα
 θῆκ' ἐπὶ νηὸς ἄγεσθαι, ἐὺ πλήσασα χιτῶνων
 χλαινῶν τ' ἀνεμοσκεπέων οὔλων τε ταπήτων. (16,220f).

Then Achilles went immediately to his hut and opened the lid of the finely crafted chest which silver-footed Thetis had given to him to take upon his ship. She had stocked it well with tunics and wind-breaking cloaks and woolen rugs.

30.

"...ὧς δὲ καὶ ὅστέα νῶϊν ὀμῆ σορὸς ἀμφικαλύπτοι

χρύσεος ἀμφιφορέυς, τόν τοι πόρε πότνια μήτηρ." (23,91-2).

(The spirit of Patroclus says), "...May the same golden two-handled urn conceal our bones- the urn which your revered mother gave to you.

31.

τῆλε δ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς βάλε δέσματα σιγαλόεντα,

ἄμπυκα κεκρύφαλόν τε ἰδὲ πλεκτὴν ἀναδέσμην

κρήδεμνόν θ', ὃ ῥά οἱ δῶκε χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη

ἡματι τῷ ὅτε μιν κορυθαίολος ἠγάγεθ' Ἐκτωρ

ἐκ δόμου Ἠετίωνος, ἐπεὶ πόρε μυρία ἔδνα. (22,468f).

From her head (Andromache) cast to a distance her glittering headband, her diadem and hair net and coiled hair binding and the veil which golden Aphrodite had given to her on that day when Hector of the gleaming helmet led her away from the house of Eetion when he had given him countless bridal gifts.

Above are a few objects which did not belong in the other categories, and yet deserve some notice. Again it is Achilles who is distinguished with possession of ordinary personal items which come from a divine source. Andromache, too, is accorded special honor by the gift of the κρήδεμνον.

It may now be in order to set forth some remarks in conclusion of this chapter. Worthy of note are two concepts that are found in relation to gifts from the gods. The first is that "divine arms may

not be vanquished or found inefficient to protect, yet the usage of them does not guarantee the safety of the user", and the second is that "divine gifts are not easily mastered by mortals". Since the most heroic character (i.e. Achilles) has the largest number of divine gifts and has the highest degree of skill in their deployment, and since the other major characters (i.e. Pandarus, Diomedes, Hector, Aeneas, Andromache, Teucer, Calchas, Antilochus, Paris, Glaucus, Ajax, and Agamemnon, including Admetus and Scamandrius as well) have divine gifts of their own and exhibit varying degrees of competence when they use them, this report suggests that not only is the simple possession of a divine gift a feature of "heroic status", but also that the level of success achieved in the usage of a divine gift seems to be proportional to the "heroic stature" of the character who possesses the gift.²¹ It should be kept in mind that an attempt to quantify this "heroic stature" with a precise value for each character would be somewhat challenging, e.g. who is more "heroic", Achilles or Agamemnon? Hector or Aeneas? Diomedes or Hector? Patroclus or Nestor, etc.?

²¹ The idea that gifts from the gods have the effect of enhancing the status of a hero is found in the two following quotations:

1. Van der Mije (241):

Now it certainly is not the normal notion in the *Iliad* that divine origin, divine support or divine gifts rob the hero's greatness of its value; rather, they underscore it.

2. John R. Wilson, "The Wedding Gifts of Peleus," *Phoenix* 28 (1974), 389):

Peleus is now old and abandoned, and for him the gifts of the gods are bitterly ironic. But for Achilles, who is proof against irony, they are the natural accoutrements of greatness.

This "heroic stature", nevertheless, appears to consist of some sort of intertwining between the elements of "divine parentage", "divine allies", and "personal excellence".²² Perhaps it can be concluded that the possession of gifts from the gods serves the dramatic purpose of both validating and enhancing the status of the heroic characters. In other words the possession of such gifts is an expected part of the greatness of a hero. The question arises as to whether the "heroic stature", which is indicated for the characters in the analysis of "gifts from the gods", is

²² Although this report is essentially in disagreement with the conclusion of John Heath's recent article "The Legacy of Peleus: Death and Divine Gifts in the Iliad," *Hermes* 120 (1992), 387- 400, there is one observation made by Heath which is very telling in regard to the conclusion of this report. When commenting upon the fact that Achilles is the only one who is capable of handling his father's spear (16,142f), he writes, "Achilles alone can handle the gift from a god, perhaps because he is the son of a divinity." (p.394). It is likely that this aspect of Achilles' character is the most significant one in its bearing upon his "heroic stature". This is the main reason that Hector's "heroic stature" in relation to that of Aeneas was questioned in Note 13. Since Aeneas' mother is the goddess Aphrodite, it is possible that this circumstance might give Aeneas an advantage in "heroic status" over Hector.

Heath's article was found to be somewhat unsatisfactory because, after promising to examine "the larger issue of the function of divine presents in general throughout the *Iliad*" (p.387), he in fact discusses very few gifts, and, furthermore, the premise is initiated by an unconvincing translation of (3,64-66). Whereas this report argues that the gifts of the gods are extremely valuable but are yet needful of the proper handling by humans, Heath suggests that "in the world of the *Iliad*, then, it is not the case that human beings turn the gifts of the gods to perverse use-the gifts themselves are pernicious." (p.394). Although Heath claims that the gifts themselves are pernicious, and that "the gift lives forever, but those who come into contact with it grow old alone or die young on the battlefield, leaving their loved-ones to grieve" (p.391), he seems to ignore the fact that other characters who have contact with divine gifts (namely Diomedes, Teucer, Calchas, Antilochus, Aeneas, Ajax, and Agamemnon) do not meet with disaster in the *Iliad*.

corroborated by that which is indicated in reference to other "divine contact". This question will be the subject of some discussion in the next chapter.

Although there are many examples of gifts which are described as having been given to humans by gods in the *Iliad*, there is a significant degree of difficulty involved in obtaining any consistency when subjecting them to analysis. In one case, a god will appear to be a "concrete" source of a gift, while, in another case, it will appear to be a "figurative" source. Instances in which gods are claimed to have bestowed skills or knowledge upon a human leave it quite unclear as to how exactly the bestowal of the skill or knowledge is to be understood. Many commentators consequently interpret the majority of these occurrences as a kind of "figure of speech", in which the poet is thought to mean that a *character is skilled in "X"* when he says that a *god gave "X" to a character*. It seems more reasonable, however, that the poem should perhaps not be subjected to such an intense process of rational analysis as has been the case over the years, but should be regarded more as a work of art which "creates a world of its own, a world in which gods lead their lives". Once this approach is adopted, the difficulties associated with the interpretation of the activities of the gods become much less oppressive. If the gods in Homer are seen as *characters* in the story rather than as *beings which stand for something else or symbolic vehicles which are introduced for the purpose of providing explanations for unexplainable or unexpected events*, then it is possible to avoid

many convoluted and contradictory arguments presented only in order to provide a rational explanation for the existence of the divine characters in the *Iliad*.

2 Rescues by Gods

There are several occurrences²³ where characters are protected or rescued from danger by gods. An examination of some of these occurrences is included here in order to illustrate which characters are rescued, the reasons for the rescues, the methods by which the rescues are carried out, and also the reactions of the characters to the rescues. It turns out that the characters who are rescued generally have some sort of personal "claim" to assistance from the gods, i.e. religious service or genealogical relationship; or else the divine character may be acting as an agent for the enforcement of a human's "fate" to survive from a dangerous encounter (e.g. Aeneas [20,302f]). This element of a character's "fate" may also be the decisive factor in the "non-rescue" of otherwise deserving humans (sc. Sarpedon [16,440f]). Furthermore, the characters who are rescued, furthermore, and the others who are present at the event of a rescue, with some minor exceptions, are not shown to have any perception of or reaction to the rescues which occur.

Aeneas, for example, is saved from death on two occasions by gods. In book five, he has been wounded by a rock which was thrown

²³ A table summarizing these is included the Appendix.

by Diomedes (5,305), and the poet states that he would have died at that time if his mother, Aphrodite, had not protected him:

32.

Καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνεΐας,
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὄξυ νόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη,
 μήτηρ, ἣ μιν ὑπ' Ἀγχίση τέκε βουκολέοντι·
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἔδον φίλον υἱὸν ἐχεύατο πήχῃε λευκῶ,
 πρόσθε δέ οἱ πέπλοιο φαεινοῦ πτύγμ' ἐκάλυψεν
 ἔρκος ἔμεν βελέων, μή τις Δαναῶν ταχυπῶλων
 χαλκὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι βαλὼν ἐκ θυμὸν ἔλοιτο.

Ἡ μὲν ἔδον φίλον υἱὸν ὑπεξέφερεν πολέμοιο· (5,311f)

The king of men Aeneas would have died then and there if Aphrodite the daughter of Zeus had not been watching sharply—Aphrodite his mother, who had given birth to him under the sirehood of Anchises the herdsman. She wrapped her fair arms around her beloved son, and concealed him [by holding] a fold of her shining garment in front of him as a barrier against the projectiles, lest any of the swift-mounted Danaans throw a spear into his breast and take away his life.

At this point Diomedes makes an attack on Aphrodite and wounds her with his spear, whereupon:

33.

ἣ δὲ μέγα ἰάχουσα ἀπὸ ἔο κάββαλεν υἱόν·
 καὶ τὸν μὲν μετὰ χερσὶν ἐρύσατο φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων

κυανέη νεφέλη, μή τις Δαναῶν ταχυπόλων

χαλκὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι βαλὼν ἐκ θυμὸν ἔλοιτο· (5,343f)

With a loud cry she let fall her son, and with his hands
Phoebus Apollo rescued him (concealed in) a dark cloud, lest
any of the swift-mounted Danaans throw a spear into his
breast and take away his life.

Fortunately for Aeneas, Apollo appears instantly and from out of nowhere, with no apparent source of motivation for saving him from death. Apollo nevertheless seems to go to a lot of trouble to save Aeneas:

34.

...Αἰνεΐα δ' ἐπόρουσε βοῆν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης,
γιγνώσκων ὃ οἱ αὐτὸς ὑπείρεχε χεῖρας Ἀπόλλων·
ἄλλ' ὃ γ' ἄρ' οὐδὲ θεὸν μέγαν ἄζετο, ἴετο δ' αἰεὶ
Αἰνεΐαν κτεΐναι καὶ ἀπὸ κλυτὰ τεύχεα δῦσαι.
τρὶς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρουσε κατακτάμεναι μενεαίνων,
τρὶς δέ οἱ ἐστυφέλιξε φαιινὴν ἀσπίδ' Ἀπόλλων.

.....
Αἰνεΐαν δ' ἀπάτερθεν ὀμίλου θῆκεν Ἀπόλλων
Περγᾶμω εἰν ἱερῇ, ὅθι οἱ νηὸς γε τέτυκτο.

.....
αὐτὰρ ὁ εἶδωλον τευξ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων
αὐτῷ τ' Αἰνεΐα ἴκελον καὶ τεύχεσι τοῖον,
ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' εἰδῶλω Τρῶες καὶ δῖοι Ἀχαιοὶ
δῆουν ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι βοείας

ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους λαισήϊά τε περόοντα. (5,432f)

Diomedes of the excellent war cry attacked Aeneas, realising that Apollo himself was holding his hands over him, but he had no reverence for the great god, and continually tried to kill Aeneas and strip off his glorious armor. Three times he attacked in a rage to kill him, but three times Apollo pushed back his shining shield.

.....

Apollo placed Aeneas at a distance from the throng in sacred Pergamum, where a temple had been constructed for him.

.....

Apollo of the silver bow fabricated an image resembling Aeneas in person and armor, and the Trojans and noble Achaeans around this image were cleaving each others' well balanced hide shields and feathered leather shields.

In light of the circumstances surrounding Aeneas' rescue from Diomedes in book five, his rescue from Achilles in book twenty presents some rather awkward problems. For one thing, as book twenty opens, the gods are shown going down to enter the fighting, with Aphrodite, Aeneas' mother, and Apollo as well going to the Trojan side (20,40). One is compelled to wonder what Aphrodite is doing while Aeneas is fighting against Achilles, who is probably a more serious threat to him than Diomedes was. Perhaps she is reluctant to enter the battle again for fear of being wounded (although the Olympians enter the crowd of men (20,47)), but why

now does Apollo, who saved him for no reason in book five, assume a disguise (20,79 ff) in order to convince Aeneas to fight against Achilles and then make no effort to save him again? And why, finally, is it Poseidon, who entered the battle on the side of the Achaeans (20,34), who turns out to be the only god who will rescue Aeneas from Achilles?²⁴ Again the poet states that Aeneas would have been killed (20,288-91), had not Poseidon been watching closely:

35.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,
 βῆ ῥ' ἵμεν ἄν τε μάχην καὶ ἀνὰ κλόνον ἐγχειάων,
 ἴξε δ' ὄθ' Αἰνεΐας ἠδ' ὁ κλυτὸς ἦεν Ἀχιλλεύς.
 αὐτίκα τῷ μὲν ἔπειτα κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν χέεν ἀχλύν,
 Πηλεΐδῃ Ἀχιλῆϊ ὁ δὲ μελίην εὐχαλκον

²⁴ Leaf explains this difficulty by suggesting that Poseidon's action may be the result of an attempt to establish a mythological connection between Aeneas and Poseidon (Leaf, vol.2, p.304):
 The speech and action of Poseidon are as glaringly inconsistent with his attitude in the Iliad in general, and his recent speech (133-43) in particular, as are the words of 306 with that of Zeus. If Aeneas is to be saved it should naturally have been done by Apollo who urged him on, and is still in the field. But it is impossible to separate the action of Poseidon from the whole episode, which may have been introduced not only for the glory of Aeneas, but to explain some form of Poseidon-worship among the families who claimed descent from him.

Paley sees it as a result of later tampering (Paley, vol.2, p.274):

On the whole, this book [i.e. book 20] is remarkable for passages, words, and phrases differing from the ordinary style. The latter part of it is largely made up of verses repeated from preceding books; and in the opinion of the present editor, it has further been tampered with to some extent by later rhapsodists or διασκευασταί.

ἄσπίδος ἐξέρυσεν μεγαλήτορος Αἰνεΐας·
 καὶ τὴν μὲν προπάροιθε ποδῶν Ἀχιλλῆος ἔθηκεν,
 Αἰνεΐαν δ' ἔσσευεν ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψόσ' αἰείρας.
 πολλὰς δὲ στίχας ἠρώων, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἱππων
 Αἰνεΐας ὑπερᾶλτο θεοῦ ἀπὸ χειρὸς ὀρούσας,
 ἴξε δ' ἐπ' ἐσχατιῆν πολυάικος πολέμοιο,
 ἐνθα τε Καύκωνες πόλεμον μέτα θωρήσσοντο. (20,318f).

When the earth-shaker Poseidon heard this he straightway went through the battle and hurtling of spears and came to the place where Aeneas and Achilles were. He quickly shed a mist upon the eyes of Achilles son of Peleus, and then pulled the well-bronzed spear from the shield of great-hearted Aeneas. He then placed the spear before Achilles' feet and snatched Aeneas from the earth, lifting him to a great height. Aeneas sprang over many ranks of warriors and chariots, launched from the hand of the god, and reached the furthest point of the furious battle, where the Caucones were arming for combat.

The justification given by Poseidon for the rescue of Aeneas is important for an understanding of the elements which seem to be required for a character to become the beneficiary of a rescue by the gods:

36

" ὦ πόποι, ἦ μοι ἄχος μεγαλήτορος Αἰνεΐας,
 ὅς τάχα Πηλείωνι δαμείς Ἄϊδόςδε κάτεισι,
 πειθόμενος μύθοισιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο,

νήπιος, οὐδέ τί οἱ χραισμήσει λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον.
 ἀλλὰ τίη νῦν οὗτος ἀναίτιος ἄλγεα πάσχει,
 μὰψ ἔνεκ' ἀλλοτριῶν ἀχέων, κεχαρισμένα δ' αἰεὶ
 δῶρα θεοῖσι δίδωσι, τοῖ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν;

μόριμον δέ οἱ ἐστ' ἀλέασθαι,
 ὄφρα μὴ ἄσπερμος γενεὴ καὶ ἄφαντος ὄληται
 Δαρδάνου, ὃν Κρονίδης περὶ πάντων φίλατο παίδων,
 οἱ ἔθεν ἐξεγένοντο γυναικῶν τε θνητῶν.
 ἤδη γὰρ Πριάμου γενεὴν ἤχθηρε Κρονίων·
 νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνεΐαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει
 καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοῖ κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται. (20,293f).

"Alas, I have grief for great-hearted Aeneas, who shall shortly be overcome by the son of Peleus and go down to Hades, and this because he was persuaded by the words of far-shooting Apollo. He is a foolish man, and Apollo will not at all keep terrible destruction from him. But why, now, does this guiltless man suffer pain senselessly on account of the greivances of others? He always presented delightful gifts to the gods who possess the broad heaven.

.....
It is fated for him to avoid (death), lest there be lost seedless and unknown the race of Dardanus, whom the son of Chronos loves above all the children who were born to him by mortal women; for at last the son of Chronos hates the race of Priam. But now over the Trojans shall rule mighty Aeneas and

the children of his children, whoever are born in the future time.

Poseidon did not mention in this passage that Aeneas has a goddess for a mother, something that is, without question, an important consideration in this matter. There are, however, two other points raised here which also have a bearing upon Aeneas' rescue:

1. Aeneas always gives delightful gifts to the gods (298-99).
2. Aeneas is fated to escape (302).

These are the apparently crucial elements which determine the degree of likelihood that assistance might be forthcoming to a human from the gods in the *Iliad*. An article by A.W.H. Adkins²⁵ suggests that the characters of Homer expect their deities to treat them in the same way that powerful humans would do. The characters' claim on "*φιλότις*" to and "*τιμή*" from the gods would be proportional to 1. personal kinship and 2. service and assistance (i.e. sacrifice in the case of the gods). In accordance with this arrangement, the characters who have the closest kinship and who have given the most pleasing sacrifices would be entitled to the most help from the gods. The third element mentioned by Adkins which pertains to the question of whether or not the gods might rescue a mortal from death has to do with the "*μοῖρα*" of the human. "If the gods could keep death away from anyone, they would

²⁵ A. W. H. ADKINS, "Homeric Gods and the Values of Homeric Society," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 92 (1972), 1-19.

certainly keep it from their favorites; and yet they do not, therefore they cannot- or should not."²⁶ Zeus does not save Sarpedon, his own son, from death because it is his "μοῖρα" to die at that time (16,441f), and the other gods will be angry if Zeus saves him despite this. Similarly, Hector must die because it is his "μοῖρα" (22,179f), even though he was dearest to Zeus of all the Trojans because of all the sacrifices he had given (22,170f). In the case of Aeneas, then, there are the three factors: "μοῖρα", personal kinship, and abundant sacrifice to the gods, which are indicative of a high probability that the gods might save him from death.

In a later paper, Adkins proposes the idea that

the Greeks ascribed to their deities a motivation based on arete, time, social status, and blood relationship, analogous to the motivation of the human agathos vis a vis his fellow men....Accordingly, a Greek in a real-life situation might be concerned to know what could be expected to happen if he fought against a man with a god in his ancestry, a man whose arete in any aspect of that complex notion was superior to his own, or a man who had sacrificed to the gods more copiously than he himself could hope to do.²⁷

²⁶ Adkins 15

²⁷ A. W. H. ADKINS, "Art, Beliefs, and Values in the Later Books of the Iliad," *Classical Philology* 70 (1975), 244.

Adkins argues that the battles which Achilles (son of Thetis and great grandson of Zeus) has against Aeneas (son of Aphrodite [who is superior to Thetis] and also seventh generation offspring of Zeus on the paternal side), against Asteropaeus (grandson of river god Axios), against Scamander (river god), and against Hector (whose parents are human) serve to examine the problem of how the divine ancestry of warriors affects the outcome of their battles. He feels that in the showdown between Achilles and Hector in book twenty-two, "the human combatants are evaluated primarily in terms of their human characteristics", and that the better warrior wins. In book twenty-four, however, the issue returns to a question of the advantages of divine birth (their honor shall not be equal because Achilles' mother is a goddess [24,65f]).

Adkins' "Greek in a real-life situation" is concerned about the variables which may be understood to be important components of a subject which this report is undertaking to investigate- namely "heroic status". The key concept in Adkins' analysis is, emphatically, dependent on the word "complex". Not only must "the Greek" take into account the divine ancestry of his competitor, his social standing, personal "ἀρετή", and the quality and amount of sacrifices which he has made to the gods, but there is also the factor of one's "μοῖρα" in the equation, not to mention the individual's sheer physical skill in battle. This report merely hopes to make the case that as "heroic status" increases, it is accompanied by an increase in the "intensity of relationship" between god and hero. In other words, Aeneas has a particularly

favorable relationship with the gods because of the factors which were discussed above.

Hector, too, is helped here and there by the gods when he is in danger:

37.

δεύτερος αὐτ' Αἴας πολὺ μείζονα λάαν ἀείρας
 ἦκ' ἐπιδινησας, ἐπέρεισε δὲ ἴν' ἀπέλεθρον,
 εἴσω δ' ἀσπίδ' ἔαξε βαλῶν μυλοειδέϊ πέτρῳ,
 βλάψε δέ οἱ φίλα γούναθ'· ὁ δ' ὕπτιος ἐξετανύσθη
 ἀσπίδι ἐγχριμφθεῖς· τὸν δ' αἰψ' ὤρθωσεν Ἀπόλλων.
 καὶ νύ κε δὴ ξιφέεσσ' αὐτοσχεδὸν οὐτάζοντο,
 εἰ μὴ κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,
 ἦλθον... (7,268f)

Ajax in turn picked up a much larger rock, made ready and threw it, applying his immeasurable strength, and by his throw with the millstone-like rock against the shield he shattered it, and injured (Hector's) limbs. (Hector) was crushed under the shield, stretched out on his back, but Apollo immediately set him upright. And indeed now they would have been wounding (each other) with their swords in hand-to-hand combat had not the heralds, messengers of Zeus and men, arrived...

38.

Ἴκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέων ὑπαγε Ζεὺς ἐκ τε κονίης
 ἐκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἐκ θ' αἵματος ἐκ τε κυδοιμοῦ (11,164f)

Out from under the projectiles, the dust, the murdering, the blood and the turmoil Zeus brought Hector.

39.

Ἦ ρα, καὶ ἀμπεπαλῶν προίει δόρυ, καὶ τό γ' Ἀθήνη
 πνοιῇ Ἀχιλλῆος πάλιν ἔτραπε κυδαλίμοιο,
 ἦκα μάλα ψύξασα· τὸ δ' ἄψ ἵκεθ' Ἑκτορα δῖον,
 αὐτοῦ δὲ προπάροιθε ποδῶν πέσεν. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
 ἐμμεμαῶς ἐπόρουσε κατακτάμεναι μενεαίνων,
 σμερδαλέα ἰάχων· τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξεν Ἀπόλλων
 ρεῖα μάλ' ὥς τε θεός, ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἠέρι πολλῇ. (20,438f).

(Thus) he spoke, and he aimed and threw the spear. With her breath Athena turned it back from glorious Achilles, blowing very gently. It came right back to Hector and fell at his feet. With a murderous cry and in a rage to kill, Achilles made a furious attack, but Apollo snatched (Hector) away with great ease, as he was a god, and concealed him in a thick mist. ²⁸

In the passage above, Achilles, too, is protected from danger by a goddess. There is no reaction from Hector at his spear falling back at his feet (perhaps he does not have time), while Achilles

²⁸ Compare this method of rescue to the passage where Apollo saves Hector from Achilles:

.....τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξεν Ἀπολλων
 ρεῖα μάλ' ὥς τε θεός, ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἠέρι πολλῇ. (20,443-44).
 Apollo snatched him away with great ease, since he was a god,
 and concealed him in a thick mist.

The same method (ἐξήρπαξεν...κάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἠέρι πολλῇ) occurs again when Apollo snatches away Agenor (21,595) from Achilles.

seems to know who rescued Hector: "νῦν αὖτε σ' ἐρύσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων..." (20,450). It is rather unclear how this scene is to be visualized, as Achilles appears to be hacking with his sword at the mist in which Hector is concealed, and also addressing his remarks (20,449-54) to Hector as though he were quite close by, so it is not possible to determine how far away from Achilles Hector is supposed to be at this point.

There are a few other characters in the poem who are saved from death by the gods:

40.

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ κεν αὐτὸς ὑπέκφυγε κῆρα μέλαιναν,
ἀλλ' Ἥφαιστος ἔρυτο, σάωσε δὲ νυκτὶ καλύψας,
ὥς δὴ οἱ μὴ πάγχυ γέρων ἀκαχήμενος εἶη. (5,22f)

(Idaius) would never have escaped black death himself, but Hephaestus rescued him, saving him by concealing him in darkness, so that (his elderly father) would not be completely overwhelmed by grief.

In this instance Hephaestus rescues a certain Idaius, the son of Dares (the "γέρων" of the passage), who is one of Hephaestus' own priests on the Trojan side. Dares had two sons, one of whom, Phegeus, has just been killed by Diomedes.

41.

καὶ νῦ κεν Ἀκτορίωνε Μολίονε παῖδ' ἀλάπαξα,
εἰ μὴ σφωε πατήρ εὐρὺ κρείων ἐνοσίχθων
ἐκ πολέμου ἐσάωσε, καλύψας ἠέρι πολλῇ. (11,750f)

I (Nestor) would have at that time killed the two sons of Actor, the Moliones, had not their father, the widely ruling earthshaker, saved them from the battle by concealing them in a thick mist.

These two men, Eurytus and Kteatus, are apparently sons of Poseidon (According to Paley, vol.1 p.416). If this is true, then, Nestor, who is the grandson of Poseidon, may have been thwarted here because these two men were more closely related to the god. In the following passage, however, Poseidon is found protecting Nestor's son Antilochus, who is Poseidon's great-grandson.

42.

...Τρῶες δὲ περισταδὸν ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος
 οὔταζον σάκος εὐρὺ παναίολον, οὐδὲ δύναντο
 εἶσω ἐπιγράψαι τέρενα χροῶα νηλεῖ χαλκῶ
 Ἄντιλόχου· πέρι γάρ ῥα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων
 Νέστορος υἱὸν ἔρυτο καὶ ἐν πολλοῖσι βέλεσσιν.

.....
 Ἄλλ' οὐ λήθ' Ἀδάμαντα τιτυσκόμενος καθ' ὄμιλον,
 Ἄσιάδην, ὃ οἱ οὔτα μέσον σάκος ὀξεῖ χαλκῶ
 ἐγγυθεν ὀρμηθεῖς· ἀμενήνωσεν δέ οἱ αἰχμῆν
 κυανοχαῖτα Ποσειδάων, βιότοιο μεγῆρας.
 καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μείν' ὥς τε σκῶλος πυρίκαυστος,
 ἐν σάκει Ἄντιλόχοιο, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ κεῖτ' ἐπὶ γαίης· (13,551f)
 From all sides the Trojans severally smote against his broad,
 gleaming shield, but they were unable with the pitiless bronze

to put a scratch upon the tender flesh of Antilochus behind it, for Poseidon the earth shaker protected him on all sides even amongst the many projectiles.

.....

But while (Antilochus) was taking aim in the throng he did not escape the notice of Adamas, the son of Asius, who made his attack by smiting the middle of his shield with the sharp bronze at close quarters. But dark-haired Poseidon rendered feeble the spear cast, and begrudged him the life (of Antilochus). One half of it remained there in the shield of Antilochus like a fire damaged stake, while the other half lay upon the earth.

So far, the characters, who have been saved by gods, are somehow related to gods, or else are endeared to them through some kind of religious service. The two examples which follow do not seem to meet these requirements in a clear manner. In the first one, Apollo intervenes to save the Trojans by somehow causing Agenor to stand and face Achilles:

43.

Ἐνθα κεν ὑψίπυλον Τροίην ἔλον νῆες Ἀχαιῶν,
εἰ μὴ Ἀπόλλων φοῖβος Ἀγήνορα δῖον ἀνῆκε,
φῶτ' Ἀντήνορος νιδὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε.
ἐν μὲν οἱ κραδίη θάρσος βάλε, πὰρ δέ οἱ αὐτὸς
ἔσθη, ὅπως θανάτοιο βαρείας χεῖρας ἀλάλκοι,
φηγῶ κεκλιμένος· κεκάλυπτο δ' ἄρ' ἠέρι πολλῇ. (21,544f).

The sons of the Achaeans would have captured high-gated Troy then unless Phoebus Apollo had sent forth Antenor's son godlike Agenor, a man faultless and mighty. Apollo placed courage in his heart and stood close to him, leaning on an oak tree so that he might protect him from the heavy hands of death. Apollo was concealed in a thick mist.

Having "used" Agenor for this purpose, Apollo hides him in a mist and allows him to escape Achilles (perhaps as a reward for his bravery in facing Achilles or else in return for the use of his person), whereupon he makes himself look like Agenor to fool Achilles into chasing him, because it seems that the fight with Agenor did not give the Trojans enough time to get away:

44.

Πηλείδης δ' ὠρμήσατ' Ἀγήνορος ἀντιθέοιο
 δεύτερος· οὐδ' ἔτ' ἔασεν Ἀπόλλων κῦδος ἀρέσθαι,
 ἀλλὰ μιν ἐξήρπαξε, κάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἠέρι πολλῇ,
 ἠσύχιον δ' ἄρα μιν πολέμου ἔκπεμπε νέεσθαι.
 αὐτὰρ ὁ Πηλείωνα δόλῳ ἀποέργαθε λαοῦ·
 αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐκάεργος Ἀγήνορι πάντα ἕοικῶς
 ἔστη πρόσθε ποδῶν, ὃ δ' ἐπέσσυτο ποσσὶ διώκειν. (21,595f).

In turn the son of Peleus attacked godlike Agenor, but Apollo prevented him from gaining further glory, and snatched Agenor away, and concealed him in a thick mist, and sent him off to return peacefully from the battle. He kept the son of Peleus away from the army by means of a trick. For (Apollo) likened

himself exactly to Agenor's own (appearance) and stood directly in front of (Achilles), who rushed to pursue him on foot.

The next example concerns the rescue of Paris by Aphrodite. The affection which she has for him might possibly be based upon the tradition of the "judgement of Paris", wherein she was selected in the "beauty contest" between Hera, Athena and herself at Peleus' and Thetis' wedding, although the details of the reason for Paris' insult to Hera and Athena are vague in the *Iliad* (24,25f). In the following passage, Paris is rescued from danger and bodily removed to a great distance from the fighting. Aphrodite recues him:

45.

.....τὸν δ' ἐξήραξ' Ἀφροδίτη
 ρεία μάλ' ὡς τε θεός, ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἠέρι πολλῷ,
 καὶ δ' εἰς ἐν θαλάμῳ εὐώδεϊ κηῶεντι. (3,380-82).

Aphrodite snatched him away with great ease, since she was a goddess, and concealed him in a thick mist, and then set him down in his exceedingly fragrant bed chamber.

Although there is usually no reaction by the person who has been rescued by a god, the case of Paris' rescue is particularly curious, because when Helen confronts Paris with his cowardly flight from Menelaus, she says:

46.

" ἦλυθες ἐκ πολέμοι' ὡς ὠφελος αὐτόθ' ὀλέσθαι,

ἀνδρὶ δαμεῖς κρατερῶ, ὃς ἐμὸς πρότερος πόσις ἦεν.

ἧ μὲν δὴ πρὶν γ' εὐχε' ἀρηϊφίλου Μενελάου

σῆ τε βίη καὶ χερσὶ καὶ ἔγχει φέρτερος εἶναι. (3,428f).

"You have come (back) from battle; you should have been killed there at the hands of a mighty warrior- the man who was my former husband. Indeed you always used to boast that you were superior to Menelaus-beloved-of-Ares in your might with hand and spear."

Paris could have simply said that he was not to be held responsible for leaving the fight because Aphrodite had "snatched him away". It is astonishing that Paris could be whisked away from hand to hand combat with a magical facility sufficient to remove him from the intense scrutiny of both armies, and then be placed in his bedroom without any acknowledgement at all from him at such a remarkable occurrence. Helen would certainly have been sympathetic to his situation, since she had just a few verses before this been overcome herself by the will of the same goddess. Instead of explaining away his "cowardice" by telling Helen about his rescue, however, Paris replies to her as follows:

47.

" μὴ με, γύναι, χαλεποῖσιν ὀνειδέσει θυμὸν ἐνιπτε.

νῦν μὲν γὰρ Μενέλαος ἐνίκησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ,

κείνον δ' αὐτίς ἐγὼ πάρα γὰρ θεοὶ εἰσι καὶ ἡμῖν. (3,438f).

" Do not, woman, scold my heart with stern reproaches. For now, with Athena's help, Menelaus is victorious, but I in turn

(shall be victorious over) him- for we too have gods at our side."

It can only be concluded that Paris has absolutely no inkling that he has been rescued from death and delivered to his room by a goddess. Paris' reply to Helen can be understood as ironic- he talks about having gods as allies but does not realise what has just happened- or pathetically comical, since Paris is so unheroically incompetent that he thinks Athena was helping Menelaus (although Athena was not present²⁹), while he himself could not tell that Aphrodite was frantically scrambling to save him from Menelaus.

This failure of the characters to perceive that either they themselves or their adversaries have been miraculously saved by the gods seems to be applicable to most of the occurrences of supernatural rescues in the poem. After Paris has been snatched away from the very clutches of Menelaus, no one- not even the Trojans- has any knowledge of the event:

²⁹ Sc. the comment of Zeus himself at the beginning of book four:

"δοιαὶ μὲν Μενελάῳ ἀρηγόνες εἰσὶ θεῶων,
 Ἥρη τ' Ἀργεΐη καὶ Ἀλαλκομενηΐς Ἀθήνη.
 ἀλλ' ἦ τοι ταὶ νόσφι καθήμεναι εἰσορόωσαι
 τέρπεσθον· τῷ δ' αὐτε φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη
 αἰεὶ παρμέμβλωκε καὶ αὐτοῦ κήρας ἀμύνει,
 καὶ νῦν ἐξεσάωσεν οἴομενον θανέεσθαι." (4,7f).

"Two of the goddesses are helpers of Menelaus- Argive Hera and Alalcomenean Athena- but they are sitting at a distance from him and take their pleasure in watching. On the other hand laughter-loving Aphrodite constantly stood beside (Paris) and kept his death away, and she has just now saved him when he thought he would be killed."

48.

... Ἀτρείδης δ' ἀν' ὄμιλον ἐφοίτα θηρὶ ἐοικώς,
 εἷ που ἐσαθρήσειεν Ἀλέξανδρον θεοειδέα.
 ἀλλ' οὐ τις δύνατο Τρώων κλειτῶν τ' ἐπικούρων
 δεῖξαι Ἀλέξανδρον τότε ἄρηιφίλῳ Μενελάῳ. (3,449f).

The son of Atreus (Menelaus) raced like a wild animal through the crowd (of Trojans) to catch a glimpse of godlike Alexander. Not one, however, of the glorious Trojans or of the allies could then point out Alexander to Menelaus-beloved-of-Ares.

Menelaus also takes no notice when Athena saves him from being killed by the arrow launched by Pandarus:

49.

οὐδὲ σέθεν, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ μάκαρες λελάθοντο
 ἀθάνατοι, πρώτη δὲ Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἀγελεΐη,
 ἦ τοι πρόσθε σᾶσα βέλος ἔχεπευκὲς ἄμυνεν.
 ἦ δὲ τόσον μὲν ἔεργεν ἀπὸ χροός, ὡς ὅτε μήτηρ
 παιδὸς ἔεργη μυῖαν, ὅθ' ἠδέϊ λέξεται ὕπνῳ' (4,127f).

Not at all, Menelaus, did the blessed gods who are immortal forget about you, and least of all the daughter of Zeus (Athena), driver of the spoil, who stood in front of you and warded off the sharp arrow. She kept it from your flesh as a mother might keep away a fly from her child who reclines in sweet sleep.

Menelaus attributes his survival to his own armor:

50.

"οὐκ ἐν καιρίῳ ὄξυ πᾶν βέλος, ἀλλὰ πάροιθεν
εἰρύσατο ζωστήρ τε παναίολος ἠδ' ὑπένερθεν
ζῶμά τε καὶ μίτρη, τὴν χαλκῆες κάμον ἄνδρες." (4,185f).

"The sharp arrow is not fixed in a deadly place, but the gleaming belt turned it aside, and my lower body armor underneath which the bronze-smiths made.

There are three characters, however, who give some indication that they realize that a supernatural rescue has taken place. One of them is Nestor, and the event takes place in a story related by Nestor about his own glorious past, when Poseidon saved the two Actoriones (by snatching them off concealed in a thick mist) from Nestor's rampage (11,752f). Aeneas, in a story about his not-so-glorious past, tells of the time Zeus saved him from Achilles by giving him strength and swift knees (20,89f). Achilles, too, is found to realize that an opponent (Hector) has been saved by a god (in this case Apollo):

51.

...νῦν αὐτέ σ' ἐρύσατο φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων... (20,450).

...now Phoebus Apollo has again saved you...

Achilles also suspects divine meddling when Poseidon snatches Aeneas away from his reach (20,321f). Achilles does not react until Poseidon scatters the "ἀχλύς" from his eyes:

52.

" ὦ πόποι, ἦ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρῶμαι·
 ἔγχος μὲν τόδε κεῖται ἐπὶ χθονός, οὐδέ τι φῶτα
 λεύσσω, τῷ ἐφέηκα κατακτάμεναι μενεαίνων.
 ἦ ρα καὶ Αἰνεΐας φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν
 ἦεν· ἀτὰρ μιν ἔφην μὰ ψαῦτος εὐχετάσθαι. (20,344f).

(Curses), this is a very amazing thing which I do see with my eyes. This spear is lying on the ground, and I do not at all see the man at whom I hurled it in my rage to kill. Indeed Aeneas, too, is beloved by the immortal gods, while here I thought that his boasting was merely idle talk.

Once again Achilles is shown to be superior to the other characters- this time it is in the matter of detecting the involvement of gods in the escapes from danger by humans. Aeneas and Nestor, both of them characters of divine ancestry, warriors of exemplary quality and in possession of a high degree of "heroic status", display this ability as well. Once more it seems that there is a graduated ranking of individual characters which would indicate that those with a high "heroic status" demonstrate a greater facility in perceiving the presence and/or activity of the divine characters in the Iliad. On the less adept end of the ranking scheme one might place Paris, who exhibits a pronounced incompetence in his comprehension of the divine intervention which took place during his "battle" with Menelaus. Then there is the case of Menelaus himself and the Trojan and Greek armies, none of

whom notices that Aphrodite saves Paris. Menelaus, again, did not notice Athena saving him from Pandarus' arrow. On the positive side of the scheme, then, come the far more "heroic" Aeneas, Nestor, and Achilles, who are able to notice the presence and/or activity of gods.

The experience of Achilles, furthermore, seems to develop on a plane which is different from that which is occupied by other characters in the poem. Achilles does not need to be rescued from any other warrior in the *Iliad*, but a situation arises from which he is extricated alive only through the intervention of the gods. Achilles' encounter with the Scamander river is an extremely intense struggle which continues for many verses (21,211-383), and when it comes to the point where Achilles thinks that he shall die, he calls upon Zeus and voices his outrage that he shall die a humiliating death, contrary to what was promised by his mother Thetis (and Zeus). Athena and Poseidon instantly appear and reassure Achilles that there is no need for him to worry as he is not destined to be overcome by the river (ὡς οὐ τοι ποταμῷ γε δαμήμεναι αἰσιμόν ἐστιν...[21,291]). Athena then instills strength into Achilles (304), but Scamander enlists the aid of another river, the Simois, and once again Achilles is about to be overwhelmed when Hera urges Hephaestus to save Achilles (with her own help) from the rivers (330f).

Adkins feels that this battle with the rivers is part of a series of battles between characters who have varying amounts of divine blood in their veins, and that their purpose is to determine

how divine ancestry affects the outcome of the battles (op.cit.n.26). This report agrees with Adkins' analysis, and would also point out that this particular battle serves to identify the peerless degree of Achilles' status, insofar as it can be derived from the support which the gods are shown to be prepared to supply to Achilles. Achilles' initial encounter with the Scamander river quickly escalates (Achilles obtains help from Poseidon and Athena; Scamander obtains help from Simois; Achilles obtains more help from Hera and Hephaestus) to the point where Hephaestus, in a scene which is frighteningly bizarre and ominous, attacks and subdues the river with his power. Hera calls off his attack with the crucial argument:

53.

"Ἡφαιστε, σχέο, τέκνον ἀγακλέες· οὐ γὰρ ἔοικεν
ἀθάνατον θεὸν ὧδε βροτῶν ἔνεκα στυφελίξειν." (21,379-80)

"Desist, my glorious child Hephaestus, for it is not right to smite an immortal god in this way for the sake of mortals.

The superiority of Achilles' status may thus be seen in light of the lengths to which the gods are determined to go in order to protect him.

Thus the characters who are rescued generally have some sort of personal "claim" to assistance from the gods, i.e. religious service or genealogical relationship; or else the divine character may be acting as an agent for the enforcement of a human's "fate" to survive from a dangerous encounter (sc. Aeneas [20,302f]). This

element of a character's "fate" may also be the decisive factor in the "non-rescue" of otherwise deserving humans (sc. Sarpedon [16,440f]). The characters who are rescued, furthermore, and also the others who are present at the event of a rescue, are not shown to have any perception of or reaction to the rescues which occur—possible exceptions may be noted in the case of Achilles, Nestor and Aeneas. As the gods are found to go to great lengths to protect Achilles and Aeneas (characters with the highest heroic status) from danger, and as they themselves show a sharper perception of rescues than characters of lower status (e.g. Paris), and as the gods make no effort to rescue regular soldiers or others who have no "personal claim" for help, it may be inferred that the contact which the human characters have with the gods on occasions of divine rescues from danger shows that the likelihood of rescue is proportional to the heroic status of the human. Or, looked at another way, divine rescue might be seen as a feature of heroic status, just as divine gifts might be seen to be so.

Appearances by Gods
Without Disguise

Sometimes the gods make an appearance amongst the human characters without making use of a disguise. A number of passages from the *Iliad* will be presented in this chapter which contain examples of such appearances. These examples shall be referred to as "non-disguise events", and they identify situations where a god is described as being physically present amongst human characters. The inclusion of an event in this chapter is not dependent upon the perception of a god by a human character, but upon the revelation of the narrative itself, as it sometimes happens that the presence of a god seems to escape the notice of the humans. The analysis will mention the manner of appearance by the god, the identity of the characters who receive the visitation, and the purpose of these visitations, but it will concentrate mainly upon the interaction between the human and god, as well as the reactions of the character to the experience.

These reactions seem to indicate that an encounter with a god has different effects upon different characters. It appears to be the case that, even though a god comes close and speaks to a human character without making use of a disguise, the human experiences

a degree of difficulty, in both perceiving and identifying the god, which seems to be proportional to the "heroic status" of the human. At one end of the scale, as it were, stands Achilles, with the highest status, who can not only see gods but also recognize who they are, does not become frightened in their presence, and can speak to them with ease. At the other end of the scale are the regular soldiers who either fail to see gods who are in their immediate presence or else have only a vague sense of the occurrence. Between these two extremes fall the examples of the other characters. It is also to be noted that the characters who experience a visitation by a god who is not in disguise are almost invariably those who are the major figures of the poem (i.e. Achilles, Diomedes, Odysseus, Patroclus, Hector and Priam), who, while they do not exhibit a facility of intercourse with the gods as favorable as that of Achilles, nevertheless display a more intimate relationship to and unrestricted perception of the gods than the regular soldiers do.

i Achilles

Achilles appears to have no difficulty in detecting a god (or goddess) when he or she is present. Athena appears to Achilles in book one:

Athena-Achilles

54.

ἦος ὁ ταῦθ' ὤρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,
 ἔλκετο δ' ἐκ κολεοῖο μέγα ξίφος, ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη
 οὐρανόθεν· πρὸ γὰρ ἦκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη,
 ἄμφω ὁμῶς θυμῷ φιλέουσά τε κηδομένη τε.
 στῆ δ' ὀπιθεν, ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης ἔλε Πηλείωνα
 οἷφ φαινομένη· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐ τις ὄρατο.
 θάμβησεν δ' Ἀχιλεὺς, μετὰ δ' ἐτράπετ', αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω
 Παλλὰδ' Ἀθηναίην· δεινὸν δέ οἱ ὄσσε φάανθεν' (1,193f).

While he debated this in his heart and mind and was drawing the great sword from its scabbard, Athena came from heaven. The goddess white-armed Hera had sent her forth because she loved and cared for them both (Agamemnon and Achilles) in her heart. She stood behind him, and grabbed the son of Peleus by his fair hair, appearing to him alone. No one of the others saw her. Achilles was astounded, and he turned around, and he straightaway recognised Pallas Athena. And (her)³⁰ fearsome

³⁰ The eyes which shine in line 200 are generally understood to be those of Athena, and Achilles is thought to recognise her by this feature. Griffin states that it is occasionally argued that the eyes are those of Achilles (*Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 159 note 30), but concludes that these are Athena's eyes, and naturally introduces as evidence her epithet "γλαυκῶπις", a word which he himself describes as a "notorious puzzle". Then why introduce it? Further evidence against his interpretation is the circumstance that the Greek does not indicate a causal relationship between Achilles' recognition of Athena and the shining eyes. There is no "γάρ", "ὥς", "ἐπεὶ" or other construction to link the shining of the eyes to his recognition (as there is where Helen recognizes Aphrodite by her neck, etc. at [3,396]), merely a "δέ", and this seems rather to answer to the three emphatic "δέ"'s of the preceding line, with the effect of bringing the "αὐτίκα" pronoun into a closer association with Achilles. The sense and grammar of the passage seems at least not to be hostile to the conclusion that these are Achilles' eyes. Achilles' (continued...)

³⁰(...continued)

own eyes, furthermore, do much the same thing when he gets his first look at the armor which Thetis brings from Hephaestus. His men cannot look directly at it, but it evokes a powerful reaction from Achilles:

ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασα θεὰ κατὰ τεύχεα ἔθηκε
 πρόσθεν Ἀχιλλῆος τὰ δ' ἀνέβραχε δαίδαλα πάντα.
 Μυρμιδόνας δ' ἄρα πάντας ἔλε τρόμος, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
 ἄντην εἰσιδέειν, ἀλλ' ἔτρεσαν. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
 ὡς εἶδ', ὡς μιν μάλλον ἔδυ χόλος, ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε
 δεινὸν ὑπὸ βλεφάρων ὡς εἰ σέλας ἐξεφάνθεν·
 τέρπετο δ' ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχων θεοῦ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα. (19,13f).

Having said this, the goddess placed the armor in front of Achilles, and all the finely crafted armor sent up a clatter. A trembling seized all the Myrmidons, and no one dared to look directly at it, but they fled from fear. When Achilles saw it, however, his wrath possessed him even more, and beneath his brows his eyes gleamed terribly as though they were fire. Achilles took pleasure in holding the wonderful gifts of the god in his hands.

Perhaps the eyes of Achilles are dazzled by Athena's appearance in the same way as they are by the armor (magical bedazzlement of some kind?).

On the other hand, the shining eyes may also be connected to the anger of Achilles in the above passage- a "fit of anger" is found to be conducive to the expression which begins "ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε" -"and the eyes in him" shone/were like fire. This occurs in two other places of note. In book one Achilles' anger (χόλος [1,192], θυμός [192], μένος [207], κεχολῶμενον [217]) overmasters him and he begins to draw his sword. Achilles is at the height of his temper when Athena sees him with his ("δέ οἱ ὄσσε") glittering eyes; as is Agamemnon when his heart overfills with anger (μέμος [1,103]) and his eyes, too, are like shining fires- "ὄσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι εἰκτῆν". Anger naturally is quite closely associated with the look in one's eyes, so it seems most likely correct that the eyes of (1,200) are those of Achilles.

It is, on the third hand, commonly suggested that mortals notice some striking feature (like the aforementioned eyes, Aphrodite's neck and eyes [3,396-97] or Poseidon's ἰχνια [13,71]) which give away the identity of a god who is present (cf. Warren Smith, "The Disguises of the Gods in the Iliad", *Numen* 35 (1988), 164) but these other examples are found where the gods appear in disguise, and it may be misguided to see them as entirely parallel to Athena's appearance here, as she is not in disguise.

One further point that might serve to reinforce the suggestion that these are Achilles' eyes (1,200) is derived from the general thrust of this report, and it has to do with the idea that Achilles has no trouble with seeing or identifying particular gods. He would probably recognise Athena even if she were wearing sunglasses, thus

(continued...)

eyes gleamed.

This is no vague apparition or voice in the ear- Athena grabs him by the hair and he wheels about in astonishment. She is apparently visible only to Achilles, and it is far from clear how this circumstance is to be understood. It is, furthermore, unclear whether Athena's appearance to Achilles alone is dependent on Athena's own power (οἷψ φαινομένη)³¹ or rather is due to Achilles' heightened sensitivity as compared with the perceptual dullness of the others who are present. The ability to recognise her as Athena, however, seems significant. He not only recognises her (calling her "αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος" (202) and "θεά" (216)), but carries on a dialogue (201-218) which alternates Achilles-Athena-Achilles. The message to Achilles is: "Please do not kill Agamemnon; you shall receive three times the recompense in the future". Achilles

³⁰(...continued)

rendering it unnecessary for critics to be forced to understand the shining eyes as the betrayers of Athena's identity.

³¹ Two other passages share this effect:

1. Thetis comes to Achilles' side in Book 24 (24,122f) and no one is said to notice her presence except for Achilles, even though his friends are all around:

...φίλοι δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι
ἔσσυμένως ἐπένοντο καὶ ἐντύνοντ' ἄριστον

His dear companions were around him busily employed and preparing breakfast.

2. Iris delivers a message to Priam (24,161f) while he is surrounded by people and he seems to be the only one to know that she is there:

παῖδες μὲν πατέρ' ἄμφι καθήμενοι ἔνδοθεν αὐλῆς
δάκρυσιν εἶματ' ἔφυρον...

The sons sat around their father in the courtyard and wet their clothes with their tears...

deportment throughout this encounter is flawlessly confident.

Thetis-Achilles

55.

ὣς φάτο δάκρυ χέων, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε πότνια μήτηρ
 ἡμένη ἐν βένθεσσιν ἄλως παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι·
 καρπαλίμως δ' ἀνέδυστο πολίῃς ἄλως ἡύτ' ὀμίχλη,
 καὶ ῥα πάροισθ' αὐτοιο καθέζετο δάκρυ χέοντος,
 χειρὶ τέ μιν κατέρεξεν, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε· (1,357f).
*Thus he spoke while he shed his tears, and his revered mother
 heard him from where she sat in the depths of the sea in the
 home of her elderly father. (Thetis) swiftly emerged from the
 gray sea like a mist and sat down before her weeping son. She
 stroked him with her hand, spoke his name and said...*

Thetis asks Achilles why he is weeping, hears his tale of woe, and then promises to appeal to Zeus for help. The dialogue (361-427) alternates Thetis-Achilles-Thetis. The intimacy of Achilles' contact with gods is revealed by the physical touching and the lengthy dialogues he shares with them. Having a goddess for a mother is a truly outstanding advantage for the Homeric hero.

Thetis-Achilles

56.

τῷ δὲ βαρὺ στενάχοντι παρίστατο πότνια μήτηρ,
 ὄξυ δὲ κωκύσασα κάρη λάβε παιδὸς ἐοῖο,

καί ῥ' ὀλοφυρομένη ἔπεα πτερδόντα προσηύδα' (18,70f).

(Achilles') queenly mother stood by his side as he groaned loudly, and she clutched her son's head while she keenly wailed, speaking the winged words through her lamentation.

Once again Thetis appears at Achilles' side to ask him why he cries, pointing out to him that his prayer has been answered by Zeus (i.e. the Achaeans are being mauled by the Trojans), although she seems unaware that Patroclus has been killed. Achilles relates Patroclus' fate and his own determination to take revenge upon Hector, whereupon she reminds Achilles that he is fated to die soon after Hector. Achilles says that he will kill Hector anyway and accept his fate. Thetis orders him to keep away from the fighting until the next morning, when she would return with armor from Hephaestus. This is another lengthy dialogue (70-137), alternating Thetis-Achilles-Thetis-Achilles-Thetis. No other character in the poem is to be found consorting with the gods in a comparable fashion, nor to have a degree of influence with the gods comparable to Achilles, as he is also able to gain help from the gods through 1. his kinship to his mother, and 2. her entitlement to assistance from Zeus and Hephaestus owing to significant personal service in the past.

Iris-Achilles

57.

καί νύ κεν εἴρυσσέν τε καὶ ἄσπετον ἦρατο κῦδος,

εἰ μὴ Πηλεΐωνι ποδὴνεμος ὠκέα Ἴρις
 ἄγγελος ἦλθε θεοῦσ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου θωρήσσεσθαι,
 κρύβδα Διὸς ἄλλων τε θεῶν' πρὸ γὰρ ἦκε μιν Ἥρη.
 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰσταμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα' (18,165f).

(Hector) would have now dragged away (Patroclus' body) and gained unspeakable glory if Iris with feet as swift as wind had not hastily come from Olympus to the son of Peleus with a message to arm himself for battle. She did this without the knowledge of Zeus and the other gods because Hera had sent her forth. She stood near and spoke winged words.

The dialogue with Iris (170-201) alternates Iris-Achilles-Iris-Achilles-Iris. Iris does not identify herself to Achilles. There is no clue given in the text which would suggest how Achilles might know that it was Iris- she merely tells him to arm himself and go to rescue Patroclus' body from its imminent capture by the Trojans. Achilles then replies:

58.

"Ἴρι θεά, τίς τ' ἄρ' σε θεῶν ἐμοὶ ἄγγελον ἦκε;" (18,182).

Goddess Iris, which of the gods sent you to me as a messenger?

Achilles again not only instantly perceives that a goddess is present, but in fact knows precisely which one she is. He seems a little annoyed that the gods ask him to arm himself and defend Patroclus' body when they know he has no armor, and Achilles has the presence of mind to argue with her about this. It seems rather

peculiar in any event that Hera should urge Achilles to enter the battle only a brief time after Thetis told him to wait until the next morning when she would bring the new armor. Achilles' unruffled reaction should be contrasted to that of Priam, who is terrified by the voice of Iris (24,170f). Iris suggests to Achilles that merely showing himself to the Trojans will put them to flight.

Thetis-Achilles

59.

ἡ δ' ἔς νῆας ἵκανε θεοῦ πάρα δῶρα φέρουσα.
 εὔρε δὲ Πατρόκλῳ περικείμενον ὄν φίλον υἱόν,
 κλαίοντα λιγέως· πολέες δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι
 μύρονθ'· ἡ δ' ἐν τοῖσι παρίστατο δῖα θεάων,
 ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·

.....
 ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασα θεὰ κατὰ τεύχεα ἔθηκε
 πρόσθεν Ἀχιλλῆος· τὰ δ' ἀνέβραχε δαίδαλα πάντα.
 Μυρμιδόνας δ' ἄρα πάντας ἔλε τρόμος, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη
 ἄντην εἰσιδέειν, ἀλλ' ἔτρεσαν. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
 ὡς εἶδ', ὡς μιν μᾶλλον ἔδν χόλος, ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε
 δεινὸν ὑπὸ βλεφάρων ὡς εἰ σέλας ἐξεφάνθεν·
 τέρπετο δ' ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχων θεοῦ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα. (19,3f).

(Thetis) came to the ships bearing the gifts from the god. She found her son stretched out beside the body of Patroclus, wailing loudly, and many of his companions lamented around him. The goddess stood amongst them, and she took Achilles'

hand and spoke to him by name.

.....

Having said this, the goddess placed the armor in front of Achilles, and all the finely crafted armor sent up a clatter. A trembling seized all the Myrmidons, and no one dared to look directly at it, but they fled from fear. When Achilles saw it, however, his wrath possessed him even more, and beneath his brows his eyes gleamed terribly as though they were fire. Achilles took pleasure in holding the wonderful gifts in his hands.

One may observe in this passage the contrast between the reactions of the ordinary soldiers and Achilles himself when Thetis drops Achilles' new armor upon the ground. Thetis appears in the midst of Achilles' men and no reaction of the men is registered, but a look (not even a look!) at the armor sends them trembling in panicked flight, while Achilles takes pleasure in holding it. The dialogue (19,8-36) alternates Thetis-Achilles-Thetis, and she assures Achilles that she will prevent Patroclus' body from decomposing, and suggests that he apologise to Agamemnon and then arm for battle. It would be awkward to describe this visitation as a "metaphor for mental activity" at any rate, unless one were to suppose that Achilles somehow "conjured up" the armor from his own mind. The matter of the care of the body by gods seems to be something reserved for very special people (i.e. Patroclus [19,38f], Sarpedon [16,666f], Hector [23,185f]).

Athena-Achilles

60.

...ρέπε δ' Ἐκτορος αἴσιμον ἡμαρ,
 ᾤχετο δ' εἰς Ἀΐδαο, λίπεν δέ ε' φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.
 Πηλεΐωνα δ' ἵκανε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,
 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰσταμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα' (22,212-15).

[When Zeus held up the scales] the fated day of Hector sank, and departed for Hades. Phoebus Apollo left him. The goddess "glaucopis" Athena came to the son of Peleus, stood near and spoke winged words.

In this short encounter (22,215-23), it is Athena who does all the talking. She urges Achilles to stop and get his breath, while she persuades Hector to come and fight with him. If one were going to imagine Athena's intervention at 1,193f as Achilles' mental process expressed as a poetic metaphor (i.e. the poet means that "Achilles changed his mind about drawing his sword" by saying that "Athena discouraged him from drawing his sword") as many commentators do, one would be forced to interpret the above quotation in the same way (i.e. Achilles decides to stop pursuing Hector and lean on his spear in the expectation that Hector would come back and start fighting with him). Such an understanding of divine intervention is clearly not very satisfactory in this instance, since Hector could simply walk away. It would deny the plainly visible part which the gods play as something exterior to

the characters, and see them rather as externalised projections of the characters' own personalities, something from inside of the characters. It seems more natural simply to consider the gods to be part of the cast of characters, rather than some sort of paranormal manifestation of psychological activity. This would eliminate the need to explain how the "psychological activity" (represented by Athena) of Achilles made its way over to Hector and started to interact with him.

Thetis-Achilles

61.

Ἦς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε θεὰ θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα,
 βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρῆνων αἶξασα,
 ἴξεν δ' ἐς κλισίην οὐ υἱέος. ἔνθ' ἄρα τὸν γε
 εὖρ' ἀδινὰ στενάχοντα φίλοι δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι
 ἔσσυμένως ἐπένοντο καὶ ἐντύνοντ' ἄριστον·
 τοῖσι δ' ὄϊς λάσιος μέγας ἐν κλισίῃ ἰέρευτο.
 ἦ δὲ μάλ' ἄγχ' αὐτοῖο καθέζετο πότνια μήτηρ,
 χειρὶ τέ μιν κατέρεξεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·

(24,120-27).

Thus he spoke, and Thetis, the goddess of the silver feet, did not disobey, and springing from the heights of Olympus went down and came to the hut of her son. Around him his companions were busily preparing breakfast. A large woolly sheep had been slaughtered in the hut by them. His queenly mother Thetis sat down very close to him, and took his hand and spoke to him by

name.

Once again Thetis appears in the midst of Achilles' men, and there is no reaction from them. She delivers the message that Zeus is angry and wants him to ransom the body of Hector back to Priam. Achilles answers her that he will do so, and they continue talking (24,131), while the narrative proceeds elsewhere. Achilles' interaction with the gods who appear to him without disguise seems to be on a different level from that of the other characters. His encounters often include lengthy (in comparison with those of other characters) verbal exchanges with the gods, and furthermore he recognises Athena (calling her "αἰγιόχοιο Δίος τέκος" [1,202]) and Iris (calling her Ἴρι θεά [18,186]), showing no fear but maintaining a powerful presence of mind.

Apollo-Achilles

62.

αὐτὰρ Πηλείωνα προσήυδα Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
 "τίπτε με, Πηλέος υἱέ, ποσὶν ταχέεσσι διώκεις,
 αὐτὸς θνητὸς ἔων θεὸν ἄμβροτον; οὐδέ νύ πώ με
 ἔγνωσ ὡς θεός εἰμι, σὺ δ' ἄσπερχές μενεαίνεις.
 ἦ νύ τοι οὐ τι μέλει Τρώων πόνος οὐς ἐφόβησας·
 οἱ δὴ τοι ἐς ἄστυ ἄλεν, σὺ δὲ δεῦρο λιάσθης.
 οὐ μὲν με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὐ τοι μόρσιμός εἰμι."
 Τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·
 "ἔβλαψάς μ', ἐκάεργε, θεῶν ὀλοώτατε πάντων,

ἐνθάδε νῦν τρέψας ἀπὸ τείχεος ἢ κ' ἔτι πολλοὶ
 γαῖαν ὁδᾶξ εἶλον πρὶν Ἴλιον εἰσαφικέσθαι.
 νῦν δ' ἐμὲ μὲν μέγα κῦδος ἀφείλεο, τοὺς δὲ σάωσας
 ῥηϊδίως, ἐπεὶ οὐ τι τίσιν γ' ἔδεισας ὀπίσω.
 ἦ σ' ἂν τεισαίμην, εἴ μοι δύναμις γε παρείη."

Ἦς εἰπὼν προτὶ ἄστν μέγα φρονέων ἐβεβήκει... (22,7f)

Phoebus Apollo then addressed the son of Peleus, "Son of Peleus, why, though you are a mortal and I a deathless god, do you pursue me with your swift feet? You still do not know me to be a god, and you rage unceasingly. Do you have no thought about the difficulty of the Trojans you routed? They are penned up in the city, but you are wandering here. You shall never kill me, for I am not subject to fate".

Fleet-footed Achilles addressed him with great anger: "You deceived me far-shooter, most destructive of all the gods, and have now turned me away from the wall to this place. Many more would have otherwise tasted the earth before reaching Troy. But now you have deprived me of great glory, and have unscrupulously saved these men, since you had absolutely no fear of future punishment. I would certainly exact vengeance from you if I had the power.

Having said this, Achilles, with a proud spirit, promptly dashed for the city...

It is not clear whether Achilles' confrontation with Apollo (22,6f) belongs in this chapter or should be discussed along with

1

the "disguise events", as Apollo was, moments before, disguised as Agenor (19,600f). It seems to be more in the gist of the passage, though, that the disguise has been dropped and Apollo begins to speak in his own "divine character". Either way, it is remarkable that Achilles instantly recognises Apollo (calling him "ἐκ&εργε" [22,15]), showing no fear at all but rather regret that he cannot punish Apollo for robbing him of some "glory".

ii Diomedes

Diomedes appears to occupy second place to Achilles in his management of contact with the gods who appear to him without any disguise.³² Whereas Achilles has been found to have many

³² At issue, besides the tremendous fighting ability of Diomedes, is his attitude in regard: 1. to the gods, 2. to the commander-in-chief (Agamemnon), and 3. to his determination to fight even against hopeless odds:

1. "νῶϊ δ' ἐγὼ Σθένης τε, μαχησόμεθ' εἰς ὃ κε τέκμων
Ἰλίου εὐρωμεν· σὺν γὰρ θεῶ ἐιλήλουθμεν." (9,48-49)
(Diomedes says, "Let all the other Greeks sail home) but Sthenelus and I shall fight until we capture the prize of Troy, for we have come with god".

2. ὣς φάτο, τὸν δ' οὐ τι προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης,
αἰδεσθεῖς βασιλῆος ἐνιπὴν αἰδοίοιο· (4,401-02)
(Agamemnon accuses Diomedes of avoiding battle and being worse than his father)- Thus he spoke, and mighty Diomedes made no answer at all, on account of respect for the reprimand of the dreaded king.

3. Diomedes even scolds his chariot driver, Sthenelus, for speaking up against Agamemnon in the previous quotation, as mentioned by R.M.Frazer "The Crisis of Leadership Among the Greeks and Poseidon's Intervention in Iliad 14," *Hermes* 113 (1985), 5-6:

"In Δ404-410 Sthenelus, Diomedes' charioteer, answers Agamemnon by saying that he and Diomedes are better than their fathers, for they >>trusting in the omens of the gods and the help of Zeus<< (408) had taken Thebes, whereas their fathers
(continued...)

conversations with gods who appear to him, Diomedes, in the following examples, is shown only once to reply to a god who speaks to him. He displays, however, no fear when experiencing an encounter with a god, actually attacking and wounding both Aphrodite and Ares with his spear. His "ability" to see the gods appears to have been bestowed upon him by Athena, who comes to his side in response to his prayer after he was wounded by Pandarus' arrow.

³²(...continued)

had perished at Thebes because of their >>foolishness<< (ἀτασθαλίησιν, Δ409), that is, their belief that they could destroy Thebes even against the will of the gods. I suggest that Diomedes in book 14 is drawing a parallel between the Trojan and Theban wars: now they at Troy, like the Seven against Thebes, are being opposed by the gods. Let us go, he is telling the other wounded leaders, and exhort the troops to battle to the death, just as the Seven, one of whom was my father, battled to the death at Thebes. But let us, unlike the Seven, do this without any foolish hope of victory. This is the same spirit we have seen him show in book 11 before his wounding, a determination to continue to fight on in spite of his belief that Zeus is giving victory to the other side."

Taplin 135-36, also comments on the outstanding nature of Diomedes' character:

Diomedes is carefully chosen for battle with the gods in book 5. Despite Dione's warning, we know of no unhappy future for him; he fights the gods and lives to tell the tale....He has a straightforward drive to do what is γενναῖον (noble! (5,253), and he straightforwardly succeeds. Note, for example, how he does not join in the general flight at 8,78ff.-contrast Odysseus (8,92-8)!

Diomedes is Achilles without the complications, and his stature in the *Iliad* is to a large extent made possible by the vacuum left by Achilles. They are both young and valiant; both fight Aeneas until he is rescued; they are both given special help and encouragement by Athene; and they are both caught up in the *theomachiai*....

So it is fitting that Diomedes should have a straightforward relationship with the gods, far "cleaner" than that of Achilles or Hektor or Agamemnon.

Athena-Diomedes

63.

Ὦς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,
 γυῖα δ' ἔθηκεν ἑλαφρά, πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὑπερθεν'
 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰσταμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα' (5,121f).

Thus spoke (Diomedes) in prayer. Pallas Athena heard him, and made his limbs nimble, his feet and hands above them. And she stood near to him and spoke winged words...

Athena comes near and tells him that she has given him his father's strength, and she says,

64.

ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλον, ἧ πρὶν ἐπῆεν,
 ὄφρ' εὖ γιγνώσκης ἡμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα. (5,127-8).

I have, moreover, removed from your eyes the mist which was formerly upon them, in order that you may clearly identify god and man.

The *LSJ* lexicon³³ suggests that "ἀχλύς" is sometimes applied to the eyes of humans by gods in order to deprive them of the power of seeing and knowing others. It is possible that the "ἀχλύς", which Athena has removed from Diomedes' eyes, is a "naturally occurring condition" which exists in the eyes of humans, an

³³ Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, revised by Sir Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p297.

undetectable influence upon "normal" sight that makes it impossible to see gods. It is also possible that this "ἀχλύς" in Diomedes' eyes has come about because of his wound, the visual mist of pain or injury which is common throughout the poem. The text seems to indicate, however, that Athena has removed the "ἀχλύς" from his eyes not so that he can merely see clearly again, but in order to allow him to well recognise "ἡμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα", enabling him to avoid fighting against any god (except Aphrodite).

Diomedes gives absolutely no indication that he has heard Athena speaking or had known she was present, but it is clear from their next meeting that he heard everything:

65.

... ἔτι σέων μέμνημαι ἔφειμέων, ἃς ἐπέτειλας· (5,818).

I still remember your commands which you gave [me].

During this encounter, Athena approaches Diomedes and harangues him for hiding from the fighting, unjustifiably, it would seem.

Athena-Diomedes

66.

Τυδεΐδῃ δ' ἐπόρουσε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·
 εὔρε δὲ τὸν γε ἄνακτα παρ' ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν
 ἔλκος ἀναψύχοντα, τό μιν βάλε Πάνδαρος ἰψ̄.
 ἰδρῶς γὰρ μιν ἔτειρεν ὑπὸ πλατέος τελαμῶνος
 ἀσπίδος εὐκύκλου· τῷ τείρετο, κάμνε δὲ χεῖρα,

ἄν δ' ἰσχων τελαμῶνα κελαινεφές αἶμ' ἀπομόργνυ.
 ἰππείου δὲ θεᾶ ζυγοῦ ἤψατο φώνησέν τε· (5,793f).

The goddess "γλαυκῶπις" Athena sprang to the side of the son of Tydeus. She found the "ἄναξ" beside his horses and chariot attending to his wound which Pandarus had inflicted upon him with an arrow. The sweat was distressing him under the broad strap of the fine circular shield. He was distressed by this and his hand had become tired, so he was lifting up the strap and wiping away the dark blood. The goddess held the yoke of his chariot and said...

Diomedes responds to the searing rebuke by Athena ("you are weak or afraid; no son of your father" [5,812]) with completely unruffled placidness as he points out to her that his withdrawal from the battle is merely compliance with orders which she herself had given him, i.e. to avoid fighting with gods (5,814-24). Diomedes appears to have the same fearlessness and presence of mind as Achilles when meeting with gods who are not disguised, although this is the only occasion upon which he speaks in return to a god. He begins his reply with:

67.

"γιγνώσκω σε, θεᾶ, θύγατερ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο"... (5,815).
 I know you, goddess, daughter of aegis holding Zeus...

It is, unfortunately, unclear whether Diomedes recognises her because of the removal of the "ἄχλύς" from his eyes or because of

the details from the harangue she had just visited upon him. He does indeed, however, manage to see gods in the battle, just as Athena had intended. He sees Aphrodite:

68.

.....ὁ δὲ Κύπριν ἐπώχετο νηλέϊ χαλκῶ,

γιγνώσκων ὃ τ' ἀναλκις ἔην θεός..... (5,330-31).

He attacked Aphrodite with the pitiless bronze, realizing that she was a weak goddess...

He sees Apollo while attacking Aeneas:

69.

...Αἰνεΐα δ' ἐπόρουσε βοῆν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης,

γιγνώσκων ὃ οἱ αὐτὸς ὑπείρεχε χεῖρας Ἀπόλλων' (5,432-3).

Diomedes of the excellent war cry attacked Aeneas, perceiving that Apollo himself was holding his hands over him [Aeneas].

He sees Ares, in disguise as Acamas, at Hector's side in battle:

70.

καὶ νῦν οἱ πάρα κείνος Ἄρης, βροτῶ ἀνδρὶ ἑοικώς. (5,604).

[Diomedes says] "And now Ares himself stands beside him, resembling a mortal man".

Diomedes is here pointing out to his men, who apparently cannot see the god, that Ares is standing next to Hector and helping him. It appears as though Diomedes, like Achilles, has no trouble in seeing gods and interacting with them, conversing with

Athena and actually attacking Aphrodite, Apollo and Ares, although Diomedes may have had this ability to see gods bestowed upon him by Athena, while Achilles did not. Diomedes does not appear to be excessively overawed by Athena. Nor by Apollo, as is shown in the following quotation:

Apollo-Diomedes

71.

Αἰνεΐα δ' ἐπόρουσε βοῆν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης,
 γιγνώσκων ὃ οἱ αὐτὸς ὑπείρεχε χεῖρας Ἄπολλων
 ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἄρ' οὐδὲ θεὸν μέγαν ἄζετο, ἴετο δ' αἰεὶ
 Αἰνεΐαν κτεῖναι καὶ ἀπὸ κλυτὰ τεύχεα δῦσαι.
 τρὶς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρουσε κατακτάμεναι μενεαίνων,
 τρὶς δέ οἱ ἐστυφέλιξε φαιινὴν ἀσπίδ' Ἄπολλων.
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος,
 δεινὰ δ' ὁμοκλήσας προσέφη ἐκάεργος Ἄπολλων
 "φράζεο, Τυδεΐδη, καὶ χάζεο, μηδὲ θεοῖσιν
 ἴσ' ἔθελε φρονέειν, ἐπεὶ οὐ ποτε φύλον ὁμοῖον
 ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων τ' ἀνθρώπων."
 Ἦς φάτο, Τυδεΐδης δ' ἀνεχάζετο τυτθὸν ὀπίσσω,
 μῆνιν ἀλευάμενος ἐκατηβόλου Ἄπολλωνος. (5,432f).

Diomedes of the great war cry attacked Aeneas, knowing that Apollo himself was holding his hands over him. Diomedes, however, did not stand in awe of the great god, but continuously attempted to kill Aeneas and strip off his glorious armor. Three times he attacked in a rage to kill him,

but three times Apollo pushed back his shining shield. But when for the fourth time he attacked like a "δαίμων", far shooting Apollo unleashed a terrible cry and said, "Beware, son of Tydeus, and withdraw, and do not wish to think like a god, since the race of the immortal gods and that of men who come and go on earth are not the same."

Thus he spoke, and the son of Tydeus retreated backwards a little, avoiding the wrath of far-shooting Apollo.

It may be useful to juxtapose the above quotation with the following one of Patroclus' encounter with Apollo, and then make some observations regarding their comparison.

Apollo-Patroclus

72.

τρὶς μὲν ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος βῆ τείχεος ὑψηλοῖο
 Πάτροκλος, τρὶς δ' αὐτὸν ἀπεστυφέλιξεν Ἀπόλλων,
 χεῖρεσσ' ἀθανάτησι φαεινὴν ἀσπίδα νύσσω.
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος,
 δεινὰ δ' ὁμοκλήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
 "χάζεο, διογενὲς Πατρόκλεες· οὐ νύ τοι αἴσα
 σῶ ὑπὸ δουρὶ πόλιν πέρθαι Τρώων ἀγερώχων,
 οὐδ' ὑπ' Ἀχιλλῆος, ὃς περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων."

Ἦς φάτο, Πάτροκλος δ' ἀνεχάζετο πολλὸν ὀπίσσω,
 μῆνιν ἀλευάμενος ἑκατηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος. (16,702f).

Three times Patroclus charged upon the corner of the high

wall, and three times Apollo forcefully pushed him back, thrusting against the gleaming shield with his immortal hands. But when for the fourth time he attacked like a "δαίμων", (Apollo) unleashed a terrible cry and said, "Withdraw, divine Patroclus. It is not fated that the city of the lordly Trojans now be sacked by your spear, nor by that of Achilles, who is a far better man than you are.

Thus he spoke, and Patroclus retreated a great distance, avoiding the wrath of far-shooting Apollo.

If a comparison is made between the two passages starting with "τρὶς μὲν" (viz 5,436-44 and 16,702-11), it is plainly obvious that there are many similarities of diction and structure which are shared by them. For example:

(5,436-44)

(16,702-11)

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. τρὶς μὲν....τρὶς δέ | 1. τρὶς μὲν....τρὶς δ(έ) |
| 2. ἐστυφέλιξε....Ἄπόλλων | 2. ἀπεστυφέλιξεν Ἄπόλλων |
| 3. φαεινὴν ἀσπίδ(α) | 3. φαεινὴν ἀσπίδα |
| 4. Common to both: ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος | |
| 5. δεινὰ δ' ὁμοκλήσας | 5. δεινὰ δ' ὁμοκλήσας |

6. 3 verse urge to withdraw (40-42). 6. 3 verse urge to withdraw (7-9).
7. (5,443): ἄνεξάξετο τυτθόν ὀπίσσω
7. (16,710): ἄνεξάξετο πολλόν ὀπίσσω
8. Common to both: μῆνιν ἀλευάμενος ἐκαψήβολου Ἀπόλλωνος.
9. No verbal response. 9. No verbal response.

As regards the differences:

1. It may be observed that Diomedes is said (5,433) to know that Apollo was there (and does not revere the god), while Patroclus is not said to know it.
2. Diomedes falls back "τυτθόν", but Patroclus "πολλόν".
3. As close as these passages seem to come to each other in their word choice and compositional technique, it is important to acknowledge the fact that there is very little in the two passages which is in fact identical to both. Apart from the verses common to both (#4 and #8 above)- viz. "When for the fourth time they attacked like daemones, (they withdrew) avoiding the wrath of far-shooting Apollo"- there is some little twist of arrangement which

results in creating variation and formularity in the same place. This is a very charming literary technique.

Perhaps the foregoing comparison could serve merely to help one observe the type of reaction demonstrated by two characters of unequal heroic status- a simple gauge of Diomedes' advantage is the fact that Diomedes is supported by Athena, but Patroclus by no one- in response to a confrontation with Apollo. Diomedes knows that Apollo is there, and he does not fall back as far as Patroclus, both of which are indications of Diomedes' superior heroic status. Their reactions, on the other hand, are to be contrasted against Achilles' reaction to his hostile encounter with Apollo (22,1-24). Achilles not only identifies Apollo, calling him "ἐκάεργε", but rates a six verse urge to withdraw, and then answers back to Apollo with six verses of his own. A character's perception of and boldness towards a god once again seems to be proportional to the heroic status of the character.

The final example of Diomedes' encounters with a god is indicative of the manner in which his response is elsewhere manifested- he simply receives the message, presumably understands that it comes from a god, and acts in compliance with the message.

Athena-Diomedes

73.

Αὐτὰρ ὁ μερμήριζε μένων ὃ τι κύντατον ἔρδοι,
ἦ ὃ γε δίφρον ἐλών, ὄθι ποικίλα τεύχε' ἐκέιτο,
ῥυμοῦ ἐξερύοι ἦ ἐκφέροι ὑψόσ' αἰείρας,

ἦ ἔτι τῶν πλεόνων Θρηκῶν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἔλοιτο.

ἦος ὃ ταῦθ' ὤρμαινε κατὰ φρένα, τόφρα δ' Ἀθήνη
ἐγγύθεν ἰσταμένη προσέφη Διομήδεα δῖον·

.....

Ἦς φάθ', ὃ δὲ ξυνέηκε θεᾶς ὅπα φωνησάσης,
καρπαλίμως δ' ἵππων ἐπεβήσετο'... (10,503-13).

(Diomedes) waited there and attempted to decide as to what would be the most outrageous thing he might do- whether to seize the chariot in which lay the cunningly wrought armor, dragging it away by the pole or lifting it over his head and carrying it away, or perhaps kill even more of the Thracians. While he was turning these things over in his mind, Athena came near and spoke to godlike Diomedes.

.....

Thus she spoke, and he understood the voice of the goddess after she spoke, and he swiftly mounted his chariot.

Athena advises Diomedes to flee lest some one of the gods alert the Trojans (which Apollo actually does [10,518]). Diomedes immediately heads for the ships. This type of response to a divine visitation is similar to that of Odysseus, who hears and complies with the message but gives no response to the god or other reaction to the experience.

iii Odysseus, Hector, Priam

Athena-Odysseus

74.

Ἦς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,
 βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων αἶξασα·
 καρπαλίμως δ' ἵκανε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.
 εὔρεν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα, Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντον,
 ἔσταότ'· οὐδ' ὃ γε νηὸς εὐσσέλμοιο μελαίνης
 ἄπτειτ', ἐπεὶ μιν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἵκανεν·
 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἵσταμένη προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·

.....

Ἦς φάθ', ὃ δὲ ξυνέηκε θεᾶς ὅπα φωνησάσης,
 βῆ δὲ θέειν, ἀπὸ δὲ χλαῖναν βάλε· ... (2,166f).

Thus (Hera) spoke, and the goddess "glaucopis" Athena, springing from the heights of Olympus came down and swiftly arrived at the swift ships of the Achaeans. She found Odysseus-with-a-mind-like-Zeus standing there. He had not touched his black, well-built ship since grief had come to his heart and mind. "Glaucopis" Athena stood near to him and said...

.....

Thus (Athena) spoke, and (Odysseus) understood the voice of the goddess when she spoke, and he immediately ran, casting away his cloak...

Again the enigmatic "ὃ δὲ ξυνέηκε θεᾶς ὅπα φωνησάσης", which leaves one unsure whether he actually knew that a goddess had

spoken to him. The entire circumstance of Athena's appearance to Odysseus is rather strange, as she advises him not to let the men launch the ships, the very thing which Agamemnon had urged the chieftains to do during the council meeting moments before (2,75).

Hector

Hector, too, exhibits a response similar to that of Diomedes and Patroclus above, in failing to acknowledge or reply to the god but acting in accordance with the details of the message. Zeus had sent the goddess Iris to instruct Hector not to fight, while Agamemnon was amongst the foremost fighters (75), but to exhort his own men to fight, waiting until Agamemnon should withdraw because of a wound before himself entering the battle.

Iris-Hector

75.

Ἦς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε ποδῆνεμος ὠκέα Ἴρις,
βῆ δὲ κατ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ἐς Ἴλιον ἱρήν.

εὖρ' υἱὸν Πριάμοιο δαΐφρονος, Ἔκτορα δῖον,
ἔσταότ' ἐν θ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασι κολλητοῖσιν·
ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰσταμένη προσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις·

" Ἔκτορ, υἱὲ Πριάμοιο, Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντε,

Ζεὺς με πατὴρ προέηκε τείν τάδε μυθήσασθαι..." (11,195f).

Thus spoke (Zeus), and Iris with feet as swift as the wind did not disobey but went down from the Idaean mountains to holy

Troy. She found godlike Hector, the son of divine-minded Priam, standing in his well-constructed chariot. Iris with the swift feet stood close and said, "Hector, son of Priam, like Zeus in wisdom, my father Zeus has sent me forth to relate the following to you..."

Although Iris tells him that she is Zeus' daughter and has a message for him from Zeus, Hector gives no verbal or emotional response, which should accompany his gratitude or shock at the occurrence. He immediately proceeds, however, to act in accordance with the instructions, ordering his men to attack and keeping himself back until he sees Agamemnon retreat because of a wound. At this point of the battle he says:

76.

οἶχετ' ἀνὴρ ὤριστος, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγ' εὐχος ἔδωκε

Zeὺς Κρονίδης'...

(11,288-89).

The best man is gone, and Zeus the son of Chronos has given great glory to me...

It is plain that Hector understands every detail of the message which Iris delivered, but it may be legitimate to contrast Hector's "non-acknowledgement" of the goddess herself while she is present with Achilles' sharp perception at 18,182f.

When Zeus sends Apollo to help Hector recover from Ajax's rock attack, Apollo comes and asks Hector what is wrong with him. To this question Hector replies:

77.

"τίς δὲ σὺ ἐσσι φέριστε θεῶν, ὃς μ' εἶραι ἀντην;..."(15,247).
 "Oh mightiest one, which of the gods are you, who questions me
 to my face?"

Hector realizes that it is a god that is talking to him but cannot tell which one it is. Some allowance for Hector's confusion should perhaps be made on account of the fact that he had just recovered consciousness, although he recognizes his companions who are standing around him:

78.

εὖρ' υἷὸν Πριάμοιο δαίφρονος, Ἴκτορα δῖον,
 ἤμενον, οὐδ' ἔτι κεῖτο, νέον δ' ἐσαγείρατο θυμόν,
 ἀμφὶ ἔγιγνώσκων ἐτάρους· ἀτὰρ ἄσθμα καὶ ἰδρῶς
 παύετ', ἐπεὶ μιν ἔγειρε Διὸς νόος αἰγιόχοιο. (15,239f)

(Apollo) found noble Hector, the son of wise-hearted Priam,
 no longer laying but sitting up. He was just then recovering
 his strength, and recognising his companions who were around
 him. The shortness of breath and sweating disappeared when the
 will of aegis holding Zeus revived him.

Another example concerning Hector shows Apollo telling him not to rush out to fight against Achilles:

79.

Ἦς ἔφαθ', Ἴκτωρ δ' αὐτίς ἐδύσετο οὐλαμὸν ἀνδρῶν
 ταρβήσας, ὅτ' ἄκουσε θεοῦ ὅπα φωνήσαντος. (20,379-80).

Thus he spoke, and Hector sank back into the throng of men in fear when he heard the voice of the god who spoke.

Hector shrinks back into the crowd "in fear" (*ταρβήσας*), but is he "afraid" because he heard the voice of a god (speaking), or is the "fear" his reaction to the message which he heard from Apollo? Taking into consideration the fact that Hector had just shouted to everyone that he intended to attack Achilles:

80.

*εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικε, μένος δ' αἰθωνι σιδῆρῳ (20,372),
if his hands were like flame, and his might like gleaming
iron.*

it seems unlikely that Hector is alarmed at the message itself i.e. "you might be killed". The "*τάρβος*" is probably a result of hearing the god speaking, in which case the word might better be understood as pertaining to "awe or reverence of the divine", as opposed to "terror at hearing the god", although the precise distinction here is unclear; it is impossible to say whether Hector withdraws in humble wonder or blood-curdled paralysis. Perhaps all that should be said is that Hector does not seem to feel comfortable with hearing the voice of a god, whereas both Achilles and Diomedes give the appearance of being much more at ease in the presence of gods. Hector is not shown to be able to identify a god by name while Achilles identified Athena, Apollo, Iris and, of course, his mother Thetis.

It may be useful at this time to mention also how Priam reacts to the visitation which he receives from Iris. There is a clear reaction by Priam when she begins to speak: (...τὸν δὲ τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα' *trembling seized his limbs* [24,170]). Iris identifies herself to Priam only as a messenger of Zeus: (...Διὸς δέ τοι ἄγγελος εἰμι... *I am a messenger of Zeus for you* [24,173]). After Iris tells Priam that Zeus urges him to go to Achilles' tent to ransom back Hector's body, Priam instantly orders his sons to prepare the wagon for the trip (24,190), and then asks his wife Hecabe for her opinion on his plan. He explains that he is going because:

81.

.....Διόθεν μοι Ὀλύμπιος ἄγγελος ἦλθε
 λύσασθαι φίλον υἷον ἰόντ' ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,
 δῶρα δ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ φερέμεν, τὰ κε θυμὸν ἰήνη. (24,194-96).

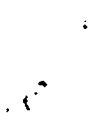
An Olympian messenger has come to me from Zeus [with a message for me] to go to the ships of the Achaeans and ransom back my dear son, and take gifts to Achilles, gifts such as might please his heart.

Hecabe begins her reply in a perfectly understandable manner.

82.

ᾠς φάτο, κῶκυσεν δὲ γυνὴ καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳ
 "ὦ μοι, πῆ δὴ τοι φρένες οἴχονθ'...; (24,201-2).

*Thus he spoke, and the woman shrieked and said in answer,
 "Alas, where have your wits gone...?"*



Completely ignoring the issue in her answer, she naturally assumes that Priam has lost his mind, and takes no account whatsoever of his claim that a goddess has ordered him to go to the Achaean camp. After Hecabe urges Priam to remain in Troy and accept fate, he replies:

83.

.....οὐδέ με πείσεις.

εἰ μὲν γὰρ τίς μ' ἄλλος ἐπιχθονίων ἐκέλευεν,

ἢ οἱ μάντιές εἰσι θυοσκόοι ἢ ἱερῆες,

ψεῦδός κεν φαίμεν καὶ νοσφίζοίμεθα μᾶλλον·

νῦν δ' αὐτὸς γὰρ ἄκουσα θεοῦ καὶ ἐσέδρακον ἄντην,

εἶμι, καὶ οὐχ ἄλιον ἔπος ἔσσεται... (24,219f).

You shall not persuade me. If any other of the men upon the earth were to command me [to do this], either those who are seers who divine from sacrifices or those who are priests, we would say that it was a false message and rather turn away from it. But since I myself just now heard the goddess and looked upon her face, I am going, and her message shall not be fruitless.

Priam still fails to identify the goddess as Iris, calling her an "Olympian messenger" (24,194), or simply "a god" (24,223), even though he had looked directly upon her face. There can be no mistake, however, about the effect of the encounter upon Priam, and what he says in this situation has a significance which is applicable to many of the occasions where gods make an appearance

in person without a disguise. Where the psychological resistance to a course of action is at a high level, such as would exist for the king to travel alone into the enemy camp, an appearance by a divine character may be seen as a convenient device for overcoming that resistance. Where no other "ἐπιχθόνιος" could prevail, where neither "μάντις nor θυοσκοός nor ιερεύς" could convince Priam to go to Achilles' hut, a personal visitation by the goddess gains immediate compliance.

The psychological resistance to backing down from a fight, also, is extremely high for Homeric heroes. Thus one finds deities without disguise often advising the heroes to *refrain from fighting* with each other:

1. Athena advises Achilles not to kill Agamemnon (1,194f) cf.54.
2. Apollo tells Diomedes not to attack Aeneas (5,440f) cf.71.
3. Athena suggests that Diomedes return to camp instead of slaying more Thracians (10,509f) cf.73.
4. Iris urges Hector not to fight while Agamemnon is in action (11,199f) cf.75.
5. Apollo orders Patroclus not to attack the wall of Troy (16,707f) cf.72.
6. Poseidon commands Aeneas not to fight with Achilles (20,332f) cf.35.
7. Apollo orders Hector not to fight with Achilles

(20,376f) cf.79.

It is interesting to note that in these seven instances of divine intervention the gods do not simply give a command and withdraw, expecting compliance from the humans to be automatically forthcoming. The gods typically give some explanatory comment which warns of the imminent danger, sometimes revealing "divine knowledge", and utilizing a mood more of persuasion than command. Following are the same seven examples for illustration:

1. "I have come from heaven in order to stop your rage, αἰ κε πίθηαι (if you would obey)... You shall receive three times as many gifts in the future because of this outrage." (1,207-14) cf.54. (Divine knowledge, persuasion).

2. "Presume not to have a mind equal to the gods, since the race of gods and men is not the same." (5,440-42) cf.71. (Explanatory statement).

3. "Think of returning to the ships, Diomedes, lest you go in flight and some other god stirs up the Trojans." (10,509-511) cf.73. (Warning of danger).

4. "Whenever Agamemnon springs upon his chariot wounded by spear or arrow, [Zeus] shall bestow strength for killing upon you until you reach the well-decked ships." (11,206-8) cf.75. (Divine knowledge or promise).

5. "It is not fated that Troy is to be sacked by you or Achilles." (16,707-9) cf.72. (Divine knowledge).

6. "Achilles is a better man than you and dearer to the immortals. Fall back whenever you encounter him lest you die ὑπὲρ μοίραν (contrary to what is fated)." (20,334-36) cf.35. (Divine knowledge and warning).

7. "Do not fight as a champion against Achilles lest he kill you." (20,376-78) cf.79. (Warning of danger).

Example #4 does in fact use the imperative mood in the message from Zeus (*ὑπόεικε μάχης....λαὸν ἄνωχθι* "stay out of the fighting...urge on the army"[11,204]). The essential tone of the message is, however, not one of command but rather that of "quid pro quo". Hector is guaranteed a day long killing-spree which will take them all the way to the ships in exchange for keeping himself out of the battle for a short time.

Regular Soldiers

In most of these "non-disguise" events, the god appears to a single character only. On occasions where a god appears to the Achaeans or Trojans as a group, however, [Apollo- Trojans (4,508), Athena- Achaeans (4,516), Eris- Achaeans (11,10)], there is usually no indication as to whether anyone notices their presence or not. Athena moves amongst the Achaeans and urges them to fight, and the other gods urge the soldiers to fight with loud shouts, but no one is said to realize that the gods are there. There are at least two instances, however, where an army as a whole is shown to

be aware of a god's presence. After Zeus has been tricked into falling asleep on Mount Ida, Poseidon leaps amongst the foremost fighters of the Achaeans, urges them to exchange armor, and leads them into battle himself (14,361-386). It is clear that Poseidon has been heard.

84.

Ἦς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα τοῦ μάλα μὲν κλύον ἠδὲ πίθοντο' (14,378).
Thus he spoke, and they clearly heard and readily obeyed him.

The men comply with the instructions of the god, exchanging armor, and follow Poseidon into the battle, who leads them:

85.

δεινὸν ἄορ τανύηκες ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ παχείῃ,
 εἴκελον ἀστεροπῆ· τῷ δ' οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ μιγῆναι
 ἐν δαί λευγαλέῃ, ἀλλὰ δέος ἰσχάνει ἄνδρας. (14,385f).
*holding in his mighty hand a fearsome long-edged sword
 which resembled lightning, [the sort of thing] with which
 it is not right to join in baneful battle, but [from which]
 fear holds men in check.*

Although the soldiers obey the command of Poseidon and he leads them with such a fearsome sword in his hand, there is no expression of surprise or enthusiasm or any reaction at all which might be expected from the men at such a remarkable an occurrence as a god actually leading them into battle. When Zeus wakes up and Poseidon is forced to leave the army, the Achaean heroes *πόθεσαν*

[long for sc. him] (15,219).

Another instance where a large number of soldiers actually "see" a god is found in book fifteen, when Apollo leads the Trojans into battle:

86.

εἰμένος ὤμοισιν νεφέλην, ἔχε δ' αἰγίδα θούριν... (15,308).

wearing a cloud upon his shoulders, and he carried the mighty aegis...

As in the case of Poseidon and the Achaeans, there is no reaction from the Trojan soldiers, perhaps on account of the cloud Apollo was wearing. But the effect upon the hapless Achaeans is that of chill horror, masterfully described by the poet:

87.

*ὄφρα μὲν αἰγίδα χερσὶν ἔχ' ἀτρέμα φοῖβος Ἄπολλων,
τόφρα μάλ' ἀμφοτέρων βέλε' ἤπτετο, πίπτε δὲ λαός·
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατ' ἐνώπα ἰδὼν Δαναῶν ταχυπῶλων
σεῖσ', ἐπὶ δ' αὐτὸς ἄνσε μάλα μέγα, τοῖσι δὲ θυμὸν
ἐν στήθεσσιν ἔθελε, λάθοντο δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς.* (15,318f).

So long as Phoebos Apollo held the aegis unmoving in his hands, the projectiles of both sides flew thickly, and the men fell. But when he looked into the faces of the Danaans of the fleet steeds and shook it, and himself raised up an exceedingly great shout, he bewitched the spirits in their breasts, and they forgot their furious courage.

Looking into the face of Apollo and hearing his great cry is too much for the Achaeans. A few verses farther on in the poem Apollo is once again found to be taking part in the fighting.

88.

.....προπάροιθε δὲ Φοῖβος Ἄπολλων
 ῥεῖ' ὄχθας καπέτοιο βαθείης ποσσὶν ἐρείπων
 ἐς μέσσον κατέβαλλε...

.....ἔρειπε δὲ τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν
 ῥεῖα μάλ', ὡς ὅτε τις ψάμαθον πάϊς ἄγχι θαλάσσης... (15,355f).
 And in front [of the army] Phoebos Apollo easily smashed the
 banks of the deep trench with his feet and thrust them down
 into the middle [of the trench]...

...and [Apollo] smashed the wall of the Achaeans with great
 ease, as when a boy smashes a sand [wall] beside the sea.

Apollo easily smashes the fortifications of the Achaeans but again there is a curious absence of reaction from both sides. These examples show that the armies seem to be aware of the presence of the gods, but the awareness is nevertheless vague and ill-defined.

These passages provide a serious challenge to the imagination, but long before this point in the poem one must have yielded up any resistance to the idea that the details of these fantastic events are anything more than the whim of a certain poet. When speaking of the Homeric deities, then, one might as well set aside one's normal criteria for logical criticism and accept the fact that the gods are not intended to seem even to pretend to be realistic.

The quotations presented in this chapter seem to indicate that an encounter with a god evokes different responses from different characters. When a god comes close and speaks to a human character without making use of a disguise, the human experiences a degree of difficulty in both perceiving and identifying the god who seems to be proportional to the "heroic status" of the human. At one end of the scale, as it were, stands Achilles, with the highest status, who can not only see gods but also recognise who they are, does not become frightened in their presence, and can speak to them with ease. At the other end of the scale are the regular soldiers who either fail to see gods who are in their immediate presence or else have only a vague sense of the occurrence. Between these two extremes fall the examples of the other characters. It is also to be noted that the characters, apart from Achilles, who experience a visitation by a god who is not in disguise, are almost invariably those who are the major figures of the poem (i.e. Diomedes, Odysseus, Patroclus, Hector and Priam). While these characters do not exhibit a facility of intercourse with the gods as favorable as that of Achilles (showing fear or impaired perception of gods), nevertheless display a more intimate relationship to and unrestricted perception of the gods than the regular soldiers do.

Thus again, in this chapter also, the tentative conclusion is that the intensity of relationship between gods and characters in the *Iliad* is proportional to the heroic status of the human. It also appears to be the case that appearances of gods without

disguise can usually be understood as a device for overcoming high psychological resistance to certain courses of action, and are limited in their occurrence to scenes involving the major characters of the poem.

4 APPEARANCES BY GODS IN DISGUISE

In this final chapter, there will be analysis of passages in the *Iliad* where gods are said to appear in the likeness of a human being or other creature. The first section focuses on the literary constructions of "likening", using twenty seven examples from the text of gods appearing in such disguises. This section is followed by a discussion of the likely reasons for the god's (or poet's) adoption of the particular disguises used. These reasons are generally derived from a need to secure the trust or respect from the person who is approached by a god in disguise. It sometimes happens that the human characters see through the disguise, or a god in disguise may reveal who he/she is to a human. Upon an examination of these occurrences, and also an examination of the reactions of the characters to the "disguise events" in which they are involved, the argument is advanced that, as in the previous chapters, the "hēroic status" of a character has a bearing upon the ability of the character to perceive the divine presence and interact with the deity. Further speculation is proposed here and there in reference to the role of the gods in the poem, and the conclusion in this regard is once again that the divinities should

probably be seen as tangible characters in their own right rather than exterior manifestations of the internal cogitative deliberations of the heroic human characters.

i God Likened to "X"

Sometimes the gods make an appearance in the poem while in the likeness of someone/thing. The following list of quotations covers most such appearances, and, for the purpose of ascertaining the meaning of "resemble", they are pared down to include merely the pertinent construction of "god likened to X".

Dream (Nestor) speaks to Agamemnon (2,16f)

89.

στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς Νηληϊῶ υἱὶ ἑοικώς,
Νέστορι...

*(The dream) stood over his head looking like Nestor,
the son of Neleus...*

Athena (herald) addresses Achaeans (2,279f)

90.

...παρὰ δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
εἰδομένη κήρυκι σιωπᾶν λαὸν ἀνώγει...
...resembling a herald at his side, "glaukopis" Athena
urged the men to be silent...

Iris (Polites) addresses Hector, Trojans (2,790f)

91.

εἶσατο δὲ φθογγὴν υἱὶ Πριάμοιο Πολίτη...

τῷ μιν ἐεισαμένη προσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις·

Her voice resembled that of Polites the son of Priam...

Looking like (Polites), fleet footed Iris addressed him.

Iris (Laodice) speaks to Helen (3,121f)

92.

...εἰδομένη γαλόφ, Ἄντηνορίδαο δάμαρτι...

...resembling her sister-in-law, the wife of the son of Antenor...

Aphrodite (old wool carder from Lacedaimon) speaks to Helen (3,383f)

93.

τῇ μιν ἐεισαμένη προσεφώνεε δι' Ἄφροδίτη·

In her likeness the goddess Aphrodite addressed (Helen).

Athena (Laodocus) speaks to Pandarus (4,86f)

94.

ἦ δ' ἀνδρὶ ἰκέλη Τρώων κατεδύσεθ' ὄμιλον...

She entered the throng of Trojans looking like a man...

Ares (Acamas) addresses Trojan army (5,461f)

95.

...εἰδόμενος Ἀκάμαντι θοῶ ἡγήτορι Θρηκῶν
 ...resembling Acamas, the swift leader of the Thracians.

Hera (Stentor) addresses Argives (5,784f)

96.

...Στέντορι εἰσαμένη μεγαλήτορι χαλκεοφώνῳ...
 ...resembling great-hearted Stentor of the brazen
 voice...

Athena and Apollo (vultures) watch soldiers (7,58f)

97.

...ἔξέσθην ὄρνισιν εἰκότες αἰγυπιοῖσι...
 ...they perched resembling scavenging birds...

Poseidon (Calchas) speaks to the two Ajaxes (13,45f)

98.

...εἰσάμενος Κάλχαντι δέμας καὶ ἀτειρέα φωνήν...
 ...resembling Calchas in appearance and resolute voice.

Poseidon (Calchas?) addresses Argives (13,89f)

99.

(Possibly still as Calchas [viz. 13.45f])

Poseidon (Thoas) speaks to Idomeneus (13,215f)

100.

...εἰσάμενος φθογγὴν Ἀνδραίμονος υἱὸς Θόαντι...

...his voice resembling that of Thoas, the son of Andraimon...

Poseidon (a man) addresses Argives (13,356f)

101.

...λάθρη δ' αἰὲν ἔγχιρε κατὰ στρατόν, ἀνδρὶ ἑοικώς.

...he was continuously giving covert encouragement throughout the army, looking like a man...

Poseidon (old man) speaks to Agamemnon (14,135f)

102.

...ἀλλὰ μετ' αὐτοὺς ἦλθε παλαιῷ φωτὶ ἑοικώς...

...but he went among them looking like an old man...

Sleep (bird) charms Zeus (14,289f)

103.

...ὄρνιθι λιγυρῇ ἐναλίγκιος, ἦν τ' ἐν ὄρεσσι

χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμινδιν.

...resembling a song-bird, which (lives) in the mountains and is called "chalcis" by gods but "cymindis" by men.

Apollo (Asius) speaks to Hector (16,715f)

104.

...ἀνέρι εἰσάμενος αἰζήῳ τε κρατερῷ τε,

Ἄσιῳ...

...resembling a stout and powerful man, (namely) Asius...

Apollo (Mentes) speaks to Hector (17,71f)

105.

...άνέρι εισάμενος, Κικόνων ἡγήτορι Μέντη·

...resembling a man, (namely) Mentes, leader of the Cicones.

Apollo (Periphas) speaks to Aeneas (17,322f)

106.

...ἀλλ' αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων

Αἰνεΐαν ὄτρυνε, δέμας Περίφαντι ἑοικώς,

κήρυκ' Ἠπυτίδῃ...

..but, resembling the herald Periphas (son of Heputius) in appearance, Apollo himself urged Aeneas...

Athena (Phoenix) speaks to Menelaus (17,554f)

107.

...εἰσαμένη φοίνικι δέμας καὶ ἀτειρέα φωνήν·

...resembling Phoenix in appearance and resolute voice.

Apollo (Phaenops) speaks to Hector (17,582f)

108.

...φαίνοπι Ἀσιάδῃ ἐναλίγκιος...

...resembling Phaenops the son of Asius...

Apollo (Lycaon) speaks to Aeneas (20,79f)

109.

υἱέι δὲ Πριάμοιο Λυκάονι εἶσατο φωνήν·

τῷ μιν εἰσάμενος προσέφη Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων·

His voice resembled that of Lycaon, the son of Priam.

Resembling (Lycaon), Apollo the son of Zeus addressed him.

Boreas (horse) breeds with 3000 mares (20,223f)

110.

...ἵππῳ δ' εἰσάμενος παρελέξατο κυανοχαίτη·

...resembling a dark-haired horse he bred (them).

Xanthus river (a man) speaks to Achilles (21,212f)

111.

...ἄνερει εἰσάμενος, βαθέης δ' ἐκφθέγξατο δίνης·

...resembling a man, and he spoke from a deep whirlpool.

Poseidon and Athena (men) speak to Achilles (21,284f)

112.

...στήτην ἐγγὺς ἰόντε, δέμας δ' ἄνδρεσσιν εἰκτιν...

...they went and stood near (to him), and resembled men in their appearance...

Apollo (Agenor) gets Achilles to chase him (21,599f)

113.

αὐτῷ γὰρ ἐκάεργος Ἀγήνορι πάντα εἰοικῶς...

For in every respect looking like Agenor himself,

(Apollo)...

Athena (Deiphobus) speaks to Hector (22,226f)

114.

...Δηϊφόβῳ εἰκνῖα δέμας καὶ ἀτειρέα φωνήν·

...resembling Deiphobus in appearance and resolute voice.

Hermes (young man) speaks to Priam (24,346f)

115.

βῆ δ' ἰέναι κούρῳ αἰσυμνητῆρι ἑοικώς...

He proceeded upon his way resembling a young man with his first beard...

The poet is evidently quite specific in the meaning of the above constructions, i.e. The god/ goddess made itself like/ was like/ looked like/ resembled a human or other creature (see Table 3 in Appendix). It is the contention of this report that the gods named in the examples are to be understood as themselves appearing looking like whomever it is they are said to look like. Others would not agree. Typical is B.C. Dietrich:

"Generally anonymous and unidentified in their intervention, the gods were really an epic way of expressing the hero's own ardour, beside of course offering a convenient poetic tool to advance the plot. The imagery is effective precisely because the Homeric

audience would not have been surprised to hear of a god presenting himself in human, animal or bird form."³⁴

Dietrich is, without doubt, correct to say that the "audience would not have been surprised to hear of a god presenting himself in human, animal or bird form." This is obviously because the audience would have been familiar with the epic tradition, which, since time immemorial, had most probably been presenting gods in human, animal or bird form, and showing them interacting with the heroic characters in just such a way as they do in the *Iliad*.

This report is in disagreement, however, with Dietrich's idea that the gods are generally anonymous and unidentified, and that they are an epic way of expressing the hero's own ardour. If this is the way the gods are to be understood, then it must be concluded that Achilles gave birth to himself in his own mind, since his mother was a goddess. Thetis is too tangible a part of the *Iliad* for her to be seen as some sort of paradimensional expression of Achilles' psychological constitution. Perhaps one is to imagine that Achilles somehow "dreamed up" the magnificent armor he wears in the final aristeia. Perhaps one is to imagine that Diomedes is held back by Aeneas' brain waves (but not Apollo) when he makes four furious attacks upon him (5,433f). Perhaps one should rather hesitate to "explain away" the gods in such a manner and see them instead as beings which are a characteristic part of epic poetry,

³⁴ B. C. Dietrich, *Divine Epiphanies in Homer*, "Numen" 30 (1983), 59.

and which typically interact with the human characters in wonderful and mysterious ways. Neither are they "generally anonymous and unidentified". The twenty seven examples listed above are quite clear in regard to the identity of the god in the passage.

A great deal is said about the repetitive, formulaic nature of the verse in the *Iliad*, and about the ubiquitous variation and creativity which pervasively intertwines with this formulaic nature. The scenes in the *Iliad* which depict the gods in action are also indicative of a great deal of imaginative effort in the variation. It seems as though one of the main objectives of the poet was to avoid predictability in the presentation of the divine characters. Dietrich feels that this unpredictable, unclassifiable nature of the epiphanies is somehow a deterrent to taking them "seriously". It is unfortunate that Dietrich feels that the gods are to be dismissed as allegorical literary ornaments because, in his view, the gods are not presented in a rational, orderly system.

"Almost everyone since Herodotus knows that the Olympian family of gods was primarily an epic creation. They looked, lived and loved like men. How then did Homer and his audience imagine these only too human gods to have physically communicated with their mortal counterparts? Did they appear to them always in the same manner and form? Surprisingly accounts in Homer of actual divine manifestation are far from clear. They lack method of procedure, so to speak. The circumstances of the epiphany not only vary greatly, but they

tend to be confused, contradictory even at times, and quite frequently impossible to visualize. Perhaps the audience took the words of the minstrel on trust, and concerned itself more with the mention of divine appearance than with the manner in which it was achieved. In short, the descriptions of epiphanies are imaginative rather than plausible in the majority of instances. This vagueness was not, in my opinion, confined to Homer but recurred in much of the vast corpus of seemingly direct invocations in subsequent Greek literature. Lyric and dramatic poetry continued Homeric traditions without ever asking itself when and how the gods actually appeared to their human worshippers. Perhaps the caller did not see, or did not even expect to see the god."³⁵

Dietrich seems discomfited because the descriptions of the epiphanies are "imaginative rather than plausible", "confusing", "contradictory", "impossible to visualize". Perhaps asking for *plausibility* in the presentation of the gods is not the best approach in an analysis of the mystery of the Homeric gods. They should be regarded, rather, as a characteristic of traditional epic composition upon which the poet is free to unleash his imaginative faculties, without, however, being expected to make their dramatic presentation seem realistic. The gods of the *Iliad*, then, might be understood to appear while in fact resembling someone, coming close

³⁵ B. C. Dietrich 54.

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enough and with sufficient corporeality to deliver winged words to a human character. The plausibility, though, of some of the scenarios does indeed resist acceptance. Thus, in the following example, the river Xanthus speaks from a deep whirlpool- resembling a man.

Xanthus river (a man) speaks to Achilles (21,212f)

111.

...ἀνέρι εισάμενος, βαθέης δ' ἐκφθέγξατο δίνης·

...resembling a man, and he spoke from a deep whirlpool.

One wonders how a river could resemble a man and speak from a deep whirlpool at the same time. The meaning must be something like "he spoke from the whirlpool with a human voice."

ii Explanatory Comments

There is very often included in the text a brief comment which serves to explain the reason why the god (or poet) has chosen to use the disguise in question. Here again is the list of "disguise events", but the "explanatory comments", which occur in the text, are reproduced with them for illustration:

Dream (Nestor) speaks to Agamemnon (2,16f)

89.

Νέστορι, τόν ρα μάλιστα γερόντων τί' Ἀγαμέμνων·

...Nestor, of the elders [the one] whom Agamemnon held in particularly high regard.

Athena (herald) addresses Achaeans (2,279f)

90.

Iris (Polites) addresses Hector (2,790f)

91.

εἶσατο δὲ φθογγὴν νῆϊ Πριάμοιο Πολίτη,

.....

τῷ μιν ἔεισαμένη προσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις·

...she likened her voice to that of Polites, son of Priam...

.....

...fleet-footed Iris, resembling [Polites], addressed [Hector and the Trojans].

Iris (Laodice) speaks to Helen (3,121f)

92.

εἶδομένη γαλόφ, Ἄντηνορίδαο δάμαρτι,

...resembling the sister in law [of Helen], the wife of the son of Antenor...

Aphrodite (old wool carder from Lacedaimon) speaks to Helen (3,383f)

93.

εἰροκόμφ, ἧ οἱ Λακεδαίμονι ναιεταῶση

ἧσκειν εἶρια καλά, μάλιστα δέ μιν φιλέεσκε·

...a wool-worker, who lived in Lacedaimon to work with the fine wool, and whom [Helen] loved very dearly.

Athena (Laodocus) speaks to Pandarus (4,86f)

94.

Λαοδόκῳ Ἄντηνορίδῃ, κρατερῷ αἰχμητῷ

...Laodocus the son of Antenor, a mighty spearman...

Ares (Acamas) addresses Trojan army (5,461f)

95.

εἰδόμενος Ἀκάμαντι θοῷ ἡγήτορι Θρηκῶν

...resembling Acamas, the swift leader of the Thracians.

Hera (Stentor) addresses Argives (5,784f)

96.

Στέντορι εἰσαμένη μεγαλήτορι χαλκεοφώνῳ,

ὅς τὸσον ἀνδήσασχ' ὅσον ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα

...resembling great-hearted, brazen-voiced Stentor, who could shout as loudly as fifty other men could shout.

Athena and Apollo (vultures) watch soldiers (7,58f)

97.

Poseidon (Calchas) speaks to the two Ajaxes (13,45f)

98.

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Poseidon (Calchas) addresses Argives (13,89f)

99.

Poseidon (Thoas) speaks to Idomeneus (13,215f)

100.

ὃς πάσῃ Πλευρῶνι καὶ αἰπεινῇ Καλυδῶνι

Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἄνασσε, θεὸς δ' ὧς τίετο δῆμῳ'

...who ruled over all of Pleuron and steep Caledon, and was honored by the people as though he were a god.

Poseidon (a man) addresses Argives (13,356f)

101.

Poseidon (old man) speaks to Agamemnon (14,135f)

102.

Sleep (bird) charms Zeus (14,289f)

103.

Apollo (Asius) speaks to Hector (16,715f)

104.

ἄνερν εἰσάμενος αἰζηῷ τε κρατερῷ τε,

Ἄσιφ, ὃς μήτρως ἦν Ἐκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο

αὐτοκασίγνητος Ἐκάβης, υἱὸς δὲ Δύμαντος,

...resembling a man vigorous and strong- Asius, who was an uncle of horse-taming Hector, Hecabe's own brother, and son

of Dymas...

Apollo (Mentes) speaks to Hector (17,71f)

105.

ἀνέρι εισάμενος, Κικόνων ἡγήτορι Μέντη·

...resembling a man, [namely] Mentes, leader of the Cicones.

Apollo (Periphas) speaks to Aeneas (17,322f)

106.

κῆρυκ' Ἐπυτίδην, ὃς οἱ παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι

κηρύσσων γήρασκε, φίλα φρεσὶ μῆδεα εἰδῶς·

...the son of Epytus, the herald [Periphas], who grew old being a herald in the house of his elderly father, and possessed an exceedingly kind disposition.

Athena (Phoenix) speaks to Menelaus (17,554f)

107.

Apollo (Phaenops) speaks to Hector (17,582f)

108.

φαίνοπι Ἀσιάδην ἐναλίγκιος, ὃς οἱ ἀπάντων

ξείνων φίλτατος ἔσκεν, Ἀβυδόθι οἰκία ναίων·

...resembling the son of Asius, Phaenops, who was the most well-loved of all his guest-freinds, and lived in Abydus.

Apollo (Lycaon) speaks to Aeneas (20,79f)

109.

υιέι δὲ Πριάμοιο Λυκάονι εἶσατο φωνήν·

τῷ μιν ἐεισάμενος προσέφη Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων·

He made his voice resemble that of Lycaon, the son of Priam.

The son of Zeus, Apollo, resembling Lycaon, addressed Aeneas.

Boreas (horse) breeds with 3000 mares (20,223f)

110.

Xanthus river (a man) speaks to Achilles (21,212f)

111.

Poseidon and Athena (men) speak to Achilles (21,284f)

112.

Apollo (Agenor) gets Achilles to chase him (21,599f)

113.

Athena (Deiphobus) speaks to Hector (22,226f)

114.

"Δηίφοβ", ἣ μὲν μοι τὸ πάρος πολὺ φίλτατος ἦσθα

γνωτῶν, οὗς Ἐκάβη ἠδὲ Πρίαμος τέκε παῖδας·

[Hector says] "Deiphobus, you were always by far the dearest of my brothers, whom Hecabe and Priam had as their children."

Hermes (young man) speaks to Priam (24,346f)

115.

βῆ δ' ἰέναι κούρω αἰσυμνητῆρι ἐοικώς,
 πρῶτον ὑπηνήτη, τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἦβη.

*He proceeded upon his way resembling a youthful prince with
 his first beard, the attractiveness of whom is most
 delightful.*

It is possible to organize these "justificatory comments" into the categories which follow, and they indicate that the disguises have been chosen on account of the elements of:

- A. FAMILY RELATIONSHIP (91,94,104,114)
- B. PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP (89,93,106,108)
- C. POLITICAL AUTHORITY (94,95,100,105,109)
- D. QUALITIES PERTINENT TO ACTION (90,96,111,113,115)
- E. NO EXPLICIT JUSTIFICATION (97,98,99,101,102,103,107,110,112)

Sometimes the disguises, which are used by the gods, appear to owe their selection to certain characteristics which would tend to elicit feelings of trust or respect from the humans to whom the gods reveal themselves (viz. categories A,B,C). It seems self evident that a god who appears to a human character in the disguise of a family member or a close personal friend (cat. A,B) would have a greater chance of achieving the object of the visitation than would be the case should the disguise be that of someone who is

unknown to the character or has no special claim on his/her emotions.

The category, entitled "Political Authority" (C), does not necessarily refer to a political relationship between the characters which would require obedience from the human, but rather indicates that the disguise is that of someone of importance, and therefore deserving of a more careful hearing than a man "from the rank and file". It is unclear, for example, what political power Acamas has among the Trojans (95), Thoas has upon Idomeneus (100), Mentis has upon Hector (105), or Lycaon has upon Aeneas (109). These individuals nevertheless have a certain legitimate political standing of their own, in view of the terms "ἡγήτορι" (95), "ἄνασσε" (100), "ἡγήτορι" (105), and the fact that Lycaon is the son of king Priam (109).

It also seems to be the case that the gods do not appear disguised as someone who has a status which is superior to the human, but is in fact either equal or somewhat lesser in status. When Athena, for example, appears to Pandarus, who is a relatively minor character (94, cat. C), she is disguised as Laodocus. Laodocus is the son of Antenor, an "elderly and upright Trojan councillor" (see entry in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*³⁶), and appears to have a roughly equal, if not a lesser status than Pandarus, who is a grandson of Priam. The circumstance that

³⁶ R[oger] A[ubrey] B[askerville] M[yers], "Antenor", *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 66.

Laodocus holds no political office and does not belong to the royal family (as does Lycaon [109]) should perhaps be grounds for his exclusion from this category, but he does have an "office-holding" father and is, moreover, a "mighty spearman" (*κρατερὸς αἰχμητῆς*), which counted for a lot at that time. There are a few instances, however, where the army is addressed by a god in the disguise of someone of superior rank (e.g. 95,96,99), but this should not be surprising as common soldiers have almost no voice in the poem, and it is natural that "heroic figures" do the talking.

The category named "Qualities Pertinent to Action" identifies disguises which appear to have been chosen because of certain characteristics of the disguises which are for some reason necessary in the action. Athena, for example, appears as a herald (90) because she wanted to perform an heraldic function i.e. keep the crowd quiet while Odysseus spoke. Hera appears as Stentor (96), when she wants to address the Argives, because Stentor had a voice as loud as that of fifty men. The Xanthus river speaks like a man (111) so that Achilles will understand what he says. Apollo assumes the disguise of Agenor (113) to lure Achilles away from the Trojans because Achilles was at that time fighting with Agenor and was determined to kill him. Hermes comes to escort Priam in the guise of a charming young man (115), as this, presumably, would prevent old Priam from becoming too alarmed at his approach.

The final category (E) contains the disguise events which occur and do not have a brief comment in the text which would serve to explain the suitability of the disguise. There are no

explanations, for example, as to why Athena and Apollo appear as vultures (ὄρνισιν ἐοικότες αἰγυπιοῖσι) to watch the soldiers (97), or Sleep comes as a bird (χαλκίς or κύμινδης) to do his magic upon Zeus (103), although it is obvious enough why Boreas (110) came to earth as a horse (ἵππῳ δ' εἰσάμενος... κυανοχαίτη)- he longed to have dalliance with the three thousand mares!³⁷ Furthermore, in the episodes where Poseidon speaks to the two Ajaxes looking like Calchas (98), and to the Argives also as Calchas (99), and where Athena speaks to Menelaus disguised as Phoenix (107), there are no explanatory phrases in the poem to suggest the reason for these particular disguises. It is certain, however, that Calchas and Phoenix are characters of inherently unquestionable dignitas, and would possess credibility which requires no justification. The audience would probably be expected to be quite familiar with Phoenix and Calchas as important personages from the glorious past, whereas they would not be expected to know that Laodice was Helen's sister in law (92), or that Asius was Hector's uncle (104), or that Mentès was a leader of the Cicones (105), et cetera.

At this point there remain three events in Category (E) which have not been discussed: (101,102,112). The other examples revealed birds as unobtrusive observers, a stallion as a procreative dynamo,

³⁷ The gods indeed have a wide range of choices for their disguises. They become birds and horses (just mentioned), Xanthus river speaks with a man's voice (#23), and Dream (an entity with an unclear morphological status) appears as Nestor (#1). Neither is sex a barrier: Athena appears as five different men (#2,6,19,24,26). Hera also appears as a man (#8). Iris comes as a man (#3) and as a woman (#4).

and figures which needed no introduction or justification in the narrative of the poem. Number 101 deals with Poseidon:

τῷ ρα καὶ ἀμφοδίην μὲν ἀλεξέμεναι ἀλέεινε,
 λάθρη δ' αἰὲν ἔγειρε κατὰ στρατόν, ἀνδρὶ ἑοικώς. (13,356-7)
 Therefore he avoided openly giving help, but continuously
 gave covert encouragement throughout the army, looking
 like a man.

This is not in fact a specific appearance by Poseidon, but is part of a recapitulatory passage which summarises how Zeus and Poseidon,

116.

"...the two mighty sons of Chronos, with differing views, created terrible suffering for the heroic warriors." (13,345-46).

It may be recalled that Poseidon had been shown, shortly before this, in two different disguises- namely Calchas (99) and Thoas (100), so the passage above should probably be thought of as referring to these events.

Number 112 shows Athena and Poseidon appearing to Achilles:

112.

Ἦς φάτο, τῷ δὲ μάλ' ὤκα Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀθήνη
 στήτην ἔγγυς ἰόντε, δέμας δ' ἀνδρεσσιν εἰκτιν... (21,284-5).
 Thus he spoke, and Poseidon and Athena with great speed came

and stood near to him, resembling men in appearance...

These "men" remain unidentified in the poem, but it happens that the gods immediately reveal who they are to Achilles:

117.

τοίῳ γάρ τοι νῶϊ θεῶν ἐπιταρρόθω εἰμέν,
 Ζηνὸς ἐπαινήσαντος, ἐγὼ καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη (21,289-90).
 (have no fear) for with Zeus' approval are we here for
 you as such magnificent divine allies- Pallas Athena and I.

So it appears that the disguises are not intended to deceive Achilles or win his trust, but are perhaps designed to conceal the gods' identities from other onlookers, in which case it is not necessary to name a precise individual for the disguise used.

There thus remains only one "disguise event" (102) which is left unaccounted for in this system of classification. The other twenty-six events have included, unless it is obviously unnecessary, a brief justification for the choice of any disguises which are used by gods. In this case it is again Poseidon:

102.

Οὐδ' ἀλαοσκοπιῆν εἶχε κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος,
 ἀλλὰ μετ' αὐτοὺς ἦλθε παλαιῷ φωτὶ ἐοικώς,
 δεξιτερῆν δ' ἔλε χεῖρ' Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο... (14,135-37).
 The glorious Earthshaker did not keep a careless watch, but
 went amongst them looking like an old man, and he seized the
 right hand of Agamemnon, Atreus' son...

Leaf (vol.2 p.63) comments on "παλαιῶ φωτί": "this vague expression is not Homeric, as the particular person whose likeness is assumed is elsewhere always named".

In regard to this question, Janko³⁸ says: "Poseidon appears as an unnamed old man: so too Aphrodite takes the guise of 'an old woman' at 3.386... He does not take Kalkhas' shape, as at 13.45, because Agamemnon distrusted the seer at 1.105ff...: he does not turn into Thoas, as at 13.216, because Thoas is not senior enough for his words to carry weight (so bT). His age balances Diomedes' youth, and he offers assurances that Nestor could not give".

Leaf (vol.2 p.55) argues, for various reasons, that this passage (14,135-152) has been interpolated by a diaskeuast. Janko's proposal seems reasonable enough, although the parallel with Aphrodite's disguise at (3,386) may not be to good effect, as the old woman was quite explicitly identified as someone known to and loved by Helen. Also worthy of note are the criteria of trustworthiness, which Calchas does not have, and seniority, which Thoas does not have. Janko apparently feels that it is the age factor of the disguise which is at issue in its selection by Poseidon (Homer). It might here be mentioned, however, that the contact which Agamemnon experiences with divinities, who are either in or not in disguise, is limited to only one other occasion in the *Iliad*. It may be recalled that "the baneful Dream" appeared to Agamemnon while he was asleep, that the dream was disguised as

³⁸ Richard Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary*. gen. ed. G. S. Kirk (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), vol. 4 of 6, p166.

Nestor, that the dream told Agamemnon that it was a messenger of Zeus (as much as to say that it was not Nestor), and that the message was conducive to all of the disastrous effects of the resulting attack ordered by Agamemnon. In other words, Agamemnon's only other encounter with the gods (if the baneful dream can be called such) was pronouncedly enigmatic (ruinous lying message from presumably friendly god delivered by obscure entity in meaningless disguise to sleeping king) and shows Agamemnon to be a character who does not have a good "personal relationship" with or receive strong support from any particular gods. Perhaps, then, this usage of an unidentified old man is in keeping with Agamemnon's rather nondescript, second rate relationship with the gods, and might also be seen as a reflection of his low "heroic status".

iii Humans See Through Disguise

It sometimes happens that a human character realizes that a god is present and in disguise.

Hector recognizes Iris' voice (cf.91.):

118.

Ἦς ἔφαθ', Ἐκτωρ δ' οὐ τι θεᾶς ἔπος ἠγνοίησεν... (2,807)

Thus she spoke, and Hector knew very well the counsel of the goddess...³⁹

³⁹ Some interpretations of "οὐκ ἠγνοίησεν":
LEAF ad loc.: "did not ignore" i.e. disobey

(continued...)

It may be recalled that Hector, in his encounters with gods which appeared without disguise, never identified a god by name, did not acknowledge the presence of Iris (11,199f), failed to recognise Apollo (15,243f), and experienced a sense of "τάρβος" when he heard Apollo speaking (20,375f). In the situations where Hector experiences contact with gods who are in disguise (i.e. 89,104,105,108,114), there are four cases where he gives no indication at all that he realises a god is present in disguise and is, presumably, "fooled" by the disguise; i.e. Apollo approaches him in three separate disguises (Asius [104], Mentos [105], Phaenops [108]), while Athena comes as Deiphobus (114). In consequence it is rather surprising that, in the quotation above, Hector could be thought to have known that a goddess had spoken (as some commentators do), even though the goddess was disguised as a man! This verse should probably be interpreted as meaning "Hector in no way failed to perceive the message of the goddess (although he did not realise that it was a goddess who was speaking or that the message was that of a goddess)". It is possible to understand the Greek as meaning that Hector knew that a goddess had spoken, but in light of Hector's other experiences with gods, who are both

³⁹(...continued)

PALEY ad loc.: "did not ignore"

KIRK ad loc.: Agrees with Aristarchus i.e. ..."Hektor 'did not fail to recognize' the message and accordingly dissolved the assembly. But there is a hint, too, that he realized that Polites was divinely inspired or even a goddess in disguise."

WILLCOCK ad loc.: "recognized"

(Malcolm M. Willcock, *A Commentary on Homer's Iliad* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970), ad loc.)

disguised and undisguised, it seems more likely that Hector is, in this case as well, "fooled" by the disguise.

Helen recognizes Aphrodite (cf.93):

119.

καί ρ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε θεᾶς περικαλλέα δειρῆν
 στήθεά θ' ἱμερόεντα καὶ ὄμματα μαρμαίροντα,
 θάμβησέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε'
 " δαιμονίη, τί με ταῦτα λιλαίεαι ἠπεροπεύειν; (3,396f)

When she discerned the very beautiful neck and lovely breasts and sparkling eyes of the goddess, she was struck with amazement, and called out her name and said: "(Daemonia), why are you trying to deceive me like this?"

Helen apparently realizes that the old woman is Aphrodite in disguise after seeing the beautiful neck and breasts and sparkling eyes of the goddess (not of the old woman!). Kirk asks the questions⁴⁰ which are pertinent to this unusual event of a human

⁴⁰ Kirk, vol.1, p322-3:

Helen recognizes her by her beautiful neck, shining bosom and flashing eyes: has the goddess abandoned her disguise? Or do these features resist transformation? Or does Helen see through the outward disguise? And in any event, why does the goddess need to adopt a disguise at all- was it perhaps to escape the notice of the other women who had surrounded Helen at 384? Surely they could simply have been ignored?...

One cannot help feeling that the unrealistic and incomplete nature of Aphrodite's disguise is meant to reflect the poet's awareness that this goddess, in particular, is a projection of personal emotions. Not that the whole scene can be reduced to an allegory of
 (continued...)

"seeing through" the disguise of a god. He then tentatively suggests that "the unrealistic and incomplete nature of the disguise is meant to reflect the poet's awareness that this goddess, in particular, is a projection of personal emotions."

Leaf⁴¹ suggests that the disguise is meant to hide the identity of the god from bystanders, and that the gods often give some sign to the person to whom they are speaking in order to let that person know that it is a god which speaks. The only parallel passage he identifies for the "gods often giving some sign" is that of 13,72f (see 120 below). It is unknown which other passages Leaf had in mind which would support his use of the word "often". It seems to be the case, on the contrary, that human characters are in fact very seldom (three times only) shown to "see through" the disguises of the gods. It is also unclear, in these three instances, whether the god actually intends to reveal itself to the character at all.

⁴⁰(...continued)

Helen's instincts and revulsions; someone has to tell her that Paris (who had vanished into thin air) is back home...

⁴¹ Leaf, vol.1, p.110: [upon citing three reasons for Aristarchus' rejection of the passage]:

With regard to 1, it may be remarked that the goddess takes a disguise primarily in order to remain unknown to the bystanders, not to Helen; the gods in such cases often give some sign which reveals them to those to whom they speak- see 13,72.

In his comments on this passage, Paley⁴² cites an unidentified scholion which says that "demigods often had that peculiar power of discernment" (i.e. to see through the disguise of a god), and he offers (1,199) and (13,68) as parallels. This interpretation, at any rate, understands the power of seeing through a divine disguise as something which belongs to the human character, and not granted by the god in question. More precisely, this power is a characteristic of those who are demigods. This scholion, then, being one of the few sources which is in agreement with one of the main arguments which are presented in this report, serves to explain why Achilles, Helen and Aeneas (17,333f; see below at 121) are able to "see through" the disguises of gods at some point (although they are also fooled on other occasions, respectively [21,599f], [3,121f], [20,79f])— they have divine parents; Aeneas' mother is Aphrodite, Achilles' mother is Thetis and his father is a seventh generation descendant of Zeus, Helen's father is Zeus.⁴³ This interpretation, however, does not help to explain why Ajax would be able to see through Poseidon's disguise in the following

⁴² Paley, vol.1, p.120:

...it is added [in the scholia], that demigods often had that peculiar power of discernment, e.g. in 13,68. See also 1,199.

⁴³ Kirk, vol.1, p.299:

The Homeric tradition certainly knew that Helen herself had divine blood, since she is termed 'offspring of Zeus', Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα, three times (including at 199 and 418 in the present book), and since at *Od.*4.563-9 Menelaos is said to be destined for the Elysian plain because he is married to her.

example.

Ajax son of Oileus recognizes Poseidon (cf.98):

120.

αὐτὸς δ' ὥς τ' ἱριξ ὠκύπτερος ὤρτο πέτεσθαι,
 ὃς ῥά τ' ἀπ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης περιμήκεος ἀρθεῖς
 ὀρμήσῃ πεδίῳ διώκειν ὄρνεον ἄλλο,
 ὥς ἀπὸ τῶν ἤϊξε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων.
 τοῖιν δ' ἔγνω πρόσθεν Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας,
 αἴψα δ' ἄρ' Αἴαντα προσέφη Τελαμώνιον υἱόν·
 "Αἴαν, ἐπεὶ τις νῶϊ θεῶν, οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσι,
 μάντεϊ εἰδόμενος κέλεται παρὰ νηυσὶ μάχεσθαι-
 οὐδ' ὃ γε Κάλχας ἐστί, θεοπρόπος οἰωνιστῆς·
 ἴχνια γὰρ μετόπισθε ποδῶν ἠδὲ κνημῶν
 ῥεῖ' ἔγνω ἀπιόντος· ἀρίγνωτοι δὲ θεοὶ περ-
 καὶ δ' ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισι
 μᾶλλον ἐφορμάται πολεμίζειν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι,
 μαιμῶσι δ' ἔνερθε πόδες καὶ χεῖρες ὑπερβε." (13,66f)

And as a swift-winged hawk speedily takes to flight, a hawk which springs from his steep perch on a high rock and chases a bird of some kind over the field, thus the Earth-shaker Poseidon sped away from them. Swift Ajax the son of Oileus was the first of them to recognize [him] and straightway said to Ajax the son of Telamon: " Ajax, since one of the gods (who resembles the seer) who possess Olympus urges us to fight by the ships- he is certainly not Calchas, the augur-prophet, for

I easily recognized the appearance [lit. "tracks"] of his feet and knees as he was departing, and the gods are indeed easily identifiable- the spirit in my very heart strains even more to go into battle and fight with eager hands above and feet below."

Ajax' contention that "the gods are indeed easily identifiable" is not really consistent with the experience of the other characters in the *Iliad*.⁴⁴ Janko suspects (in agreement with scholion at T 65) that Poseidon wants to be detected in order to hearten the two Ajaxes. He also refers to scholia in bT which remark that "Oilean Aias recognizes divine aid first because Telamonian Aias is too stolid, or stronger and hence slower to do so".⁴⁵ Well, one of them had to speak first.⁴⁶ In any case, it should be noted that neither Ajax "saw through" the disguise while Poseidon was standing there facing them, as Helen did above and Aeneas does below. Ajax catches on only after Poseidon dashes off like a hawk, and Ajax knows it is not Calchas on account of the "ἵχνια...μετόπισθε ποδῶν ἠδὲ κνημῶν" as the god moved away. Thus this passage is not entirely analogous to those where Aeneas and

⁴⁴ Janko, vol.4, p.52.

⁴⁵ Janko, vol.4, p.51.

⁴⁶ Telamonian Ajax, moments after Zeus "gave victory to the Trojans and terrified the Achaeans" (17,596), announced (*ahead of Menelaus*) that even a "μάλα νήπιος", i.e. "a hopeless simpleton", could see that Zeus himself was helping the Trojans.

Helen recognize gods who are in disguise, inasmuch as Poseidon may have desired to be found out and so departed with such a clatter.

Aeneas recognizes Apollo (cf106)

121.

Ἦς ἔφατ', Αἰνεΐας δ' ἑκατηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα
ἔγνω ἐσάντα ἰδών...

.....

ἀλλ' ἔτι γάρ τις φησι θεῶν ἐμοὶ ἄγχι παραστάς
Ζῆν' ὑπατον μήστωρα μάχης ἐπιτάρροθον εἶναι (17,333-39)

Thus he spoke, and Aeneas recognized far-shooting Apollo when he saw his face...

.....

*[Aeneas says, "It is shameful if we are driven back to Troy."]
But [have no fear] for one of the gods stood near me and said that Zeus the highest author of war is still our ally.*

Paley suggests that Aeneas recognizes Apollo here "because Aeneas was himself of divine descent. Thus Achilles recognized Pallas, 1.199, and Helen the goddess Aphrodite in 3,396;"⁴⁷ It would perhaps be more accurate to say that Aeneas realizes that a god was speaking to him, but does not know which god it is, as he tells the Trojans that "one of the gods" had stood near and addressed him. It is significant that Aeneas is actually able to

⁴⁷ Paley, vol.2, p.185.

penetrate the disguise of Apollo here, and this ability is probably best understood to be due to the fact, as Paley says, that Aeneas has divine blood in his veins. The circumstance, however, that he is unable to distinguish the identity of Apollo can be thought of as a slight handicap upon his "perception of divinities", and hence serves as a discriminating factor between the perceptual abilities of Aeneas and Achilles, and, as this report has been arguing all along, is in fact a reflection upon their relative "heroic status".

It can be observed that Achilles' interaction with gods who appear to him in disguise is of a different nature than that experienced by other characters. Poseidon introduces himself and Athena to Achilles as "I and Athena" (21,290), as though Achilles should recognize who he is. Achilles, further, identifies Apollo as "ἑκάεργε" after Apollo has mocked him for being fooled by the disguise which he had assumed. Apollo, too, reveals to Achilles that he is a god (22,10), but Achilles realizes himself exactly which god it is. While it is important to note here that Achilles can in fact be fooled by the disguise of a god (viz. Apollo as Agenor), the following points are also at issue:

1. Agamemnon (2,16f) and Priam (24,460f) are the only other characters to whom gods who are in disguise introduce themselves. This may be seen as a gesture of courtesy to the kings (and Achilles). The reactions of Achilles (22,14) and Helen (3,399), when they "see through" the gods' disguises, plainly show the profound indignation which they feel when they, *qua demigods*, are approached by deities in disguise, and so the revelation of

identity might be designed to preclude giving such offence to mortals of the importance of Achilles, Agamemnon and Priam.

2. There are very few other characters (i.e. Aeneas, Helen, Ajax) who are not completely fooled by the disguise of a god, although Ajax and Aeneas do not know the identity of the gods they encountered, and Agamemnon (14,135f), Priam (24,346f), Aeneas (20,79f) and Helen (3,121f) are fooled by gods in disguise on other occasions as well.

Thus Achilles is shown to have a facility in interacting with gods in disguise which is superior to that of the other characters. Aside from his ability to identify individual gods, and aside also from their predisposition to identify themselves to him, the nature of the contents of the deities' communication to Achilles is unlike that which is received by other characters. Poseidon tells him that it is not fated for Achilles to be killed by Xanthus (whom Achilles was battling at the time), and gives Achilles reassurance that he shall escape the river. Poseidon then tells him not to stop fighting until he kills Hector, and concludes with the following words:

122.

...δίδομεν δέ τοι εὖχος ἀρέσθαι. (21,297).

"We grant that you shall win glory."

The contents of this communication, i.e. the revelation of what is fated and the promise of the granting of victory, shall be contrasted to the sort of messages which are received by other

characters from gods who are in disguise. They shall be summarised in brief point form.

Hector: all are urges to fight: 91: against Argives (news that the Argives are beginning their attack); 104: against Patroclus; 105: against Menelaus (actually news that Menelaus has killed Euphorbus and is defending Patroclus' body); 108: against Menelaus; 114: against Achilles.

Ajaxes: urge to fight: 98: fight against Hector.

Aeneas: both are urges to fight: 106: fight against Achaeans; 109: fight against Achilles.

Menelaus: urge to fight: 107: defend Patroclus' body.

Pandarus: urge to fight: 94: shoot at Menelaus.

Idomeneus: urge to fight: 100: fight against Trojans.

Achaeans: urges to fight: 96: fight against Trojans; 99: fight against Trojans.

Trojans: urges to fight: 91: fight against Achaeans; 95: save Aeneas' body.

Helen: both are "news": 92: Paris and Menelaus are fighting for possession of your person; 93: Paris is waiting for you in his room.

Agamemnon: deception by Zeus: 89: attack Troy and you will be victorious; reassurance by Poseidon: 102: the gods do not hate you; you shall see the Trojans fleeing.

It can be noticed that, aside from Poseidon's revelation to Agamemnon of what was going to happen (sc. 102), most of the messages given to humans by gods in disguise are essentially "urges to fight", and these are often delivered with a challenge to the human's sense of shame. It seems inviting to compare the fact that most of the "disguise" messages are *urges to fight* while most of the "non-disguise" messages are *urges to refrain from fighting*. A tentative explanation for this phenomenon is that the greater intensity of the undisguised contact may be required to provide the degree of dissuasiveness necessary to forestall the natural tendency of the heroic characters to come to blows, while the less intense disguised contact is sufficient to overcome the reluctance of the heroes to face the danger of combat. In other words, the heroes seem more naturally disposed to fight than to run, and the appearance by the god performs the dramatic function of motivating or justifying the behavior, with the "more intense" undisguised role applied to the behavior which is the most difficult to

overcome (i.e. fighting).

Some of the events (91,92,93,105) are instances where gods in disguise bring news to the characters. It is unclear why Iris is said to bring the news of the Achaeans' advance (91) in the disguise of Polites, who was the lookout man on duty for just this purpose, instead of Polites himself bringing the news. Kirk seems to agree with Willcock that Iris' presence (like that of Athena disguised as a herald [2,279f]) "provides an emphatic introduction to an unusually crucial speech", and suggests that:

"once the poetical tradition had accepted the idea of anthropomorphic gods intervening in person, whether or not in disguise, it becomes difficult and largely pointless to seek a specific recipe ('how far is it the "real" man?') on any particular occasion."⁴⁸

Kirk thus reveals, on the one hand, the acceptance by the ancient poetical tradition, and, on the other, the rejection by the modern critical tradition, of the idea of anthropomorphic gods intervening in person, whether or not they are in disguise. This report prefers to suggest that a satisfactory understanding of the role of the gods in the *Iliad* is attainable only by accepting that the gods be taken as *gods*, rather than metaphorical devices designed to explain various unusual occurrences. In other words,

⁴⁸ Kirk, vol.1, p.244-5.

whatever the original reason for attributing an event to the intervention of a god might have been, it had become traditional to include the gods as *characters* in epic poetry, and their role was tangible, pervasive, spectacular, and highly variegated by the time of the composition of the *Iliad* in its present form. While it is obvious that at some times the gods are used as mere "figures of speech", it does not necessarily mean that their existence and activities at all other times are to be understood in the same way.

CONCLUSION

Through an analysis of events where gods and humans have contact with each other in the *Iliad* (i.e. events which pertain to the gifts which humans have received from the gods, the events where humans are rescued from danger by the gods, and the interaction between humans and gods who appear either with or without disguises), it may be concluded that the elements which comprise the "quality of contact" do appear to be proportional to the "heroic status" of the characters.

The "quality of contact" demonstrated by those of high status is manifested through such elements as:

1. Not only is the simple possession of a divine gift a feature of "heroic status", but the level of success achieved in the usage of a divine gift seems to be proportional to the "heroic stature" of the character who possesses the gift. Achilles, the character with the highest status, has the most and best gifts.

2. The likelihood of rescue is proportional to the heroic status of the human. Or, looked at another way, divine rescue might be seen as a feature of heroic status, just as divine gifts might be seen to be so.

3. The character with the highest status, Achilles, can not only see gods but also recognise who they are (gods both disguised

and undisguised), does not become frightened in their presence, and can speak to them with ease. The ability of other humans in this regard diminishes in proportion to their respective statuses.

The factors which might be considered to determine an individual's position in this ranking scheme of heroic status were:

1. Divine parentage
2. Divine allies
3. Social standing
4. Martial ability/courage
5. Knowledge of divine will

The characters who are rescued from danger generally have some sort of personal "claim" to assistance from the gods, usually on account of religious service or genealogical relationship, or else the divine character may be acting as an agent for the enforcement of a human's "fate" to survive from a dangerous encounter (sc. Aeneas [20,302f]). This element of a character's "fate" may also be the decisive factor in the "non-rescue" of otherwise deserving humans (sc. Sarpedon [16,440f]).

The findings of this report constitute a refinement to the "convention" proposed by Jorgensen in 1904 (see note 1) which implies that the knowledge which all characters in the *Iliad* have of the gods is equally poor in comparison with that of the poet. This report suggests that such contrast can also be seen to exist between the degree of knowledge of the gods' actions which is

possessed by each individual character of the poem, and that the observed contrasts are proportional to the heroic status of each character.

The analysis also gives some consideration to the seemingly contradictory conception of divine-human interaction in the poem, namely concrete vs. figurative relations between men and gods. On the one hand, there is the pervasive and undeniable presence of the gods as "real" characters, which have distinctively concrete contact with the "human world" in so many ways in the poem, while at other times it is undeniable that the activity of a god is anything more than a "figure of speech" for a completely mundane phenomenon. The report prefers to emphasize the more concrete manifestations of the divine cast and downplay the significance of the figurative, but at the same time would recommend Calhoun's article (see note 11) as about as accurate an analysis as might be found. A proper understanding of the gods in the poem may best be realized by viewing them as characters in a story which is not intended to be realistic.

There were many times when it was tempting to utilize material from the *Odyssey* for this study, but it was felt that such action would be valueless were not the same time consuming procedure as was undertaken for the material from the *Iliad* carried out. The main idea was to inspect all, or as much as possible of the material relevant to each category, and then make observations regarding it instead of executing a haphazard method of eclectic textual butchery to prop up some sort of a prefabricated argument.

Perhaps at some time in the future a similar analysis of the *Odyssey* can be performed so that a comparison can be made between the poems in regard to the conclusions of this report. It would also be interesting to determine whether the observations above are indicative of a semantic framework peculiar to the *Iliad* or whether they can be located somehow in the context of the ancient world in a larger sense. Perhaps the Structuralist approach might shed some light upon the origin or background of the observations, but that of course lies beyond the scope of the present undertaking.

11
12

APPENDIX

Table 1

Summary of Gifts

Giver	Verb	Object	Recipient
Weapons			
A. Ἄπολλων	ἔδωκεν	τόξον	Πάνδαρος
C. Ἄρης	πόρε	τεύχεα	Ἄρηιθοος
E. Ἥφαιστος (?)	N.A.	θώρακα	Διομήδης
F. Ἄπολλων	πόρε	τροφάλεια	Ἐκτωρ
G. Ἄπολλων	πόρε	τόξον, ἰοὶ	Τεῦκρος
H. Χείρων	πόρε	ἔγχος	Πηλεὺς
I. θεοὶ Οὐρανίωνες	ἔπορον	τεύχεα	Πηλεὺς
J. θεῆτις	ἔθηκε	τεύχεα	Ἀχιλλεύς
Skills or Knowledge			
A. Ἄπολλων	πόρε	μαντεσύνην	Κάλχας
B. Χείρων	πόρε	φάρμακα	Ἀσκληπιός
C. Χείρων	ἐδίδαξε	φάρμακα	Ἀχιλλεύς
D. Ἄρτεμις	δίδαξε	βάλλειν ἄγρια	Σκαμάνδριος
E. Ζεὺς, Ποσειδάων	ἐδίδαξαν	ἵπποσύνας	Ἀντίλοχος

Physical Attributes

A. Ἀφροδίτη	N.A.	κόμη, εἶδος	Ἄλεξανδρος
B. θεοὶ	ᾤπασαν	κάλλος, ἠνορέην	Γλαῦκος
C. θεὸς	δῶκε	μέγεθος, βίην, πινυτήν	Αἴας
D. Μοῖραι	θέσαν	τλητὸν θυμὸν	ἀνθρώποισιν

The Sceptre of Command

A. Ζεὺς	δῶκε	σκῆπτρον, θέμιστας	βασιλεύς
B. Ζεὺς	τετιμῆσθαι	σκῆπτρῳ	Ἀγαμέμνων
C. Ζεὺς	ἐγγυάλιξε	σκῆπτρον, θέμιστας	Ἀγαμέμνων
D. Ζεὺς, (Ἑρμείας)	δῶκε	σκῆπτρον	Πέλοψ

Horses

A. Ἀπόλλων	N.A.	ἵπποι	Εὐμηλος (?)
B. Ζεὺς	δῶκε	ἵπποι	Τρῶς
C. Ποσειδάων	πόρε	ἵπποι	Πηλεὺς

Other Objects

A. θεῖτις	θῆκε...ἄγεσθαι	χηλός, χιτῶνες,	Ἀχιλλεύς
-----------	----------------	-----------------	----------

		χλαῖναι, τάπητα	
Β. θέτις	πόρε	σόρος	Ἄχιλλεύς
Γ. Ἄφροδίτη	δῶκε	κρήδεμνον	Ἄνδρομάχη

Table 2

Summary of Rescues

Aphrodite	-	Aeneas (5,311f)
Apollo	-	Aeneas (5,432f)
Poseidon	-	Aeneas (20,318f)
Apollo	-	Hector (7,268f)
Zeus	-	Hector (11,164f)
Athena	-	Achilles (20,438f)
Apollo	-	Hector (20,438f)
Hephaestus	-	Idaius (5,22f)
Poseidon	-	Eurytus, Kteatus (11,750f)
Poseidon	-	Antilochous (13,551f)
Apollo	-	Agenor (21,595f)
Aphrodite	-	Paris (3,380f)
Athena	-	Menelaus (4,127f)
Hephaestus	-	Achilles (21,330f)

Table 3

Summary of Constructions for Gods
 "Likening" Themselves to
 Something or Someone

Verb	+ Case	See Quotation in Text	From
ἔεισαμένη	+ DAT	cf. 91,93,96,104,105,109,110,111	εἶδομαι
εἶδομένος	+ DAT	90,92,95	εἶδομαι
εἶσατο	+ DAT + ACC	91,98,100,107,109	εἶδομαι
ἔοικώς	+ DAT	89,97,101,102,115	*εἶκω
ἔοικώς	+ DAT + ACC	106,112,113,114	*εἶκω
ἔναλίγκιος	+ DAT	103,108	adjective

ικέλη

+ DAT

94

adjective

εἶδομαι - To make self like,; esp. in part., like + dative

εἶκω - To be like, look like + dative

ἐναλίγκιος- To be like, resembling + dative

ικέλη - To be like, resembling + dative

Ref. Source- *LSJ* Lexicon ad loci.

The internal accusatives which are used are as follows:

φθογγήν	(2x)	sc. 91,100
δέμας καὶ ἀτειρέα φωνήν	(3x)	98,107,114
δέμας	(2x)	106,112
φωνήν	(1)	109
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3. 7,136-54.
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6. 8,191-95.
7. 11,349-60.
8. 15,440-41.
9. 16,140-44.
10. 17,192-97.
11. 19,10-18.
12. 1,69-72.
13. 4,217-19.
14. 11,828-32.
15. 5,49-54.
16. 23,306-08.
17. 3,52-55.
18. 6,154-57.
19. 7,287-91.
20. 13,726-34.
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22. 2,203-06.
23. 9,37-39.
24. 9,96-99.
25. 2,99-108.
26. 2,763-67.
27. 5,263-73.
28. 23,274-78.
29. 16,220-24.
30. 23,91-92.
31. 22,468-72.
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33. 5,343-46.
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- 48. 3,449-52.
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- 50. 4,185-87.
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- 67. 5,815.
- 68. 5,330-31.
- 69. 5,432-33.
- 70. 5,604.
- 71. 5,432-44.
- 72. 16,702-11.
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- 75. 11,195-201.
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- 77. 15,247.
- 78. 15,239-42.
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- 87. 15,318-22.
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- 95. 5,461f.
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