The Iliad of Homer, Books I-XII (Volume 1)

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Translated by Barry Nurcombe

Cambridge Scholars Publishing



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Map 1, The Extent of the Hittite Empire c. 1300 B.C.E., is based on: Near_East_topographic_map_blank.svg: Sémhurderivative work: Ikonact [CCBY SA 3.0 (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by sa/3.0).

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Map 3, The Trojan Plain, is derived from the archaeological map provided in: Kraft, John, Rapp, George, Kayan, Ilhan, and Luce, John (2003). Harbor areas at ancient Troy: sedimentology and geomorphology complement Homer's Iliad. *Geology*, 31, No.2: 163-170.

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INTRODUCTION

The Context of the Iliad

The Íliad deals with fifty-one days at the beginning of the tenth and last year of the Trojan war. The song commences as Akhilleús is deeply dishonoured and humiliated when King Agamémnōn, leader of the Greek invasion, appropriates the prize for valour awarded to Akhilleús by the Akhaíans the slave girl, Brisēís. He refuses to fight any longer. Sullenly withdrawing from the battle, he arranges with Zeús, through the intervention of his mother, the Goddess Thétis, for the Trojans to gain the upper hand in battle, led by their champion Héktōr, son of King Príamos. However, when his dearest comrade Pátroklos is slain by Héktōr. In choosing to fight again, Akhilleús ensures that, as predicted by Fate, he will die young but win undying renown. Had he not done so he would have had a long life but an obscure one. The Íliad ends with the funeral games for Pátroklos and the ransom and return of Héktōr's body to Príamos for honourable burial.

The origin of the War and the events that preceded and succeeded the Íliad and the Odyssey were described in a cycle of epic songs available today in only fragmentary or summarized form. The eight-part cycle is as follows:

- *Kýpria:* The wedding of Pēleús and Thétis. The judgement of Páris. The abduction of Helénē. The assembling and departure of the Akhaían invasion force. The first nine years of the Trojan War.
- Íliad.
- *Aithiópis:* The death of Penthesileía. The death of Mémnōn. The death of Akhilleús. The dispute over Akhilleús' armour.
- Iliás Mikrá: The wooden horse and the sacking of Troy.
- *Ilioũ Pérsis:* The Trojans dedicate the wooden horse on their acropolis. The death of Laókoön. The fall of Troy. The departure of the Greeks.
- *Nóstoi*: Menélaos sails to Egypt. Agamemnōn returns to Mykḗnē and is killed by Klytaimnḗstra.
- Ódyssey.
- Tēlégony: Telégonos kills Ódysseus and weds Pēnelópē.

Telémakhos weds Kírkē.

The cycle begins as the Goddess Thétis rejects the approach of Zéus who, in his rage (and concern about a prophecy that Thétis would have a son who would exceed his father) forces Her to marry a mortal man, Peleús, King of Phthía, very much against her will. Thétis later gives birth to the consummate Akhilleús. Meanwhile, at Thétis' and Pēleús' wedding reception, the gatecrashing Éris, Goddess of Strife, sows discord among three Goddesses-Hérā, the wife of Zeús, Athénē, the virgin Goddess of wisdom, and Aphrodítē, Goddess of love- by rolling before them a golden apple inscribed, "To the Fairest". The three Goddesses quarrel bitterly about which of them is the most beautiful. Zeús sends them to Mt. Ídē for Páris. son of King Príamos, to judge upon which of the three the apple should be bestowed. (Páris had been abandoned as a baby on Mt. Ídē by his mother Queen Hekábē and raised there by shepherds.) Each Goddess tries to bribe Páris: Hera offers authority and wealth; Athénē offers wisdom and military prowess: and Aphrodítē promises him the most beautiful woman on earth. Páris chooses Aphrodítē, who rewards him with the love of Helénē, the most desirable of mortal women. But there is a catch-Helénē is already married to Menélaos, King of Sparta.

Páris and his brother Héktōr visit Spártē where, as is proper, they are hospitably received. Here, Helénē falls in love with Páris (also known as Aléxandros) who seduces her and abducts her to Troy, thus violating the sacred obligation of guest to host. Menélaos and Odysseús fail to recover Helénē by diplomatic means. Hence, Agamémnōn, brother of Menélaos and king of Mykḗnē, the leading Mycenean city state, recruits an invasion force from his Akhaían allies, aiming to retrieve Helénē and punish the Trojans (see Map 2).

The seer Kálkhas predicts it will take ten years for Troy to fall. The fleet and warriors gather at Aulís but the winds fail because, as Kálkhas divines, Agamémnōn has inadvertently offended Ártemis. The only way to appease Ártemis is for Agamémnōn to sacrifice his belovéd daughter Iphigéneia. He does so, the winds change, and the fleet sets sail. The catalogue of ships and warriors is described in Book II of the Íliad.

The first man to step ashore on Troy, and the first to die, is Prōtesílāos. The Akhaíans set siege to Ílios but spend much of the first nine years raiding Trojan allies and other cities nearby. Ílios itself seems impregnable behind its cyclopean walls. Exhausted, the Akhaíans threaten to withdraw but are persuaded to remain by Akhilleús.

The events described in the Íliad then take place, over a period of little more than fifty days, beginning with the conflict between Agamémnōn and Akhilleús and finishing with the ransoming and burial of Héktōr's body.

Following the Íliad, after the burial of Héktor, Penthesiléa, Queen of the Amazons, arrives with a force of female warriors. She is killed by Akhilleús. Mémnon of Aithiopía comes as an ally to Troy but is also slain. Akhilleús is killed by Páris who shoots him in his vulnerable heel with a poisoned arrow guided by Apóllon. The divine armour of Akhilleús is awarded to Odysseus, driving the greater Aías mad with grief and resentment and causing him to commit suicide. Odysseus gives the arms to Akhilleus' son, Neoptólemos, and devises a ruse to invade Ílios with the aid of a wooden horse apparently dedicated to Athénē but actually full of warriors. The Akhaíans feign sailing home but actually moor out of sight in Tenédos. Despite warnings from Kassándrē and Laőkoön, the joyous Trojans bring the horse within the walls to celebrate. Subsequently, the Akhaíans return, sack the city, and massacre the inhabitants. Neoptólemos kills Príamos. Menélaos is so overcome by the beauty of his unfaithful wife, Helénē, that he cannot slav her. The lesser Aías rapes Princess Kassándrē on the altar of Athénē. Aineías flees Troy with his father Ankhísēs on his back. Héktör's infant son. Astýanax, is thrown from the battlements.

The Gods are enraged by the Greeks' impiety and impede the return home of many warriors. Odysseús does not return to Ithaké for many years and after many adventures, as described in the Odyssey. Agamémnōn returns home with his concubine, the clairvoyant Kassándrē, but is assassinated by his wife Klytaimnéstra who has been conducting an adulterous liaison and who has not forgiven her husband for his sacrificial murder of their daughter, Iphigéneia. Klytaimnéstra is subsequently assassinated by Agamémnōn's son, Oréstēs.

At this point, I will introduce a timeline to provide a temporal perspective for the sections on the Mycenean period to which the Iliad refers, the evidence that the Trojan war is historical, and the archaic period when the Iliad was ultimately composed.

Timeline (after Dalby, 2006, xxviii-xxxi)

c. 3000-1150 BCE	The Bronze Age and Mycenean Period
c. 1700-1600	Alaksandu treaty
c. 1600	? Hittites subdue Arzawa and Wilusa
c. 1450	Myceneans conquer Minoan Crete
c. 1420-1400	King of Ahhiyawa is driven from the Seha River land
c.1400	Tudhaliya conquers Wilusiya (see Map 1)
c. 1290	Muwattali II draws up an agreement with Alaksandu of Wilusa
c. 1285	The satrap <i>Drdny</i> fight with the Hittites at the Battle of Qadesh
c. 1250	Troy VI is damaged by an earthquake and rebuilt
c. 1194-1184	Estimated date of the Trojan War
c. 1180	Pylos and Thebes burnt; Troy VIIA sacked, burnt and abandoned
c. 1180	The Sea Peoples depredate the Eastern Mediterranean
c. 1175	Collapse of the Hittite Kingdom
c. 1150-1125	Mykénē destroyed
c. 1150	Linear B writing lost
c. 1150-900 BCE	The "Dark Age" of Greece
c. 950	Troy deserted
c. 900-700 BCE	The Geometric Period
c. 840	Date of Homer estimated by Herodotus
c. 800-750	Alphabetic writing introduced into Greece

c. 700-500 BCE	The Archaic Period
Composition of the Íliad	c. 750
Composition of the Ódyssey	c. 730
Sanctuary established at Troy	c. 700
Hesiod writes Theogony	c. 690
Homeric epics written down	c. 650-630
Sápphō and Alkaíos	c. 600
Hippárkhos brings the epics to Athens	c. 528-514
Homērídai	c. 510
Earliest reference to Homer	c. 500
The Classical Period	c. 500-300 BCE
Píndaros, Aískhylos	c. 470
Heródotos	c. 445
Peloponnesian War	c. 431-403
Euripídes, Thoukídidēs, Aristophánes	410-405
Plátōn	c. 385
Aristótlēs	c. 330
The Hellenistic Period	c. 300-30 BCE
Ptolemaic dynasty rules Egypt	c. 305-30
Alexandrian scholarship	c. 305-30
The Roman Empire	c. 30 BCE-476 CE
The Byzantine Period	с. 476-1453 СЕ

Who was Homer?

In short, we don't know. Legend has it that he was a blind man who was born and lived on Chios or in Smyrna, the son of a water nymph and the River Meles. The word Hómēros means "a pledge to preserve peace, a surety or hostage" or, possibly, "stitcher of the song". What this has to do with a historical Homer is unclear. The *Homērídai* were a guild of Chian singers (aoidoi) who flourished in Ionia in the Sixth Century B.C. and became known as *rhapsoidoi* ('singers of stitched songs') (Richard Jebb, 1894, Homer, Glasgow, UK: James Maclehose, 75-80), referring to the improvisational skill of the singer in bringing together the different parts of traditional lays. Heródotos thought that Homer lived in the Ninth Century BCE, at the time of Hesiod (Heródotos, Histories, 2.53, edited by Robert Strassler, New York, NY: Pantheon). Recent opinion dates the Íliad to the Eighth Century BCE, perhaps around 750 BCE (Geoffrey Kirk, 1985, The *Íliad: A Commentary*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, Vol I, 1-10). By the Fifth Century Homer had become a remote figure, but the Iliad and Odyssey were already well known in the mid-Seventh Century.

The language of both the Iliad and Odyssey is artificial, an amalgam of words and forms that accreted from 1000 to 700 BCE, derived predominantly from the Ionian dialect, (with an admixture of Aeolic and Arcado-Cypriot words and forms). During this time, the initial digamma (a 'w' sound) was lost and *alpha* transmuted to *eta*. In effect, Homeric language developed between the early Iron Age and the era of Homer himself. (Kirk, 1985, Vol I, 5-7).

The society depicted by Homer combines bronze-age Mycenean objects and armour (with a preference for the glamour of bronze), iron age cremation customs, and hoplite battle tactics (which began about 700 BCE) (Hans van Wees, The Íliad and the hoplite phalanx I and II, *Greece & Rome*, Cambridge UK: Cambridge University, Second Series, No. I: 1-18, 41, No. 2: 131-155). The society is illiterate (Kirk, 1985, Vol. 1, 10). This amalgamation suggests that the poems evolved over a period of about 400 years under the influence of non-literate singers (Kirk, 1985, Vol I: 4-14).

In 1795, Friedrich August Wolf proposed that the corpus of Homer had been assembled by literate bards from shorter songs transmitted orally. This theory held sway in the Nineteenth Century, but some classicists still believed that the Iliad and Odyssey had been composed by the same man. In 1928, Milman Parry found that Homeric verse contained "formulae" or conventional phraseology consistent with oral transmission (Adam Parry, Ed., 1971, *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*, Oxford, UK: Oxford UP; Bryan Hainsworth, 1993, in Geoffrey Kirk (ed,) *The Iliad: A Commentary*, Volume III, Books 9-12, pages 2-31). Later studies of Balkan folk-epics and their singers by Albert Lord and Adam Parry supported this contention. Epithets and formulae are used to help the singer stitch his performance together from memory and to fit the demand of the metre of the particular line (Bryan Hainsworth, 1993, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, 1993, Books XXI-XXIV, pages 22-30). It may be that the Homeric epics were first sung from memory by *aoidoi* and not written down (and, to some degree, standardized) until the Sixth Century (Kirk, 1885, Vol.1, 14-16).

Some consider that the Iliad and Odyssey are so different that they could not have been composed by the same person. However, both epics involve such poetic mastery, dramatic skill, and grasp of character that it is hard to believe two geniuses could have been composing such epics at the same time. After all, Shakespeare wrote both 'King Lear' and 'The Tempest' at different times, two very different plays.

The Composition of the Iliad

Homeric metre is based on the voiced quantity of each syllable rather than on stress or pitch, as in English verse. Each line is a flexible hexameter composed of dactyls and spondees (or trochees), with twelve to seventeen syllables:

tum-ti-ti/tum-ti-ti/ tum-ti-ti/ tum-ti-ti/ tum-tum or or or or tum-tum/ tum-tum/ tum-tum/ tum-ti-ti/ tum-tum

With its flowing, melodious quality, the poem lends itself to song or recitation, and the alternation of narrative and conversation holds the interest of the audience. Most lines have a word break (caesura) in the third foot or after the first trochee. The rhythm of each line characteristically reflects the emotions being expressed and greatly heightens the dramatic effect. Many lines run over into the following line, enhancing the flow of the poem, a phenomenon known as *enjambement*. Since Ancient Greek is a highly inflected language, word order is less important than it is in English.

This allows variation in the rhythm of the lines, ensuring that the audience is not bored by a fixed metre (Kirk, 1985, Vol.1, 17-37).

The original singers were aided by "formulae", conventional phrases or themes applied to different characters or situations. This is characteristic of oral poetry, as first described by Parry. Examples of formulae are the epithets applied to different characters: Akhilleús, for example, is described as "godlike", "fleet-of-foot", "son of Pēleús", or "cherished by Zeús"; Agamémnōn as "son of Atreús", "Lord of men", "widely-ruling", or "shepherd of his people"; Héktōr as "radiant" or "of the gleaming helm"; and Odysseús as "man of many wiles", "much-enduring", or 'resourceful". The Gods, too, have epithets: Zeús, for example, is "the Thunderer", "the Gatherer of Stormclouds", or "Almighty"; and Hérā, "of the alabaster arms". Just which of the epithets the singer will use on a particular occasion depends on what the metre demands and, sometimes, which epithet is most appropriate psychologically (Hainsworth, 1993, Vol.XXI, 2-31).

Aristotle described the style of the Iliad as 'running', that is, expressed in a linear mode with a minimum of recursion (Samuel Butcher, trans. 1999, *The Poetics of Aristotle*, Section XXIV, Project Gutenberg EBook). Events move rapidly and the action pauses, typically, only to heighten the narrative, for example by the use of similes, many of which are of great beauty. For example, at VI: 146, Glaũkos replies to Diomédēs who has challenged him to account for his family:

The generations are like falling leaves: The cold wind scatters them upon the ground, And yet the forest puts them forth anew When springtime comes around again—

Several similes are derived from hunting and the confrontation between men and wild beasts. For example, in XVII: 96-104, Menélaos has killed Eúphorbos and is stripping off his armour:

—And as a lion, Mountain-bred, and full of confidence, Might snatch away a cow, the finest in A grazing herd, and take her first between His teeth to crack her neck and savagely Gulp down her blood and innard parts, and all Around the hounds and men cry out aloud, But none has the temerity to go Against the beast, for they're beset by fearJust so, the spirit in the Trojans' chests Dared none of them to fight the glorious Menélaos.

Other similes describe fire, floods, or wild wind and waves, for example, at IV:422-425, with reference to the relentless advance of the Akhaían ranks:

—As when the waves break one by one upon The roaring shore, thrust ever onward by The turbulent West Wind, they first make surf Upon the sea, but then they crash and swell, To burst with arching crests and spit their spume Around the rugged point—

"Ring compositions" are frequently found—presentations in the order of A, B, C, followed by responses in reverse order, C,B,A, thus forming a "geometric" chiasm. For example, in VI:254-286, Hekábē suggests that her son, Héktōr, should wait until she brings wine;

- (A) So he can pour a libation to Zeús;
- (B) And refresh himself from battle:
- (C) Héktōr declines, saying that wine will weaken him;
- (B) And that he will not pray to Zeús with unwashed hands;
- (A) And that she should pray to Athénē.

Ring compositions can be brief, as above, or extended. The whole poem can be looked on as a ring, from the falling out between Akhilleús and Agamémnōn in Book 1 to the rapprochement between Akhilleús and Príamos in Book 24. Whitman traces a connection between the ring structure of epic song and the intricate geometric patterns of archaic Attic pottery (Cedric Whitman, 1958, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition*, Chapters 5 and 11).

Above all, Homer has the ability to capture the moment, as at the end of Book VIII when the two sides are waiting before the battle next day, their senses preternaturally alert to the starry sky above and the plain around them:

As many fires burned upon the plain

—As when the stars in heaven scintillate Around the lustrous moon, the wind is still, The woodland glens are bathed in light, the air Breaks through, immense, beneath the heaven's arch, And every star is brightly manifest, The shepherd's heart rejoices in his breast—

So many Trojan fires there were in front Of Ílios—

Written Greek

The ancient syllabic script known as Linear B originated in about 1450 BCE and disappeared with the demise of the bronze-age Mycenean civilization after 1200 BCE. The Greek alphabet was introduced in the late ninth or early eighth century BCE by adding vowels to the consonantal Phoenician script. To begin with, there were many local variants, but the alphabet was eventually standardized with 24 letters (from *alpha* to *omega*) at the end of the fourth century BCE. The Iliad was first transcribed from the oral tradition in about 650 BCE. (Ian Morris and Barry Powell, 2010, *The Greeks*, Boston MA: Prentice Hall, 87-92).

Is the Iliad based on historical fact?

In 1873, Schliemann countered the prevailing opinion that the Iliad was based on no more than legend when he excavated the mound of Hissarlik at the southern entrance of the Hellespont. There he found several city layers. Homeric Troy is possibly located at Level VI or Level VIIA. Troy VI seems to have been devastated by an earthquake, Troy VIIA by fire around 1180 BCE. Schliemann subsequently found evidence of several hundred years of bronze-age civilization at the ruins of Mykḗnē in the Peloponnese. Some of the weapons and armour described in the Iliad are depicted in bronze-age pottery (e.g., the tower shield and the boar's-tusk helmet). The catalogue of ships and warriors in Book II of the Iliad bears some resemblance to what is known of the Hellenes in the late Bronze age (see Map 2).

The only contemporary allusions to a Trojan War are found in the Hittite archives at Hattuša. Tablets there refer to a place called *Wilusa* (? Ílios or Wilios) and *Taruisa* (? Troy), and to its King *Alaksandu* (? Aléxandros). In another tablet the Hittite King addresses the King of *Ahhiyawa* (? Akhaía) who is said to have been involved in a military attack on a territory in the Hittite sphere of influence. (See Map 1., *The Extent of the Hittite Empire c. 1300 BCE.*) Egyptian records from the Battle of Qadesh refer to Hittite allies known as *Drdny* (? Dardanoi, Dardanians). Mention is also made of a city of *Ahhiyawans* on the Western coast of Asia Minor, *Milawata* (? Miletus).

The Hittite *Tnyw* may correspond to the Greek Danaoi. (Trevor Bryce, 2006, *The Trojans and their Neighbours*, New York NY: Routledge, pages 72-86, 100-106). All of this is intriguing but hardly compelling.

Geoffrey Kirk, 1990, Vol. I, 36-50, believes that there is no reasonable doubt that the mound of Hissarlik was the site of Homer's Ilios. He marshals evidence from geography, poetic descriptions, recent archaeology, and the Hittite archives that an engagement on the site of Troy in the late twelfth century BCE gave rise to a saga tradition that matured into the Homeric epic over 500 years. Recent archaeological evidence has shown that silting from the Scamander and Simois Rivers has completely filled in what had been a deep bay at the time of the Iliad (see Map 3, John Kraft, George Rapp, Ilhan Kayan, and John Luce, Harbor areas at ancient Troy. *Geology*, 31, No.2, 2003, 163-166.)

About 1188 B.C., Ramses III of Egypt reported that foreigners, known as "the Sea Peoples", had invaded and defeated Hatti, Kode, Karkhemish, and Cyprus, and were moving against Egypt. It is not clear that the Sea Peoples were Greeks, but it is possible that Greeks formed, or were part of, marauding bands at this time (Robert Drews, 1995, *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe of ca. 1200 BC.*, Princeton NJ: Princeton UP, pages, 48-61). The exploits of the invading Akhaíans before, during, and after the Iliad may reflect the period of unrest in the lands around the Aegean Sea during the Twelfth Century BCE.

The Greeks are referred to in the Iliad as *Akhaioi, Danaoi,* or *Argeioi. Akhaia* was a region in the northern Peloponnese. The word *Danaoi* refers to the descendants of the legendary King Danaós. *Argós* was a city near Mykénē that seems to have been regarded as the heart of Greece. *Hellás* originally referred to a region in northern Greece but the terms *Hellás* and *Héllēnes* were eventually applied to all of Northern Greece and its inhabitants. At the time to which the Íliad refers, the Akhaians spoke an early form of Greek. The Trojans, however, would have spoken Luwwian, not Greek, as they conveniently do in Homer. Nor would they have shared the same deities as they do in the Íliad.

What can be concluded? Most classicists agree that the mound of Hissarlik contains, at one level, the remains of a historical place called *Wilusa* or *Taruisa (*? Troy) which was in the sphere of influence of the Hittite empire, and equivalent to what the Greeks knew as *Ílios or Troia*. At various times, parts of Western Anatolia were under such pressure from

Introduction

a people called the *Ahhiyawa* (? Akhaíans) that the Hittite King was alarmed. However, there is no contemporary evidence that bronze-age Greeks ever led a large punitive expedition against Troy. Troy VI appears to have experienced a catastrophe, possibly an earthquake, and to have been only partly repaired. Troy VIIA was destroyed by fire. These events are roughly consistent with the estimated time of a Trojan war. However, it is not credible that the bronze-age Greeks could have launched over a thousand ships with 100,000 men and sustained them for a full ten-year campaign. The Greeks were vague about large numbers and prone to exaggerate. And would they have launched a large fleet for the sake of regaining a beautiful adultress? Perhaps. A more convincing explanation would be the lust for booty and the desire to control a lucrative trade route. Troy must have been a prosperous city, well placed at the opening of the Hellespont, where port and provedoring fees could be obtained from ships waiting for a favourable wind.

In summary, evidence for the veracity of Homer's Trojan war is intriguing but fragmentary and inconclusive. Such is the desire of so many people that the legend be true, however, that the controversy will not soon go away.

The World of Homer

Geography

The Greeks conceived of the world as encircled by the Ōkeanós, a river from which all other streams derive. To the North-East are the Troad, Hellespont, Propontos, Bosphoros, and Clashing Rocks, leading to the Pontos (the Black Sea), and, to the East, the land of Kólkhis where the Argonauts found the golden fleece. Further North are the lands of the Amazons, Skythians, and other barbarians. To the East and South are the advanced civilizations of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. From the Levant, the Phoinicians sail the seas in quest of trade, booty, and profit. In the far south, at the headwaters of the Nile or beyond, are the lands of the *Aithiópes* ('Burnt-Face ones') and Pygmies. Further to the west are the sands of Libya. To the far West, beyond Sicily and Italy, are Skýlla and Kharýbdos and the Pillars of Hērāklēs.

The Gods

The origin of the Gods is described in Hesiod's *Theogony*. The primordial state of the Cosmos was Kháos, a dark void. Out of Kháos sprang Gaĩa (Earth), Tártaros (the Netherworld), and Érōs (Desire). From Gaĩa came Ouranós (Sky), Ouréa (Mountains), and Póntos (Sea). Ouranós mated with Gaĩa to produce the Titans, the Kýklopes, and "the Hundred-Handed Ones" who, along with Zeús' father Krónos, were defeated, banished and supplanted by Zeús and the Olympian Gods in the battle called the *Titanomakhía*.

There were twelve Olympian Gods, the Kronidaí, headed by Sky-Father Zeús, the "Thunderer", "the Gatherer of Storm Clouds", "Brightly Shining", "the Aigis-Bearer", "the Far-Seer", "Father of Men and Gods", "the Exalted", "the Omniscient", "the Alm; ighty". Zeús is the protector of human order, oaths, hospitality, and strangers, beggars, and the poor. His abode is a palace on Mt. Ólympos with the other Olympians, but he often sits on Gárgaros, the peak of Mt. Idé, to watch the Troad. Although He tries to be neutral, He is persuaded by Thétis, mother of Akhilleús, to favour the Trojans, at least temporarily. It is Zeús who weighs two opposing sides on His balance to determine which side will gain the upper hand in battle.

Zeús is married to his sister Hérā, "of the Alabaster Arms", "the Ox-Eyed", "the Golden-Throned", "of the Lovely Hair", with whom he has an often fractious relationship. As the guardian of marriage, and a Goddess disfavoured by Páris in the contest of the golden apple, She is an implacable enemy of Troy.

Dēmḗtēr "of the Lovely Locks" personifies the fruitfulness of the earth. To Zeús She bore a daughter, Persephónē, who was abducted by Hāídēs to be his wife in the underworld, where She is known as "the Death-Bringer".

Hāídēs, "the Unseen", "the Inexorable", "the Immoveable", "the Hated One", is the Lord of the Underworld of departed shades. Allied to Him are the Erínyēs, avenging spirits who punish and hound to death perjurers, those who violate the laws of hospitality, and those who have killed blood relatives.

Poseidõn, the brother of Zeús, and sometimes his rival, is the God of the sea. His abode is an under-sea palace. He is known as "Widely Ruling", "Earth-Encompassing", "the One Who Moves the Earth", "Earth-Shaker", "Black-Locked", "the One Who Stirs the Sea with His Trident", and "the Introduction

One Who Doesn't Slip". He has enmity for the Trojans by whose King he was once cheated. The horse is sacred to him. Allied to Him are a number of sea divinities including Thétis, a Nereid, the mother of Akhilleús. Thétis is known as "Silver-footed" and "of the Lovely Locks". She and Eurynómē nurtured Héphaistos after He had been cast out of Heaven by His mother Hérā.

Apóllōn, God of light, son of Zeús and Lētó, was born on the isle of Délos. He is known as "Born of Light", "Fire-Darter", "the Shooter from Afar", and "Of the Silver Bow". As the God of prophecy, his oracle is Pythó in Délphi. As the God of song he leads the nine Muses, the Goddesses of literature, science, and the arts. In the first Book of the Iliad, he rains arrows of plague upon the Greeks after Agamémnōn has offended one of his priests.

Årtemis is Apóllōn's virgin twin sister. At night when the wind blows, She and Her nymphs hunt game along the wooded mountain sides. She is called "the Arrow-Pourer", "Well-Aiming", "Mistress of the Chase", and "Golden-Throned". Because Agamémnōn had offended Her, She caused the wind to die at Aulís, becalming the Akhaían fleet and requiring to be propitiated by the sacrifice of Agamémnōn's beloved daughter, Iphigéneia.

Pállas Athénē is the virgin daughter of Zeús. "Trito-Born", "Sprung from Zeús", "Daughter of Aigís-Bearing Zeús", "Gleaming-Eyed" or "Owl-Eyed", She carries an *Aigís* or storm shield. She is the Goddess of Wisdom and Strategy and the sagacious counsellor of Odysseús, Diomédēs, and Akhilleús. She incites people to war and encourages them to combine valour with prudence to win booty. She is also the protectress of cities.

Árēs, son of Zeús and Hérā, is the God of battle, "Slayer of Men", "Fiery", "Shrieking", "Stormer of Cities", "Blood-Dripping', and "Insatiate". In Book V, Diomédēs wounds Him, forcing Him to withdraw from battle and seek help from His unsympathetic father, Zeús. He is a much disliked deity.

Aphrodítē, Daughter of Zeús and the nymph Diốnē, is the Goddess of beauty, love and sexuality. Her epithets are "Laughter-Loving", "Gold-Beaming", "of the Beautiful Headband", and "Graciously Smiling". In battle, She is wounded by Diomédēs and forced to withdraw to seek Her mother's sympathy. Because he supported Her in winning the Golden Apple of the Hesperídēs, the Apple of Discord, Aphrodítē is Páris' ally during the Trojan War.

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Héphaistos, son of Zeús and Hérā, was rejected by His mother at birth and cast out of Heaven because He was crippled. He fell into the ocean and was raised by Thétis and Eurynómē, to whom He became indebted. Héphaistos is the God of Fire, blacksmith to the Gods, and the builder of the Gods' abodes on Ólympos. Although He has an immensely strong upper body, His legs are shrivelled and He pants as he limps along to distribute néktar at the divine feast in Book I, causing merriment to the other Gods. At times, He tries to smooth the frequent quarrels between His parents, at the risk of being thrown out of Ólympos by the irascible Zeús. When Akhilleús loses his fighting gear, Héphaistos forges him a new, beautifully wrought shield and set of armour, in preparation for his final confrontation with Héktōr.

Hermes, son of Zeús and Maía, is the messenger of the Gods. A divine trickster, He is the patron God of boundaries, travellers, herdsmen, thieves, graves and heralds. He escorts souls to the House of Häídes, wearing wingéd sandals and a wingéd hat. His symbol is the caduceus, a wingéd staff with two entwined snakes. He is known as "the Bringer of Good Luck", "Guide and Guardian", "Ram-Bearer", "Argos-Slayer", "Conductor of Dreams", and "Excellent in all the Tricks". In Book XXIV of the Iliad, He escorts King Príamos through the Akhaían lines to and from the hut of Akhilleús where Héktör's body is ransomed.

Hestía is the virgin Goddess of the hearth, of domesticity, and of architecture. Customarily, She received the first offering at domestic sacrifices, and the first and last libation at feasts. Failure to maintain a domestic or public hearth fire was regarded as the neglect of a sacred duty.

Diónysos does not appear to be one of the twelve Olympians at the time of the Iliad. He is mentioned only twice: once in a recounting of the myth of Lykoúrgos (VI: 132); and once as the son of Semélē (XIV:325). Some researchers have traced Dionysiac elements in the history and character of Andromákhē.

Other, minor, deities are Hébē Goddess of Youth; Ĩris "the Wind-Swift Messenger"; Thémis Who calls the Gods to assembly; the Horaí Who open the Gates of Heaven; and Éōs, 'the rosy-fingered' Dawn. The Kễres are the chthonic Dooms of Violent Death, particularly in battle; the Moĩrai are the Fates that know, at the birth of men and women, when and how they will die; and the Moũsai are the Goddesses of literature and the arts. In the first line of the Íliad, the singer (or rhapsode) appeals to his muse to sing through him, thus allowing him to remember the words and string them together fluently.

The Gods have emotions like mortals—lust, love, anger, envy, spite so much so that the Athenian philosophers thought Homer blasphemous. Hérā, Athénā, and Poseidān actively support the Greeks, while Apóllān, Aphrodítā and Árās champion the Trojans. Zeús tries to stop them from meddling in human affairs but is only partly successful. Unlike men, the Gods are immortal and "carefree". They eat ambrosía and drink néktar. Their veins contain no blood, but course with the divine serum, ikhór. The Olympians live forever in a privileged existence, preoccupied with Their own affairs, for the most part oblivious to men. When mortals die they go down to the Halls of Haîídās, a dismal place of unmitigated gloom. There is no heaven or hell as in the Christian tradition, and no Valhalla for heroes. The existence of "The Happy Isles" as a place for blessed heroes seems to have been a later idea incorporated in *The Odyssey*. When Odysseús visits Haîídās, Akhilleús tells him that he would rather be a simple tenant farmer on Earth than a ruler of shades in the House of Hãídās (*Odyssey*, XI: 490).

The Gods can be propitiated by prayers (*litaí*) or sacrifice. Before major undertakings or going to sleep, libations of wine were poured on the ground to honour the Gods. Originally sacrifice was human, a practice not entirely eliminated by the time of the Íliad. Akhilleús, for example, executed and cremated twelve young Trojan noblemen on Pátroklos' funeral pyre, in recompense for Héktör's killing of his beloved comrade (XXIII: 265-267). Generally, however, the sacrifice was a hekatomb of sheep or young oxen, allowing the savour of burning fat to rise up to heaven and nourish the Gods. Agamémnōn's sacrifice of his innocent daughter Iphigéneia at Aulís, in order to propitiate Ártemis and obtain a fair wind, was so dreadful to contemplate that one version of the legend has Ártemis substituting a fawn for the victim at the last moment.

The Gods most involved in the Íliad are described in the Glossary of Deities (q.v.). The relation between the Greek Gods and the Gods of ancient Anatolia and Mesopotamia is discussed in Kirk, 1990, Vol.2, Books 5-8, pages 1-14.

Superstition

The meaning of a dream or inexplicable event could be divined by a seer or *mántis* such as Kálkhas who interpreted why there was no fair wind at Aulis and why the Akhaíans were being afflicted by a plague in Book I of the Íliad. The technique of augury by reading the entrails of birds and animals was a later development. The priest or *iereús* does not appear in Homer except as the guardian of a local shrine.

The concept of Fate is embodied in the words *Moĩra* and *Aĩsa*. *Moĩra* refers to the 'lot' in life apportioned to everyone. *Aĩsa* is a personification of the entity who spins out the thread of a person's destiny at birth. In other words, destiny is preordained. Even Zeús is unwilling to avert the Fate (*pótmos*) or Death-Doom (*Kếr*) of his son Sarpēdốn (XVI: 699ff.).

The aboriginal, chthonic ghosts or Dooms ($k\tilde{e}res$) preceded the Olympians who supplanted them, but not completely. They are discussed by A. Le Marchand, 1923, *Greek Religion to the time of Hesiod*, Manchester UK: Sherrat & Hughes, Chapter 2, pages 6-10. Dooms were everywhere in every field or house, always in danger of entering the body through the mouth and doing mischief (where they could be counteracted by fasting or eating strongly flavoured herbs). They were cleansed from the house in the festival of the Anthestéria. The *keres* escorted dead souls to Haïdēs and could even enter a dead body if it was not protected by placing a charm in its mouth (later explained as a coin to pay Khárōn the infernal Ferryman). The concept of a personal *daimón* conveying good- or ill- luck probably evolved from that of the *kér*. The Homeric world abounded in omens for good or ill— a sneeze, the flight or cry of birds, a dog barking, the crackling of a hearth fire, the spilling of wine or oil—all could forbode good fortune or calamity and might be averted by an apotropaíac prayer or gesture.

The *Erinýes* ("Furies") or *Eumenídēs* ("Kindly Ones") were female deities of vengeance who punished those who swore false oaths, young people insolent to their seniors, children who insulted their parents, inhospitable hosts, those who violated supplicants, and those who killed kinsmen. The Furies hounded their victims to death, or left them wanderers, without clan or community or home (i.e., "without a hearth"). These malevolent spirits were referred to as "The Kindly Ones" in order to avert their enmity.

Eileíthyia, the Goddess of childbirth and birth pangs, was of Minoan Cretan origin. Closely associated with Ártemis and Hérā, She was worshipped

in a cave near Knóssos and at Olýmpia.

At XIX: 131-135 and 195-197, Agamémnōn claims that he had been afflicted by $At\hat{e}$ when, previously, he had dishonoured Akhilleús by expropriating his prize of honour, Brisēîs. $At\hat{e}$ is a self-delusion or divine infatuation that clouds judgement, a temporary madness. In Aiskhýlos, $At\hat{e}$ is dispensed by the *Eumenídes*.

Funerary Practices

The shaft graves discovered by Schliemann at the site of ancient Mykénē suggest that bronze-age funerals involved interment without cremation. The graves contained jewelry, weapons, and food. The dead were often placed in group burial sites in chamber tombs. After 1100 BCE, individual tombs are found. In Athens, however, the practice of cremation preceded burial in an urn.

The funerals in Homer (e.g., of Pátroklos at XXIII: 167ff., and of Héktōr at XXIV: 1119ff.) involve cremation first, followed by storage of the ashes in an urn which is wrapped in cloth, and interment of the urn in a stone kist under a cairn of stones or $s\tilde{e}ma$. These customs are not consistent with what is known of bronze-age funerary rites, and suggest that Homer is describing the rites of an age after the Mycenean but before the Dipylon period (when both cremation and inhumation were practiced). The purpose of cremation may have been to ensure that the shade went to Hāïdēs without delay.

The Psychology of the Akhaían Warrior

When Homeric mortals experience powerful emotions such as sexual desire, the transport of love, the joy of battle, the inspiration of artistic creation, or the desire for revenge, they often feel themselves to be divinely possessed. At the very beginning of the Iliad, the singer invokes his Muse to sing through him of the wrath of Akhilleús. When the Muse does so, his memory and facility for improvisation are empowered and his singing becomes fluent and free as the song is woven:

Sing, Goddess, of the wrath of Pēleús' son Akhilleús, the accursed wrath that caused Akhaíans countless woes and hurled headlong To Hāídēs a host of heroes' souls, And left their bodies spoil for dogs and all The birds of carrion.

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In Book I:275, when Agamémnōn threatens to deprive Akhilleús of his prize of honour, Akhilleús is so incensed that he is in two minds about whether to attack Agamémnōn:

And what he said dishonoured Pēleús' son. It split the heart in two within his chest: Should he unsheathe the weapon from his thigh To separate the ranks and slay and strip The corpse of Atreús' son? Or should he curb His rage? He turned this over in his heart, And was about to draw his mighty sword...

But Athénē comes behind him, visible to none but Akhilleús, tugs his golden hair, and persuades him to curb his wrath (I: 282-290). When he does so, is Akhilleús exhibiting conscious intent? Does he have a conscious mind?

The Greeks of Homer referred to a number of concrete, only vaguely distinguished, mental functions. The living person is composed of body, $s\bar{o}ma$, and $psykh\bar{e}$, the breath or blood that animates the person. When someone dies, the $psykh\bar{e}$ — his or her last gasp — goes to the House of Haïdēs where it remains as a shade in the netherworld, leaving the corpse behind. It is not a forerunner of the modern concept of personality. The *thymós* is the site of vehement passion or agitation. The *phrén* (or *phrénes*) refers to the midriff or diaphragm which is thought to be the site of experience so surprising as to cause the individual to catch his breath. The *nóos* (later *noũs*) refers to what is perceived or in the field of vision. In later, classical, times it came to mean 'mind'. The verb *mermerizein* means to be perplexed or in two minds, as Akhilleús was when he was in a dilemma about whether or not to draw his sword and kill Agamémnōn (I: 276-280).

In 1976, Julian Jaynes, in *The origin of consciousness in the breakdown* of the bicameral mind, New York NY: Houghton Mifflin, advanced the theory that conscious, free will developed only in classical times. Iliadic men, he thought, had no concept of it and no words for it. Actions arose not from conscious reasoning but from the hallucinated actions and speeches thought to come from Gods. The heroes of the Íliad responded to hallucinations experienced as divine voices that were part of, and emanated from, the person. Their minds were *bicameral*, that is, consisting of two chambers. In the right brain decisions or plans were intuited and then conveyed in the form of divine hallucinations to the left brain where plans were enacted. At the time of Homer and thereafter, coinciding with the

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introduction of writing, the concept arose of a self that makes decisions. In other words, the bicameral mind broke down and consciousness emerged. Jaynes distinguished between consciousness (*introspectable mind-space*) and other mental functions such as cognition, learning, sensation, and perception.

Jayne's theory is controversial. Because the characters of the Íliad had no words for conscious decision making does not necessarily mean that they had no ability to do so. Indeed, a number of characters—Páris, Helénē, and Odysseús, for example—appear to have the capacity for independent decision making. At no time does Aías son of Telamón appear to be influenced by divine voices or aided by a God. Helénē argues with Aphrodítē in Book III, but only because she realizes, correctly, that she has been duped into abandoning her family in Spártē for the sake of an ignoble, womanizing coward. It could be that the Gods instructed the Greeks predominantly when they were in a dilemma about weighty decisions. In a high-stakes situation, the decision to act in a particular way would then be accompanied by a feeling of divine inspiration. At less urgent times, decisions are made without a sense of divine intervention.

At IX: 337-341, Agamémnōn has sent an embassy to the bitter, brooding Akhilleús with the aim of inducing him to return to battle. The embassy consists of five men: Phoĩnix, an older man and close friend of Pēleús, who had helped to raise Akhilleús like a son; the great warrior Aías son of Telamṓn, a noble but not particularly articulate man; the wiley Odysseus; and two heralds. After the guests have dined, a brief interaction takes place:

And when they'd had enough of food and drink, Lord Aías gave a nod to Phoĩnix, but Odysseús noticed, had his cup refilled' And pledged the godlike Akhilleús:

Homer does not tell us why Odysseús caught Aías' nod and intervened, when convention would suggest that the older man so close to Akhilleús should lead off. Odysseús was clearly waiting for the right time to address Akhilleús and jumped in to do so probably because he knew that he was the shrewder and more persuasive orator. In any case, no God is directing him. His action appears to be conscious, decisive, and acutely timed.

Recent research into cerebral lateralization suggests that the left hemisphere is responsible for speech and the right for self-awareness, which is the opposite of what Jaynes postulated. Nevertheless, despite many

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concerns, Jaynes has integrated information from psychiatry, neurology, classical scholarship, linguistics, and philosophy to propose a challenging theory that has led to a worthwhile debate.

Homeric Society

Homeric society is described in Gilbert Scoggin and Charles Burkitt (trans.), 1903, Weissenborn's Homeric Life, New York NY: American Book Company. The Akhaían clans were patriarchal and aristocratic. They were headed by chieftains who ruled their people by divine right. (That is, they were 'cherished by Zeús'.) The ruler lived in a palace where he administered justice and made decisions, for example for war or peace, supported by a Council (boulé) of elders and nobles, the aristoi or the best, most noble, and bravest of his people. He owned estates for the production of domestic animals, crops and fruit and was bound by sacred custom to be hospitable to strangers who had come to his hearth (philoxenía). Suppliants who clasped the knees of an adversary or potential guardian were under the special protection of Zeús.

Subordinate to the aristocracy were free men who owned property, typically farmers and prosperous artisans, and below them tenant farmers and hired labourers. The propertied class were represented by an assembly $(agor\acute{e})$ that considered proposals from the council of the elders and nobles and declared their approval or disapproval of the speakers. In times of war, too, the men were gathered in assembly when important decisions had to be shared with them. However, the assembly did not have the power to make political or administrative decrees. In Book II: 212-272, a commoner speaks up in assembly to berate Agamémnōn as a greedy womanizer, and to encourage the Greeks to sail home. Appalled, Odysseús tells the churl to hold his tongue, beats him about the back with a sceptre, and sends the humiliated upstart packing as the audience applauds.

At the lowest level were the slaves who were either purchased or obtained as war booty, and who often became part of the family that owned them. Male slaves tended the flocks, cultivated the crops, orchards and vineyards, assisted in the housekeeping, cooked, and waited table. Female slaves cleaned the house, attended the mistress of the house, washed the linen, ground grain to made bread, fed the animals, carded and spun the wool, and washed and prepared flax for the spinning of linen cloth.

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Ideally, husbands and wives were bound by tender regard, as were parents and their children. The father was head of the family, but even Zeús took into account His wife's feelings on matters that concerned Her (or, sometimes, as He thought, were none of Her business). In his prayer for Nausicáa, Odysseús says:

May the Gods grant you all your heart's desire: a husband and a home and a mind at one with his—a good gift for there is nothing mightier and nobler than when a husband and wife are of one heart and mind in a house. (Odyssey: VI: 180ff.)

In Book III, when the adultress Helénē hears that the Akhaíans have assembled outside the wall, she hurries to the gate filled with nostalgia for her former husband, her parents, and the city she had left. A group of elders marvel at her wondrous beauty but wish she would leave Troy and go back home. Nonetheless, King Príamos invites her to sit near him so she can see her relatives. He does not reproach her, reassuring her that it was the Gods who caused the war.

Brides were purchased from their fathers, a desirable wife often fetching a good price. Yet the prospective groom had to be acceptable to his bride. Marriage was celebrated in a feast with singing and dancing to lutes and flutes. A torchlight procession sang the marriage song and escorted the bride to her husband's house, to the accompaniment of ribald humour from the guests.

Aristocratic wives supervised the slaves in regard to household affairs, particularly the weaving of wool and linen. Women remained in special quarters in the house, but might join the men in the main hall on special occasions. If she appeared in public outside the house, a noble woman was veiled and accompanied by two servants.

As children grew older, boys were instructed by servants, for example in how to assist at sacrifices and feasts. Girls stayed closer to their mothers, helping in the weaving. Noble young men exercised, and learnt how to use weapons, break horses, drive the chariot, sing, dance, and speak in public. Girls prepared themselves for marriage in adolescence.

Each Homeric hero had a noble companion who attended him in battle. Pátroklos and Akhilleús, for example, had been raised together. They had a loving relationship which some regard as sexual in nature, though there is nothing in the Iliad to suggest it is other than the bonding of two warrior