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“HOMERIC” ZEUS AND HIS COMPLETED ILIADIC PROJECT (ΒΟΥΛΗ) IN THE *ILIAD*

ABSTRACT: The word βουλή famously appears in the *Iliad* poet’s above Invocation to the goddess that we all understand to be a Muse, who will give him insight into thoughts of other gods and conversations among them. So he claims to know not only that Zeus’ βουλή “was completed” but what it was. This completeness was not necessarily attained within the time frame of his following, i.e., from the visit of Chryses to the Achaean camp on the shore of Troy to the last day of Hector’s obsequies within and near Ilium some weeks later, but further weeks before the end of the ten-year war.

At the very end of the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles Heracles’ son (and Zeus’ grandson) Hyllus says of all that has happened within the play and in its very present backstory οὐδὲν τούτων ὅ τι μὴ Ζεύς. This cannot be said so categorically—μή!—of the *Iliad*, yet other gods are allowed or usurp agency while some mortals get at least a taste of it. That is what this essay assesses. [Note This writing amplifies the argument of the oral argument in “Verily Διὸς ἐτελείετο βουλή of the *Iliad*-Poet’s Unique Zeus—Once We Know What It Was and Is” presented at the annual convention of the Pacific Ancient and Modern Language Association at Palm Springs, California, in November 2024. Citations from Cambridge and Oxford commentaries on the two “Homeric” epics—hereafter singular “the two” or “both epics,” respectively, G. S. Kirk, General Editor, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, in 6 Volumes (Cambridge University Press 1990-1993) and the English edition, diverse editors, A Commentary on *Homer’s Odyssey,* in 3 volumes (Oxford University Press 1989-1998-1992) after the original Italian edition Omero: Odissea (Fondazione Lorenzo Valla Citations from my preceding articles in *Zbornik* will be cited by volume and page numbers.]

We start here:

> μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος
> οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρί' Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε,
> πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν
> ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν
> οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι, Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή... (1.1-5)

The word βουλή famously appears in the *Iliad* poet's above Invocation to the goddess that we all understand to be a Muse, who will give him insight into thoughts of other gods and conversations among them. So he claims to know not only that Zeus' βουλή "was completed" but what it was. This completeness was not necessarily attained within the time frame of his following, i.e., from the visit of Chryses to the Achaean camp on the shore of Troy to the last day of Hector's obsequies within and near Ilium some weeks later, but further weeks before the end of the ten-year war. What was it, then?

Rather than summarize countless previous discussions, let me propose the English word that best indicates my understanding of βουλή as alternative to "will" or "plan." A very prosy one: "project"! No translation aspiring to literary, not to mention poetic merit would ever use it; however, it *fits*. Neither "will," which can change its mind, its *content*, nor "plan" that always allows for at least a "Plan B" fits so well.

The *verb* "projéct" more clearly indicates a "looking-forward," whereas the *noun* "próject" allows for "work-in-progress" or "under-construction" toward one or more clearly intended goals/objectives. On the other hand, the noun declares more than that other prosy word "intention." It does, in fact, overlap with noun "will," as the cognate verb βούλομαι shows, but also implies thought about how to accomplish it, about *means* to its *end/s.* Finally, in real life projects often entail changes in details and *cost* overruns, not merely adjustments within a budget, when unanticipated problems arise. "Cost" here would be in frustration or disappointment, of course, not in tripods or weights of gold.

In the *Iliad* we may count nine autonomous supernatural actors who determine events, seven Olympian deities of first generation (Zeus, Hera, and Poseidon) and four of the second (Apollo and Athena, Hermes, Hephaestus, and Aphrodite), and a seventh of lesser rank but crucially important (divine sea-nymph Thetis), perhaps including grammatically feminine but impersonal Moira, who is never seen or heard, but simply as unmoved mover of sorts, is. I exclude from the census utterly ineffectual Ares and Artemis, who appear only to be humiliated—Ares thrice in Books 5, 15, and 21—and River Xanthus, who causes difficulty for Achilles, whom Athena and Poseidon cheer on almost to hold his own, until at Hera's bidding Hephaestus forces the watery god to beg for mercy.

Zeus' project, as we shall see, succeeds in honoring the very different wishes and plans (!) of his two by far most important Olympian children, Phoebus Apollo on the Trojan side in the war and Pallas Athena on the Achaean. Each of them has particular positive interest in individual, Apollo in Priam and his troublesome son Alexander/Paris and especially in his number one son young Hector; Athena in Odysseus, Diomedes, and above all Achilles.

Both have interest, instrumental but as different as can be, in Patroclus, which this statement of Zeus' project suggests, adding stark disdain for Hera:

> τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς:
> 'ἠοῦς δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπερμενέα Κρονίωνα
> ὄψεαι, αἴ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα, βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη
> ὀλλύντ' Ἀργείων πουλὺν στρατὸν αἰχμητάων:
> οὐ γὰρ πρὶν πολέμου ἀποπαύσεται ὄβριμος Ἕκτωρ
> πρὶν ὄρθαι παρὰ ναῦφι ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα [sc. Achilles]
> ἥματι τῷ ὅτ' ἂν οἳ μὲν ἐπὶ πρύμνῃσι μάχωνται
> στείνει ἐν αἰνοτάτῳ περὶ Πατρόκλοιο θανόντος:
> ὣς γὰρ θέσφατόν ἐστι: σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω
> χωομένης, οὐδ' εἴ κε τὰ νείατα πείραθ' ἵκηαι
> γαίης καὶ πόντοιο, ἵν' Ἰάπετός τε Κρόνος τε
> ἥμενοι οὔτ' αὐγῇς Ὑπερίονος Ἠελίοιο
> τέρποντ' οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι, βαθὺς δέ τε Τάρταρος ἀμφίς:
> οὐδ' ἢν ἔνθ' ἀφίκηαι ἀλωμένη, οὔ σευ ἔγωγε
> σκυζομένης ἀλέγω, ἐπεὶ οὐ σέο κύντερον ἄλλο.
>
> (8.469-483)

Athena also has a negative interest in Paris, which she shares, although less virulent in her case (because of her virginity?), with Hera because of Paris' offensive Judgment. Hera and Poseidon also have a broader grievance again Troy and the Dardanid royals not only of Priam and his numerous progeny. Both are impediments to their brother Zeus' project, but he treats his sister-wife—the *female* subject to him as brother and husband—with a harshness that heothewise reserves for her (and, unhappily his) son descpiable Ares

No other "Homeric" poems, *Odyssey* included, show such subtle, effective management on Zeus's par, who (frankly) exploits rather commands those most important junior Olympians Apollo and Athena. They are the most active of gods at Troy who design different fates within the poem for Achilles and Hector, the two primary mortal protagonists. Agamemnon is only an instrument. Athena plans to elevate him, Achilles, mortal though he is and dead though she and he know he soon will be, to immortality of κλέος. In her estimation she believes that she has succeeded and after l.100 of *Iliad* 24, when she yields (her seat on Olympus?)

to Thetis, she exits the session and the poem. Apollo, in diametric opposition, who with Aphrodite has frustrated Achilles' efforts to lacerate Hector's corpse and leave it as fodder for feral dogs, carrion birds, flies and maggot and wants him to accept that Hector is dead and, however much his rampage of Books 20-22 raised him toward the sky, he will fall to Hector's avengers, ignominiously by a bowshot. He wants *Peleus'* son to obey a command for the first time in the poem and yo acknowledge his place in the world *below* the gods. [N In Book 1 Achilles respected κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι who, without daring to speak a word, led Briseis away, handed over by Patroclus (1,327-348). In 9 Odysseus did not dare to convey the command that Agamenon appended at 9.160f to his 3rd-person catalogue of inducement-*bribery* that he otherwisedid repeat verbatim in 2nd-person, famously fscribing a totally different incentive*opportunity*: a chance at last to catch Hector back on the battlefield.]

PLAYERS, INCLUDING ONE NOT IN *GÖTTERAPPARAT* BUT ON *GÖTTEREBENE*, BY INTEREST/ AND (SOMETIMES) LITERAL GREEK βουλαί—OR PROJECTS!

First, interests, in persons and principles, and motivation:

Zeus Dynasties descended from him on both sides of the war: on the Achaean side from unloved Tantalus (Agamemnon and Menelaus), from Aeacus (Telamonian Ajax, Achilles Peleïdes), from Arcesius (Odysseus); on the Trojan side, alias Dardanian (after Dardanus, a dear son of Zeus) side two lines of descent, one leading to old Priam and his adult sons who include, among lesser others, Hector and Alexander/Paris, the other by way of Anchises, whom Aphrodite loved, to their son Aeneias who has a special privilege from Zeus: promise of a line of male descendants forever. Zeus also has a son Sarpedon by a Lycian princess, is a free ally, not a subject one, to Hector. Zeus is especially fond of the royal city named after Dardanus grandson Ilus (4.44-49). Zeus' interests include, besides, maintaining his supreme majesty and authority by implied or explicit threat of violence (or if necessary its exercise) and his notorious philandering, sacrifices duly offered to him, keeping his own solemn promises, enforcing oaths taken in his name (unless by Hermes), enforcing right behavior of hosts to guests and vice versa, protecting ritual suppliants, kings and beggars alike. And as "Father of men/heroes and gods" (πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, Il. 1.544 *et passim*) his children, immortal and especially mortal.

Hera Dynasties that govern cities where she is especially, traditionally worshiped, e.g. Mycenae and Argos and its ex-officio royal heroes, e.g. Agamemnon (11.45), where she and βAthena she borrows Zeus' thunder to honor him, who bears the Hephaestan scepter that Zeus gave to the Pelopids (2.100-108). Defends marriage, disappointed as *wife* though

not as queen to Zeus, defends legitimacy of birth, disappointed also as *mother* of Ares and Hephaestus. Resents her bastard "step-children" but often allies herself with special-case Athena, if expedient even with Aphrodite (14.188-223) though she is less sore loser to them as bitter enemy of Troy because of Prince Paris' poor judgment and the royal family's support of the war to defend the Paris-Helen adultery.

Poseidon The Sea- and Horse-God is represented in two dynasties among the Achaean leaders. Nestor belongs to one and two sons of his, of whom Antilochus will die tragically saving his father's after the action of our poem though subtly anticipated within it (notably when Diomedes *does* save the old man at 8.80-117). The other line, of which both "Homeric" epics are completely silent includes old Nauplius back home at Argos and to sons, of whom Odysseus effected the death of Palamedes one evil way or another, dramatized in Euripides' lost but well understood *Palamedes,* which preceded *Troades* in his Trojan trilogy of 415 BCE (and may have turned the Sea-god bitterly against the Greeks in the latter play's Prologue.) [N Poseidon seems to have been a patron of the Ajaxes in the fighting of Books 14-15 while Zeus' sleeps, Achilles sulks, other heroes are nursing their wounds among the ships.] That support makes the god particularly angry when Lesser Ajax taunts him in the episode about which Telemachus (and we) learned from Proteus' reports to Menelaus at *Od*. 4.499-511. Poseidon, however, is most sensitive to impairment of his own majesty, in his marine and equine provinces, but above as a son of Cronus, brother of Zeus. Before Iris coaxes him to tone down his declaration that Zeus and, he, with Hades as third, are equal partners in managing the world, each with a region, each with an allotted share of τιμή—and earth and Olympus are common to all (*Il*. 15.187-193). He will not live subject to Zeus' thinking (φρένες) even if his brother *is* κάρτερος (194f).

Apollo Zeus' Number One has *medico*-warriors the ships and on the battlefield of Troy, on the Achaean side, Machaon and Podaleirius sons of Apollo's son Asclepius. There is reason to associate him (perhaps as a very ancient Anatolian god not originally any father's son at all?) narrowly with the Citadel of Ilium as his father is with Gargaron Peak in the Ida Range.) [N The indication that Hector was really a son of Apollo is post-Classical and lacks the probability of (for example) Poseidon' paternity of Bellerophon.] Though no leading warriors on the Trojan side are his descendants [N Stesichorus and Ibycus make Hector his actual son; but "Homer clearly know nothing of this," writes Gantz in EGM p. 5562, Apollo informs a Priamid part-time prophet, Helenus, who fights alongside warrior brothers on the battlefield (see He is sufficiently holy for the Achaeans to spare him, letting him emigrate at the war's end. Chryses is a wholly non-combatant old priest of Phoebus, whom his patron

gods uses for a sort of entrapment, to set predictable sinner Agamemnon at angry, escalating odds with the Achaean generalissimo's deadliest weapon, prima donna Achilles. Apollo is at least as jealous of his status as immortal deity as Zeus, against and far above ephemeral mortals, 'creatures of a day'). [Note, Phoebus' most memorable quotation in *Iliad* must be his dismissive reply when Uncle Poseidon proposes that, as defenders of their opposing human protégés, they fight to save face during the Theomachy in Book (21.461-467).] Apollo chastises Agamenon as violator of several rules that apply to mortals, even mighty kings; but he hates Achilles even more, who would trespass over the boundary between god and man by seeking and, as he bargained achieving *im*mortality of intangible honor and glory that will survive his corporal death—forever.

Athena Obviously the Parthenos has no children 'of the body' anywhere, She does, however, adopt virtual sons (and daughters) who draw her attention. They do so by inborn strength and valor, by matching high ambition, or (in the case of Odysseus and, a bit differently, of Jason) for μῆτις, shrewd problem-solving and not always forthright leadership. Her favorite in the Trojan War generation are Achilles, Diomedes, and Odysseus, whose fathers she had already favored. Her relationship with Agamemnon and Telamonian Ajax is more complicated. At behest of Hera, who loves and cares for Agamemnon and Achilles equally she prevents the latter from slaying the former (and abruptly ending the Trojan War: 1.194-216).

She has no interaction at all at all with Nestor at Toy, though he boasts of μῆτις (see 23.311-325). Shedid, decades ago, support the precocious hero, youngest son of Neleus in wars forgotten by everyone but him (11. 714, 721, 729, 736, and 7357f!).

Hermes Although Hermes especially loved and enriched Phorbas "of many flocks," father of Trojan warrior Ilioneus (14.489-492), Poseidon counts him among the gods who are set upon the destruction of Ilium (15.213-217; cf. 20.32-40)-) and in the Theomachy he squares off against Leto, mother of two of the pro-Trojans, Apollo and Artemis (20.72)—but does not dare, he says, to fight a formidable wife of Zeus (21.495-501)! He always does his father's bidding.

Hermes has a son Eudorus, one of the Myrmidon battalion leaders whom Patroclus leads into battle in Book 16 (179-192).

Hephaestus The Fire-and-Smith-God has no son in the war. On the other hand, he has as a priest an older man named Dares (the very fellow to whom a late post-Classical account of the war from the Trojan point of view was ascribed). Dares had two sons in thr war the Fire-and Metal-god, like Hermes, is unambiguously pro-Achaean in the same lists that mentioned Hermes and will oppose River Xanthus in the battle of gods. To free Achilles from Xanthus' flooding pursuit he will scorch the river's water and botanic banks into submission, at his mother Hera's bidding

(21.328-382). But he needed no command from his mother but only the plea of Thetis to rearm Thetis' son in Book 18, grateful to Nereid her and Oceanid Eurynome for welcoming and caring for him after his mother had flung her embarrassing son from Olympus into the sea (18.394-405).

Thetis The Nereid's βουλαί imparted to Zeus and nodded to, indicating his reluctant but now irrevocable assent (their interview dramatizes the one and only interest of hers): Achilles, who has sent her up to a remote part of Olympus. The greatest hero of his generation is herand her mortal, now aged mate Peleus' likewise mortal son Achilles, demigod though he is. By going to Troy to fight and by staying there, he would knowingly accelerate his death—and maximize his glory, unrivaled by any other warlike hero of his time.

Moira Grammatically feminine Μοῖρα, like her metrically useful virtual synonym Αἶσα, this entity seems scarcely personal in "Homer," no more so than neuter πεπρωμένον. However, for Hesiod she could be female enough that, when mated with Zeus, she bore Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos "who give mortals the good and the bad" (*Th*. 904-906). According to Achilles' account of Zeus' Δυοὶ Πίθοι at *Il.* 24.527-53 that is what Zeus himself does (and the son of Peleus proceeds to apply the notion to the experience of two unhappy old men, his own faraway father and his bereaved enemy turned guest Priam). Notable here, however, are the three lines preceding the jar business: how ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ "the *life* of poor suffering mortals" (525f). This seems to show awareness of Fate Clotho, at least, and nor merely a coincidence of metaphorical spinning, females' work.

In the any case the singular in both Homeric epics is what it is, impassive, immovable, and simply exists for gods and men to accept and adjust to it. Che sarà, sarà. Zeus himself must do the same, in the famous *acute* case of his son Sarpedon's in Book 16, in the inexorable doom of Priam Dardanides and the people of Priam in the clearly anticipated end of the war from before the war even began (in Calchas' augury that Odysseus adduces at 2.299-330). [A persuasive, concise discussion of Fate in the *Iliad* by R. Janko may be found in the Oxford Commentary Vol. VI, 3-7. See also B. Hainsworth in Vol. II, 116f on Achilles' alternative κῆρες at 9.410-16.]

Βουλαί in motion, changing with circumstances, yet with always the same motivation, and in reverse order, ending with the evolved one of Zeus that the poem's Invocation presages:

Moira She/It has none, needs not "projection." Her future is, as it/sheit wer, set in adamant, not in νόος or in φρένες and certainly not in θυμός. A favored English epithet is "ineluctable," from Latin "that cannot be struggled out of," stronger even than "in exorable," "that cannot be begged

out of." Part of a world order older than Zeus, whom in his Iliadic manifestation she/it has helped and hindered, and sometimes left not as omnipotent than he supposed, even vulnerable as the doublet stories of Metis and Thetis both prove: he has no guarantee that no *third* conceivable (two senses!) successor lurks about whom he will *not* be warned in time

Thetis Her strategy is to make a claim on Zeus to use his control of events within his immense power to compel Agamemnon to capitulate to her son, restoring his honor at cost to Agamenon's. This does not quite happen in Book 9, but Zeus keeps the pressure on in the great Battle of Books 11-18 after which, despite Achilles' deadly howl of wrath, Hector's Trojans still hold the battlefield. Hector himself possesses Achilles' first, inherited set of divine armor. All Achilles has is Patroclus corpse. Agamemnon offers not only all he promised two nights ago, but swears publicly and before Zeus and other divine witnesses above and below to what cannot be true (19.258-265, viz., that he has not touched Briseïs!) but is intended to save face for Achilles.

Thetis proudly tells her son that Zeus has gotten him what he asked for (18.73-77: these events had been the Θέτιδος...βουλαί that, Athena complains at 8.370-372, Zeus has realized, to turn the tide of the war against Agamemnon who humiliated him and against the Achaean host who, all but Nestor, stood by in silence). Now, however, Achilles declares how all that matters to him is revenge on Hector for killing Patroclus. Thetis changes her strategy, showing how little she understands her son. As if to deter him from returning to the war she tells him that "You will now die on me, from what you are telling me quiickly, for after Hector's πότμος yours is ready (ἑτοῖμος, 18.95f). He may be said to intend his early death now less for glory or riches than to punish himself, to avenge his comrade upon himself for sending Patroclus into battle for the first time ever without Achilles at his side, with war-loving Trojans (meaning unnamed Hector) *and Apollo* against him. (See his caution to Patroclus at 16.80-94.) Thetis' Plan C—or is it D? She now will get him replacement armor, glorious indeed, in desperate hope that that, and wearing it and slaying lots of Trojans including formidable non-Priamid targets, [N E.g. Hector' demigod cousin Memnon already on his long way to Troy?) and allies (shocking Amazon Penthesilea who arrives in Troy during for Hector's ongoing obsequies),] will satisfy him for the near future, but not enough to entail his death. In the anxious meantime, after she delivers Achilles' new divine arms, she reacts to his concern over flies that buzz and crawl over Patroclus' mouldering body, she promises to keep insect and other deterioration from the corpse and advises him to call an assembly to make his peace with Agamemnon and arm for his desired battle (19. 29-36). After Hector's slaying she leads the wailing before Patroclus' belated funeral (23.14). Finally, sent by Zeus in Book 24, she plays a

consoling role like Siduri's in *Gilgamesh*, who urges despondent, death-fearing Gilgamesh to enjoy physical pleasures of mortal life while he can. Thetis urges like acquiescence does upon her son conveying the command from Zeus to release Hector's remains against ransom (24.128-137). Little does she know how that will play out, or that *Priam* in person will deliver *what* ἄποινα. Below I shall argue that *Zeus* anticipates and knows.

Hephaestus Hephaestus is agent without initiative when at his mother Hera's bidding he literally gets River Xanthus off Achilles back in Book 21. However, this is consistent with his desire to please the demigod's divine mother in 18. His will is to show open-ended gratitude to Thetis when he can do something in his domain as metalsmith (18), as elemental fire (21). At the end of Book 1 (571-600) he intervenes between his (here) two parents to calm them down before physical violence ensues from Zeus' tête-à-tête with Thetis —and his mother Hera get much the worse of it. Again! [See 15.18-24.] It has nothing to do directly with Thetis. However, Zeus' favor to Thetis that Hera rightly divines and deplores puts the lame god in a very uncomfortable place between his father's client Tetis, to whom the lame Smith-god owes much gratitude, and his mother, whose unshakable devotion to the Achaean cause the whole poem from Book 1 to Book 24 shows *ostinato*. Here Hera correctly guesses that Zeus now will support the Trojans against their Greek besiegers—whom Hephaestus also favors (if only because his mother does, and he strives to please *her* as many an unwanted child would do with an abusive mother?).

Hephaestus' elemental **fire** figures in two narrative threads.

One is the thought that Achilles raises at 9.346f before the "ambassadors," that other else, not he, must ward off fire from the ships. Phoenix picks up the idea at 9.435f—and Agamemnon, indicating awareness of the danger, asks Odysseus if Achilles is willing to defend the ships against it or if χόλος still possesses his θυμός, "hot spirit" (9.674f). In reply Odysseus uses the verg, i.e., σβενέννυμι for quenching a fire, to assert that it still does (678)! [N Is Hephaestus so decidedly on Thetis' and Achilles's side? (This supports the elaboration of the metaphoric imagery of blazing fire (and eventual entropy) in C. H. Whitman NNNNN.] Corresponding to Hera's and Athena's vow to see Troy totally incinerated (20.314-317).

Trojans raise the hope of the Greeks complete destruction by fire, of the wall-fortification (τεῖχος) at 12.177 and of the ships behind it (Hector's desire at 12.441—what Menelaus divines at 13.629 and what is, at least with one ship ablaze at 15.597, an item of the agenda (βουλή) that Zeus lays out in 592-614 and that is realized at 16.112f). [N B. Hainsworth in Commentary Vol III p. 337 observes that fire is only mentioned once, here, in connection with the wall, and that an earthen embankment does not offer it fuel. Not just the gates but the repeatedly mentioned towers (πύργοι); but the reaching of the wall seems to be done by the attackers'

hands. There it leads urgently to the half-cadence of Patroclus' death late in that book on the way to the full cadence of Hector's in 22.

The role of fire in Book 23 when Achilles cannot light Patroclus' grand pyre is telling. Action and *in*action are equally choices of an actor's agency. But is Hephaestus the agent here? Achilles' failure to ignite the grandly constructed and fueled funeral pyre for Patroclus is a striking event, more like what we expect from Ovid than the Iliad-poet. . A symbol of his still unreadiness to part with his friend? Or proof to Achilles, with Athena's nectar and ambrosia completely worn off, that he needs divine aid yet cannot expect it to be volunteered. He must earn it, ask for it, with a vow, not a confident, almost presumptuous εὔχομαι, nor a humble, pleading λίσσομαι, but an invoking ἀράομαι with a *quid pro quo promise* of sacrifice to follow and relayed by Iris, who could here be serving both Zeus and Hera. (23.194-211). The favorable winds whom the hero evokes, Zephyr and Boreas, evidently not penned in Odyssean Aeolus' cave; but they are subject to Zeus, although Artemis at Aulis and Apollo at *Il*. 1.479; in the Odyssey Athena, Calypso, and Circe in the Odyssey on still others, and Zeus directly

Hephaestus' own will is best demonstrated by how in Book 18 he uses his art and his inspiration in decorating Achille's new shield. All it had to be was worthy of a demi-god—impenetrable, in pure and alloyed precious metals. However, the maker's descriptive content and especially its narrative seems designed to suit the superhuman *yet mortal* man who will wield the uniquely, tellingly decorated artifact and whom it will protect as long as it is his fate to live. Not for long, as Thetis sadly indicates (18.440-443; cf. ὠύμορος at 458). Hephaestus wishes he could changethat as surely as he can fashion for his armor a wonder of the world ((464-468), such as no mortal man has ever borne, Thetis says at 19.10f), It shows the world as it is, its sort of bipolarity that when the Myrmidons view it terrifies them, but that energizes the hero who will soon depart that that venue of joy and pain (19.14-18).

Hermes Like lame Hephaestus, speedy Hermes often simply obeys orders, in his case ones from his father Zeus as in *Odyssey* 5. [N Iliadic Zeus seems to take pleasure in with Hera's awareness ordering around Iris, who is traditionally his wife's errand-girl and, to bear command or warning of which Hera would hardly approve (e.g., to restrain Hera's partner in subversion Poseidon at 15.157-21; to encourage Priam, whom Hera would eat raw (4.35), to visit Achilles).] Hermes also like Hephaestus, although Maia's son too, as noted above, has friends on the other side he always counts as member of the *Iliad*'s Olympian pro-Achaean coalition. In one case, however, Zeus sends *Hermes* as escort to King Priam of Troy with his equally old herald to bring him safely to and into Achilles' quarters in the Achaean camp (24.331-339). The young god is left to his own devices

to work out the details. There he exercises some of the nicest, kindest divine intervention, using a disguise of course—as a sympathetic Myrmidon! (24.352-439) No divine intervention in ancient literature is as humane. When Hermes finally reveals his identity he says that his father gave him his mission to escort Priam to Achilles, and instructs him on how to supplicate approach Achilles and by whom to make his plea—adducing the hero's father, mother, and child, the first and third of them conspicuously absent. Hermes' practice of tactful albeit self-serving persuasion is clear in his one-sided conversation during the Theomachy of Book 21. At 497-501 he finds a good and flattering reason not to alienate Leto the mother of Brother Phoebus, a good buddy (see 8 322f and their banter at 334-343) when a war does not temporarily divide them. For we have seen how after the war these brothers can join the pro-Odysseus coalition.) Hermes' aim is to be friends with all, on Olympus and down on earth. More an attitude than a "will" or a "plan," and yet entirely in his control.

Aphrodite This goddess is counted as pro-Trojan and lines up in the smaller pro-Trojan coalition which in its full form includes her and likewise unwarlike Leto, and ineffectual Artemis besides Apollo Unlike them, she is involved in the action beyond the Theomachy. In fact, she seems more invested in pleasing Paris/ Alexandros/than in any other Trojans, certainly not in Andromache, for example, although the goddess gave her as wedding gift the splendid head dressing that she throws to the ground when she knows she has been widowed (22.468-472). Aphrodite wants to control Helen, even though she cannot control herself or her own futile lover and loser Ares. Nevertheless, she has some more generous sensibilities. With closer patronship to the deceased, Apollo covers Hector's corpse with a cloud to block Helius' desiccating heat '(one guesses licensed by Zeus: 23.188-191), the other who protects Hector's corpse from scavenging feral dogs and anoints his flesh against corruption (23.184-187). Her long range thinking? Hard to imagine. She will keep Paris alive as long as she can, but maybe will look forward to the cadet Dardanid line, even though she seems not to have developed a warm reciprocal relationship with the son she bore to Anchises. Her "will" seems to be whatever lets her enjoy herself (in two distinct reflexive senses) regardless of honor or consistency; "plan" follows changing circumstances. A slight scratch to her wrist. and she abandons her seriously injured son Aeneas (5.334-367: Apollo must rescue him, 344-346). She tries to be on good terms even with Hera, whom she knows to hate her, as her loan of a love-charm blouse shows (14.187-223), if only because it flatters her to be treated with respect, however specious, and maybe gain a future return χάρις. [N Hera's spy Iris did drive her up to Olympus when she suffered that traumatic scratch (5.334-343), but may that be to publicize her embarrassment up there? After Aphrodite's public disgrace in the shaming

tale told in *Odyssey* 8 she flies away from Hephaestus' home on Olympus down to Paphos, where Graces (!) attend to her, under her own power at 263-266.]

Athena Pallas Athena definitely has a "plan" with two usually complementary components. One is her determination to destroy Troy, because of Paris' offense to her personally [N 24.25-30] and, possibly, because of his violation of guest-friendship, to her father and the fact that Priam and therefore the Trojan nation condone it and defend the offender. [N Because of her service to Zeus in the *Odyssey* interest in such sins is implied. However, because she is essentially self-motivated in the *Iliad* this is not so clear here.] The other is her desire to glorify leading Achaean warriors distinguished for ancestry and/or valor (Diomedes and Achilles for both—on the Achaean side, of course, in her war) and/or μῆτις (making Odysseus uniquely useful) for its versatile applications. [N Big Ajax is a special case. He does his mighty deeds evidently without her physical support or counsel, thrusting or hurling his spear repeatedly and throwing a big stone to crush Hector (14.409-420). That is Athena's own style of battling! *Is she saving Hector for Achilles?* Somehow this might have suggested Sophocles likely invention of Ajax' disdain for gods' assistance and his insult to Athena's face that a messenger reports at *Aj.* 762-775).]

When Achilles not only drops out of the war but roots for Trojan success and, even worse, through his non-partisan goddess mother gets Zeus to award it, Athena has a serious problem. She must somehow reconcile demigod and supreme spearman Achilles, whom she admires and who heeds her, and Agamemnon, whom Hera and she need to keep the Achaean fighting force together. At the prompting of her Troy-hating ally Hera she intervene in a hurry to keep dear Achilles from assassinating Agamemnon in Book 1. She does not, however, try to persuade either man to give ground. In fact, Odysseus lends his herald Eurybates to Agamemnon to accompany his own Talthybius on the mission to fetch Briseïs (1.318-325). [Note. G.S. Commentary Vol. 1 p/p. 85 Kirk suggests that both herald's names are generic. No. Eurybates is Odysseus' at 2.184 as Kirk acknowledges. Then at 9.169f *Nestor's* herald Odius and Eurybates lend sacred formality to the Embassy. Eurybates can hardly be Agamemnon's!] At *Od*. 19.244-248 the Beggar describes Odysseus' cherished, intelligent herald—Eurybates—to Penelope to prove his claim that he entertained her husband on his way to Troy. Instead, on plan, she supports Diomedes in the Battle of Books 4-7, his day of glory and glory too toward dusk for Telamonian Ajax (which in his case she observes from a tree without addressing or assisting him), a good day for the Achaeans and included, before the general fighting, that violation of the solemn truce which she herself instigated and which guarantees Greek victory sooner rather than later.

It is perhaps significant that in Book 9 Achilles will not be moved by Agamemnon's extravagantly offered "gifts" as his spokesman, Athena's disciple Odysseus relays them, even though he replaces the commander's ill-chosen last lines. Ajax and Athena do not collaborate. Athena surely enjoyed the match between Ajax and Hector that she observed in bird form, seeing that Ajax left Hector for her favorite Achilles to slay.

On the next long day of battle Athena does not support Patroclus, even during the time when her father Zeus is allowing him more glory before he dies (16.644-785). For Athena knows how it all will play out, up to Hector's slaying. Zeus has laid some of the future out before all the Olympians at 8.470-476 and in greater detail to Hera at 15.59-77—all Ἀθηναίης διὰ βουλάς (71)! On the other hand, no more than Thetis does, does *she* understand what Patroclus means to Achilles, only the certainty that his death will break the impasse between his wrathful avenger and Agamemnon, the object of the demigod's first, now superseded wrath. Moreover, the rich material compensation that Athena promised Achilles at 1.210-214 will be offered and delivered, but with little joy to him. the first time Achilles' comrade has fought without him at his side Patroclus has been slain; Achilles knows himself first and foremost to blame. Furthermore, on the longer way to that Greek victory which Athena desires most of all her βουλαί include Achilles' glory *and the early death he bar-gained* for: we learn at 20.313-317 that she and Hera, in the presence of the other gods of the other gods, repeatedly swore not to ease up support for the Achaean Expeditionary Force until the κακὸν ἦμαρ arrive for their enemy and the Achaeans have burned trot, city and land, to the ground. Achilles' glory seems, in Athena's thinking (and the mistaken thinking of many), to come from the slaying of Hector. *Once that is accomplished she loses interest in him! He will have played his part in removing the most formidable defender of Troyand gotten his glory thereby.* On the other hand, Pallas, Hera and Poseidon are the three Olympians who veto the other gods' wish that Hermes steal Hector's body after eleven days of Achilles' malicious glee in dragging him/it over the battlefield (24.14-30). Achilles' honot enhanced? Or perhaps impaired? Athena may show a touch of sympathy when she yields her seat on Olympus next to Zeus to Thetis at 24.100—and leaves the meeting and the poem. During the funeral games Athena has already turned her attention to surviving protégés Diomedes (23.499-51, perhaps also 811-825) and Odysseus (708-737—a draw, but advantage to the Ithacan, as Ajax had advantage over Hector in Book7—and certainly 754-792). Much is at the expense of the two Ajaxes.

Apollo "And Apollo's βουλή Was Also Completed" [N (*Zbornik* [Classical N, nnn-nnn)] lays out much of what need not be elaborated here. Apollo succeeds in cutting down demigod Achilles with his ambition for immortality, if only of unsurpassable immortal *glory*, to acceptance of

his lower status as mortal. The death of Patroclus is an essential element, but so are doubts the hero expresses in Book 9 about his choice of—could it be?—gold for bronze, life for precarious fame (408-416). The astonishing honor that humanized Achilles unprompted gives to Priam and Priam's son, far beyond merely accepting the ransom as he was commanded to do.

So also is the profound anguish he experiences for days *after* he has killed Hector, what what was supposedly the supreme achievement that should bring him glory as unique in his generation as his idol Heracles' was in his. At the cost of Patroclus and all that he meant to Achilles, all that he was for him, the human-mortal. Apollo seems to have defeated Athena, who got her darling only an unsatisfactory, even regrettable achievement metaphorically over the dead body of the one person in the world whom he really loved as himself. Menoetius' son, Achilles' foster brother was more precious to him than the life he *now* will trade for revenge—itself proving to be unsatisfactory. The ghost of Patroclus who as he died predicted Hector's slaying now does not care. Dead is dead. Achilles must cease treating the corpses of his dearest friend and bitterest enemy as if both are still sensitive. But Apollo has not won, either. (See **Zeus** below. In the end Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή!) [Note To Apollo's willful influence on humiliation of Patroclus and Achilles and toward the glory of Hector I would add two details of narration from *Iliad* 15 and 16 where our Bow-and-Sword God helps the Trojan cause invisibly. He disarms Ajax' Telamonian brother Teucer and Ajax himself (as he will Patroclus more sensationally later in 16, at 788-804—there Apollo's action but with Zeus explicitly in charge): at 15.458 Zeus deprives Teucer of the εὖχος of killing Hector, but Apollo would be his agent "on the ground," breaking the man's bowstring who drops arrow and bow to the ground (15.461-465); and at 16.115-121, where again only Zeus is mentioned, Hector's sword—not the one Hector gave him with which

Ajax will kill himself—lops the bronze spearhead from Ajax' no useless long pole. [N That sword will in turn be useless against Achilles' unique spear (16.306-327), Athena's style of weapon. After a throw that Hector ducks the goddess herself invisibly hand-delivers his Pelian ash spear back to Achilles for his well-aimed lethal thrust that will kill the Trojan prince at 22.273-277.]

How far Apollo will go to delay Hector's fatal confrontation with Achilles he shows in astonishing intervention. As the climactic Battle of Books 20-22 begins, Achilles has set his sights on Hector (20.75-78). Abruptly Apollo propels Aeneias, whom Phoebus himself has saved from death at *Diomedes'* hands in Book 5, against the wrathful demigod (79-111). Anti-Trojan Hera and Poseidon debate how to respond on the chance that Apollo or any other of the gathering pro-Trojan gods directly threaten Achilles (112-143). The demigod sons of Aphrodite and Thetis square off,

thanks to Apollo (who may not like any who blur the line between god and man).

They have a rather long conversation (148-258), then they close. They exchange spear-throws 259-283). Then Achilles advances with (Apollonian!) sword, Aeneas with (Palladian!) a boulder to throw 283-290). Just as Peleus' son nearly ended the *Iliad* in Book 1with a lethal slash or stab, he is now about to cut short Anchises' line of descent with that same sword. However—more astonishment!—Poseidon's asks the pro-Achaean whether they might intervene to save the Dardanid prince, son of despised Aphrodite though he is, on whom Zeus is counting to be a link in an endless chain of descendants from *his* father Anchises. Hera will *not*, but she leaves it to Poseidon's judgment (φρένες) to decide he will to do so, and so he decides to do 317-340). Frustrated Achilles (341-364) decides to kill all he *can* reach and his horrific rampage of Books 20-21 is about to begin, Hector rallies the Trojans, says he will face Achilles, but (in a second epiphany? like yesterday's at 115.253-262? when he urged Hector to rejoin the battle, ultimately to face and kill Patroclus?) Apollo *now* commands him *not* to advance to meet the Achaean demigod but to withdraw into the mass of Trojan warriors. Apollo, of course, will soon run out of *Hector's* time to live and will leave his dearest protégé to die at Achilles' hands, exactly as Patroclus predicted (16.851-854) though Hector rejected the prediction.

Poseidon Poseidon first appears in the *Iliad* only in Book 7. He is worried that that massive defensive rampart which the Greeks have just raised might diminish his honor as builder of the Walls of Troy. He complains about it to his reigning brother (7.443-463). At the beginning of *Iliad* 8 Zeus sternly prohibits other gods from interfering in his management of the war, during the Battle of Book 8 by which he turns the tide of the war. Poseidon postpones leveling of the rampart till after the war, because the Greeks' side, his side is suddenly in retreat—and the wall may be needed to save them! HE intervenes in the fighting not be using undisguised forcen in but by exhorting and in disguise supporting the Achaean side in the earlier stages of the Books 13-beginning of 14 stage, after the major woundings of the Great Battle of Books 11-beginning of 18. While Hera has distracted her husband and then put him to sleep, in absence of Achilles and of wounded others of the leading Achaeans, Zeus' insubordinate brother himself fights (14.389-391 and 15.8, probably in disguise that only a god or an ἀοιδός can see through) and exhorts among others the two Ajaxes who take the lead in the Achaean counterattack. Little Ajax, son of Locrian Oïleus, has a surprising if relatively brief *aristeia* that ends the book (14.508-522); but awakened Zeus bans his brother from participating further in the fighting. This clears the way for Patroclus' death as the battle progresses into the afternoon. The next day

in Book 20 Poseidon agrees with Hera to stay out of the next day's climactic fight unless gods favoring the Trojans intervene against Achaeans *who now include the wrathful, vengeful, take-no-prisoners son of Thetis*. Ahiles hold his own on the run as Athena instills strength that he lacks, as she often does fr her often for her darling heroes (303f). When Poseidon and Apollo meet on the Olympian field of battle the elder is reluctant but willing to test his nephew's strength km. Poseidon is referred to in connection with bloodline of Achilles' horses that will *not* compete in Book 23's chariot race and why not (274-285) and in Nestor's assertion that Zeus and Poseidon both love Antilochus and may give him success—provided he deploys Nestor's own brand of μῆτις (23.309-325). Poseidon is presumably present on Olympus in Book 24, yet he says and does nothing when Zeus decides to have Achilles release Hector's body for funeral honor at Ilium (64-76). Of the three great gods implacable in hatred for Troy (25f; Athena is the third), only Hera has spoken against doing any such thing (55-63). When Athena yield place to Thetis she parts company in harshest understanding of the aforementioned oaths Hera and she swore before the Olympian public. Apollo's implied motion to end Achilles' atrocious actions (32-54) and Zeus' *will* prevails. But Achilles will in fact and according to plan, give the body for a ransom that honors himself, the payer of that ransom, and the man whose remains Apollo has preserved—with Zeus' borrowed golden aegis (18-21).

Hera As we have just observed, Hera's unmollified wrath against Paris' family and entire nation is steadfast. She looks down from Olympus at the ongoing bottle She will do everything in her power, even weaponizing her natural mature beauty and *ad hoc* enhanced sexual allure, to accelerate the destruction of Troy. But she is right to maintain that her intermittently loving husband, because of his great affection for the Dardanid royal line descended from a favorite bastard son of his is inclined to delay and to mitigate their inevitable doom. [N If only in comparison with the outcomes for so many of the Greeks from kings to nameless casualties and survivors. See Cassandra's bitter consolation to Hecuba at Euripides *Tro.* 353-405! and add to it what Athena and Poseidon "plan" in that play's prologue, and the fulfillment of Ajax' wholesale curse at Sophocles *Aj.* 839-844.]

Zeus In the *Iliad* the president and chairman of the Olympians has a far trickier political situation than the Zeus of the *Odyssey* faces. To the latter, only Poseidon presents a problem; and that *alternative* curse which Odyssean Zeus is patiently willing to let him put into effect, can only further delay νόστος—for Odysseus. The crews of Odysseus' dozen ships because of incaution in the fjord of Laestrygonia and from positive recklessness can be lost, so that their captain's destiny is to *live, consistently with Zeus' intention,* a hard life, to be sure, yet one that ends happily

for him thanks to the constant concern of four active divine allies and their father's blessing. The Sea-god is a tolerable nuisance throughout, yet Odysseus has an assured future means, a literal path to reconciliation with him and a gentle death from th sea (Od. 11.134-137).

The Olympus of the *Iliad*, in contrast, was deeply divided over *casus belli*, progress, and looming outcome of the Trojan War and over the person Achilles. Moreover, partisan gods on each side are divided among themselves. Hera, for example, is uncompromising in her will to exterminate Troy; Athena, though Paris also offended her personally, is less virulent (and allows Lycian Glaucus to escape death from Diomedes' spears because of their inherited bond of χενίη. That virtue's unique demonstration in Iliad 6 honors both men—and must please her father; moreover Poseidon is willing to accept and insure a Dardanian hero Aeneas' survival when Achilles threatens him with certain death (and Zeus again may be glad1). Hermes and Hephaestus each show nonpartisan philanthropic feeling, even what we might call (were they not gods?) humanity. Thetis is interested only in her son, not even in the Achaean comrade closest to him or in his father or son—no more than he is, even in letting Patroclus go to his death despite his mother's perplexing prediction that *while he still lived* Ttojan enemy would kill Μυρμιδόνων τὸν ἄριστον (*Il.* 18.9-11).

On the Trojan side Apollo seems concerned about only Hector, not even Paris whom he will join, as dying Hector foresees at 16.359f, in avenging the death of Apollo's favorite, but whose own death Silverbow will not prevent when the Achaean bring on their greatest archer Philoctetes with Heracles' bow (anticipated, though without detail at 2.724f). Ares is notoriously fickle, and ready to enter a battle to avenge an *Achaean* son, Minyan co-leader Ascalaphus, and, though taunted by his unloving mother must be restrained by his mightier sister Athena, who at this point urges all, on both sides, to heed Zeus' ban on any divine interference in the war, which he that he will now manage, other than what Apollo and Iris will now do at his command (15.110-141).

I attribute no significant agency to Ares in the older epic and only shaming scandal the eighth book of the younger one, what will make him beholden both to Zeus and to Uncle Poseidon, with a debt due to cuckold Hephaestus. To each of the others, however, Zeus allows something, but everything that he appears to concede turns out to serve, even to advance his evolving, emerging plan that *Iliad* 23 and 24 gradually disclose, largely in retrospect over the entire poem, especially book-end Books 1 and 24. [N Whitman's structural analysis.

Zeus seems to hope that threats, referring to his past resort to forceful, effective exercise of his overwhelming power are enough to give him his

way (βουλή!) in the end.' For he has to live forever with Hera and Poseidon, Apollo and Athena, Hermes and Hephaestus, even Aphrodite; and he would rather not have a Thetis remind him why he should be uniquely grateful to her, for a favor of which her son reminds her (*Il.* 1.396-406). His daughter the goddess Muse and therefore the *Iliad* poet know where he wants events to go, here short of the unfortunately inevitable fall of Priam and the people of Priam that the singer does sing although he anticipates it to pathetic effect. Inevitable because all Paris-Alexander's family and almost all his nation endorse his sensational sin against **hospitality**. Zeus is, in fact, frequently "Cloud-Gatherer" and "Delighter in Lightningbolt," and use harsh weather against mortals in similes and a thunderbolt on the battlefield when Diomedes persists in fighting when lesser signs are against him and the Achaeans all (8.132-158). However, the *Iliad*'s design suggests that he would rather be known as "Protector of Foreigners-Guests-and-Hosts" and "Protctor of Suppliants."

Flagrant offense against a non-combatant *foreigner* who comes in peace, indeed a sacrosanct priest-*suppliant* opens this epic, while it closes in sublime manifestation of Zeus' rules as Χένιος Ἱκέσιος.

The poem's stark *first* word thematizes the changing multi-dimensional μῆνις of Achilles whose multiple patronymics and frequent bynames identify him as a *mortal* man's son—and an *old* hero's, as we are repeatedly reminded thereafter. [Note. The Monro and Allen Oxford Classical Text' index counts Πηλεΐδης 52 times, Πηλεΐων 47, and Πηλεϊάδης 8. Add to these four times when he is son/offspring Πηλῆος. On the "old" part see my article NNNN] That he is son of *goddess* mother we are not reminded till line 351, nor is she named till 413, two thirds of the way through the opening "book."

One by one, now in order of appearance, let us survey the key *ten* gods who have major effect on the *Iliad* and see how they serve with Zeus' evolving plan. Ten? I have been parading nine! My tenth is in fact first of all, θεά, the unnamed Muse to whom the *Iliad* poet ascribes what is of course *his* take on the tragedies of the two contrasted heroes and their contrasted tragedies, and on two other heroes for whom Zeus—that is, our ἀοιδός whose voice we hear when though him she responds to his invoking ἄειδε—has plans that will be "completed" in or after her = his poem

Next named after Muse is **Hades** in line 3, who though named often enough, plays no active role in either epic, unless to lend his cap of invisibility to his niece Athena (5.844f). He is noy one of our divine decad.

Third is **Zeus** in line 5's enigmatic phrase Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. His intentions, planning, and management will procure unique honor for sometimes all-too-human Hector, unmatched glory for demigod Achilles, a plan that comprises the former's here enacted death envisioned for the

latter. Cronus has particular interest as well in two other wholly mortal heroes as well, one on each side. These are conspicuous in one case for spectacular support and violation of χενία, respectively Paris in the back-story of which we are again and again reminded that and Diomedes in his traditionally misunderstood scene with Glaucus. Finally, Zeus has a post-war future in mind for Aeneias, connected to the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, i.e., to his mother, whose son by Anchises is there promised agnate descendants in perpetuity. However, he does not take part in conversation or action until later, at 1.494f when he leads (the) gods who live forever back to Olympus, whereupon Thetis accosts and supplicates him at 498-502.

Apollo, who starts the action of the poem is also first to involve himself in affairs in earth when, in response to Agamemnon's abuse of the god's priest Chryses, Apollo Smintheus/ Phoebus Apollo heeds the old man's prayer and rains arrows of plague on the Greek camp (1.35-52).

Next to appear, make her identity immediately clear to Achilles (by pulling his hair?), is **Athena**. Hera has sent her down from Olympus in a hurry to prevent the wrathful demigod from slaying Agamemnon, not with his mighty spear (which he probably does not have with him at this general assembly during a lull in the war). Indeed he has already started to draw an appropriately Apollonian weapon, a sword. Hera does not nearly so often descend to earth as Athena, even in disguise; moreover, if she announced herself, Achilles might associate her closely with the king of Golden Mycenae (One of her three mosr favotire cities: 4 and the Achaean war effort *and for that very reason ignore her command*).

In backstory (of which we learn from Achillis I Book 9) before him lay alternative fates and, after nine years of the war, still lie between which had to choose. He has chosen the one that his mother would hardly prefer: a much shortened life under the Sun in exchange for perpetual glory. Yet now, in that tenth year, after long waiting for his chance to gain it and die, finally he has been humiliated rather than glorified. Has Zeus cheated him?

Achilles summons **Thetis**, to whom he describes how badly Agamemnon has treated him in the hearing of the whole Achaean army. He reminds her that she has leverage on Zeus so as to induce him to vindicate her short-lived son. Achilles wants Agamemnon, who embarrassed him, to suffer—and with him all those troops who listened in silence. The Olympian can prove painfully to the son of Atreus and the rest how completely their survival, let alone their victory, depends on the son of Peleus. She therefore begs Zeus to give victory in battle to their Trojan enemy. The Olympian grants her wish. He sends a deceptive Deadly Dream that Agamemnon mishandles, hoping to confirm the gung-ho spirit of his war-weary, literally nostalgic common soldiers and most of their leaders. Ion the contrary they are eager to jump onto their ships and hurry home. Hera again sends Athena to In Book 2 Athena appears to Odysseus

or at least by familiar voice makes clear to him who she is and again forestalls disaster for their cause, preventing humiliation and wholesale slaughter of Achaeans prepared neither actually to sail nor to defend themselves—no defensive rampart yet!—when Hera, Athena, and the son of Laērtes ìwant to win the war, Odysseus because he, too, was misled by the Deadly Deam

Iris incites Priam and Hector to meet the massing Achaean force in battle. Who sends her? Zeus, to keep his solemnly nodded promise to the Nereid nymph, what is possible only if siege turns to pitched battle? However, he will tease Agamemnon and his army with deceptive assurance of imminent victory, and, worse, a taste of it late in the day-long battle of Books 4-7. Hera, who wants her outnumbering force, all but one of its great warriors to fight if the enemy are rash enough to take them on. Either way, Zeus' plan is served. "Hot" war will soon blaze. First, however, the Paris-Menelaus duel prevents the two armies from joining battle.

Aphrodite appears (to the poet, though not to any mortals on the battleflield) when Menelaus is dragging defeated Paris by his helmet crest. She suddenly intervenes, breaks his bull-hide chinstrap 361-363 and whisking him away to Helen's boudoir (3.374-382). To the armies on both sides, he suddenly disappears. Ignoring what the royal family would think about it, no ordinary Trojan "in the ranks" would hesitate to point him out, the cause of the long war, to honor the sworn truce—and end the war with no bloodshed more (448-454). Archer and Swordsman **Apollo** is not mentioned at this point, nor even a more Odyssean "some deity." However, how Menelaus' sword shatters on contact with Paris' helmet crest suggests that god's intervention at 3.362f. [N This is a unique and striking failure in "Homeric" epic, though Virgil picked it up at *Aen*. XII.731-741, where, however, the Rutulian hero has picked up an inferior sword, good enough against armor other than Aeneas' Vulcanian set. Kirk Commentary Vol. 1 p. 319 notes that τριχθά τε καὶ τετραχθά may better fit the phrase's only other application at *Od*. 9.71, where a verb follows that means to cut or tear apart to describe the effect of a gale on a ship' sail.

Book 4 begins in heaven. Here **Zeus** taunts **Hera** and **Athena** for inaction (proving Paris' claim to Helen that Menelaus had defeated him only with the help of Athena (3.439f) whereas Aphrodite frustrated their Spartan client and rescued a certain person whom Zeus with pretended tact does not name, one who thought he was going to die (4.9-12). Menelaus won. Shall we get the awful war go on or let there be peace. Let Priam's city be home to its people, and let Menelaus take Helen home? (4.13-19). **Athena** angrily, sullenly keeps quiet, while **Hera** and her husband argue about why she would destroy the city and all Trojans, deserving favorites of his. and "eat Priam and sons raw." OK. In retaliation he would do the same to an unnamed city—to which she tells him to do so to any of

her own three favorites, Argos, Sparta, and Mycenae. She proposes that she and he yield to one another, that he should send Athena to arrange that Trojans break the truce, incur "war guilt" that doom all Trojans to horrible extinction, and bring on war today (4.22-67). [N Zeus' plan includes resumption of the war so that within a fortnight Hector, for the 7 explained below) and, alas, terrible doom befall Ilium and the Trojans. Now, however, sly Zeus' longer range planning may include post-war grief for lords of Argos, Sparta, *and* Mycenae, respectively Diomedes, Menelaus, and Agamemnon!] He acquiesces and sends his daughter from Olympus like an ominous shooting star to do just that. In disguise she induces Trojan-ally bowman Pandarus to take a shot at Menelaus. She directs his arrow through his target's sword belt Menelaus suffers only a superficial wound, but a bloody one that medic-hero Machaon can treat. At first frightened, then outraged his brother Agamemnon prepares for chariot combat (86-230). On foot he rouses the Achaeans *en masse* to battle to fight and several leaders of high rank individually (231-421). That does it. Both armies march to and join in battle, **Ares** and **Athena** leading their opposing battalions. Zeus will control the fight, giving a delicious taste of victory to the Greek side by *this* day's end. For the fighting in the Battle of Book 3-7 is early and late in Achaea's favor; when Troy's defenders, even Hector fall back; for Ares is no help and *his* day will get from bad to worst possible—back, **Apollo** is angered and announces loudly from the citadel of Ilium that choleric Achilles remains among the Greek ships, far from the battle. This stimulates the Trojans. Athena counters silently on the ground (507-516). The battle, now evenly fought, becomes brutal (517-544).

As Book 5 begins **Athena** and her harsh darling Tydeus' impetuous son take over. From Diomedes' onslaught **Hephaestus** saves one of his *Trojan* priest Dares' sons (5.9-24). [N No problem for Athena—or for Zeus! Hephaestus will be there when needed for the Achaean side and for Achilles whose impenetrable armor he will design and Thetis' son will wear to slay Trojans—the closer to Priam and Hector, the more ferociously. He will also cancel River Xanthus flooding attack on Peleus' son.] Athena takes Ares by the hand away from the fighting. Leading Achaeans make kills; Diomedes wades into the enemy lines and slaughters left and right (43-94) until that same Lycian sniper Pandarus wounds him in the right shoulder and shouts with glee that their deadliest enemy today is *hors de combat* (95-105). The wounded Argive hero withdraws in his chariot and mutters a prayer (εὔχομαι kind) to Athena who cannot completely heal him (he notes later at that he still hurts) but infuses what we might call adrenalin (μένος, 125). He is even deadlier now; for example, when archer Pandarus, who wounded him earlier, now challenges him to a spear duel and casts his own through Diomedes' shield without reaching

his chest, **Athena** guides her man's answering spear through the trash-talking Lycian's face (276-296), his 'thanks' for breaking the truce at her unperceived advice and incurring the gruesome sanctions (3. 299-301for doing so!) [Whether as a *Lycian* ally he was strictly party to the oath-taking, his *brain* may indeed spill from his smashing head wound.] Pandarus had partnered with Trojan Aeneas against Diomedes (166-240), whose semidivine horses Diomedes covets (260-273). Diomedes's violence rises to superhuman level. The stone he hurls gravely injures this Dardanian royal prince, son of **Aphrodite** (whom alone of the gods **Athena** has at 127-132 licensed her Argive friend to attack); then he lightly wounds Aphrodite on the wrist when she comes to rescue him, and in tears she flies to Olympus,with Iris driving 370-**Ares'** chariot. **Apollo** must intervene to save Anchises' son from Diomedes' repeated lunges to finish him off so as to complete a glorious victor's title to those horses (302-446). [N For it is Aeneas' destiny, inherited from his father Anchises (see *To Aphrodite* 196-201) to have descendants in the male line forever. By the will of **Zeus.** clearly from 194f of the hymn and from its entire gist; in Book 20 **Poseidon** understands that destiny to be his brother's desire.] After **Apollo** makes an εἴδωλον of Aeneas (whom he has snatched from the battlefield up to the citadel for Leto and Artemis to tend to) for the warriors of both side to fight over, he reproaches **Ares** for his dereliction of support for the Trojans and **Phoebus'** demigod half-brother Sarpedon chides Hector, their side rallies for quite a while, particularly once healed Aeneas reappears among them (445-518). **Athena** has left her Achaeans—thr Ajaxes, Diomedes, and Odysseus—to resist them (519-and the fight is back and forth, often with Trojans being the more aggressive under **Apollo's** and **Ares'** incitement (until Diomedes, with his special vision granted by, recognizes Ares among the enemy cheering them and giving them μένος hesitates to confront him (596-710). **Zeus**' promise to **Thetis** is certainly working now! Finally **Hera** notices and calls upon **Athena** to do something about this; after **Hera** complains about Ares, she receives permission from Zeus to send her stepdaughter and ally to intervene; so in her fabulous chariot the Queen of Olympus drives armed Athena to the theater of war where they arrive among the Achaean warriors who have gathered with Diomedes (711-783). With loud Stentorian voice Hera arouses the Danaans, while **Athena** challenges weary, wounded Diomedes to be the warrior that his father Tydeus was. He explsins that he cannot fight **Ares**. However, she not only permits him to attack her detested brother, but, invisibly to **Ares**, will help. Diomedes and, apparently, S*teels* apparently his driver, thrusts spear into Ares' midsection. A mortal wound to a *mortal*, it is very painful to Ares, who lets out a deafening howl, and to the God of War even more embarrassing. Paean can easily heal the wound, Paean's patient correctly guess who was, literally, behind

a mortal's spear that pierced his godly armor. He gets even less sympathy than Aphrodite did. His father Zeus frowns at "the most hateful of gods" to himself and begrudgingly orders his healing and cleanup (888-909). Although **Athena** and **Hera** laughed at her and **Zeus** himself smiled, *her* mother **Dione** consoled her (5.370-), while to end the book *his*, Hera, gloats with Athena, over his wretchedness (908f).

The following two books are more narrowly focused on the earth and mortals who are born, live, and die there. Book 6 demonstrates opposite attitudes toward Zeus' two chief moral institutions: violation of supplication and positive examples of χενία. The first of these occurs with a battle where both sides seem on their own, no gods participating (6.1-4). But then, after serial Achaean successes in slaying adversaries (5-36), Agamemnon violates the rules of supplication and, worse, makes his far more decent, humane brother Menelaus an accomplice in the murder of Trojan Adrestus. This man is hurt, on the ground, thrown from his speeding chariot, and clutches Menelaus' knees in ritual supplication. If taken alive he promises Menelaus ἄξια ἄποινα from his father's riches in precious and semiprecious wrought metal (37-50). The younger Atreid is about to send him to the ships for holding there when the elder, Agamemnon, says that his brother, of all people should spare no Trojan but hate and kill them all for what he has suffered from the Trojans. Break his suppliant grasp, he commands; this man like every Trojan must die, even an embryo in his mother's womb. Menelaus heeds these αἴσιμα, "appropriate" sentiments, the poet says with biting irony, and shoves pushes the man away and Agamemnon kills him with a thrust of his spear and steps on the corpse's chest to extract it (51 see my *Zbornik* n pp. nn-nn of what I argue is an ironic reading, consistent with the *Iliad* poet's consistent unflattering characterization of Agamemnon; the irony continues in the Diomedes-Glaucus episode to be treated bhere summarily: in short. "Zeus took [Glaucus') wits away" is ironic (that thought at 234). The highly moral transaction that Diomedes honorable, generously proposes not materialistic It was *not* 'your gold for my bronze' but 'your gold for my bronze *and your life*.' **Zeus** will bless such a moral man, though Aphrodite has a score to settle—far to the west, not only west of the Aegean but on mainland facing Hellas across the Ionian Sea...

After Agamemnon's war crime Nestor urged the Danaans not to stop killing Trojans in order to collect booty (66-72) and the Priamid warrior-prophet Helenus (at lord **Apollo's** instance?) persuades Hector to leave the defensive struggling defense to him and Aeneas and other leaders and himself give instructions for their mother Hecuba and the priestess of **Athena** to pray to that goddess and bring her a precious offering of finest fabric with promise of a major sacrifice if she will stop Diomedes' mad killing spree, worse even than any by Achilles! (75-118, continuation

269-310) To no avail. The goddess' statue (?) nodded 'No' (311). The rest of the book dramatizes assorted family relationships and actual relations of Hector, all conflicting with his personal principles as a man/hero before he is husband (and father): {a} impulse always fight in the first line winning glory for his father and himself (444-446) and {b}war/the war is men's concern, his above all others' (492f). After this moving scene of a *doomed* "nuclear family," Hector's bipolar brother Paris here briskly trots to intercept him and they exit together toward the ongoing battle, to join it at the beginning of Book 7. There each kills a Greek. Diomedes' Lycianfriend Glaucus makes a kill, as does seven, where they and alongside them Diomedes' friend Glaucus (7.8-16). **Athena** is watching this and is surely aware of how her father is managing the current fighting to serve the Trojans (and Thetis and Achilles). She proposes to **Apollo** that they pause the general fighting and have Hector challenge whoever the leading "Panachaean" warriors dares face him. Both gods know, of course, that Achillis is no available face him to duel to the death. Apollo, however, knows that it is not Hector's day to die—and that important fact he conveys to Hector via his prophetic brother Helenus. Hector steps forward and proclaims his challenge, with the stipulation that each swear to **Zeus** that, whichever slays the other will take his *armor* as spoils (Hector explains that he would to his comrades dedicate them to his patron **Apollo**) but cede his defeated foeman's corpse (that of Ajax, if Hector wins, for a tomb stating that, great though the Achaean warrior was, Hector to his eternal glory slew him, 17-91). Menelaus and Nestor shame nine foremost Greeks into volunteering for a lottery to decide on one. Telamonian Ajax happily acknowledges his winning lot and, once armed, strides forward with a smile, bearing his long spear (as long as Hector's famously long one) and his towering shield. Hector is daunted at the sight, but it is too late to bow out as his brother tried to do the day before (104-223). The two champions here exchange boasts, spear throws, then hurled stones (both Athena's weaponry of attack). [N **Apollo** *may* intervene when Ajax' *spear* merely grazes Hector (just as Athena harmlessly guided Pandarus' Apollonian arrow); but he certainly does by picking Hector up after Ajax' stone knocks him down.] The decision would then come to *swords*—but evening dusk prevents it (225-282). The bout leads to no fatal decision, though Ajax clearly prevailed: The Greeks congratulate and feast him (306-322). At 283-305 Hector calls off the fight at Herald Idaeus' advice and, as a "good sport," proposes a non-ξένια, marking *ad hoc* φιλότης: an exchange of gifts that not only will *not* preclude them from future deadly confrontation on the battlefield (291f), but where by traditions of uncertain antiquity each gift will be baneful to its receiver: dead Hector will be fastened to Achilles' chariot by the sturdy body-belt he had from Ajax, Ajax will kill himself with what had been Hector's sword—and, like his famous,

life-saving helmet (11.352f), from **Apollo**?, which he sets aside in order to wear Achilles', taken as spoils from Patroclus, but given Hector by **Zeus**; see 16.793-800.]

There follows a night of deliberation and diplomacy. To Agamemnon and other headers in the Achaean camp Nestor proposes that they offer a day of truce for both sides to collect and bury the dead who fell in the day's battle; and, because they saw how dangerous Trojans could Greeks extend the mass burial mound into an earthen rampart, fronted by a ditch and topped by be (when Achilles was not facing them), he suggests that in following upon the funeral the wooden towers. They all accept his motion (324-344). On the acropolis of Ilium Priam's (possibly) brother-in-law Antenor proposes to return Helen to Menelaus with other property that Paris stole from his Spartan host. Paris vetoes this and offers instead to return everything else and add unspecified goods. But not Helen. Priam sends his herald Idaeus to propose truce for that same pious purpose and to relay Paris' limited offer (345-397). Diomedes is first to speak and urges rejection of Paris' insulting offer when all Troy is surely doomed (399-402). Agamemnon sends Idaeus home with a mixed message. Both armies gather bodies and wood for their pyres and ignite them late on the first day of truce; then before the second dawns they gather the still warm bones—and the Achaeans build the Nestorian group tomb-defense works (43/-442).

Zeus' will/plan in all this? *Hector* lives and gains esteem from initial reluctance of even the greatest, most admired Achaeans spearmen (apart from Achilles) to *face* him and then from failure of Ajax to *kill* him—as Diomedes will also fail to do in Book 11, Ajax a second time in Book 14. Hector will gain more durable κλέος over the next two days (by achievements in the Battles of Book 8 and of Books 11-18). Today's quickly fades. *Ajax* himself is chosen by lot (which **Hermes** controls, at his father **Zeus**' command) to face Hector. Agnate cousin to Achilles he is needed to keep the son of Thetis at Troy, to forestall Achilles' and Patroclus' happy reunions with their aged fathers in Phthia, Achilles' maybe on Scyros with his son. If that should happen, there would go the intended glories of *Patroclus*, of *Hector*, and of *long*-living Achilles himself! Beside Ajax' role as decisive "Ambassador" the evening between those battles, the mighty Telamonian is also needed for his leading role in the second of them after other major Greek fighters are wounded (though not for events that Zeus did *not* plan during the hours when Hera will have him distracted). *The war goes on* without which that future which Zeus has decided upon and will reveal partially and cryptically in the following book (8.470-477), more explicitly the day after that (15.59-77) cannot transpire.

On the first page of Book 8 **Zeus** decrees to all gods and goddesses that if they try to frustrate what his θυμός commands him to do, what he

says (ἐμὸν ἔπος) and what he is about to do (τάδε ἔργα), that is, the war as he will now manage it; if they do not assent to this they will suffer severely (8.4-29). **Athena** is distraught. Can gods not at last suggest βουλή to their favorites? Her father's response is ambiguous, and he rides his chariot to Gargaron Peak of the Ida mountain range, a vantage point from which to watch over the battlefield (1-52). All morning of the Battle of Book 8 the two sides fight evenly. No god is there to break the bloody stalemate. [N This non-result and the overall evenness, with advantage fluctuating, plus much of what happened a couple of days before looks not unlike the βουλή of Zeus according to a fragment of the *Cypria* according to which the basic "plan of Zeus" for instigating the Trojan war through the incitements of Eris was to reduce overpopulation of mortals.] Old Achaean Nestor's life is endangered when one horse of his all-mortal team, still harnessed to his chariot, is slain. Only Diomedes responds to his cry for help. The two become a team, Horseman Nestor driving, Diomedes plying his spear on his newly acquired chariot and demi-divine steeds. However, Zeus makes it clear by thunder and lightning that Tydeus' son, bold though he is and sensitive to Hector's gloating taunts, must give ground (130-170). Hector carries all before him (172-197 and 212-216). Irate **Hera** asks **Poseidon** to join her in intervening. He declines (198-211). The fear that Hector would attempt to burn the Greek ships (and massacre the hated, stranded invaders) occurs to **Hera**. She prompts the Mycenaean lord to shout a passionate challenge to the Danaans to hold their little remaining ground steadfastly, if only to permit orderly embarkation and escape (218-244). [N At 191-197 Hector had only thought of despoiling Diomedes and Nestor and getting the remaining Achaeans to sail away.] Between bursts of unresisted Trojan onslaught, **Zeus** in response to Agamemnon's anguish grants a respite. He sends an unambiguously auspicious eagle omen, and allows an Achaean rally that Diomedes leads and Ajax' half-brother archer Teucer dominates. [N Teucer keeps aiming at Hector and **Apollo**, explicitly at 311, keeps deflecting his arrows.] (245-315) until Hector injures him with a stone, knocking bow and arrow from his hands (320-331) [Note: However, Teucer will be fine the next day, from 12.336 onward and supports the two Ajaxes.] and leads a swift counterattack (335-349). **Hera** and **Athena** prepare to stop him, even put him to death or at least to flight, from fully armed Athena's chariot with Hera as her driver. However, **Zeus** is aware of this and sends Iris to warn them sternly off. They do not proceed with their mission (350-437). **Zeus** takes control, discloses part of his plan, the god-spoken (θέσφατον) future (470-477). Night falls. The final, intense and irresistible Trojan offensive has swept the battlefield and driven the Achaeans back to a frightened defensive stance behind the rampart. At Hector's command Trojans set a (hyperbolic) thousand blazing campfires on the plain, where the fire itself must remind

the Achaeans of the imminent danger not just to them if they dare to sally forth against triumphant Hector, but to their partly flammable defense works, to their wooden ships, and to themselves if in resumed offensive the Trojans assault and overrun their camp.

In Book 9 dread of what may occur the next morning prompts urgent nocturnal discussion among the Achaean leaders.

Agamemnon now seriously proposes sailing home ignominiously (9.13-28). Silence (29f). Eventually impulsive young Diomedes, sure of Achaean victory over the truce-breaking enemy, eventually declares that he will go on fighting even if all but he and his sideman Sthenelus give up and sail home; this changes the mood (31-51). Nestor also speaks up, urging Agammenon to hold a supper meeting for thoughtful deliberation by senior councilors, at which he proposes that the commander do whatever it takes to reconcile with Achilles (52-113). His response is to list at 119-161 priceless compensation (ἀπερείσι᾽ ἄποινα, 120) that he offers Peleus' son in addition to return of Briseïs if *he* gives up his will return to battle, betroth himself to a daughter of the commander with five towns' dowry and as his son-in-law concede that Agamemnon is βασιλεύτερος (160) and γενεῇ προγενέστερος (161).

Most of the book relates the so-called Embassy episode. No god is present to the action and dialogue, although the "ambassadors" pray to Zeus son of Cronus (171f)—and events proceed according to the Olympian's established plan. Would be peace-maker Nestor coaches Odysseus on how to approach Achilles and how convey the Atreid's offer; moreover the old hero lends *his* herald Odius to join Odysseus' Eurybates to lead the envoys and provide divine immunity. [N Conspicuous by his absence is Agamemnon's Talthybius, who might be provocative? See above at 1.318-321 and note MMMMM.] Odysseus suppresses Agamemnon's concluding, demeaning offensive demand and substitutes a plea that, however he hates Agamemnon to have mercy on all other Panachaeans and take advantage a long-delayed opportunity win great glory by taking Hector, who is now id now on the battlefield and madly eager to face any Achaean (300-306).

Were Achilles of his former mind, insatiable for maximum glory at the cost of renouncing a long, happy life without. This news could tempt, even persuade him. However, senses that the πολυμήχανος (308) Ithacan is concealing something important and bluntly accuses him of dissembling (308-313). His long reply includes his disappointment in having been exploited and now humiliated rather than glorified since he made has made that fearful bargain, with the alternatives that his goddess mother had set before him (410-416). A long as he lives he may still choose the other fate—and now, although in his absence the Greek army could not and cannot stand up to the Trojan prince (346-356), Thetis' son

does not want to make war on Hector but to go home—tomorrow! (356-361). If this remains his thinking, Διὸς βουλή goes out the window! However, Zeus has taken precautions.

After Odysseus Phoenix speaks, telling his autobiographical back-story (437-495), an allegory of Humble Prayers (Λιταί ... Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο) who must be heeded; and the tragic story of Meleager, who relented too late from his χόλος 543-599). He has prefaced this it all by admitting that if Achilles choose to depart for Phthia, he must accompany him—he is, after all a naturalized Myrmidon, whom Peleus received as a suppliant and made a major vassal (9.478-484) who commands the fourth of the Myrmidon army's five 500-man battalions (see 16.196). His long to Achilles, to whom he was something between foster father and παιδαγωγός and who addresses him as "old uncle sustained by Zeus" (ἄττα γεραιὲ διοτρεφὲς, 607) to leave his final decision whether to go or stay. "Sustained by Zeus" he was indeed, a *suppliant* attached to young Achilles for just this crisis.

Nevertheless the decisive speaker is Ajax whom, as noted bove, Zeus preserves for several functions. None is more important than this. Dearer to Achilles than anyone else with the exception of Patroclus (and possibly Antilochus), his autonomous Telamonian cousin is not slyly rhetorical, wheedling, or sententious but forthright. He dares to criticize and shame Achilles into remaining at Troy. After his aloud, overheard comments to the other departing envoys (9.622-636) Ajax turns to his cousin from mid-line 636 until powerful concluding 642 where Ajax calls the unsuccessful delegation κήδιστοί τε καὶ φίλτατοι to their obstinate, inconsiderate *host*. Without Nestor's coaching Achilles' fellow Aeacid talks his demi-god cousin into staying at Troy tomorrow and beyond, but not to fight until Hector's assault, killing many Achaeans, brings fire toward Achilles' own barracks and ships (650-655).

One day is all that is required. But this evening's mission has failed to get Achilles back into Agamemnon's imperiled expeditionary force. Odysseus' report leads to more stunned silence until, again, Diomedes breaks it, saying that they made a mistake in begging Achilles (he uses λίσσομαι) and offering bribes (δῶρα), but should re-group and fight back when a new day dawns. "Tomorrow is another day." [N Quoted from the notorious Hollywood movie *Gone with the Wind*," with its suggestion that the secessionist Confederate, slave-holding South, today soundly defeated by the Union North in the American Civil War, might rise again.]

On this tomorrow that Books 11-18 recount a chain of wounds and death centered on Patroclus is set in motion that will lead from Paris' wounding of Machaon (11.505-507) by way of Achilles' dispatch of Patroclus to confirm that it *was* he whom he thought he saw coming, hurt, from the battle front (599-617: κακοῦ ἀρχή,"the beginning of evil" for Menoetius'

son), continuing through scenes Patroclus-Nestor (11.644-805) and Patroclus-Eurypylus (11.807-848.12.1-2 and 15.390-405), though several tighter links in Book 16 (see below). These culminate in Patroclus' slaying, continue through massacre of countless Trojans (but not of Aeneas) in Books 20-21 that Hector could have prevented to Hector's death in 22.

[N And on in the sequel to our poem to slaying of Achilles by Hector's avenger Paris, of Paris' by Achilles' Thessalian friend Philoctetes, finally Priam's by Achilles' son Neoptolemus, whom Apollo thereafter kills to avenge the ancient Dardanid king's sacrilegious slaughter in a not too distant post-war future.]

The plan resumes in Book 11 [Note. Book 10 is some interpolator's ill-fitting, unpersuasive effort to bring an example of the Odysseus-Diomedes teamwork, otherwise missing, within the chronological scope of an Iliadic framework. It does not work as well as the *Iliad*-poet's shrewd displacement of a Menelaus-Paris duel from a natural place very early in the war to one very late. For a more detailed discussion and explanation of why and how Book 10 entered the *Iliad* see Hainsworth *Commentary* III, pp. 151-155 and detailed comments on the text that follow.] and proceeds till the end of a long eventful day. **Zeus** sends Eris to stir up the Achaeans from one end of the beachhead to the other, filing them with μένος (2-14) Agamemnon tkes te lead, ordering all his troops to gird for battle. His own arming with brightly gleaming armor is described, as **Athena** and **Hera** thunder (doubtless by Zeus' license) to give him honor and glory (15-46). His Greeks sally over their defense works onto the open ground. The fighting is on even terms for some time under a bloody rain of Zeus (56-85). Then Agamemnon leads a charge and himself has an extensive, impressive *aristeia* worthy of such a mighty force's leader (90-247) until he sustains a wound in the arm, but responded savagely on the Trojan who wounded him in the arm, whose brother the Atreid had slain before and whose failed avenger's head rolls in the dust (247-263). But after slaughtering on with spear, sword, and stones, Agamemnon himself must withdraw when the pain of his wound becomes unbearable, with a shout to the leaders of the Achaeans to keep up the fight that must depart ((264-279). During the Achaean commander's rampage, **Zeus** (invisibly) had pulled Hector out of the thick of the battle and sent Iris to warn him to keep clear of Agamemnon as long as he was on the field—hunting the Trojan prince (163-213); so now Hector can turn the tide against the enemy (284-311) and himself begin an *aristeia* and gain the κῦδος (300) that Zeus now has granted. Odysseus and Diomedes lead a brief Greek rally (312-335) followed by even slaughter that Zeus manages (336f). Hector, knowing that with Agamemnon *hors de combat* he is now invulnerable, makes for Diomedes so fiercely that the Argive hero calls to Odysseus to stand fast against "big trouble" (τόδε πῆμα, 345-348).

Diomedes' spear strikes Hector in the head, but the same helmet, Apollo's gift, that terrified baby Astyanax in Book 6 saves his life in 11, though he does suffer a concussion (349-369)s There follows the sequence, under Zeus' control, where a series of other top Greek top warriors are now wounded (three of them by arrows that Hector's brother Paris aims, though missing a fatal organ (Diomedes, in the foot at 369-400); Machaon, in the shoulder at 505-507; and Eurypylus, in the thigh at 581-592. The spear of Socos, who would avenge a brother, gives—thanks to Athena—only a broad flesh wound at the rib cage to Odysseus who, however, slays Socos—*two* sons for the brothers' parents to mourn (424-458). Ajax must come to the Ithacan's rescue (459-485)!

In Book 11 Patroclus plays a far larger role than ever before, a speaking one for the first time. He one line only at 606, asking what Achilles summons him to do; then at 648-654 he explains to Nestor that Achilles wanted to learn whether Machaon was in fact wounded; and finally at 814-821 and 838-841 converses with the more recently hurt Eurypylus, with whom he spends some time treating his wound with skill he has learned from Achilles. Only later that morning, halfway into Book 15 when the battle is going very badly for the Greeks, will he complete his therapy and leave the central area of the Greek camp to report to his demigod boss at its far flank (15.390-407). That he does in tears, on Machaon and other wounded Achaean comrades, at the beginning of fatal Book 16. What Patroclus hears from the long speech of Nestor at 11.656-803 and then from Eurypylus at 823-836 affects him deeply (804) and leads directly to his death—and to profound Achilles' grief, awful godlike wrath, and the progress of Zeus' complex project of lives and deaths and glory.

Books 12-13 and Books 14-15 are each pair, particularly the latter, a suite lea the poem's first climax in Book 16 with its aftershocks in 17 and when at last Achilles learns of Patroclus' slaying in the beginning of 18.

Book 12 could be called "The Wall, Resumed." Its opening resumes what 7.443-464 leaves undone—or, rather leaves its **Zeus**-sanctioned undoing temporarily on pause. Here its post-war obliteration is anticipated. Once what we know Zeus' plan is complete—Hector no longer lives, Achilles' wrath is over, countless ἄριστοι on both sides are no longer killing one another, the city of Priam is sacked and the Argives have sailed home—Poseidon and Apollo, now allied, will wash away it by cataclysmic flood, Zeus himself contributing nine days' rainstorm (12.3-34). Another theme of the book, glorification of Hector is confirmed, for whom Zeus earlier already planned κῦδος (174; note verb: Zeus' θυμὸς ἐβούλετο κῦδος ὀρέξαι), gains it spectacularly to when with a huge boulder the prince smashes down one of the wall's sturdy double gates and leads a Trojan charge over and through the fortification against terrified Greeks (437-471).

Between those opening and closing passages Hector presses the Achaeans backward, their backs really against the defensive wall; then with his agemate adviser Poulydamas he organizes a broad assault on the Achaean defensive works' five gate-and-tower points 175-end of book). They do so *on foot*, since the depth of the ditch and its daunting pointed stakes deter a chariot-borne charge (except to a foolish Trojan named Asios who rides up to the ditch at 110-117 and, with fatal result already foreseen, at the remote open where Lapith brothers burly Polypoetes and Leonteus fight off Trojan pursuers to cover Achaean chariots retreating among the ships (110-172). Asios loses life, chariot, driver, and horses to Nestor's son Antilochus later that morning (13.383-401). As πεζοί Hector attacks a closed gatway, his brothers Deïphobus and Helenus another (12.35-174), Sarpedon and cousin Glaucus and the Lycians a third, where they distinguish themselves in combat with formidable opponents, the two Ajaxes and Teucer (with twice mentioned Athenia Menestheus). The wise proto-hoplite infantry tactic leads to broad thret to their former besiegers all along the line of battle. The Greeks are back on their heels for the Book 12 phase of the battle and only regain a little ground in 13, precariously, as we shall see. Fighting is nevertheless indecisive. Idomeneus, the Ajaxes and the Telamonian's archer brother will fend off from the ships the enemy and the fire that they hopefully bring; the pro-Achaean gods are distressed—and in the next two books first Poseidon, then Hera will violate Zeus' 8.4-27 prohibition of god's involvement on either side. His plan is working and seems in this book books glorification of his son Sarpedon, destined to die in Book 16 later this day.

Evidently Poseidon is watching his brother's watch and immediately takes action. in a sequence of mortal disguises, on the one hand (in body as Calchas the prophet 43-65 and in voice as Thoas at 215-239); where the Ajaxes in the first instrab rally the Greeks, Idomeneus and nEriones in the second. Poseidon sometimes affects the back-and-forth invisibly and inaudible. y—Little Ajac even perceived that "Calchas" was some god, though he would not dare to guess who.

In whom, however, th Ajaxes perceive a cocealed god on their side; and as), and will rally and infuse the Greeks with that μένος which seems to be in gods', prerogative to dispense, at least the major ones' Big Ajax is energized and is eager to go after Hector *mano-a-mano* (76-82). The disguised Sea-god rouses several leading Achaean fighters by *shaming* them (91-125). Hector, however, and the Trojans, climbing over the wall, continue to threaten the ships; for Priam's sone spearheads Achaean counter-attack. Battle. His Telamonian brother nearly gets Hector with *his* spear, but the Trojan escapes and leads a change again toward the ships, where he slays Amphimachos, a grandson of Poseidon. This prompts the god's more forceful direct intervention and, so far as possible now, revenge.

(In the following book he nearly accomplishes this no longer bother to hide from Zeus in disguise gravel injuring Hector, as we shall see. On the other hand, Zeus' defiant brother will gravely injure the Trojan leader and exact ewvenge, 188-20).

On the other hand, the first time Earthshaker intervenes Lesser Ajax correctly perceives that he is really "one of the gods," adding a presumptuous remark that "gods are readily recognized"! (72); and Hector [N We learn only at 12.29 that stone and, besides for gates and superstructure (πύργοι), *timber* were used for the body of the τεῖχος. As we have noted above Greeks feared fire even before the poet tells us that Trojans thought of using it besides for for those "thousand" campfires at the close of Book 8 and of the preceding day. Warriors on both side stand out.

IBacking up a from Books 1l-18: The duel between Paris and Menelaus delays a while the full force of Zeus' promise that he will make the Greeks pay in blood for their commander's unchecked humiliation of Thetis' son and **Aphrodite** can save Paris and, after his near capture and doubtless execution, even deliver him to conflicted Helen, whom the goddess intimidates into receiving him if hardly welcoming him. Paris will contribute at several points in Zeus' screenplay before he himself ingloriously dies from weeks after our Iliad ends. [N He will fall by an enemy arrow shot more accurately than most of his non-lethal own, even the errant one that may kill Achilles only by poison. Does Athena guide Philoctetes' arrow to a deadly spot? Or might Machaon to dose to his arrowhead reserve some venom from his pustulant wound (surely **Apollo**'s doing: the snake that bit Heracles' junior friend *lurked on Chryse*)? Like Hector's death Paris' would punish Apollo indirectly for the death of Achilles as Hector's avenged that of Patroclus upon that god.]

Hephaestus Ever grateful to Thetis, does nothing for the greater Achaean cause even though he sits with the pro-Achaean Olympian faction to watch the beginning of the Battle of Books 20-22.

During that day's Theomachy he intervenes only when River Xanthus attack Achilles. The ensuing duels or refused duels are god against god, no

Hermes The heralds whom Hermes protects include three named ones on the Greek side, his nominsl side, and one, Idaeis, old Proam's old hral, the only one with whom Hermes, initially in disguise interacts but whom he ctaly not only protcts but encourages on—never mind other favorable signs.

Athena Obeying Zeus, stays completely out of te Battle of Books 11-18, with Achilles only watching and listening. Invested personally in Achilles' glory as partisan anti-Priamid she is interested in all the damage he can do to the family of Paris and more broadly to the nation that fights to defend his crimes.

Apollo In *Iliad* 5 in Apollo saves seriously injured Aeneias from Diomedes *coup de grâce*, In Iliad 8 he deflects an arrow shot by Ajax' Telamonian half-brother Teucer and aimed aim at Hector. It strikes and kills Hector's charioteer (8.nnn-nnn); Hector responds with a thrown stone that wounds and incapacitate Teucer, whose bow, string, arrow and all falls to the ground when the stone breaks his shoulder blade. Ajax' huge shield protects him from further harm (8.309-331). Zeus at this point invigoates Trojans with μένος (and Hector leads their rally (335337 ground from his.

In 15 Apollo, at his father's welcome bidding estore Hector and turns the tide back in favor of Troy. This is te only rime that Apollo shows himself to his darling or even speaks to him openly, recognizably.

Poseidon Quiet in Book 8, but he ignores Zeus' decree the next day and his ban Ban already in Books 13 and especially (when Zeus is distracted and then dozes briefly) turns the Trojan tide of the Battle of Books 11-18.

Hera Defiant in Book 8 continues her pro-Achaean defiance in 14.

Project completed means—What? Example from the divided tale of Melampus' family in *Od*. 11.235-270 and 15.223-258.

1. *Iliad* poet's greatest irony; cf. Book 5 and "Zeus Left His Wits Intact"
2. was completed, example the two-part story of Melampus, ramified family *Od*. 11.281-297 (where Zeus' βουλή is so named and according to the narrator here, Odysseus telling the story of Nestor's grandmother Tyro grandfather Poseidon, Nestor's mother Chloris and father Neleus, and Nestor's sister Pero, "had been completed"). and 15.223-256 (where the history of descendants of arch-prophet Melampus, who famously won Pero as wife for his brother, unnamed here b""Cloud-GAthererut known from elsewhere as Bias. other
3. Thetis vs Hera, Ath vs Ap, Pos, Aphro
4. Z's οὖλος ὄνειρος and exaltation of Ag (2.5 βουλή); cf in 11 later splendor of Ag, then ilin wound in Book 11
5. Ag controls nothing from the time of his wound except the almost meaningless delivery of gifts (not *quid pro quo*) and even return of Briseïs-whom Ach seems not even to notice I hid second wrath. He has lost all other *philia* than its deficit for revenge—and he himself is one of his targets
6. Fluctuation gives all a taste of success. However, only Z really prevails. Thetis' Plan B?

One of Zeus' children intends either more *conventionally* to glorify Thetis son (Athena) or to demean him (Apollo). Their aims are less sublime than their father's finessed outcome in Book 24 something different, indeed opposite, χάρις for Hector, though those opposing deitiesparadoxically intend and understandhis the Trojan's death in opposite ways, Athena his slaying by Achilles and herself as the ambrosia-and-nectar fueled

demigod's means to maximum, *immortal* warlike glory, Apollo as conclusion of a good life completed by the death that Hector accepted as his doom as mortal, what spared him sight of terrible, all too clearly anticipated futures of parents, siblings, and baby boy and led to that last and most (?) glorious Trojan celebration of him mention of which ends the *Iliad* poet's *and Zeus'* plan.

Paradoxically Athena and Apollo brought Achilles to where at Zeus' command Thetis persuades him to do what in our *Iliad* awards him unexpected humane, *not* martial glory, to sure chagrin of both Athena (who would want his "immortal glory" gained by Hector's *slaying* in which she participated and for which she infused him w ambrosia and nectar) and Apollo (who wanted the hubristic, unrepentant demigod to be compelled to yield Hector's corpse and win neither glory nor gratitude thereby—and, of course to fall *in*gloriously to a bowshot). Reversing. WE also know that Hera vociferously and Athena in sullen silence aren't happy with Apollo's initiative and as they were not whe the Olympian acceded to Thetis' wish to chastise the Achaeans host her son's humiliation and simmer Agamemnon's systematic hubtisin Book 1 Achilles is "saintly" in way that neither would bless.

M

Odds and ends: Μῶν Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή; No, it has been!

Odyssean Z adopts and the Odyssean god of the same name differ profoundly. The former's control of those two most important children, Apollo and Athena, respectively the partisans od Troy and Hector, of the Achaeans and Achilles, is limited, and he yields to them; control of Hera and Poseidon is even shakier. In the *Odyssey* Zeus tolerates Poseidon to a point only. A plan proposed by Athena, for Odysseus in 1 and 5. Adopts a plan of Athena and commissions her and Hermes explicitly, Apollo and Hephaestus de facto her, Hermes

Hyllus at end of *Trach*. Ag's misleading dream vs ones under Ath's teasing ones in *Odyssey* 4 and that she reports to the Beggar in 19

Signs: warning thunder: lightning before Dio, before Ody: eagle and other bird signs in Od. 2 vs bad dream in Il. w contrast Ath'e de to Pen ams

Xenia and Hikesia *Il*. 1 (bad)Ag and noe human and good)Ach 24 Od ξενίη passim

Differ as much as Delian and Delphic Apollo

Ineffective politic Z and Pos on the Achaean "wall" (vs Wall of Ilion-after which Pos still disobeys hZ's controvs effective politic Z and Pos on the Phaeacians (*xenia*)—who largely disappers once it's clear hat Ody's alternative doom from Poly's curse is in effect, his dignity sustained.

Z and Helios—and Poly's curse Il. Z answers Nestor's prayer and honors grandson Aias T as well as Ach

Z vs Hera in *Iliad* esp 14 vs no embarrassing Hera at all in *Od*. Can you imagine the Odyssean Z amusing himself at the Theomachy in Il. 21? Note his silence in Od 2, 2nd song, allowing things to play out before him. Pleased that Pos takes an interest in his nephew Ares more that Z himself does I his son!

Politic Z and the endings: complete Ap's project in Il. 24 / Ath's project in Od. 24, then takes control.

Borrowed **aegis**: Iliadic Ap, delays the inevitable, Ath in Od accelerates the the desirable

At the end of Iliad the dooms of Ach and Troy are sealed, no one is happy; at end of Od the end is happy, even for the surviving Ithacans, Tragedy that Z cannot thwart, romance that he and Ath manage.

Ap mortalizes Ach at the price of Hec (and Troy) Ath will lose Ach, whose actual glory is what neither Ath nor Ap she expected. Certainly she would be disappointed in his ghost in Odyssey 11.

Z's promise to Thetis is kept, but not to her son's *Iliad* 9 intentions are realized as intended. In Odyssey Z and Ath protect Ach from himself and establish, w him peace. And end of bloodshed.

APPENDIX

1. Homeric *Hymns*? Appendix" to Zeus' *boule* in *Iliad*

Zeus in major "Homeric" *Hymns*

In the *Hymn to Aphrodite* that goddess is the unruly daughter of Zeus (80), as she is in both the epics. In *Il*. 5.312, 348, etc. she is his daughter by "Zeusette" Dione (370f), in *Od*. 8.289, 308, etc. his daughter with no mother named, whom he gave to Hephaestus for a bride-price (ἔεδνα, 318.). Although known as "She of Cyprus," this does not prove familiarity with her alternative primeval origin from Ouranos' severed *genitals* that/who as a female anthropomorph washed up from the sea amid sea-spume (ἄφρος) at Paphos. There she had widely acknowledged prehistoric cult. Her origin's bizarre details, however, we have only from Hesiodic tradition (*Theogony* 188-193), competing in Geometric Era before the cultural compromise that made "Homer" and "Hesiod" equally, albeit awkwardly authoritative. [N That "she of Athens" (Ἀθηναίη) Pallas Athena was uniquely identified with a single Bronze Age cult center does not entail her birth from Zeus' *head*, with or without Metis as incorporated co-parent.] In the hymn Zeus himself appropriates that power to make another god lust for a mortal as irresistibly as in a famous tragic myth Aphrodite makes unshakable Phaedra's desire for her stepson Hippolytos. [N Has it been noticed that Zeus complains of suffering *from Aphrodite* what no early

myth actually reports? Shameless libido and polygamy seem his nature. Like other children of his, Aphrodite may inherit and embody a paternal characteristic. Did his promiscuous *daughter* cause *him* to love all those six mortal females in his hilarious catalogue at *Il.* 14.315-325? As Phaedra can have done to explain her scandalous, near-incestuous love in Euripides' preceding Hippolytus-and-Phaedra play and possibly Sophocles' lost *Phaedra*?

In any case, Zeus chooses Dardanid Anchises to be unwilling Aphrodite's mate and father of her child Aineias [Note. Whom Zeus pro-Trojan son Apollo watches over in *Iliad* 5 (saving his life at 432-448). Whom even anti-Trojan Poseidon will save again in Book 201 (288-340), who has very much in mind his brother's will to keep the line of his son Dardanus alive forever though Aphrodite's mortal son. This immortal chain of mortal generations' descent is exactly what Aphrodite, who had assumed a disguise as an exceptionally gorgeous Phrygian princess, seems *on her own astonishing authority* to promise Anchises after revealing her divine identity to him (H 5 *Aphro.* 196-2. It must, however, be her father's intention and under his authorization actually to effect. At least is his fellow Olympians acknowledge it under threat of his formidable wrath (see that thinking of Poseidon in *Iliad* 20.). [N Recall that when Aphrodite's beloved Adonis is dying or still a warm corpse, she can only *request* that he live on as a perennial flowering "bulb" plant that appears to die each year. Other goddesses can get from Zeus only a grievously defective immortality for their mortal boyfriends. Think of Eos' ever more withered Tithonos, Selene's ever sleeping Endymion. Apollo has the same problem with boyfriends, namely Cyparissus and Hyacinthos. Thetis gives her son Achilles the possibly of immortality—of glory, not of person. And of that Apollo is jealous, as we see below.]

In the jocular spirit of the hymn and *To Hermes* Zeus allows his new-born trickster-type son Hermes not only to get away with what was a capital crime between mortals, theft of his brother Apollo's prized *cattle* but to swear to his brother his innocence with an oath by their father's head (H. 4 *Herm*. 274-2770 —the head that nods Zeus' will (see *Il.* 524-530) and, after he has had his laugh at the infant rascal, thief, liar, *and* perjuror (Hermes' perjury repeated at 387, obscurely yet clearly enough), he nods his command that his two son collaborate on return of the cattle and be reconciled (391-396). His will be done! E is in full control. Even Apollo had to laugh at the naughty godling (281).

Only in the hymn *To Demeter*—to a defiant Demeter—does Zeus lack absolute authority, to carry out in his plans at two levels, a specific plan and a general policy: the former for his and Demeter's daughter Persephone, to give to their brother Hades, reducing the chance that he, too, would defy him to have and to hold in his deep down under home,

obviously not till death could part the immortal couple(although I obvious respects she will be a good as dead—forever! Then their sister Demeter threatens the Olympian Father's toleration of a populous race of mortal humans to provide perpetual sacrifices and glory to him and his immortal kin on Olympus. is then threatened. She compels him not to abdicate, of course, but to compromise—him and theit dark brother. She gets her way, though compromised. Contrast this with the failed "palace plot" of which Achilles reminds Thetis at *Il*. 394-406 but of which she tactfully does *not* remind Zeus in their conversation at 498-53. [Note: Hera and Poseidon, with either Athena or, I think likelier, Apollo *together* failed, by binding Zeus to depose him or at least to limit his power. Thetis summoned Giant Briareus/Aigaion to frighten the plotters away.]

In the *Hymn to Apollo*, at its second, Pythian part a largely suppressed tradition is suggested that can have remembered an Anatolian god identified with Apollo who, though son of a great god*dess*, had not been son or otherwise subordinate to Zeus. Of course, the poet dared not to write about this, but showed how conquering hero-god Apollo gained control of his seat of power at Delph not by being stationed there by Zeus but by finding the site he wanted and, to possess and develop it, slaying its denizen the Python with a single arrow (H 3 *Ap*. 356-362). This contrasts with the titanic struggle that in one early tradition Zeus faced in fighting off Typhaon. A long excursus in the hymn (305-356) interrupts the story of Pythian Apollo and has no bearing on it except to explain Apollo's victim the Python and amplify his glory in killing her (300-304 > 357-362). According to the excursus enormous, this only partly anthropomorphic Typhaon was a son of Hera and nursling of (female) Python. It makes Zeus' unruly sister-wife Hera notoriously resists her brother-husband's absolute control over her in those relationship and over the entire world. Ge is Typhaon's sole parent, not Earth impregnated by a (there) masculine Tartaros as in Hesiod (*Th*. 821f). Here in the hymn she enlists the power of Gaia, Ouranos, and their now chthonic sons, Zeus' old enemies the Titans who surround (here also male: a person?) Tartaros to impregnate her with a male child who might topple Zeus. The hymn surely supposes that its audience/readers already know more about the monster that it does not build up as so formidable an adversary as Hesiod does (*Th*. 823-837), which/whom, however, Zeus saw coming (838-843). There is a noisy, tremendous struggle of wind and fire from both combatants (844-852). Once he uses his more precisely aimed thunderbolts, however, Zeus prevails and eventually drives the monster under the surface of Earth, whence he still blows ill winds and volcanic eruptions (853-880). However, in a tradition that lies behind Pindar's *Pythian Odes*, Zeus and other high gods mightily, using numerous thunderbolts (and exhausting his supply?) in battle where Zeus and the other Olympians fight an initially losing war against the

monster. They struggled mightily, and at first did not hold their against solo Typh(a)on in a war that was first a rout, though the Olympians came out the winners. Zeus' thunderbolts, *supplied by allied Cyclopes*, (*Th*. 501-507) are ultimately decisive, as (*possibly at Prometheus' advice*) before iZeus victory in the Titanomachy. He does thus achieve and maintain personal supremacy.

In the hymn Apollo, in contrast, evidently born with his bow and arrows (like Athena with her armor and spear), makes easy and short work upon the (male) Python until the unflattering account at *Met*. 1.459f (*innumeris... sagittis*!) within the greater, even less flattering Apollo and Daphne episode *Met*. 1.452-567. [Note: Apollo has his characteristic weaponry when we first meet him in the hymn (6-13, where Leto bore him as τοξοφόρον καὶ καρτερὸν υἱὸν, later repeated at 126 and his first words εἴη μοι κίθαρίς τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα, 131. Probably he does not wait for Hermes to be born and make his musician instrument! [Note. See Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth*, Vol. 1 (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins U Press 1992), pp. 48-51.]

Preliminary observations on βουλή of gods (and men who attract their attention) are in order.

The immortals possess supernatural powers and can exercise autonomous **agency**, in contrast even to demigod mortals (like Achilles, who pushes against limitations of mortality), let alone ordinary humans (like Odysseus who accepts his mortality).

The intention/ determination/*realistic* plans of human beings cannot contend with the will of gods unless they can play gods against other gods. It is even better if they enjoy major deities as allies against mere mortal opponents who have no divine support. Even the πολύμητις Ithacan, who according to Athena is supreme among mortals in βουλή (*Od*. 13.297f), depends upon gods. In his case as the *Odyssey* poet simplifies divine dynamic he has Zeus on his side *and* four of Zeus' children, while only a single major god, Zeus' brother, their uncle Poseidon, is against him. Poseidon, however, is bound to fulfill one or the other alternative of a solemn, formally correct curse uttered to him by his Cyclops son, especially since Odysseus has taken his own name in vain and taunted him. [N Possibly even before the Cyclops episode the Sea-and-Horse-God was hostile to Odysseus. Recall the tradition, reflected in Euripides' *Troades*, that Poseidon, builder of the impregnable Walls of Ilium, cheated though he had been by Priam's father Laomedon was on the side of those it defended in Priam's reign. One grandson of Poseidon, Nestor, was insome accounts rival to the son of Laërtes—or maybe of Sisyphus—as Achaean counsellors, not a complement as in the *Iliad* or an *admirer*, as in the *Odyssey*; and another grandson, Palamedes, was nefarious Odysseus' victim.] Helius in the *Odyssey* is also an agent, and even commands Zeus,

who must destroy hero's last ship and drown its crew; however, a son of Zeus, Hermes, neutralizes Helius' daughter Circe. Other minor gods also assist Odysseus in need, Leucothea, identified by the poet in Book 5 (333-374), and likely Artemis who (τις...θεῶν is all Odysseus, narrating here, will say) sends180 his way the huge stags tht feeds him and his crew on Circe's island (10.156-182).

In the *Iliad*, in contrast, one may count nine autonomous supernatural actors who determine events, seven Olympian deities, and a seventh of lesser rank but crucially important sea-nymph goddess plus grammatically feminine but impersonal Moira.

2. *Odyssey* Appendix to Zeus' *boule* in *Iliad*

Odyssey

Here Zeus controls events out of interest in Odysseus himself and a Zeus-descended dynasty and, as Ξένιος and Ἱκέσιος, because the Ithacan hero and now his son exemplify right conduct between hosts and guests, and between the powerful and the deserving weak. The son of Cronus works chiefly though four children of his, however, to aid a mortal hero already dear to each of them for her or his own reasons.

With **Athena** and **Hermes** Odysseus shares and, uniquely among mortals, wields essentially amoral μῆτις. Besides virtuosity in their essential love of lies, disguises, and more subtle deception, the supremely πολύμητις hero (as Athena herself acknowledges at *Od*. 13.96-299) applies it in various ways and honors both in doing so. Priam likens Odysseus to a ram at *Il*. 3.197f, whereafter Antenor describes how, despite his unprepossessing appearance, Odysseus spoke with unique eloquence. We may be reminded of baby Hermes' precocious rhetorical skill.

Odysseus' special reverence for pro-Trojan, potential enemy **Apollo** he himself mentions in passing at *Od*. 6.162-165: he had worshiped the Delian god at Delos on his way to Troy. It was no random choice when Agamemnon selected *him* to lead the voyage to Chryse in *Iliad* I, where the priest Chryses and his patron god Apollo accepted *from him* return of the aged priest's daughter, *un*ransomed, and the atoning hecatomb that the Ithacan captain delivers (*Il*. 1.308-317 and 430-474). In preparing the Menelaus-Alexandros duel in *Iliad* 3 Odysseus is counterpart to *Hector* (314-317). [N Each, a family man who accepts his mortality, just wants the war to be over so he can live a long natural life with parents, wife, and son, whether on Ithaca or in Ilium. The Pythian god approves and can bless such lives when and as long as Fate permit.]

Hephaestus, on the other hand, has no obvious connection with Odysseus in the older epic. However, the lessons that the Smith-god offers on the shield that he fashions in *Iliad* 18 reflect a compendious world-view

that one may find more Odysseus' or Hector's than Achilles'. [N Here is not the place for elaborate argument. The anger (χόλος, Il. 19.16) that enters the demi-god is its basis. I think, to his death wish expressed in his reply to Thetis that begins at 18.98. He is set upon *leaving* the world and the life that the shield surveys. I would compare Sophocles' suicidal Ajax.]

The first person to speak in Book 1 of the poem is Zeus, on Olympus, to whom Athena replies. She exits the scene purposefully, by his approved leave on his approved mission. She descends to Ithaca and the royal residence of missing Odysseus where, assuming the first of several mortal disguises in the Odyssey, she addresses the king's son and converses with him.

She herself is the very last to speak, back on Ithaca, after Zeus sends well aimed thunderbolt down from above to take direct take control of events on earth—more specifically, on Laërtes' rural domain. There where she addresses Odysseus, his father and his son, in disguise as the very last words of the poem describe.

In response to her father's spoken meditation on Aegisthus' murder (*Od*. 1.31-43) Athena speaks next and exacts from him his approval to operate down below among mortals, on Ithaca and on the Greek mainland, on behalf of a king whose just regime (and in the absence of his troublesome brother Poseidon, Odysseus' enemy). In the absence of young Telemachus' royal father this goddess will take Odysseus' son in hand under successive disguises, in Books 3 and 15 (where at 1-43 she speaks at length, and with only a deity's authority, to Telemachus, instructing him to end his stay with Menelaus and Helen and on how safely to sail back from the mainland, past the Suitors' ambush, with a favoring wind that will be sent by ἀθανάτων ὅς τίς σε φυλάσσει τε ῥύεταί τε (35—meaning, of course, herself as at 2.420 and 15.292, though we know from 15.475 that Zeus himself can an send an οὖρον).

Athena takes care of her protégé's son Telemachus—very good care. *He* is not a direct target of Poseidon, whose wrath is directed against the young man's father; and Athena makes sure that he does not become an indirect one when she (disguised as Mentor) and the Ithacan prince join in a grant sacrifice to Nestor's divine grandfather and Athena prays to him to bless Telemachus. To him there will be no danger from the sea.

At 5.31-42 Zeus himself will declare that, although Odysseus will not have an easy time of it, he will reach Scheria on the twentieth day of solo travel (sailing and floating and swimming) and from there will be carried home on a Phaeacian ship laden with his new Phaeacian treasure. It may be pointed out that another goddess also influences Telemachus, Zeus' daughter Helen, another daughter of Zeus while Leucothea, made a

sea deity by Zeus' dispensation, comes to Odysseus' rescue after Poseidon has shattered his well-built "raft."

Athena in particular has a lot to say, in many guises, throughout the poem. She, however, is by no means the only child of Zeus to be openly active in support of Odysseus as well as quietly by indirect action. The Ithacan hero's great-grandfather Hermes is another. [N That Hermes is not merely the enabler of the crimes of Odysseus' maternal grandfather Autolycus (19.395-397), but his father is not explicit. The man nowhere has a patronymic, however, and Pherecydes (3F120) attested that paternity.] In a second daughter-father conversation on Olympus that opens Book 5, Athena reiterates her Book 1.81-87 exhortation that "we" gods prompt Hermes to convey to Calypso Zeus νημερτὴς βουλή (1.86>5.30): that she "send" Odysseus, long stalled on her mid-sea island Ogygia, at last on his way home. So the Olympian Father dispatches his son, Athena's likewise πολυμήτις brother, as emissary to Calypso with their father's commands. [N on impossible synchronology!]

The Goldenwand god's undisguised epiphany on Aeaea (10.277-308) is unique, upon which he offers Odysseus an antidote to Circe's magic and instructions on how to deal with her. (He had already controlled the second of two noteworthy lotteries in the Apologue, 10.206f.) On Ithaca he will work through é or award (verb εὔχομαι)]

Three of this quartet had been associated in some way with Odysseus as hero and man at Troy. Joined by by sympathetic jealous traveling husband Hephaestus as fourth, all aid him in the years of "odyssey" that followed, clearly and in multiple ways in the Cyclops episode. The argument for this assertion in full and in detail cannot be presented here. But in summary, god by god, the team's contributions may be indicated so:

Athena: providing the *uniquely straight and slender* piece of olive wood that, practicing her wood-working skill, he makes into the tool by which he blinds the man-eating giant and overall by reinforcing his inborn μῆτις.

Hermes: providing the rams, one of them *uniquely large and fleecy*, and willow branches essential for the uneaten Ithacans' escape (which is also cattle theft!) and the skill of hiding that tool, tying Odysseus' shipmates under the rams, and for the lottery that selects the right men hasty for the teamwork of the blinding.

Apollo, his attention indicated by laurel (its only mention in either "Homeric" epic) at the mouth of the ogre's cave, from his grateful Thracian priest Maron's *uniquely potent* store he provides the wine by which the hero gets Polyphemus "dead drunk," into a deeper sleep than Hermes alone would impose and serves as enforcer of his father's rules and punisher of Polyphemus' blasphemy.

Hephaestus, whose metal made the (Apollonian) sword that becomes a wood-working instrument in Odysseus' hands, provides that fire which Odysseus twice, *gratuitously* applies to the green olive wood stake—and by whose light Odysseus and company operate against the Cyclops in his closed cave.

Odysseus expresses an unconscious *compendious* thanksgiving to them all when with Apollo's sword he sacrifices Hermes' mega-ram to Zeus, whose meat the entire remaining crew of his flagship cook over Hephaestus' fire. A grave lapse of μῆτις and outburst of vanity lets him give up the brilliantly false name Οὖτις that saved him in the cave and so to blurt his full name and address (9.502-504). Zeus' envious and often unbrotherly brother Poseidon (and already friend of Odysseus) must be allowed punitive autonomy, especially when his dignity has been challenged as it was by the intemperate Ithacan captain at 9.523-525. In fact, politic Zeus otherwise respects his brother's high rank and Poseidon's understandable impulse to punish what he perceives as dishonor from the Phaeacians, who are, after all, a sea-people of his whose royal dynasty descends from him (7.56-66).[N. See below, briefly, on Poseidon's relations with Zeus in the *Iliad*.] Fortunately for Odysseus himself, though not at all for his hundred of Ithacan ἑταῖροι, his blinded and taunted son's curse that the Sea-god will effectuate has *alternatives*. Because Fate (5.41 and 114) and the—coinciding?—will of Zeus preclude Odysseus' dying before he completes his last of all post-Trojan War νόστοι, the man must (a) get home late, taking further several years; (b) in someone else's vessel, so that all his twelve ships were doomed, as later will be the sturdy σχεδίη that he designed and constructed on Calypso's isle) and their crews; and (c) meet trouble there, dangers that Penelope's Suitors present to his own life and his son's, to his property and his kingship.

Into the second half of the *Odyssey* Zeus *de facto* prolonged the license of Odysseus' four active Olympian allies to help their mortal friend. Again, samples alone can be offered here. Eumaeus, whose role is extended in *Odyssey* Books 14-17 and again in 20-24, is a **Hermes** man, as swineherd, as keeper of dogs, and as messenger, garçon, handyman—as versatile in the miscellaneous domestic δρηστοσύνη (15.321) that Hermes enables as the Beggar declares himself to be himself is at 15.312-324. For the Battle of Book 22 another subaltern rancher, Philoetius, will join him, an **Apollo** man whose herds of cattle are as blessed as Eumaeus' droves of pigs. Apollonian ἀοιδός Phemius and Hermetic κήρυξ Medon, introduced and active early in the poem become important again in its last two books.

Hephaestian substances (the dozen ax-heads of Penelope's test, 19.572-581 [N—*iron*, we learn at 21.3, 61, etc., like the tempered ax-head in her husband's Hephaestian simile at 9.391-394.] and the flammable

sulfur for Odysseus' purifying fumigation after the bloody slaughter of the Suitors (22.492f) and, of course, in fire (its heat applied—in vain—to make Odysseus' bow more flexible, easier to bend for stringing (21.181-185) with *Hermetic* gut (χορδή, 207, and νευρή, 410) that, taut and plucked like the string of an ἀοιδός' **Apollonian** φόρμιγξ (406-409)f, sings like **Athena's** swallow (411). And to light that sulfur.

But where *is* Zeus amid all this? In every book of the *Odyssey* he is named, especially in patronymic phrases identifying children, except the 10th—and there he is Κρονίων in line (10.21). In fact, the "son of Cronus" made extraordinarily *hospitable* Aeolus Manager of the Winds, which office permitted him to give the Ithacan hero all that he needed to get home after a month's visit, but all in vain because of ἀτασθαλίαι (10.22-27). [N His *crew's* follies, he means, but really his own poor leadership: he neglected to explain what his gift from Aeolus in a suspicious big leather bag (ἀσκός, 47) actually was, containing every wind but the one that was now propelling them all the way to Ithaca. Worse, he behaved suspiciously, not entrusting the helm to his usual anonymous helmsman mentioned at 11.10 and 12.217and 412)!] On the other hand, Zeus may be seeing to it that Alternative B of Polyphemus' curse is in full effect?

The many times called does important business personally with thunder and lightning bolts. Most memorably at Helius' instance, after sending a dreadful storm to batter Odysseus' last ship a thunderbolt completes its destruction and consequent drowning of its sacrilegious crew at 12.405-419, this time because of their folly (12.300) after he has explained why they must *not* do what they will do, The shattered vessel's Sturdy mast and keel, **Athena's** material, saves the vegetarian captain's life (12.420-425). By the noisy double means Zeus himself reassures Odysseus, who *requests* signs at 20.97-101 (with thee bolder word for prayer whereupon he hears thunder from clouds above (103f) and overhears a meaningful φήμη (20.105, exactly what he asked for at 100) from an overworked miller-maid (20.97-121).[N That word in this application is synonymous with κλεηδών, the poet's chosen word at 20.120, for someone's utterance that has very different meaning for another who hears it ad applies it to himself/herself). The hero addresses Ζεῦ πάτερ, yet asks in 2nd person *plural* about the gods' intention for the coming unequal battle. [N Sanford ad v. 20.98 says "the plural is used because the rest of the gods must follow the will of Zeus." Rather, it indicates that Odysseus is aware certainly of Athena's alliance and (from Circe's island and his unbroken luck in sortition) Hermes' alliance, from both Hermes' and Apollo's, too, from their laughter at Ares in Demodocus' scandalous second song among the Phaeacians. He even has reason to believe that as Poseidon offers fairly to settle a matter brought before *Zeus* to adjudicate, he will now be on the sidelines, perhaps waiting for that atonement

which Teiresias prescribed. Recall that everything in the Apologue is fresh on Odysseus' mind: He told his entire post-war story to Alcinous et al. just four or five days ago!]

On the other hand, a thunderbolt from the τερψικέραυνος lord to the ground at the addressee's feet can be an unspoken STOP sign and is so at 24.539-545). The latter, as we shall see below, occurs twice in the *Iliad*, in Books 8 and to which the *Odyssey* poet surely alludes here in his poem. [N Or, according to some scholars, the compiler-continuator of *Odyssey* 24. I acknowledge but reject such "analysis."] This intervention does not, like those in the older poem, change the course of *one day's battle* in a war over nine years old and far from over, weeks if not months still to go and to take many heroic lives, a war that will end in total destruction of one side. This one stops a potential war after one one-sided battle, when a second one has barely begun—after a single mortality. No one whom anyone would classify as a hero suffered more than a scatch the day before.

In addition to the Olympian's meteorological interventions familiar "eagles" (αἰετοί) also indicate intentionσ of the supreme god. Persons with special talent for ornithomancy are at hand to interpret eagle-action to those for whom the signs are intended. In Book 2 dual eagles (αἰετώ: for Odysseus and "Odysseïdes") appear over a general assembly on Ithaca and attack the Suitors, auguring their doom. From this sensational portent (that, the poet tells us, Zeus himself sent), before the Ithacan nation seer Halitherses warns those lawless young men of mayhem when Odysseus, as he predicted before the war, now returns in the twentieth year (2.146-176). A bird of Zeus can also presage *good* news from Zeus, and victory, as in his meteorological daughter Helen's volunteered reading of an eagle-versus-goose portent at 15.160-178 and on Ithaca in the hardly unrelated dream that Penelope reports at 19.535-553: one eagle versus a goose for each of the years of her husband's absence, her husband's wheat (πυρός, 536 and 553). [N The same word for grain is what at 20.109 that fatigued, insomniac miller-maid will be grinding for the Suitors' immovable feast. These are the only three mentions of this in *Odyssey*. In *Iliad* it occurs two times, one Book 10 as horse feed (8.188 and 10.569).]

An explicitly **Apollonian** bird, a κίρκος [N Some kind of raptor, hawk or falcon since this species name is apposite to ἴρηξ in a simile at 13.86f.], that god's messenger will deliver an Argive seer named Theoclymenus with high mantic credentials granted by Zeus and—to two generations—by Apollo (15.223-255) will see and read it as optimistic, albeit vaguely, for Telemachus' dynasty (15.525-534). The next day, in speaking to Penelope, he refers back to it and now draws more meaning from it: Odysseus is nigh! (17.155-161). ἰ

Finally there are—whatever αἰγύπιοι *are*. These are by a perhaps too inertial convention "vultures" or "bearded vultures"/Lammergeier. However, like Latin *vulturii*, they seem, as G. S. Kirk deems, to be *generic*, to cover an array of large raptors [N II Comm; see also R. Janko Comm I My own non-zoological solution to this problem is to consider whether the names for Zeus' larger and largest , wide-winged, short taloned birds of prey weren't used precisely, but generically—yet all were Zeus' birds. Smaller raptors were "hawks" (ἴρηκες). For example, φήνη (to which Athena is compared or whose form she took to fly like one at *Od*. 3.372

At *Il.* 7.58-60 and Athena and Apollo take their form´19.86) to watch a champion of each. When Athena takes and shakes the aegis at 22.297f the poet compares the four "good guy" Ithacan spearmen's' rampage against panicked surviving Suitors to αἰγύπιοι swooping on lesser generic birds as prey (302f). "They behave more like eagles," writes MMM of

As two potentially deadly crises near, Athena involves herself in person, though in disguise as Mentor or a swallow or, it seems, invisibly when wielding the aegis that she has from her father (22.297). Zeus himself, though never physically present on earth in any form (he ever is in "Homeric" narrative), more 'hands on.' On the first of two decisive days, Apollo' day (20.276=278; 21.258f!). Apollonian Odysseus and (thanks to Apollo, 19.86) son, with the two loyal serfs who represent two of his Olympian allies, will execute the 100+ Suitors. On the second day Laërtes (whom at 24.367-371 Athena rejuvenated, surely authorized by her father) and the six sons of loyal slave-bailiff Dolius join the preceding day's four victors for armed confrontation with the Suitors' intended avengers.

Other signs: Telemachus' thunderous sneeze at 17.541 (Hermes' doing), the laughing fit of the Suitors at 20.345-349 (like other involuntary noises we make also Hermetic, but "read" by Apollonian Theoclymenus at 350-357 with his ensuing vision of their bloody fate. Even perhaps Book 18 the ironic κλεηδών that the Suitors spoke among them, praying that Zeus and others immortal gods grant to you—the unrecognized Beggar—"whatever you most want and has been especially φίλον to you," that is, to silently delighted *Odysseus*! (18.111a-117)

Aegis 22.297 simile 308

The evening before the battle Pallas assured Odysseus and Telemachus of her (and her father's) support, such as Odysseus had promised his son at 16.258-265. Invisible person though she was, she brightly lit their way as they removed armament from the great hall with her equally invisible χρύσεος λύχνος (19.34). Odysseus immediately recognized this as gods' work. He could guess which god's! The next morning, however, having learned that, with his/the Beggar's approval, Penelope was going indeed to announce and conduct the two-part contest, aware of the odds against him, he sizzled like a cooking sausage. Athena, ever alert,

descended from heaven, stood above is head finally set him, initially doubtful, at ease. so he could get some sleep (20.24-57).

3. Abstract as basis for my free composition of a German *Zusammenfassung* (of the whole, nos. 1 and 2 with the *Iliad* exposition)

Iliadic Z's βουλή is one alongside, besides Apollo's for Hector, a mortal who accepts his humanity, and tragic Troy; Athena's for Achilles and Achaeans versus doomed Troy. Theirs may seem to prevail over Zeus'—whatever his *is* apart from reluctantly granting suppliant Thetis' plea. In the end, however, we shall see how he wins out over those two children [as well as over sister-wife Hera, resentful brother Poseidon].

In "Homeric" *Hymns* Z's supreme "will" coincides with relatively simple "plans." He has his way giving *Aphrodite* a taste of her own medicine that had embarrassed him. In *Hymn to Demeter*, however, his patriarchal project to give his daughter—as if not also Demeter's—forever to their brother Hades [, consigning her to eternal "life" in a sunless nether realm] fizzles. He's forced to compromise. Hades will release her, she'll rejoin Demeter on Olympus for the each year's sunnier seasons [of each solar year]. Z himself commands reconciliation and compromise between his sons Apollo and Hermes, though the precious cattle-rustler has egregiously perjured himself by his father's head. In the *Hymn to Apollo*, its Delian part, after getting Leto pregnant with twins, he evidently has no "plan" for her or them. She frustrates Hera and arranges for Apollo's birth-place and birth. Artemis' is collateral boon. In the Pythian-Delphic part of the poem Apollo conceives and establishes his own world order, while an unjovial ecphrasis shows how, in contrast to Phoebus' easy dispatch of *nurse* Python, Z's might is taxed in his challenge from her *nursling* Typhaon [(and behind formidable him, Z's rebellious sister-wife Hera)] and barely defends his supremacy.

Odyssey is an outlier. Zeus, acknowledging Athena's case for support of good king Odysseus [(and to realize the alternative that Polyphemus allowed in his curse of the Ithacan pipsqueak, who will live on and even return home)] expressly commissions two of his children to prepare for Odyssaeus' belated νόστος (Athena) and to set it back in motion (Hermes), implicitly licensing two others (Apollo and Hephaestus) to ally themselves with Odysseus in what follows as they had been doing since the Trojan War, albeit mostly unbeknownst to him. Finally Athena and her father effect settlement on Ithaca that reinstates a father-like king who kept a famously "hospitable table" over a realm at peace [who can now recover past prosperity (even if it requires piratical raiding on the mainland!)].

Circle back to *Iliad*. Alongside (a) Zeus' fondness for doomed "Dardanian" Troy and Priam in particular, but for Hector as well, and (b) his need

to allo Achilles that immortal glory which, if he stays and dies at Troy, is due *him*, are capacities as Ἱκέσιος and Χένιος, respectively protector of *suppliants* and of *hosts and guests*. Supplication, moreover, in wartime is closely associated with the secular, chivalrous rules regarding ἀγλαὰ ἄποινα, "splendid" (i.e. exemplary) "ransom," whether a surrendered person pleads for quarter who can expect to be ransomed or a third party would ransom a relative or other φίλος. "Hospitality" also comprises treatment of a needy stranger/foreigner, a lowly ξένος, even a needy one, or a protected class—*a fortiori* a priest. The "humble guest" is prominent in *Odyssey*—in Odysseus.

A thunderbolt is decisive on the last page of the poem, and indicates that Zeus' will is realized without further, *un*necessary bloodshed—according to what he and his Number One daughter had agreed to at 24.472-488. After Athena's calls halt to the avengers' suicidal belligerence (529-536), then to Odysseus' murderous passion when Zeus has sent down his STOP, the goddess in human disguise, by her agency, with libations and oaths exchanged (482-485 and 547), Ithaca will return to the *status quo ante* where the "before" is *ante bellum.* The retro goal, as we may surmise from Athena's arguments to Zeus in the opening scenes of Books 1 and 5 or perhaps 5's resumed opening sequence , indicate(s) what the goddess urges her father to restore: richer sacrifices to Zeus back home on Ithaca than those that Odysseus offered to Zeus on the beachhead at Troy (1.60-62) and that man's *benevolent*, *clement* (and, we know from elsewhere) *hospitable* rule as king of people of his island and mainland realms (5.8-12). The last sacrifices that Odysseus conducted since the war are those that, first one seven or so years ago on the beach of so-called Goat Island when he sacrificed Polyphemus' big ram—to Zeus and a feast followed (9.550-553); and, second, on the margin of the Land of the Dead triple libations to the Dead and holocaust offering of the black ram and ewe, provided by Circe to Hades and Persephone 11, what vows of further offerings from his own stock upon returning to Ithaca amplify,(11.23-33). And, although his mother's ghost reports that early adolescent Telemachus manages the property and holds banquets for Ithacan notables and they invite him in return (11.185-187), his father has retired from society and public life, Candide-like tending his extensive country garden, where we and he find him in person only in Book 24. (No one had summoned any type of public general meeting on Ithaca since Odysseus left for Troy, as we learn at 2,26-27, until Telemachus did has now done on Day Two of the poem's action.) The young bachelor Suitors' gross misbehavior has gone unreproached, unimpeded for years with no governing person or institution to check it.

In the *Odyssey* there are fundamentally just two competing βουλαί at the supernatural level, that of Poseidon to accomplish the latter of the alternative that his son the Cyclops pronounced, and that of Zeus, who shares his with four divine children to get him home safely, reunited with son, wife and father, and with only two things to do afterward in which their further Olympian interventions are little if at all called for: to appease Poseidon according to ghostly Tiresias' prescriptions (11.119-134) and to restore the eaten-up wealth of his lands by a pirate-king's routine raiding (on the mainland coast?): what λῃΐσσομαι, "I shall plunder," and by what his Achaean subjects (doubtless with no slight pressure hints!) δώσουσι, "will contribute" (23.357f). [Note from the comms ad vv. 23.357f.]

Victor Castellani

DER „HOMERISCHE" ZEUS UND SEIN VOLLENDETES ILIADISCHES PROJEKT (ΒΟΥΛΗ) IN DER ILIAS

Zusammenfassung

Das Wort βουλή erscheint bekanntlich in der oben genannten Anrufung der Göttin, die wir alle als Muse verstehen und die ihm Einblick in die Gedanken und Gespräche anderer Götter gewährt. Er behauptet also nicht nur zu wissen, dass Zeus' βουλή „vollendet" war, sondern auch, was es war. Diese Vollständigkeit wurde nicht unbedingt innerhalb des Zeitraums seiner Nachfolge erreicht, d. h. vom Besuch des Chryses im achäischen Lager an der Küste Trojas bis zum letzten Tag von Hektors Trauerfeier in und bei Ilion einige Wochen später, sondern erst weitere Wochen vor dem Ende des Zehnjährigen Krieges.