UDC 821.14'02.09 Homerus

Victor Castellani
University of Denver

RE-THINKING: SUPPLEMENT AND COMPLEMENT TO *"HOMERIC" ZEUS AND HIS COMPLETED ILIADIC PROJECT (BOYΛH) IN THE ILIAD*, ALIAS *HOMERIC ZEUS*, PART I (*Journal of Classical Studies Matica srpska* Vol. 27 [2025], 1-54)[1]

ABSTRACT: Telling events on the battlefield of *Iliad* 16 to Paris' death shortly before sack of Ilium fall into a make chain of linked slayings: A is killed by B, C kills B avenging A, D avenges B on avenger C – and so on. **Patroclus** is central, slayer of **Sarpedon**, victim of **Hector**, avenged by **Achilles**.

Patroclus' character undergoes a change of character after his first experience of bloody martial success as solo warrior. He ignores prior instructions and warnings, even supernatural, physical pushback. A Patroclus II declares himself. On the other hand, there are four Achilleses, two (II and III) distorted by his two successive wraths. Achilles IV, who appears in *Iliad* 24, is the one who wins unique glory, not with his spear, taunting, and atrocity (Achilles III), but from what happens among Achilles, Priam, and Hector's corpse, the culmination of Zeus's project. What defective Part I clumsily argued will, I hope, convince better in a future revised version.

KEYWORDS: Achilles, Hector, Patroclus, Sarpedon, chain of deaths, avenger/revenge, character development, atrocity, hospitality, supplication, glory.

The following essay addresses this concatenating structure in a series of killings and avengings that are killings that themselves demand revenge.

[1] My abject apologies to the Editor-in-Chief and editorial board and staff of the *Journal of Classical Studies Matica srpska* for the unfinished state of that article; its submission was by months belated, *mea culpa*, and yet I mistakenly believed, *mea maxima culpa*, that I had weeks more to revise it.

Slain	*Slayer*	*Avenger*
Pedasus	Sarpedon	Patroclus
Sarpedon	Patroclus	Hector
Patroclus	Hector	Achilles
Hector	Achilles	Paris
Achilles	Paris	Philoctetes
Paris	Philoctetes	(none)

(1) The very first to die, first link in a long chain of deaths, has slain no one. He is a horse, **Pedasus**! His fate is adumbrated by what had happened to a similarly mortally wounded trace-horse to Nestor's chariot team in *Iliad* 8.80-88, upon which Diomedes rescued the old hero from Hector's attack; and to another horse, likely a "trace" one too, whose death occurred in the *Aethiopis/Memnonis.* He fell likewise by Paris' archery, likewise tangled and impeded the Gerenian Horseman's chariot. There as demigod enemy Memnon menaced Nestor, Antiochus gave his life to permit his father's escape (inferred from Pindar *Pyth*. 6.28-42). So the first unannounced, unexpected dying is not of a man but of an animal.[2]

(2) Mortal demigod **Sarpedon**, son of Zeus and mortal Laodameia. Zeus' project honors this attractive demigod son of his. Zeus gave him glory in Books 5 (where he slays Tlepolemus, arrogant Coan son of Heracles and suffers an honorable wound at 628-667); 12 (an *aristeia* in 12.290-330 and 392-414); and 16, where he slays Pedasus at 469-466. This disruption of a mortal troika would naturally incapacitate a chariot and endanger the enemy chariot fighter and driver. Sarpedon's Olympian father openly hesitates to let *him* be killed at 16.419-438, but allows himself be talked by Hera into allowing it to happen (439-458). According to Zeus's project the demigod Lycian king is slain by mortal Patroclus (477-505). A fierce and lengthy fight occurs over his dead body (508-675) that indicates his rank and importance in the war (clear enough from Books 5 and 13), and thereby the corresponding importance of Patroclus' feat in his slaying, giving further posthumous honor to Sarpedon himself. Apollo cleans up his half-brother's bloody, dusty, lacerated corpse. He, Death, and Sleep transport him to Lycia for a grand royal funeral (666-683) as Hera had suggested (450-457 – hoping to reduce Zeus' anger over

[2] See on these unnamed horses' deaths G.S. Kirk in *The Iliad: A Commentary*, Vol. II: books 5-8 (Cambridge 1990), pp. 304f.; and M.L. West, "Iliad and Aethiopis," *Classical Quarterly* 53 (2003), pp. 10f, though what he says about the closeness of relationship between Antilochus and Achilles is questionable. West is more moderate in *The Epic Cycle. A Commentary on the Lost Troy Epics* (Oxford 2013) pp. 146, 153, and 156. His position that Arctinus' written *Aethiopis* followed an *Iliad* like the extant one is sound. However, what was oral tradition about Antilochus and (if not a late intruder into the Cycle) about Memnon remains unknown.

seduction and sleep earlier that day? Or to compensate insisting on Sarpedon's death. In any case, he dies, I should say, on his *projected* day, at the hands of his *projected* killer.

(3) In Book 11 Achilles sends his foster brother **Patroclus**, mortal son of mortal parents, to the edge of the battlefield to learn whether his old fellow student of healing, soldier-doctor Machaon, has been wounded in an early stage of the ongoing Great Battle (11.597-617). This shows how Patroclus is his demigod companion's compassionate surrogate. Before Patroclus can report a simple 'Yes,' possibly with pitying comment, Nestor, who conveyed Machaon to his quarters at the center of the Achaean beachhead, intercepts him. Patroclus spends some time as Nestor medicates the medico, then the old Pylian king edifies and coaches the young Myrmidon (11.655-803). The battle rages on and Patroclus himself doctors wounded Achaean Eurypylus, then leaves him in a hurry as oncoming Trojans penetrate their hated besiegers' own defenses (15.390-405). He returns to the Myrmidon sector at the far flank of the Achaean camp. Having witnessed much more havoc than Machaon suffered, Menoetius' son pleads with his dear companion Achilles to return to battle (16.1-19) or, if for any reason he himself can/will *not*, to propose Nestor's alternative (as if it is his own idea): that Patroclus, himself wearing Achilles' unique armor and leading the rested Myrmidons into the fighting, may drive the enemy back into the city. Trojans and their allies now control the battlefield right up to the Achaeans' broken rampart (and all too flammable ships) but *specious* Achilles' sudden presence will terrify them. They will believe that invincible Peleïades is again fighting on the Achaean side and may a slay them by the hundreds.

Achilles grants this (60-73), not without instruction partly selfish – see line 90 – but also serious warning about Apollo's potentially deadly enmity (80-96). Achilles' former chariot *driver* now dons the demigod's armament, less the Pelian Spear (130-144), and rides in his chariot, drawn by Achilles' mixed team (148-154). Achilles prays to Zeus with two wishes (220-254), but we already know from the god himself (back at 8.76) that the second part will not be granted: Patroclus *will* return, but only dead, as a naked, bloodied corpse. He now sets out as leader of the Myrmidon regiment (257-277). The glamour of his deliberately misleading exterior *which* Zeus makes plausible. He grants Patroclus and extends an *aristeia* (intermittently 284-785). During its course, as we have seen, he loses a mortal horse, kills Zeus' demigod son Sarpedon (466-507).[3] In his exhilarating rampage he ignores or forgets his companion's warning (either way, influenced by Zeus: 684-691). He clashes three times and a fourth with Apollo himself – in epiphany, it seems – at the Wall of

[3] Unique feat for a pure mortal unless he has a much help as Paris will in killing Achilles.

Ilium, who pushes him down and away: it was never Patroclus' αῖσα to lead a victorious assault on Troy nor would it even be Achilles' (688-711). After the specious demigod slays more Trojans on the field of battle invisible Phoebus slams him, dazes and disarms him (787-806). Trojan nobleman Euphorbus and Hector – essentially their enabler Apollo – slay him thus defenseless (806-857). Hector had clearly intended to avenge his late leading ally Sarpedon. To Sarpedon's cousin Glaucus and the bereaved Lycians he joined his main force Trojans (16.538-553). Now he has had their revenge. However that satisfaction prompted linked revenge by Patroclus' companion. As the day's Myrmidon leader dies he prophesies to Hector that it is *his* μοῖρα κραταίη to fall at Achilles' hands (843-855) – tomorrow with Athena's help, as we will see. Hector disdains this prediction, gloating over his foe's dead body (858-863). Mournful divine horses escape Hector's attempt to seize them (864-867).

A glorifying battle-within-the-battle over dead Patroclus commences, far longer than the one mentioned above over Sarpedon (17.1-18.218).[4]

With some reprise and overlap of events and moments, we shall resume the chain in this next section and take it to the post-*Iliad* end days ust before the sack of Ilium:

FOUR ACHILLESES, TWO PATROCLUSES!

For there are, in fact, *four* versions of Achilles in his Iliadic saga, two while Patroclus lives, two after his θεράπων's death. Patroclus changes as well, but not for the good; his physical death in itself does not coincide with the cessation of a Patroclus I, that son of mortal Menoetius who deserved the controverted title "Best of the Myrmidons." (This will be explained and argues concluding section titled "Best of the Myrmidons?" We now proceed, however, into successive states of heart and mind that will bear roman numerals.

Achilles I. More solicitous of the Achaeans' well-being than Commander-in-Chief Agamemnon (whether from the latter's guilty feeling or because he is unfeeling), at Hera's prompting this Achilles calls for an general assembly where he proposes to the Commander that after nine days' affliction "we" ask a μάντις, ἱερεύς or dream interpreter to tell us what he can about why Phoebus Apollo is inflicting an increasingly deadly plague (1.54-67). The hero is on stage through his sensible response (1.85-91) to the anxiety of Calchas, who has μαντοσύνη direct from Phoebus Apollo but who hesitates to explain why Plague-god Apollo

[4] There will be an even longer one in the *Aethiopis* when Patroclus' avenger Achilles has fallen to Hector's avengers Paris *and Apollo.*

has inflicted pestilence on the Achaean army – on Agamemnon's army (1.68-83). The*"bird/omen expert"* Calchas fears that a VIP may be angered by what he can reveal. He asks for Achilles' protection that Achilles grants him t, even if he names Agamemnon "who claims to be much ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν" (91). Agamemnon's response to Calchas' blunt statement about *his* fault, his *sin*, ignites the well-known Quarrel. Here and now it ends not with the Commander's assassination by the outraged, insulted and humiliated demigod warrior (188-221), but with exit of the Achaeans' greatest warrior, who vows to boycott battle, threatening Agamemnon with violence if further provoked (293-307). He reiterates this stance later to heralds whom the Commander sends to claim the humiliated hero's dear concubine Briseïs (340-344). *He begins his boycott* (488-492), as threatened at 340-344.

Wrathful **Achilles II** is born. The Trojan enemy have been reluctant to fight when Nereid-nymph Thetis' son was on the battlefield west of Ilium and not on a raid elsewhere in King Priam's realm. His mother enlists reluctant Zeus to boost the Trojans and make the Achaeans suffer who all, with the exception of Nestor, stood by without a word of objection to Agamemnon during the Quarrel (495-530).

From five flashback scenes, *three of which explicitly include Patroclus and the others μ did as well without* naming *him,* we get a consistent sense of what the son of goddess Thetis and her mortal mate Peleus had been, *then* before the crisis that jealous Apollo instigated in *Iliad* 1(1.6-9) and leads to his first wrath (μῆνις), a state of emotion thematic for plenty in the poem that follows its first word.

[1] In Book 6 one of the most telling pictures of pre-*Iliad* Achilles comes from Andromache's account of his *chivalrous treatment* of her *enemy* family during his devastating raid on her father King Eëtion's city, *even performing the old warrior's funeral* (6.414-428). Patroclus surely accompanied Achilles on that expedition. He was likely to have been Achilles' agent in the ransom of Andromache's mother.

[2] In Book 9 Phoenix reminds Achilles of how his father Peleus sent Phoenix off to Troy with him to teach the adolescent hero the ways of war, about a valorous hero's proper words and deeds (9.438-443). Was Patroclus not there too?

[3] Supplementing this in Book 11 is Nestor's reminiscence to Patroclus of how *his* father Menoetius and Achilles' Peleus instructed their sons as they went off to the war, when elder, wiser Patroclus was nominated to advise the physically far stronger very young hero (11.765-790).

[4] Book 19 quotes Briseïs' eulogy of Patroclus. When she mourned deaths of three brothers and of her husband, whom Achilles' himself slew during his sack of her home city Lyrnessus, *Patroclus* consoled her with the prospect of a wedding in Phthia after the war and marriage to

Achilles, who loved her enough to raise her there and then from concubine to queen consort (19.287-300).

Essential background to Zeus' project, in which Achilles is the central figure, Andromache's and Briseïs' family histories provide as does, fifth flashback, [5] the personal history of Lycaon son of Priam. During a raid? the raid? on Lyrnessus Achilles had taken this young royal enemy alive, as a *surrendered ritual suppliant* against expected *ransom.* He had fed him *hospitably* until Patroclus took him to where his family could and did indeed ransom him (21.34-135).

In his *Iliad*-Project Zeus intends to give Achilles maximum glory at the price of an early death by getting him *back* to what he had been before the Quarrel. Then, however, his companion Patroclus performed his "out-sourced" humanity, *but at the end of our poem he will have to be humane* without *Patroclus*.

Achilles II in his first wrath wishes grave ill to the Commander and the Achaean war effort, even hoping for comrades' wounds and deaths. He has gotten gets his mother to arrange for that from Book 8 (delayed after one day of battle in Books 3-7) to part of 18. Nevertheless, he still shows traces of what Achilles I was. In Book 1 he respects the *heralds* of Agamemnon *and Odysseus* when they come to take Briseïs away (1.333-336). *Patroclus* hands her over to them (337f and 345-347). In Book 9 Achilles extends glad *hospitality* to φίλοι, even φίλτατοι ἄνδρες (192-221): to Cousin Ajax, to "uncle" Phoenix, *to Agamemnon's lieutenant Odysseus* (although at 309-313 he famously expresses doubts about that wily man's forthrightness). *Patroclus* is present throughout and helps to prepare and serve *wine* and choice (mortal) *food* to the emissaries (201-205 and 211-17). *Patroclus* sets up a *bed* for Phoenix to sleep in (620-622 and 658-662), while Achilles and *Patroclus lie with their concubines* (663-668) – the demigod with his adequate second favorite!

Reprise of critical vents with new inflection: In Book 11 Achilles sends off *Patroclus* – "the beginning of his κακόν" (11.604) – to see whether the healer-warrior Machaon himself needs healing from an incapacitating arrow wound. This man's father Asclepius studied medicine with the boy Achilles under wise Centaur Cheiron (see 4.218f and 11.830-832). Having learned healing himself, Achilles taught some to his companion.[5] When Patroclus has seen that Nestor is taking good care of

[5] A famous shallow RF cup in Berlin (2278), *BAPD* no. 200108 by Sosias depicts Achilles applying and (added white) bandage to Patroclus' leg. Patroclus is here presented not as a spearman but as an archer, with a cap, not a helmet like his companion's. He would be to Achilles what half-brother Teucer is to Telamonian Ajax. See it with detailed description: *The Reception of the Trojan Cycle in Greek Vase-Painting: The Case of Sosias' Cup* (https://classics-at.chs.harvard.edu/the-reception-of-the-trojan-cycle-in-greek-vase-painting-the-case-of-sosias-cup/)

Machaon at the center of the Achaean camp (11.621-646) he tries to return promptly to the Myrmidon sector, not to keep irritable Achilles waiting for his report (647-654). However, the old Pylian hero detained him. He subjected him to a long and very consequential harangue (655-803), especially at its end (from 790 onward). Then Patroclus meets Eurypylus, another Achaean fighter wounded by Paris at about the same time as Machaon, pities him, and pauses further to medicate him (809-848). He stays with his patient until 15.390-405. By then he has become aware of how badly the Great Battle is going for his side, thanks to Hector's miraculous revival (and manifest divine favor). On the first pages of Book 16 his dear companion moves Achilles to pity for the Achaeans (16.5-46) and softens Achilles II's resolve not to support Agamemnon's side *at all.* Achilles allows his dearest companion to borrow his divine armor and chariot and to lead the Myrmidons into the fray *intending to deceive the Trojans*.[6] Hector slays him. All of Book 17 narrates the battle over Patroclus' body that lasts until 18.231.

As Book 18 opens, just before Antilochus reports to him that Patroclus has lost his life (and Achilles' priceless armor), the demigod hero worries about his companion and about a perplexing prophecy:

> δ᾽ ἄρ [Achilles] εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν:
> ὤ μοι ἐγώ, τί τ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αὖτε κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ
> νηυσὶν ἔπι κλονέονται ἀτυζόμενοι πεδίοιο;
> μὴ δή μοι τελέσωσι θεοὶ κακὰ κήδεα θυμῷ,
> ὥς ποτέ μοι μήτηρ διεπέφραδε καί μοι ἔειπε
> ὀχθήσας **Μυρμιδόνων τὸν ἄριστον ἔτι ζώοντος ἐμεῖο** 10
> χερσὶν ὕπο Τρώων λείψειν φάος ἠελίοιο.
> ἦ μάλα δὴ τέθνηκε Μενοιτίου ἄλκιμος υἱὸς
> σχέτλιος: ἦ τ᾽ ἐκέλευον ἀπωσάμενον δήϊον πῦρ
> ἂψ ἐπὶ νῆας ἴμεν, μηδ᾽ Ἕκτορι ἶφι μάχεσθαι.᾽
> (18.5-14)

He suddenly, intuitively fears what that prophecy which Thetis related to him meant, presaging the linkage between their deaths: Achilles would outlive Μυρμιδόνων ὁ ἄριστος! *This could only be Patroclus* since "bestness" here must be something other than Achilles' own unmatched prowess as runner and spearman, slayer and city-sacker. (See below for Patroclus' retrospective claim to surpassing excellence.)

---

[6] Achilles II is capable of deception, what Achilles I had from Athena at most as a *latent* trait? She had coached incipient Achilles II to use angry words against Agamemnon, not impetuously a sword at 1.188-221. He blurts violent obloquy that belittles the Commander's performance in battle – wrongly, we know from Books 5 and 11. By the army's consensus in absence of Peleus' son he counts as one of the three most formidable warriors of all the Achaeans (7.177-180).

Patroclus *is* dead. He has been cut away from the composite *two*-man team as irreversibly as mortal Pedasus was from being "traced" to immortal yokemates Xanthus and Balius. A new, second wrath grips an **Achilles III**, whose first response may be, as Antilochus fears, to turn it suicidally against himself (18.33f). Soon, however, he realizes that Hector's death must even the score on the mortal plane, although Apollo, supporting him, must be equally to blame.

How does he know this without his being told (or reading Book 16!)? Informed by his mother, who knows Phoebus' role (see 18.454-456)? Thetis, however, does not appreciate how much Patroclus' death affected him any more than Athena or Hera does. Indeed his mother seems surprised that her and Zeus' plan to make Agamenon et al. suffer ἀεκήλια ἔργα brings her dear son πένθος rather than gladness and gratitude (70-77). Hera and Athena are even less sensitive, who seem, as Zeus remarks to his κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε Hera, *glad* that their hero will be back slaughtering Trojan (18.357-359), especially, we may suppose, Hector, Paris, and their brothers and half-brothers (e.g., Lycaon, previously *spared* in Book 21, and *his* brother Polydorus, Priam's youngest son, slain before him at 20.407-418), even those Priamids' brothers-in-law (like Aeneas).

(4) Three persons, **Hector**, his patron god, *and Achilles himself*, are to blame for a Patroclus-less world. He shall kill Hector, bereave Apollo, and expedite his own violent death. All he really cares about on the morning after Patroclus' death is revenge for all the men Hector has slain and now lie dead (203f). This means retributive "slaying and blood and harsh wailing of men" (214). This leads Achilles to renounce his lesser wrath. He will be fully reconciled with Agamemnon in verbal exchange as public as their Quarrel and his humiliation had been a couple of weeks ago (19.55-153). He accepts Agamemnon's "confession" of co-responsibility with Ἄτη for wronging him grievously and 172-276 the man's oath, surely perjured, though it keeps a promise made privately at 9.131-134, relayed by to Achilles Odysseus at 9.273-276). Achilles is no longer possessive of a trophy concubine nor materialistic in grasping for loot as in Book 1. His stated indifference (146-148) to receiving those components of what Agamemnon offered two days ago which can be delivered there at Troy (278-281) dramatizes this.

These include Briseis' return to him! So far as we learn from the poem the first time she and se are together again follows **Achilles IV**'s interaction with Priam (24.675f). **Achilles III** rejects food and drink (19.203-214). Although he orders a hot bath for Patroclus' dead body (18.343-353) he himself seems not to bathe (23.35-47!) until (may we infer?) for purification in connection with funeral rituals later in Book 23. He seems not to sleep, restfully if at all (18.354f, 19.4-6 and 40f, 23.4-23 and, though exhausted, not until Patroclus haunts him at 23.58-110). He

will keep vigil at 23.218-225! When Patroclus' ghost visits him, however, he seems fully awake and physical. For he tries to embrace the life-sized ghost but cannot (23.99-10). His deceased companion is unhappy, not about what has happened and may further happen to Hector's remains, only about delay duly joining the other dead. He begs to be cremated and for his bones to be interred thereafter with Achilles' (23.65-93). This moves Achilles onward in actions and, in that excellence which Zeus intends for him, upward.

(5) **Achilles III** wants no one thing tangible, intangible, or even embraceable, nor any simple one life-for-one life τίσις! The revenge he craves is complex, as already suggested. Ordinary τίμη and κλέος, to gain which Achilles I accepted a short, most glorious life over a long, comfortable one, have become almost as meaningless to him here and now as they will be to ghostly him in *Odyssey* 11 (488-491). As we have seen, he had begun to have some doubts about their cost during the Embassy episode of *Iliad* 9, where, however, Ajax talked **Achilles II** there into **Achilles I**-like regard for φιλία (9.622-642). This, *in Patroclus' silent presence* (620) – mentioned just before Ajax delivers the finest speech in Homer. Here brevity is indeed the soul of wit!

Bereft **Achilles III**, with only Patroclus' unresponsive *corpse* now in his quarters, is possessed by that second, greater wrath. After several unsatisfied, unsatisfiable days Patroclus' ghost haunts and motivates him. He has cuddled the νεκρός (18.317), speaks to it if it/he still lives and is aware (18.333-342), *and leaves it/him unburied.* At his instance, his goddess mother applies corruption-defying nectar and ambrosia (19.21-39). All the while he daily mistreats Hector's likewise unburied one.

Over Book 23's course Achilles becomes more generous, his dreadful wrath less and less in evidence, more humane, more mortal. At its opening, however, before supper but after chariot-borne mourners process thrice around Patroclus' corpse (23.6-9) Achilles places his hand on *it* and promises *him*, assuming he can hear, to sacrifice twelve highborn captive Trojans at his pyre and to continue his abuse of Hector's body (19-23). He resumes the dragging abuse of 22.395-405 at 23.24-26. That visit thereafter by Patroclus' ghost who/which, as we have seen, cares not all for such "honors" *and says nothing at all about Hector* begins the change.

When the next day dawns Achilles is ready to grant the ghost's wish to be released from the constraining vicinity of its former body. He performs a rite of attained maturity to/for Patroclus (23.135-153) before the cremation.[7]

---

[7] As Achilles realizes and performs *his* mortality in Book 23 he performs a partial young male's ritual of passage to full manhood, at least the part that honors his native River Spercheius (23.140-153). Not, however, the other part that thanks Apollo! (See Hesiod *Th*. 346-348:

A huge funeral pyre is constructed from lumber already gathered for it (23.110-128). and sacrificial gods, animals, and Trojan humans are placed around Patroclus' remains (163-176). Achilles again promises Patroclus to slaughter a sacrificial dozen Trojans and continue to abuse dead Hector (179-183), But despite many flammables, the pyre will not take fire. Achilles must humbly vow offerings and beseech divine Boreas and Zephyr to act as bellows (192-216).[8]

He stands all night by the pyre as *with those winds' aeration* it burns down till dawn. They leave – and he sleeps (217-232). After wine had quenched the last embers at Achilles' instructions, Patroclus' bones were to be gathered and placed in a golden bowl under a modest mound (235-257).[9]

Achilles had shown deference to Agamemnon and assigned an honorable duty to him. He asked the Commander to manage the funeral, almost as if he himself were not there to do so, both before the cremation (155-167) and after (235-248). Agamemnon complied without hesitation. (Contrast how the Atreid *delegated* appeasement of Apollo to Odysseus in Book 1.)

Once the winds arrived from afar and blew favorably, successive Funeral of Patroclus sub-episodes demonstrate a world without **Achilles I-III** *and soon to be without IV*. As the one who announces and conducts the Funeral Games, Achilles does not participate in any of them (which he or his horses would have easily won). At their very end, the last event that in itself seems hardly climactic, as umpire Achilles preempts a contest in spear-throw (where he and his Pelian Spear would have been uncontested). Agamemnon steps forward. To him the son of Peleus awards victory in advance, as unrivaled spearman, yet says to the Commander "Take the bronze prize and depart" (that is, a decorated bronze culdron – the *second* prize as I read the difficult passage,) and "Let us hand the spear to hero Meriones," the Commander's forestalled competitor Meri-

---

[Tethys to Oceanus] τίκτε δὲ θυγατέρων ἱερὸν γένος, αἳ κατὰ γαῖαν/ἄνδρας κουρίζουσισὺν Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι/καὶ Ποταμοῖς, ταύτην δὲ Διὸς πάρα μοῖραν ἔχουσι.) No Creek/Spring-*nymph* is so usual in this rite as a higher-ranking River-*god*. On this see N. Richardson, *CambComm* VI pp. 181f with bibliography and *ad v.* 142 on Spercheius. I cannot agree, however, with his remark on 144-151 that "What [Achilles] says almost amounts to a rebuke of the river-god for failing to answer Peleus' prayer." Achilles has chosen to die, and to die young and soon, though his reasons for doing so have changed. He punishes *himself* as partly to blame for Patroclus' death along with Apollo and Hector, though he still attaches unique glory (κλέος ἐσθλόν), like Heracles', to killing Hector before he himself dies (18.114-121).

[8] Note verb λιτανεύω at 196, *hapax* in *Iliad*. Developed from λίτη and synonymous with λίσσομαι, it is also *hapax* in *Odyssey*, applied at *Od*. 7.145 to the Stranger's abject quoted appeal to Queen Arete quoted. Verb ἀράομαι also describes his prayer at the pyre. This verb seems to appeal for action.] See verbs od asking in n. 15 above.

[9] See *Od*. 24.71-94 for the sequel: these will be combined with Achilles' own in a large golden amphora and reburied under a much larger mound overlooking the sea.

ones, a very respectable spearman in the Great Battle, but second rank (23.884-897).[10]

In the longest event-episode of the Games, chariots teams and drivers (23.262-650), as umpire but also as Antilochus' admirer Achilles acknowledges and tolerates *youthful* indiscretion after this young (coeval) friend, applied amoral tactics – μῆτις – on (as *we* know) advice of his *ancient* father Nestor (309-348). He clearly fouled Menelaus. Diomedes has won the first prize, uncontested. An argument about who deserves what from second to fifth prizes ensues, over the second that young Antilochus still claims, Achilles mediates. Then and gives a leftover prize to Gerenian *Horseman* Nestor. The very old man is sadly past his own racing days of yore, but reminds everyone of the chariot-race *he* lost in his youth, probably before any of his hearers was born: also at funeral games (23.638-640). Moreover, the host offers a high compliment and a special award to Eumelus, son of Admetus and Alcestis. Phoebus Apollo's close relationship with those parents, taken as familiar at *Il*. 2.712-715, had led that god to try to impede his Olympian rival Athena's favorite Diomedes. Bad idea. Athena prevented that and caused Apollo's man to crash, finishing the course on foot. Despite Eumelus' famous Apollonian connection Achilles feels sorry for what happened to him, whom he calls ἀνὴρ ὥριστος (537) – not knowing, of course, how in the race ally-god and enemy-god were themselves contending through surrogate mortals as they had been over Hector and Achilles.

Nevertheless *Achilles III* is not extinct. This we learn the next day, As Book 24 begins, Achilles seems, further or again, to fast (by implied contrast with everyone else after the Games) and fights off sleep, tossing and turning (24.2-11). Sadder yet, he walks as before to the shore, as if to summon his mother? (11-13). *Worse* yet, he resumed abuse of Hector's body, leaving it face down on the ground below and beside Patroclus' bier, same as the morning before, before his companion's funeral rites and celebration. Now he resumes the horrible dragging, this time thrice around Patroclus' burial mound, before leaving the body outside on the ground for dogs to gnaw (14-18).

---

[10] Here I differ with conventional understanding of the prizes. See, for example, N. Richardson, *CambComm* VI pp. 269-271. This would be the only contest, not even the toss of a meteorite which is *the* prize (826-835), in which the *first named* ἀέθλιον is not *first* prize for the winner; see 262-270, 654-656,702-705, 740-751, 798-808 (shared weaponry co-prize, but an added Thracian sword to the winner), 826-825, and 851! Maybe a spear is not "worth" even a single cow; but this one would have, in *this* contest, a thematic value. A spear awarded from his collection by the greatest spearman of all time would have value beyond mere counted oxen-and-tripods-and ingots. Remember my argument about "gold for bronze". Moreover, this award adds a bit of humor: In the Great Battle at 13.158-166 Meriones broke his spear, a vexation that becomes matter for mild comic relief in his leisurely conversation with Idomeneus who, exasperated, finally tells him to go get a new one at 296.

Phoebus Apollo, who in Book 1 launched the action of the poem that largely proceeded to his liking (since he knows when Hector had to die), now begins the surprising sequence that ends it, at 24.18-30 24. Like what has preceded, it plays out to no other deities' satisfaction but that of Zeus the Project Manager and likely of Hermes.

Apollo harshly condemns Achilles' behavior at 24.32-54. On the other hand, Pallas, Hera and Poseidon are the three Olympians who vetoed the other gods' wish that, after eleven days of Achilles' malicious glee in dragging Hector's body over the battlefield, Hermes steal him/it (24.14-30). The question must arise to *us* whether Achilles' κλέος-glory is enhanced thereby? Or is it impaired?[11]

Thetis, too, who appeared in Book 1, reappears here. That Hera's, Poseidon's, and Athena's support for whatever Achilles wants to do in his now chronic wrath is complaisant condoning, if not even more shameless approval. Apollo does shame them either way.[12] Athena may show a touch of sympathy when she yields her seat on Olympus next to Zeus to Thetis at 24.100, after which, without comment, she leaves the meeting and the poem. During the funeral games Athena has already turned her attention to surviving *protégés* Diomedes (at 23.499-51, perhaps also 811-825) and Odysseus (at 708-737 – a draw, but advantage to the Ithacan, as clear as that which Ajax had over Hector in Book 7 – and certainly 754-792). Much here is at the expense of the two Ajaxes, no darlings of Athena, who at most uses them against Trojans when neither Achilles nor Diomedes is slaughtering and despoiling them.

Thetis now advises final, truly τέλειος **Achilles IV** to whom Zeus' project has aimed, toward the unique, timeless "best" for him. His brief conversation with his mother at 24.126-142 shows that she seems finally to have understood Zeus' project and how it was subtler, wiser than her βουλή for her son – and much wiser than Achilles' intention for himself.

---

[11] The κλέος-κῦδος non-synonymity is too large for treating here. A valuable discussion remains in G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans*, Rev. Ed. (Baltimore and London, 1999), especially pp. 334f. However, the latter word (which Nagy renders "glory of victory") is applied in *Iliad* as something Zeus himself or by his license another major god distributes. It certainly does *not* include what Hector intended to do to dead Patroclus, what Achilles did to dead Hector from late Book 22 into 24. Neither Hector nor Achilles *loses* glory from the help each enjoys in his bloody triumph, but rather *enhances* it by partnership with a great god who does not help just anybody; on the other hand, grotesque extended and spectacular revenge on Hector, though three Olympians and the culprit's Nereid mother condone it, no god instigates and a number of them think it would be a good thing if Hermes stole the body (24.23f). Two major gods have preserve the body from external mutilation by feral dogs and internal corruption, Aphrodite and Apollo, at 23.185-19. Of them Apollo publicly deplores its malicious abuse. (Aphrodite is wise not to involve herself!)

[12] Hera's angry objection to his objection at 24.55-63 is off the point, though it inflicts a palpable hit on Apollo, who plays favorites but threatens to turn on the; cf. Aphrodite in relation to Helen at 3.413-417.

Whence his true, *unique* glory would come, the *Iliad*-poet's κλέος. An invention which glorifies its inventor, that poet, as well!

In Book 1 Achilles summons his mother to make a speciously humble λίσσομαι plea to Zeus, on whom she has a personal claim An appeal based on a sort of contract with Fate, that is to say with Zeus' long range project for the Trojan War. The ultimate consequence of Paris' sensational offense to Zeus Χένιος can only be Troy's destruction, death to Hector's sinful brother Paris and to doting, *too* doting King Priam. Achilles, if he fights on in that righteous war against the Trojans which Prince Hector leads and he slays their greatest home-grown champion, can expect to achieve glory, the greatest and most surely immortal glory in his generation. However, to the surprise and disappointment of all gods but Zeus, this will not come like Heracles' from slaying monsters, not from bloody single-handed martial achievement, but from becoming an **Achilles I**-like **Achilles IV** who is *not* Achilles+Patroclus.

Achilles IV reverses Agamemnon' sins against Chryses, an "old man" (γέρων); an unarmed ξένος, "stranger/foreigner" of high class who comes in peace to pay a ransom; an ἱκέτης, "formal suppliant"; an ἀρητήρ, "worshipful priest" of *Apollo*. This sublimely glorious final Achilles, son of mortal Peleus, receives and entertains as honored foreign guest (ξένος) old, unarmed, ransom-bearing suppliant Priam, the enemy head of state responsible for the war and for its countless deaths, Patroclus' included – and that one the doing of Hector, Priam's son and Troy's war-leader! In contrast, whereas aged Chryses, though a Trojan, was no fighter and sacrosanct as a *non*-warrior priest, Priam has the elevated τιμή of great king, but is no more sacrosanct than his vassal old *warrior*-king Eëtion or his young ally Sarpedon was. Or than Agamemnon is or *his* old ally Nestor.

Achilles IV reverses too **Achilles III**'s even worse sin (1) against a simple supplicating enemy Tros, son of Alastor, as young as he (20.463-472), then serial sins (2 and 3 and 4 and 5!) against Priamid Lycaon, only half-brother to Hector and Paris, *and* a young man whom **Achilles I** had spared, had entertained as noble host to guest, and had held hospitably for ransom *with Patroclus alive and present and Achilles' seeming = agent in such ransoming* (22.34-4474-*102*Untethered Achilles brutally murders (1) a disarmed, naked suppliant who (2) promises generous ransom – no better than ugly Agamemnon back at 6.37-65), then (3) beheads him – even suppliant slayer Agamemnon did not do *that*, leaving Adrestus' bleeding body on the ground (6. 62-65) where it could be recovered the next day (7.423-429). In contrast ugly Achilles (4) tosses the rest of the young prince into river water, where neither dogs nor crows would tear his flesh but little fish would nibble it, *and* where it would (5) pollute sacred waters of Xanthus/Scamander (21.34-132). All these heinous violations of rules and human decency, the perpetrator explains, are because

Patroclus is dead (21.100-105). The son of divine Thetis by his ongoing, relentless, indiscriminate massacre of enemy intends somehow to avenge Patroclus, to please his ghost (21.130-135). In fact, as a *god* might be, Achilles is confused about exactly what death means for a mortal, confusion that explains what over several days his starkly contrasting treatment of dead Patroclus and of dead Hector, as if both corpses are sentient. Remarks to *living* Lycaon at 21.54-63, ten to *dead* Lycaon at 122-127 are symptomatic:

We find inklings of eventual **Achilles IV** already in Book 19, at the assembly when he publicly relinquishes II's first wrath and blames his own temper (19.56-68). On the other hand, his second god-like wrath, literally flaring up yesterday (18.206-214), has hardly receded or cooled off within him. Athena will feed it with nectar and ambrosia, as we saw above.

Achilles IV reverses and makes amends for both Agamemnon's misbehavior and his own. He turns into a fourth and final, *best and most glorious* self, after which transformation he can readily die. Against his and others' expectation, killing Hector, whom the *Iliad*-poet builds up to be the most formidable available opponent in combat, is not the achievement that marks his ultimate greatness.

In fact, he does vastly more than that minimum. A sublime transaction only *begins* as a supplication-ransoming, itself extraordinary, as Priam declares (502-506).

With what is about to happen in *closing* Book 24 compare how in the poem's *opening* Book 1 Achilles, newly II, released Briseïs, via Patroclus, to innocent heralds. He offered eleven lines of angry comment that include ominous 3rd-person warning for them to relay, in 2nd-person, to the Atreid Commander (1.334-344 again). There followed a 47-line *complaint* to *Zeus* for his mother to convey upward (1.365-412).

Now in 24 to everyone else's astonishment, *even to Achilles' own* (since *he* had warning!) Priam suddenly appears within the hero's quarters and makes a supplicant's abject ritual bodily contact with him (24.477-484). Achilles, now newly **Achilles IV**, having physically felt Priam's supplication, now hears the old man's pathetic λισσόμενος entreaty for release of his son's remains. He tells the son of an old living, faraway father to think of *him*, Peleus who might – Achilles knows who very soon *will* – mourn a dear son (24.405-506). Achilles receives an unarmed "enemy alien" from Troy, a ξένος-foreigner like his entire πολέμοις race, but this one its highest-ranking person, every son of whom **Achilles III** would have slain without mercy since one of them in effect had killed *the merciful part of himself* (21.103-105).

Achilles IV, however, raises the kneeling foreign visitor to moral-social parity as a ξένος-*guest* who deserves more than a mere *un*equal

suppliant's due, namely kind words and, honorable seating, protection and shelter, and maybe in-kind alms. What Achilles IV provides for Priam exceeds this, and includes bedding for Priam and his herald: 24.671-674), , but full hospitality to a guest as a worthy, *honored* partner at *table d'hôte*, interlocutor, who may welcome a bath, or just a bed if timely, and escort home or to his next destination (what Achilles can regard as unnecessary, since Priam and herald Idaeus clearly enjoyed divine escort to arrive as they did inside his secure, locked quarters (24.563-567). We get to the ransom itself soon below

Moreover, Achilles undertakes an essential role in what will happen *after* Hermes brings the two ancient men back safely to Ilium.[13]

In Book 1 Agamemnon abused κράτος twice over, against innocent Chryseis and against good but temperamental Achilles-with-Patroclus, i.e., Achilles 1, whom the Atreid provoked with harsh consequences for everyone. In Book 24 **Achilles IV** seizes command power, expecting no objection from temporarily chastised and (see 23.146-160 and 890-894) recently flattered Agamemnon. Achilles guarantees a ceasefire for as long as his guest requests, which makes possible that funeral for Patroclus' killer, 890-'s victim which the last lines of the poem report (777-804), glorious closure for Hector, for his father and family, for Troy, yet far more glorious for Achilles, where Zeus' project and post-Patroclus humanity of Peleïades coincide.

Who can find equal κῦδος, awarded ultimately by Zeus, or κλέος, granted by Muse, poet, and audience in any the *Iliad*'s abundant bloodshed, in any climactic slaying? Hector's of Patroclus, with so much physical help from Apollo? Achilles' of Hector, which Athena made possible by both physical intervention and cruel deception? Granted, participation of a god in a mortal's feat adds importance and glamour to it. But of a god at his or her *nastiest*? Elsewhere in the Cycle when the Aeacid son of Thetis Achilles defeats Dardanid son of Eos Memnon? "Epic," that that duel must have been, we may be sure. A better match perhaps, though the mortal fathers Peleus and Tithonus are not heroes of equal stature. In any case, what can compare with Achilles' victory over his worse self II and worst III? Surpassing even "Achilles I" who had *delegated* so much humanity to his constant companion and complement Patroclus. This is so, even if we match the Achilles IV in Book 24 with the Achilles I memorialized in Book 6 by Andromache, an "enemy" woman. The Myrmidon prince reverently, personally cremated her father King Eëtion (an old Nestor-like warrior?) *with his armor* and interred him in a tomb (6.414-428). Perhaps this is *an* Achilles' second-most

[13] Despite all the hospitality that Telemachus and Odysseus both enjoy in the *Odyssey*, no host offers to help either, son or father, each in danger when he returns home to Ithaca.

glorious set of deeds. However, Patroclus was alive then *and was probably with him*. For the two seem to have been inseparable, with Patroclus ever at hand to do a mortal's task for the demigod. (Andromache had her information otherwise than as herself eyewitness. Whoever reported on it all could have overlooked Patroclus, if *he* was the one to deliver Andromache's mother to her kin in correct return for "abundant ransom.") This Book 24 performance surpasses that previous one not only because Achilles IV is alone yet complete, but also when we take into its assessment his recent extreme, vindictive hatred for Hector and for "everything Priam" *now nullified*. *Now* he treats an *old* enemy – "old" in two senses – as an old *human being*, a foreign guest, and as a reverend king who had lost much besides those several sons Achilles personally has slain (24.543-549), among them the dearest Hector. Priam has made him conscious that Peleus will soon lose him without bring able to attend *his* son's overseas funeral, and, without his only son to defend him, may lose his kingdom Phthia. Priam is, of course, aware of Achilles' old father, yet he hardly knows, as Achilles does, that he himself with soon follow Patroclus and Hector as a ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἄϊδόσδὲ (16.856 = 22.362 = !). As Achilles IV and Priam part they are now bound as ξένοι, like Achilles I and Priamid Lycaon. Ideally with an exchange of gifts.[14] Priam gets Hector, shrouds, and a truce. To Achilles comes unique glory.

In fact, at Achilles' quarters in Book 24 the richer man departs with a small portion of the precious ransom goods he delivered *and with his life* – biological life, of course, and short, but a happier life of spirit after he sending his late son off to eternal gloomy rest, whether or not he will soon follow to the fields of Asphodel. Exchange here is in many ways sublime: ἄποινα that a *suppliant* brought as ransom become δῶρα from a *guest*. Something like what Priam imagines at 22.66-76 may soon befall him; but at least his most loved son will be at rest with his ἄριστοι brothers whom Priam listed at 24.255-260. His host's extraordinary *ad hoc* deduction from and return of ransom goods must be unique in all Archaic myth and literature. Consider too that at 24.587-595 Achilles assures Patroclus, if in the Underworld he becomes aware what has just happened, that the ransom from Priam was in his judgment not inappropriate (οὔ μοι ἀεικέα, 594), even less that fraction of it which Achilles just now contributed toward Hector's *cortège*. And that after Achilles personally lifted the bathed and anointed corpse of Patroclus' slayer onto

[14] Sometimes there is only one from the host, but usually at least token exchange. What is given is proportion to the parties' respective wealth. Compare ξενήια between rich Bellerophontes and rustic Oeneus, between Glaucus with gold and Diomedes with bronze, even between friends-for-the moment Prince Hector and Ajax, seeing that a fine sword with silver inlay (I argue that this is from Apollo and may well be anachronistic steel from Hephaestus' forge), scabbard, and sword belt as against a dyed leather belly guard.

its wagon-hearse, with the formerly wrathful hands that made the Trojan warrior a νεκρός, the hands that Priam kissed (24.477-479 and 505f). Patroclus I might forgive! Approving the sufficiency of ransom *even to release a sons of Priam and Hecuba* (see 24.751-73) is something that Achilles I would have assessed, himself or (I think likely) together with Patroclus. Without that companion Achilles III would vengefully kill hated suppliant enemy *Priamids*, most brutally and denying them funerals, Lycaon for gruesome example. *But that Achilles is gone.*

Zeus keeps Achilles alive, though destined, even *intended* to die soon, for the concluding book's sublime *mortis causa* interaction.

In fact, *two* further deaths in that series which Zeus projected and linked remain, post-*Iliad*, yet indicated with our epic of Διὸς βουλή, the first, Hector's explicitly in and essential circumstance, the other, though lacking in detail by easy implication.

One is what Paris and Apollo execute, as if they kill awful Achilles III. Both, however, should know better! It follows Hector's obsequies that Achilles IV facilitated, to which, as noted above, he contributed precious shrouding and a temporary truce. *He* honored Paris' brother better than Paris will do who merely avenged him, and shield-and-spear duel. Like the preceding linked deaths, circumstances of Achilles' are likely to cancel the glory of a god's and a hero's collaboration in a great feat, particularly given *Paris'* character. Be that as it may, death of composite IIiadic Achilles III-IV with suicidal intent (as explained above) that gods – Zeus alone? others? Which? – "was/were willing to effect" (22.365f), occurred as he attacked Ilium at the Scaean/West Gate and fell to Paris' *bow*, but probably Apollo's guided *arrow*, as dying Hector foretold (22.359). That is evidently the main gate, well defended, not the weak point in the Wall that Andromache points out to Hector (6.433-437), but where the son of Peleus and Thetis knows that he is supposed meet his κῆρ (22.359-361).

Hector's death *and its atrocious sequel* could *now* be τι θεῶν μήνιμα, "grounds for [plural] gods' wrath."

Apollo's surely, for more reasons than one, since Achilles besides by killing the god's *protégée* Hector, has won generational, even eternal martial glory glory of which Apollo will be eternally jealous? Abuse of the Trojan prince's body is complaint enough. Aphrodite's darling Paris had the unique κῦδος of killing Achilles long range, as a sniper, before his one fall and tha tensuing wholesale Trojan doom which all gods, both sides, by then understood.[15]

---

[15] Classical Pindaric effort to exempt Achilles and other heroes from the bleakness of the Underworld such as we find in Thetis' instructions to Peleus and prophecy about him and their son in Euripides' *Andromache* (*And*. 1233-1237 and 1253-1269) ruins the project of an *Iliad* that accepts the mortality even of Heracles (18.115-119). What, of course, a hopeful inter-

After Achilles' death in suicidal assault on Ilium one last linked killing remains. That is Paris', in battle or possibly in a duel of bows like those non-lethal spear and stone or sword ones in *Iliad* 3 and 7.[16]

Paris is linked to his brother Hector, whom he avenges, to Achilles, whom he kills, and to Philoctetes, who kills him to avenge Achilles and hasten the doom of Ilium. Two factors might be mentioned in connection with Philoctetes regarding his role in that revenge at all and why with *him*, destined to survive the war, the chain ends

One: for Achilles no more suitable avenger of high heroic status is alive. Automedon, although he can wield shield and spear, is too humble: he is not son of any named father! Achilles' full agnate cousin Ajax is dead. Ajax' half-brother (and half Trojan!) Teucer is also too low and is awkward, as well: by his Trojan-royal *mother* Hesione, sister of Priam, he is cognate cousin of Hector and Paris, νόθος agnate only to Achilles.

Two: It has been proposed that Paris' death once marked the end of field battle at Troy and of the war itself. With the Palladion in the hands of Athena's approved thieves, Neoptolemus can have arrived in the Myrmidon quarter, Athena can already have given Odysseus the blueprint for a huge wooden vehicle. The allied μῆτις of the latter pair may have been coaching Sinon while ample choice lumber, not mere firewood, was being collected for Epeius to construct it. Since revenges in my postulated chain occur same day (Patroclus' on Sarpedon *de facto* for Pedasus, Hector's on Patroclus for Sarpedon) or next battle day (Achilles' on Hector for Patroclus and possibly on the first day the war resumes after Hector's funeral truce (Paris' on Achilles for Hector). Then on the second day after Achilles' funeral--the first day being for the Judgment of Arms and Telamonian Ajax' suicide, the second Philoctetes avenges Achilles on Paris?).

Sophocles' *Philoctetes* suggests personal connection between that Thessalian archer-hero hero and slain Achilles. That makes the playwright's novel choice of his esteemed friend's son Neoptolemus to serve as Odysseus' *partner* on the mission to fetch Philoctetes.[17]

---

polation at *Od*. 11.602-604 cancels, grossly inconsistent with the burden of the Nekyia and the entire *Odyssey* to acknowledge burgeoning Heracles cult.

[16] On Philoctetes and Paris in the *Little Iliad* see West op. cit. pp. 186f. Gantz *opacite.* Vol. 1 p. 459 suggests that the testimonia convey that the two heroes fought a more standard epic-heroic duel with head and body armor and shield, spear and sword; however, the data that he offers at Vol. 2 pp. 635-638, even though he repeats that thesis on p. 635 little supports likelihood of an armored spearman duel in any version. Why would a famous archer with a fabled bow be needed to cancel Paris! That at *Od*. 8.215-220 the Stranger claims that among Achaeans at Troy only Philoctetes was superior to him in archery suggest that that supremacy which made it possible to outshoot the notorious Trojan sniper Paris whom, as the Phaeacians must have heard from the Muse via Demodocus, the son of Poeas shot dead.

[17] See his exclamation when the young Greek-speaking stranger identifies himself as Achilles' son: ὦ φιλτάτου παῖ πατρός, ὦ φίλης χθονός,/ὦ τοῦ γέροντος θρέμμα Λυκομήδους... (*Phil*. 242f). Philoctetes also learns – and mourns when he hears from this young hereditary

Can a case be made for *linking* Neoptolemus' atrocious, sacrilegious murder of Priam to Achilles' death at the hands of his son Hector (now dead), that Achilles' son wrought as further revenge for his father on his killer's father? Connected it surely is; but in the taut chain of Zeus' *Iliad* project? No, for three reasons. (1) *Priam* did not directly kill Achilles, while indirection through his son Paris would be flimsy indirection unless – no sign of this – the patriarch had charged Paris to avenge Hector and the Achaean counter-avenger somehow knew about this; but Paris is motivated already and he, not Priam, is part of the *Iliad*'s named chain. (2) In this case, a s t r e t c h e d (?) chain would end with Neoptolemus' death at Delphi, not at Troy, far removed from the theater of war in time and far in place. Furthermore, whether directly or not the work of Apollo, Neoptolemus' death is rightly understood as revenge for *Priam* by a leisurely divine avenger on whom no one can retaliate in kind. The Iliadic chain is about deaths such as Phoebus can never suffer. (3) *Iliad* knows that Achilles' son exists yet says nothing about what he might do at Troy or even whether he will come there. In contrast, Philoctetes' coming to Troy and his counter-archery that kills Paris, as we shall see, is coyly implied at *Iliad* 2.721-724. Although both Patroclus (16.555-561) and Hector (17.125-127) treat or intend atrocious treatment of slain foeman, what Achilles III does is a brutal cut above.[18]

This is the Achilles whom Paris and Apollo would slay, the former duly to avenge his brother Hector, the latter, also duly, to punish blasphemy at 20.443-453 and shouted directly to him at 22.14-20. The death of **Achilles IV** does satisfy the demand for early death if he is to receive maximum glory, however unlike that is not what he or anyone but Zeus expected, let alone planned.

The last we see of *him*, he who had resisted sleep and ignored Briseïs he is in bed with her, completing the list of mortal activities that his mother sadly urged the preceding morning at 24.129-130 before she relayed Zeus' command about ransom, in the next five lines. This time, however, Patroclus does not sleep with his concubine in the same room where Achilles II does next to his own (9.664-668). He is human, a unique example of humanity.[19]

φίλος – that, besides his father Achilles (331-335), Big Ajax is dead (410-416), Antilochus too, while his old father Nestor is taking his death very hard (421-427). Patroclus has also died 433-435). Except for Nestor these would any of them be a good avenger of Achilles and a natural ally to his father's wronged son denied Achilles' precious divine arms.

[18] From Odysseus' *Odyssey* 11 meeting with Achilles' ψυχή Odysseus' self-quotation says much positive about Neoptolemus at Troy (11.506-537), tactfully passing over his son's super *inglorious* atrocity, even worse than Achilles III's worst.

[19] That Zeus managed this and that it makes *him* good in a humane sense requires more discussion than belongs here. My intended revision of Part I will conclude with a section that answers Yes to its heading "Zeus the Good?" as it does to whether his project was in fact completed.

BEST OF THE *MYRMIDONS?*

In Book 11 *Achilles, rather than going himself, sent Patroclus* to answer a simple question (11.611-614). Was it *Machaon* whom Achilles from a far end of the Achaean beachhead-camp had seen from a distance, wounded and driven to safety at the center, in Nestor's chariot to the old hero's quarters? This began for him as a mission of urgent compassion – and led to his own doom (11.604).

Yes, it was Machaon. The old hero was caring for that wounded warrior-*healer* who needed medical attention himself (622-643). Patroclus could see this from the threshold (644-651) and turned to hurry back to his impatient companion (649 and 652-654). However, Nestor rose, took Patroclus by the hand, and told him to sit and stay a while (645f). He could not disobey the venerable warrior and counselor. To Achilles II's emissary Nestor complained about the supreme hero's unconcern for all the wounds their comrades were suffering, and told a long story that young Patroclus was too deferential to interrupt. Nestor recounted his own youthful martial glories, then ended with a fateful suggestion to Patroclus, whose shared sympathy with the wounded he could sense. Supposing, as perceptive Nestor could readily imagine, that still angry Achilles would *not* be moved to end his boycott/strike... Just the night before, as Odysseus reported, Nestor's initiative to persuade him to return to the fighting battle and coaching of the "ambassadors" had failed: he refused to do so until fire reached the ships! *Patroclus had heard the whole conversation*. Achilles' dear friend Patroclus, Nestor thought, might himself turn the disastrous tide of battle. If he were to wear his friend's conspicuous armor and lead the Myrmidons onto the battlefield, he would trick the enemy. Thinking that *Achilles* was returning to the war, seeing Prince Achilles' fresh and eager Myrmidons charging onto the field, Hector and his forces would be easily routed, driven back into Ilium.

Before the Myrmidon son of Menoetius (and a mortal woman) could say a quick goodbye to Nestor and return to the son of Peleus (and a goddess), he saw and pitied another important Achaean fighter wounded (11.805-814). Patroclus himself attended to thar man, Eurypylus, applying palliative skill that Achilles passed on to him just as Asclepius had done to his sons Machaon and Podaleirius. While Patroclus was treating and in physician's good "bedside manner" conversing with this patient (from 11.815 and 12.1f to 15.390-405!), nearby the Great Battle rages on, less and less favorably to the Achaeans.

Patroclus remembers his mission, to report a fact; however, now it has become mission of mercy when he returns in tears to Achilles at 16.1-19, who unforgettably compares him to a little girl running to her mommy (7-11). To Achilles death of one of their fathers, Menoetius or Peleus, would

warrant such lament, not the sufferings of Argives, guilty of grave offense (ὑπερβασίη, 18). In reply Patroclus accuses his companion of pitiless rock-like stubbornness and passes along Nestor's proposal (11.794-803 > 16.35-45) *as if it is his own idea*. Achilles II more, it seems, out of compassion for him than because his first wrath relented, gave in. He added an explicit command and his reasons for it. These have to do with his own jealous glory, and with the enmity not of Trojan foemen *but with that of Apollo's* (94). Go ahead, he told him, as you are eager to do, so you may save the ships from burning and turn the Trojan back to the city (80-82 and 87-90), so you may gain *me* honor and glory-of-winning (ὡς ἄν μοι τιμὴν μεγάλην καὶ κῦδος ἄρηαι, 85), and you do not reduce *my* honor (ἀτιμότερον δέ με θήσεις, 90). Rather come back to me after driving the enemy back toward the city, away from the Achaean camp (87 and 95f).

Will Patroclus be "Best of (Achilles') Myrmidons" only from when, to repel Hector's assault on the Achaean beach-head, he leads the eager Myrmidons into battle at 16.257 till his slaying of Sarpedon at 479-503? After that he changes for the worse, as Zeus expects, even condones.

When Patroclus sets out (16.257-267f) his rallying cry is about honoring the son of Peleus, μέγ' ἄριστος/Ἀργείων (271f). Through the first parts of Book 16 till he slays Sarpedon (479-503) he is himself, Achilles' θεράπων. He is there because in tearful appeal to Achilles he has sympathized deeply with struggling Achaean comrades who were threatened with a total destruction that he had perceived to be imminent (acutely so at 16.114-129: half a ship afire!). Instead of rejoining the war himself when a ship was burning, as last night Achilles said he would do (9.650-653), he has sent his closest companion, his armor, his chariot driver and team, and his Myrmidon army. They succeed in repelling attackers, and deal the Trojan side a serious blow when Patroclus slays the Lycian demigod war-king Sarpedon. However, after that feat he changes for the worse, as Zeus anticipates, even sadly condones by delaying his necessary death. Patroclus becomes a berserk Patroclus II.

This is no thanks to Achilles II, who εὔχομαι-prays to Zeus (231-248) who, he hopes, will control Patroclus' θυμός (691) according to Achilles' "wishes" when, for the first time his companion-servant leads an army and has an *aristeia* – and goes far too far beyond those instructions. See that god's very different νόος that causes Patroclus to forget or ignore them (684-691). Zeus does give him glory, even beyond killing and despoiling his son the royal Lycian demigod. See Achilles' fear of this at 87-90, what would invite a fatal collision with Phoebus Apollo.[20]

---

[20] Whether or not the *Pythian* one, whose wealthy seat at Pytho his adversary Achilles knows about (9.404-406) was so early associated with τὸ 'μηδὲν ἄγαν,' he is already opposed to excessive ambition on the part of ephemeral mortals.

Patroclus quickly show heroic man-slaying prowess: three named victims per hexameter at 16.415-417, like major league warriors such as Diomedes and, after Sarpedon (when by his father's license invisible Apollo already has the man's own killing in near view), *nine* unnamed ones per onslaught – in *three* onslaughts (783-790). Patroclus has also shown perilous heroic, shockingly sacrilegious arrogance, also like Diomedes in Books 5 and 8. Knowingly, repeatedly he charges the Wall of Ilium and Apollo in person until the recognizable god commands him to back off (700-711; moreover, his sarcastic taunt over dead Cebriones, Hector's bastard half-brother, dear to the Priamid prince as his new charioteer since yesterday (8.318f), seems out of character (16.744-754) – and gives Hector another individual to avenge besides Sarpedon.

Achilles wanted to keep such glory for himself. He would not be surprised if Apollo should shorten his life *and* begrudge him imperishable κλέος. However, Zeus must keep his promise to Thetis and to her son. Patroclus' deserved death brings us back to that chain:

Slain	*Slayer*	*Avenger*
Pedasus	Sarpedon	Patroclus
Sarpedon	Patroclus	Hector
Patroclus	Hector	Achilles
Hector	Achilles	Paris
Achilles	Paris	Philoctetes
Paris	Philoctetes	(none)

Zeus' project requires Patroclus' slaying to lead, by way of Hector's death, to the clearly anticipated one of Achilles – but not expected, to that of the Achilles IV of *Iliad* 24, the one who wins maximum human glory, not the martial kind that everybody but Zeus had in view, including Achilles himself!

Achilles realizes his mistake in sending Patroclus to the edge of the bloody Great Battle instead of going out himself, with or without his softhearted companion, for a better look. Thereby he himself sets the conditions for appearance of a sort of Patroclus II, whose "ruinous overconfidence" Janko describes and diagnoses.[21] His sudden selfishness and ambition is worse than Hector's as *he* talks himself into facing Achilles in Book 18 (249-309) and, ashamed and fatefully, in 22 (91-130). Patroclus never seems to be aware that he cannot be, cannot replace Achilles. On the other hand, Achilles before he dies (as he has agreed and now is determined to do to avenge Patroclus) can incorporate what Patroclus had been for all their lives together as Achilles+Patroclus and,

[21] *CambComm* IV pp. 396-408.

on Patroclus' last day to live, what his θεράπων has been to him before he tried to be the superman whose armor he wore no more properly than Hector would do after him and would do him no more good.

Although others have surely done the like, since specific "best of Myrmidons" is a *hapax* phrase, we might review the ten more comprehensive occurrences of "best of Greeks" (named "Achaeans" or "Argives") with which the one with "Myrmidons" is implicitly contrasted. In order of appearance:

1. ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν (1.244) spoken by Achilles about himself to Agamemnon
2. ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν (1.412) spoken by Achilles about himself to Thetis
3. ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν (2.82) spoken by Nestor to Agamemnon, acknowledging the latter's claim to be that best
4. ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν (5.103) spoken boastfully by Pandarus about Diomedes, whom he has wounded
5. ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν (5.414) spoken by Dione about Diomedes, who has wounded Aphrodite
6. ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν/τοξοσύνῃ (13.313) irrelevant because of the enjambment: spoken by Idomeneus about Bowman Teucer
7. μέγ' ἄριστος/Ἀργείων (16.271f) shouted by Patroclus about Achilles to the Myrmidons in Achilles' hearing?
8. ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν (16.274) shouted by Patroclus about Achilles to the Myrmidons in Achilles' hearing?
9. μέγ' ἄριστος/Ἀργείων (17.164f) spoken by Glaucus about Achilles, over the body of whose θεράπων Patroclus the two sides are then fighting, to Hector, who had failed to control Lycian King Sarpedon's body when Patroclus slew him
10. ὥριστος Ἀχαιῶν (17.689) spoken by Menelaus about **Patroclus**, over whose body they are fighting, to Antilochus

Only after all these (no further "best of Greeks" appears after) comes his mother's remembered prophecy, spoken by Achilles to himself about – it must be **Patroclus**:

11. Μυρμιδόνων τὸν ἄριστον ἔτι ζώοντος ἐμεῖο/χερσὶν ὕπο Τρώων λείψειν φάος ἠελίοιο (18.10f).

Achilles clearly thinks of himself, whose grandfather Aeacus was lord of the first "Ant Men," as himself a Myrmidon and his immigrant foster brother Patroclus as another.[22]

Perhaps what we call an *aristeia* (though "Homer" does not know the noun!) justifies such a superlative at the time when one warrior dominates

---

[22] *CambComm* V Edwards p. 143 offers a conventional explanation of how Patroclus can have deserved that accolade. "The 'best' fighter of a group is usually its leader, as Patroklos was when he was killed."

the fight for a few pages and slaughters as many as three enemy per hexameter. That might justify nos. 4 and 5, but how well does it also fit Patroclus posthumously, nos. 10 and 11? However, diverse "bests," i.e., deadliest *warrior* (Diomedes during the Battle of Books 3-7) and highest-ranking, established (Agamemnon over all Achaeans, Achilles over the Myrmidons), or only *du jour* (Patroclus over the Myrmidons) seldom coincide. Coincidence is the case for a few early pages of Book 11, Agamemnon's impressive *aristeia*. and for a long stretch of Book 16, Patroclus' *aristeia* that includes his slaying of Sarpedon. Archer like half-breed Teucer and Prince Paris of Troy are in a different class.

That all said, how would Achilles understand "best" in no. 11? The poet quite likely invented the prophecy.[23] Does he mean something else, seeing that the costly, promised glory that Achilles II expected at this point differs profoundly from what Zeus and the poet sublimely award in Book 24?

As Pedasus had been cut away from Achilles' chariot leading to a change in Patroclus, so now Patroclus has been cut away from the Achilles+Patroclus entity. From that point in Book 16 Patroclus tries to be the Achilles, whose divine armor he wears and whose divine horses draw him onward *toward Ilium* over Sarpedon's dead body. The poet shows that what Zeus *says* of mortal Hector's mistake in later putting on that armor (17.192-208) applied already to Patroclus, who made a like, ultimately self-destructive mistake. Furthermore, such horses should never have been given to mortal Peleus to pass along to demigod yet mortal Achilles (441-447). He in turn, disastrously for both himself and his mortal companion, lent them to mortal Patroclus, an essential phase in the Olympian's project for the son of Peleus and Thetis – that is to make Achilles "best" in a new human-humane sense. Patroclus recklessly dismounts from the chariot. After Patroclus' *repeated* sacrilegious assault on a *manifest* god, a mighty slap of Apollo's invisible hand relieves him of the armor. He dies, Achilles rages. On the other hand, Hector is prevented from abusing dead Patroclus (intend it though he did: 836) or taking his borrowed divine horses along with the armor (478-455).

The poet does everything in his considerable power to make truly, awfully "godlike" Achilles III a monstrous inversion of Achilles I, that ideal generous, chivalrous Achilles+Patroclus of Andromache's and Lycaon's backstories. His *Iliad* makes the killing of Hector as *in*glorious as possible!

The Trojan prince's death involves both Athena's physical assistance in sneaking the Pelian Spear back to Achilles for a second throw, and treacherous deception that exploits Hector's close relationship with a full brother.

---

[23] Edwards p. 243 again, with pp. 101-103 comment on 17.404-411.

After a final, unsatisfying dragging of Hector's remains that resist his intended abuse, damage, and desecration is ready to heed Zeus' command and his mother's advice to live out a good mortal life, a good mortal's life. This is what Zeus' completed of project looks like. Achilles IV is complete, *now without Patroclus* but gradually incorporating his θεράπων's best service was example, human excellence, not fast feet and deadly spear. That that had made Achilles' "best of Myrmidons" when once upon a time he was Achilles+Patroclus and would again make him, complete in himself as what I have named Achilles IV. When, however, Achilles II and III insulated himself from Patrocus' goodness in Books 11 and 16, Patroclus was "it," and then only until he tried to be Achilles, what even Achilles had trouble being, born as he was in a no man's, no god's state and with that choice of fate to make. When Achilles came to understand how to be Achilles, and lived and died as *Achilles*, not as Heracles or whomever else he sang about to Patroclus in Book 9, he could and did gain the unsurpassable κλέος for which he lived and died. That led in the poet's Zeus project to the sublime course of *Iliad* 24, sufficiently described above. If κῦδος is glory of victory, he has won it and in the *Iliad* owns it by overcoming Achilles II and his most dangerous enemy, that terribly god-like Achilles III, *worst* of Myrmidons and of Achaeans, worst of ἄνδρες and of θνητοί/βρότοι. Priam's host and Hector's funeral director is *best*.

Victor Castellani

NEUBETRACHTUNG: ERGÄNZUNG UND KOMPLEMENT ZUM *„HOMERISCHEN" ZEUS UND SEINEM VOLLENDETEN ILIAS-PROJEKT* (BOYΛH) IN DER ILIAS – ALIAS *HOMERISCHER ZEUS*, TEIL I

Zusammenfassung

Bedeutende Ereignisse auf dem Schlachtfeld von *Ilias* 16 bis auf Paris' Tod gerade vor der Plünderung Iliums gestalten eine Kette zusammengefügten Tötungen: A wird von B getötet, C tötet B um A zu rächen, D tötet C als Rächer des A, und so weiter. **Patroklos** ist zentral, Töter **Sarpedons**, Opfer **Hektors**, von **Achill** gerächt.

Die sanftmütige Wesenart des Patroklos erlebt eine starke Veränderung nach dessen erste Erlebnis blutigen kriegerischen Erfolgs als *Solo*krieger. Er ließ Anweisung und Vorwarnung unbeachtet, sogar übernatürliches, körperliches Zurückschlagen. Er läßt sich verdientermaßen umbringen. Ein Patroklos II erklärt sich

Andererseits gibt es *vier* Achills, davon zwei (II und III,) durch Zorn I und Zorn II entstellt werden. Achill IV, der in *Ilias* 24 erscheint, ist derjenige der einzigartigen, ewigen Ruhm gewinnt, nicht mit Speer, Hohn, und Grausamkeit sondern durch Ereignisse zwischen Achill, Priam, und Hektors Leichnam, dem Ausgang des Projekts

den Zeus geregelt hatte. Was die Studie Teil I ungeschickt behauptete und hoffentlich in zukünftiger überarbeiteter Fassung jenes Teil besser überzeugen wird.

Schlüsselwörter: Achilleus, Hektor, Patroklos, Sarpedon, Kette von Todesfällen, Rächer/Rache, Charakterentwicklung, Gräueltat, Gastfreundschaft, Flehen, Ruhm.

Виктор Кастелани

ПРЕИСПИТИВАЊЕ: ДОПУНА И ПРЕРАДА ТУМАЧЕЊА *„ХОМЕРСКОГ" ЗЕВСА И ПРАТЕЋЕГ „ИЛИЈАДСКОГ" ПРОЈЕКТА* (ΒΟΥΛΗ) У *ИЛИЈАДИ* – ТАКОЗВАНОГ*„ХОМЕРСКОГ ЗЕВСА"*, ПРВИ ДЕО

Сажетак

Значајни догађаји на бојном пољу, од XVI певања *Илијаде* па све до Парисове смрти непосредно пред разарање Илиона, чине низ међусобно повезаних убистава: први гине од руке другог; трећи убија другог да би осветио првог; четврти убија трећег да би осветио другог; и тако даље. Патрокло ту игра кључну улогу: он је убица Сарпедона, Хекторова жртва, а Ахилеј га свети.

Патроклова блага природа пролази кроз дубоку трансформацију након што први пут искуси крвави ратнички успех као самостални борац. Он занемарује упутства и упозорења – па чак и натприродну физичку интервенцију – и заправо сам изазива своју заслужену смрт. Тако се појављује „Патрокло II".

С друге стране, постоје четири верзије Ахилеја; две од њих (II и III) искривљене су утицајем „Гнева I" и „Гнева II". Ахилеј IV – који се појављује у XXIV певању *Илијаде* – јесте онај који стиче јединствену, вечну славу; он то не постиже копљем, презиром или окрутношћу, већ кроз догађаје који укључују Ахилеја, Пријама и Хекторово тело – што представља врхунац пројекта којим је управљао Зевс. То је теза која је неспретно изнета у првом делу студије – поента која ће, надајмо се, бити убедљивије представљена у будућој, ревидираној верзији тог одељка.

Кључне речи: Ахилеј, Хектор, Патрокле, Сарпедон, ланац смрти, осветник/освета, развој лика, злочин, гостопримство, мољење, слава.