

UCLA

UCLA Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title

For Those Yet to Come: Gender and Kleos in the Iliad

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5d3140fs>

Author

Warwick, Celsiana

Publication Date

2018

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

For Those Yet to Come:

Gender and *Kleos* in the *Iliad*

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Classics

by

Celsiana Michele Warwick

2018

© Copyright by
Celsiana Michele Warwick
2018

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

For Those Yet to Come:

Gender and *Kleos* in the *Iliad*

by

Celsiana Michele Warwick

Doctor of Philosophy in Classics

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Alex C. Purves, Chair

In this dissertation, I challenge the dominant narrative in *Iliad* scholarship that has tended either to disregard feminine voices or to dismiss their relevance to the poem's overall evaluation of heroic society. My methodology is primarily literary-critical, but I also make use of anthropological and sociological theories of gender, such as R.W. Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity. I argue that feminine voices and perspectives are central to the *Iliad*'s moral program, and that the epic uses them to critique the destruction that the traditional masculine values of Homeric warriors cause to community and family ties. The *Iliad* does not valorize the strict binary between masculinity and femininity that is upheld by certain characters in the epic, but instead suggests that some "feminine" qualities are intimately linked with a warrior's identity and role as protector. The poem constructs a femininity that both strives to preserve life and is ultimately doomed in this endeavor, but which is nevertheless portrayed as

more beneficial to society than the kind of warrior masculinity that excludes all aspects of femininity from itself. I further propose that this critique of normative warrior masculinity in the *Iliad* aligns with a shift in gender roles and warrior identity that appears in the archaeological record of Greece in the late Early Iron Age (c. 800-700 BCE). I suggest that the *Iliad*'s evaluation of heroic masculinity reflects societal unease with the ways in which traditional warrior values were beginning to threaten the stability of the emerging *polis* by prioritizing the pursuit of *kleos*, "glory," over all else.

The dissertation of Celsiana Michele Warwick is approved.

Sarah P. Morris

Seth Schein

Alex C. Purves, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2018

DEDICATION

For my mother,

who has been an inexhaustible source of advice and inspiration during my time in graduate
school

For my father,

who repeatedly dropped everything and flew to L.A. to render assistance above and beyond the
call of duty

And for Justin,

τῷ φιλότατῳ ἐταίρῳ, τὸν ἐγὼ περὶ πάντων τίω
ἴσον ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....	vii
List of Abbreviations.....	viii
Acknowledgements.....	xii
Biographical Sketch.....	xiii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: The Works of Women’s Hands: Female <i>Kleos</i> in Archaic Epic.....	39
Chapter 2: The Voice of the Loom: Helen as Poet in the <i>Iliad</i>	92
Chapter 3: The Maternal Warrior: Gender and <i>Kleos</i> on the Battlefield.....	142
Chapter 4: The Price of <i>Kleos</i> : Achilles at the End of the <i>Iliad</i>	185
Chapter 5: A Crisis of <i>Kleos</i> : Masculinity and the Rise of the <i>Polis</i>	241
Conclusion.....	292
Appendix.....	301
Bibliography.....	303

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Mother Holding Dead Son, Attic White-Ground Lekythos, c. 460-450 BCE.....	301
Figure 2: Eos and Memnon, Attic Red-Figure Cup, c. 490-480 BCE.....	302

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Primary Sources

<i>Ad Gr.</i>	<i>Oratio ad Graecos</i>
Aesch.	Aeschylus
<i>Ag.</i>	<i>Agamemnon</i>
Aeschin.	Aeschines
<i>A.P.</i>	<i>The Greek Anthology</i>
Apollod.	Apollodorus
<i>Bibl.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca</i>
<i>Epit.</i>	<i>Epitome</i>
Arist.	Aristotle
<i>Poet.</i>	<i>Poetics</i>
<i>Pol.</i>	<i>Politics</i>
Bacchyl.	Bacchylides
Callim.	Callimachus
Cic.	Cicero
<i>Att.</i>	<i>Letters to Atticus</i>
D. Chr.	Dio Chrysostom
D.H.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus
<i>Is.</i>	<i>de Isaeo</i>
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus
D.L.	Diogenes Laertius
Emp.	Empedocles
<i>Epith.</i>	<i>Epithalamium</i>
Eur.	Euripides
<i>Hec.</i>	<i>Hecuba</i>
<i>Med.</i>	<i>Medea</i>
Eust.	Eustathius
Hdt.	Herodotus
Hes.	Hesiod
<i>Op.</i>	<i>Works and Days</i>
<i>Theog.</i>	<i>Theogony</i>
<i>HH</i>	<i>Homeric Hymns</i>
<i>HHDem</i>	<i>Homeric Hymn to Demeter</i>
Hom.	Homer
<i>Il.</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
<i>Od.</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>
Hyg.	Hyginus
<i>Fab.</i>	<i>Fabulae</i>

Isoc.	Isocrates
Jul.	Julian
<i>Caes.</i>	<i>Caesares</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
Lactant.	Lactantius
Longin.	Longinus
Luc.	Lucian
<i>DDeor.</i>	<i>Dialogues of the Gods</i>
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>de Domo</i>
<i>Hes.</i>	<i>Dialogue on Hesiod</i>
<i>Im.</i>	<i>Imagines</i>
<i>Prom. Es</i>	<i>Prometheus Es in Verbis</i>
<i>Zeux.</i>	<i>Zeuxis</i>
Lycoph.	Lycophron
<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexandra</i>
Men.	Menander
<i>Dys.</i>	<i>Dyskolos</i>
<i>Pk.</i>	<i>Perikeiromene</i>
<i>Sam.</i>	<i>Samia</i>
Ov.	Ovid
<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Fasti</i>
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Heroides</i>
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
Paus.	Pausanias
Pind.	Pindar
<i>Nem.</i>	<i>Nemean Odes</i>
Plin.	Pliny the Younger
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Plot.	Plotinus
<i>Enn.</i>	<i>Enneads</i>
Plut.	Plutarch
<i>Lyc.</i>	<i>Life of Lycomedes</i>
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>
<i>Per.</i>	<i>Life of Pericles</i>
<i>Quaest. Graec.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Graecae</i>
<i>Sol.</i>	<i>Life of Solon</i>
Procl.	Proclus
<i>Chrest.</i>	<i>Chrestomathia</i>
Prop.	Propertius
Quint. Smyrn.	Quintus Smyrnaeus
S.	Sophocles
<i>Trach.</i>	<i>Trachinian Women</i>

Sen.		Seneca the Elder
	<i>Controv.</i>	<i>Controversiae</i>
Stat.		Statius
	<i>Achil.</i>	<i>Achilleid</i>
Str.		Strabo
Tert.		Tertullian
Theoc.		Theocritus
Thuc.		Thucydides
Verg.		Vergil
	<i>Aen.</i>	<i>Aeneid</i>
<i>VH</i>		<i>Varia Historia</i>
Vitr.		Vitruvius

Secondary Sources

<i>A&A</i>	<i>Antike und Abendland</i>
<i>ABSA</i>	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>AClass</i>	<i>Acta Classica</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>AK</i>	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review</i>
<i>CA</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>CArchJ</i>	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>ColbyQ</i>	<i>Colby Quarterly</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CW</i>	<i>Classical World</i>
<i>EMC</i>	<i>Échos du monde classique</i>
<i>FGH</i>	F. Jacoby, ed. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin: Weidmann (vols. 1-2); Leiden: Brill (vol. 3). 1923-1958.
<i>G&R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
<i>IG V, 1</i>	W. Kolbe, ed. <i>Inscriptiones Graecae V, 1: Inscriptiones Laconiae et Messeniae</i> . Berlin: G. Reimer. 1913.
<i>IstMitt</i>	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
<i>JDAI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>

<i>JMA</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>LfGrE</i>	B. Snell, ed. <i>Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos</i> . Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1955.
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Zürich; Munich; Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler Verlag. 1981-1999.
<i>L-P</i>	E. Lobel and D. Page, eds. <i>Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1955.
<i>LSJ</i>	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, eds. <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9th ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1940.
<i>MD</i>	<i>Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici</i>
<i>PCPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
<i>PMG</i>	D. Page, ed. <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1962.
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>PQ</i>	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
<i>SIFC</i>	<i>Studi italiani di filologia classica</i>
<i>SyllClass</i>	<i>Syllecta Classica</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TrGF v. 2</i>	B. Snell and R. Kannicht, eds. <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, Vol. 2</i> . Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1981.

Other Abbreviations

EIA	Early Iron Age
LG	Late Geometric
MG	Middle Geometric
PG	Protogeometric

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee for their help during all stages of this project. Back in 2014, Alex Purves first suggested that I write a dissertation on gender and *kleos* in the *Iliad*. She has been an extraordinarily generous advisor as I have navigated the challenges of graduate school and the academic job market. Sarah Morris was invaluable in helping with the parts of this dissertation that deal with material culture, and during my visits to Greece she entertained me multiple times on the balcony of her apartment overlooking the acropolis in Athens. Seth Schein encouraged me to write a dissertation about the *Iliad* almost a decade ago when I was an undergraduate, and he has continued to offer advice and support ever since.

I would also like to thank the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz for allowing me to use a photo of an Attic white-ground lekythos from the Antikensammlung at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (inventory number F 2447). Credit for the photo goes to:

ANTIENSAMMLUNG, STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN

-PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ-

Photographer Johannes Laurentius

Finally, I would like to thank UCLA Graduate Division for providing me with a Dissertation Year Fellowship that I used to research and write this dissertation.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Celsiana Warwick attended the University of California, Davis from 2008-2012, where she earned a B.A. with highest honors in Classics and minors in Anthropology and Linguistics. She attended the University of California, Los Angeles from 2012-2018, where she earned an M.A. in Classics in 2014, a Concentration in Gender Studies in 2016, and a Ph.D. in Classics in 2018. She spent the summer of 2015 and the fall of 2017 at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. She has presented research at the Society for Classical Studies, the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, and the Classical Association of the Pacific Northwest. Celsiana has articles forthcoming in *The Classical Journal*, *The American Journal of Philology*, and *Helios*.

INTRODUCTION

In *Iliad* 12, when the Greeks and the Trojans are battling around the Achaean wall, the deadlock of the two armies is compared to the evenly balanced scales of a woman working wool (12.430-35):

πάντη δὴ πύργοι καὶ ἐπάλξιες αἵματι φωτῶν
ἐρράδατ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀπὸ Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν.
ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἐδύναντο φόβον ποιῆσαι Ἀχαιῶν,
ἀλλ' ἔχον ὥς τε τάλαντα γυνὴ χερνήτις ἀληθῆς,
ἢ τε σταθμὸν ἔχουσα καὶ εἴριον ἀμφὶς ἀνέλκει
ἰσάζουσα, ἵνα παισὶν ἀεικέα μισθὸν ἄρηται·

Everywhere the towers and battlements were sprinkled with
The blood of men from both sides, Trojan and Achaean,
But even so the Trojans were not able to put the Achaeans to flight,
But they held like a woman who spins for daily hire holds her scales,
Who holds the balance and weighs the wool on both sides,
Making it equal, so that she might win a pitiful wage for her children.

The image is striking because the work of the woman and the struggle of the warriors are by necessity ontologically opposed to each other. The woman's work is creative, converting disorder into order as she spins wool into thread. It is also life-sustaining, undertaken so that she may nurture and provide for her children. It is an act of "care" in the sense of Berenice Fisher's and Joan Tronto's holistic definition of care as "a species activity that includes everything we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible."¹ By engaging in the production of textiles and the rearing of children, the woman performs work that is necessary for the well-being and continued existence of her community.

The work of the warriors around the Achaean wall, in contrast, is destructive. The violent imagery of the blood sprinkling the ramparts highlights the intensity of the slaughter and the loss

¹ Fisher and Tronto 1990: 40.

of human life. The warriors' deaths in battle undo the care work that women have accomplished in giving birth to these men and raising them up from infancy. By presenting the woman laboring to feed her children in opposition to the brutality of battlefield carnage, the poem highlights how the masculine pursuit of glory in war destroys the fruits of the struggle in which women have engaged in order to foster the growth of human life.

Susanne Wofford has written about how such similes that contrast domestic activities with the destruction of the battlefield serve both to critique and to elide the violence of Homeric combat. She argues that although these similes show the negative effects of war by contrasting battle with the idyllic and productive activities of peacetime that fighting has supplanted, they also mask the true horror of war by aestheticizing it.² I suggest that the aesthetics of Iliadic similes do not necessarily elide the possibility of subversive subtext. A major theme of this dissertation will be to argue that the simile of the woman working wool and others like it cue us to a specific way of reading the *Iliad*. By comparing the destruction of war with the woman's work, the poem creates a bridge between these two diametrically opposed spheres of existence and, by bringing them into the same conceptual realm, allows the contrasting worldviews of warrior masculinity and maternal femininity to be measured against each other. This passage thus not only emphasizes the ways in which war destroys the work of women, but also creates an opening for us to see that when the masculine imperative to fight is judged by the standards of the feminine duty of care, it is found wanting.³

² Wofford 1992: 29-96.

³ On the importance of care in the *Iliad*, see Lynn-George 1996.

This dissertation argues that central to the thematic program of the *Iliad* is a feminine-coded critique of masculine warrior values. This critique aligns with a shift in gender roles and masculine warrior identity that appears in the archaeological record at the end of the Early Iron Age. I suggest that the *Iliad* problematizes the ideal of glorious death that it has inherited from the epic tradition by drawing upon the perspectives of women, whose own speech genres and poetic tradition have historically been critical of the pursuit of martial glory. Further, I argue that the *Iliad* does not valorize the strict binary between masculinity and femininity that is upheld by certain characters in the poem, such as Hector, but instead suggests that some “feminine” qualities are intimately linked with a warrior’s identity and role as protector. The poem constructs a femininity that both strives to preserve life and is ultimately doomed in this endeavor, but which is nevertheless portrayed as being more beneficial to society than the kind of warrior masculinity that excludes all aspects of femininity from itself. This protective femininity is constructed in opposition to the masculine desire to win *kleos*, “glory,” and *timē*, “honor.”⁴ When I speak of “masculinity” and “femininity” in the *Iliad*, I am not referring to universal, essential categories or roles, but to configurations of social practice as they appear within the poem and within ancient Greek society.⁵ For example, characters in the *Iliad* may explicitly classify specific activities as belonging to the masculine or feminine spheres, as when Hector tells Andromache that war is the work of men (6.490-93). Certain perspectives, behaviors, and roles in the poem are identified with women, either through their association with the speech and actions of female characters or through similes. Sometimes a male character may

⁴ On the social construction of gender, see Butler 1990; Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994: 37ff; Connell 1995: 50ff.

⁵ For gender as a configuration of social practice, see Connell 1995: 71ff.

adopt a perspective, behavior, or role that is primarily associated with women, in which case I consider him to be engaging with the feminine sphere.

I conclude that by demonstrating the ways in which the masculine imperative to win *kleos* interferes with the feminine imperative to create and preserve life, the *Iliad* shows how the hero's pursuit of *kleos* is destructive not only for those under his protection but also for himself. The hero who wins martial glory may ultimately find that it came at too great a cost. For example, at the end of the *Iliad*, Achilles' attitude towards *kleos* more closely mirrors that of female characters than that of other warriors or even himself earlier in the poem. Achilles' concern in the final book of the *Iliad* for the suffering and grief that he has caused rather than for the glory that he has won privileges the feminine critique of martial *kleos* and casts doubt on the unqualified desirability of *kleos* for warriors.

There is a longstanding divide in *Iliad* scholarship on the topic of whether or not the poem affirms the traditional values of Iliadic warrior society—and hence the value of winning *kleos* through a glorious death—or whether it critiques or undermines these values. This debate is closely tied to the question of whether Achilles, the poem's hero, renounces the values of his society, and, if he does, if the poem condones or condemns this. One camp sees Achilles as unequivocally in the wrong for rejecting the Embassy in Book 9 and views the death of Patroclus as a punishment for Achilles' socially unacceptable behavior.⁶ Others think that Achilles is in the right to reject the Embassy because he alone of all the heroes has recognized the problems inherent in the social order. These scholars view Achilles as reaching for meaning beyond the “heroic code” that he has been taught to follow.⁷ One of the most prominent of this latter group

⁶ Bowra 1930; Finley 1954; Adkins 1960; Lattimore 1951; Lloyd-Jones 1971; Thornton 1984.

⁷ Parry 1956; Whitman 1958; Friedrich and Redfield 1978; Scully 1984; Segal 1996.

is Adam Parry, who contends that Achilles questions heroic values in Book 9 by “misusing” traditional epic language. His argument is based on a theory articulated by his father Milman Parry: that the epic poet can only make use of traditional formulaic language because “at no time is he seeking words for an idea which has never before found expression.”⁸ Thus, he concludes, if the poet wishes to make Achilles express his disillusionment with the traditional values of his society, he can only do so by making him use formulaic language incorrectly:

Achilles is thus the one Homeric hero who does not accept the common language and feels that it does not correspond to reality. But what is characteristic of the *Iliad*, and makes it unique as a tragedy, is that this otherness of Achilles is nowhere stated in clear and precise terms...Homer in fact, has no language, no terms, in which to express this kind of basic disillusionment with society and the external world. The reason lies in the nature of epic verse. The poet does not make a language of his own; he draws from a common store of poetic diction. ...Neither Homer...nor the characters he dramatizes can speak any language other than the one which reflects the assumptions of heroic society.⁹

Another important scholar in this group is Cedric Whitman, who sees the *Iliad* as the story of Achilles’ rejection of heroic values and search for new meaning in the face of human mortality. He describes Achilles’ rejection of the Embassy as follows:

It is at this point that Achilles’ difference from his fellows reveals itself as a qualitative one. He no longer is concerned with the rule book of heroic behavior, the transparent unrealism of overblown egos asserting themselves through various forms of violence. He reacts from the mere acceptance of a creed, and places himself on higher ground. He will not seek honor as the others seek it. He will have “honor from Zeus,” by which he means he will risk all in the belief that nobility is not a mutual exchange of vain compliments among men whose lives are evanescent as leaves, but an organic and inevitable part of the universe, independent of social contract.¹⁰

⁸ Parry 1971: 272.

⁹ Parry 1956: 6.

¹⁰ Whitman 1958: 183.

A contingent of Homeric scholars has followed Whitman in characterizing the *Iliad* as being about the search for meaning in the face of death rather than the celebration of *kleos* and *timē*.¹¹

For example, C.W. MacLeod writes in his commentary on *Iliad* 24:

The *Iliad* is concerned with battle and with men whose life is devoted to winning glory in battle; and it represents with wonder their strength and courage. But its deepest purpose is not to glorify them, and still less to glorify war itself. What war represents for Homer is humanity under duress and in the face of death; and so to enjoy or appreciate the *Iliad* is to understand and feel for human suffering.¹²

However, Parry's and Whitman's approaches to Achilles have also come under criticism. Many scholars have argued that oral poetry does not really work in the way that Parry assumes,¹³ and both Parry and Whitman have been accused of anachronism. Christopher Gill and Mark Buchan have contended that Whitman relies too heavily on modern theorists such as Kant and Sartre.¹⁴ In reference to the idea that Achilles rejects the values of heroic society, Donna Wilson writes, "Mainstream twentieth-century scholarship on Achilleus and a presumed crisis in his heroic identity imported a modern interest in psychology and romantic ideals of originality and, as a result, created a hero in our own image."¹⁵ In response to Parry and Whitman, a number of scholars have sought to prove that Achilles's rejection of the Embassy does not constitute a rejection of heroic values.¹⁶ For example, Wilson argues that Achilles is not questioning the worth of *timē*, but is instead engaged in a dispute about whether *timē* should be derived primarily

¹¹ Griffin 1980; King 1987; Zanker 1994.

¹² MacLeod 1982: 8.

¹³ See Martin 1989: 146-205 for an overview of this issue.

¹⁴ Gill 1984: 126 argues that Whitman is influenced by Kant, Nietzsche, and Sartre. Buchan 2012: 30 describes Whitman's and Parry's approaches as "existentialist."

¹⁵ Wilson 2002: 4.

¹⁶ Claus 1975; Gill 1984; Wilson 2002; Scodel 2008.

from individual prowess or from inherited status.¹⁷ Ruth Scodel suggests that the “heroic code” does not always present a clear course of action and that the rightness of Achilles’ rejection of the Embassy is meant to be open for debate.¹⁸

But despite the amount of ink that has been spilled on this question, the *Iliad*’s valorization of glorious death is often still assumed. For example, Nancy Felson and Laura Slatkin wrote in a 2004 article on gender in Homeric epic, “The *Iliad* celebrates the beautiful death of the warrior and the bonds between men that emerge in the face of war.”¹⁹ Similarly, for scholars whose approach to Homeric epic is based on oral-formulaic theory and historical linguistics, the primacy of *kleos* in the poem is often taken as a given.²⁰ Some Homerists have taken the *Iliad*’s status as an oral-derived text to mean that it would be impossible for the epic to question anything that it has inherited from the poetic tradition. Wilson states that the *Iliad* cannot challenge the values of heroic society, because it is the conceit of the oral poet that he never innovates.²¹

However, there is a difference between denying that one is innovating and actually refraining from innovation. Although oral poets claim that they always sing a song exactly “as they heard it,”²² the fact remains that they innovate constantly, sometimes for aesthetic or

¹⁷ Wilson 2002.

¹⁸ Scodel 2008.

¹⁹ Felson and Slatkin 2004: 112. See also Vernant 1982; Edwards 1985.

²⁰ Nagy 1974; 1979; 1996. Cf. Watkins 1995.

²¹ Wilson 2002: 5.

²² Cf. Elmer 2010.

practical reasons, but often simply because of the nature of oral poetry.²³ As Albert Lord writes, there is no opposition between innovation and tradition in oral song culture:

There is a certain amount of originality in each performance of an oral epic. It has never been sung exactly the same way before, even by the same singer; it will never be sung exactly the same way again...It is, moreover, the kind of originality which still remains within the tradition, because the tradition is but the sum total of the singers and their songs. The oral poet constantly combines and recombines and adds and subtracts from what he has heard. And this combining and recombining, adding and subtracting, is the tradition. When a singer makes a new song, he is following the tradition.²⁴

Since the oral poet recomposes the song anew every time he performs it, innovation is built into the oral tradition as a feature. Furthermore, sometimes changes to a song come about in response to shifting political or social circumstances. For example, Lord relates an anecdote about how a particular South Slavic oral poet began to sing a song differently after the advent of communism in Yugoslavia:

In 1934 Fortić told how the messenger from the sultan went to Kajnidža, did not find Alija at home, and was directed by his mother to the mosque garden where Alija was assembled with the other men. In this he follows his master's, Ugljanin's, singing of the story faithfully. In 1951, possibly because he felt that as president of the National Front in Novi Pazar the mention of religious institutions such as mosques was not wise or fitting, he has omitted this incident, thus avoiding forbidden gatherings of Moslems at their churches.²⁵

Thus it stands to reason that Achilles—and the Iliadic tradition itself—could shift their position on the values of heroic society if cultural circumstances demanded it.

Despite the methodological problems that others have identified in the work of Parry and Whitman, I consider their evaluation of Achilles in the *Iliad* to be valuable and largely accurate.

²³ Lord 2000 [1960]: 13-29; Elmer 2010.

²⁴ Lord 1953: 133.

²⁵ Lord 2000 [1960]: 117.

While Parry may improperly characterize the innovative potential of oral epic discourse, and while Whitman may be excessively influenced by twentieth-century existentialism, they are correct in identifying Achilles as being profoundly alienated from his society. While I do not take the position that Achilles has fully rejected heroic values in *Iliad* 9, I do characterize him as struggling with the worth of *timē* and *kleos* throughout the poem.²⁶ Most significantly, I argue that in the final book of the *Iliad*, Achilles is no longer concerned with *timē* and *kleos*, but is instead primarily focused on suffering and the search for human connection.²⁷ To show that this reading of Achilles is not simply the result of twentieth-century “romantic ideals of originality,” I draw extensively upon Early Iron Age archaeology and the historical record in order to explain why the *Iliad*’s questioning of heroic values is deeply rooted in cultural changes that were taking place at the time of the poem’s composition.

As the divide in *Iliad* scholarship shows, the question of whether a text should be interpreted as glorifying war or critiquing war is not always a straightforward one. A similar debate occurred about Clint Eastwood’s 2014 film *American Sniper*: some critics denounced it for glorifying the military-industrial complex, while others insisted that it had an anti-war message because it highlighted combat’s brutal effects on soldiers.²⁸ Eastwood himself said that while the film might glorify sniping, he felt that it was ultimately anti-war because it portrayed the toll that fighting took on soldiers and their families:

²⁶ See Chapter 3.

²⁷ See Chapter 4.

²⁸ The extreme variation in interpretations of the movie is shown by the fact that one critic called it “sinister... pro-war propaganda” (Gordon 2015), while another touted it as “a powerful anti-war film” (Obeidallah 2015).

I think it's nice for veterans because it shows what they go through, you know...and the wives and families of veterans. It has a great indication of the stresses they are under. And I think that all adds up to kind of an anti-war [message].²⁹

Eastwood's statement is interesting in the context of the *Iliad*, a poem which certainly aestheticizes violence and portrays the joy that warriors feel in battle, but which also emphasizes the disturbing cost of war for both warriors and their families, just as *American Sniper* does. As Schein argues, the picture of war presented in the *Iliad* is ethically complex and difficult to reduce to a straightforward "pro-war" or "anti-war" narrative.³⁰ I suggest that it is most accurate to say that the *Iliad* problematizes war and the values that motivate men to fight in war. Crucially, because of the emphasis placed on the destructive consequences of warriors' pursuit of *kleos* for their families, communities, and the warriors themselves, I argue that we cannot read the *Iliad* as valorizing glorious death.³¹

The nuanced reading of violence and glory presented in the *Iliad* is thrown into sharp relief when compared to a text that on the surface has many similarities with the *Iliad*, but in which there is no sympathy for the suffering that war causes. This text is the Cretan *rizitika* song Πότε θα κάμει ξαστεριά, "When Will the Sky Be Clear," which was used as a rallying cry during the war with the Ottomans and was later adopted by the resistance to the military junta in the 1970s.³²

Πότε θα κάμει ξαστεριά,
πότε θα φλεβαρίσει,
να πάρω το τουφέκι μου,
την όμορφη πάτρωνα,

²⁹ Galloway 2015.

³⁰ Cf. Schein 2016: 149-170.

³¹ *Contra* Vernant 1982.

³² Morgan 1960: 25-29; Gair and Georganta 2012.

να κατεβώ στον Ομαλό,
στη στράτα το Μουσούρω,
να κάμω μάνες δίχως γιούς,
γυναίκες δίχως άντρες,
να κάμω και μωρά παιδιά
να 'ναι δίχως μανάδες³³

When will the sky grow light
when will it warm up
so I can take my rifle
and my beautiful cartridge belt,
and go to Omalo
to go along the Mousouros road,
to make mothers without sons
and wives without husbands
to make orphan children
cry without their mothers.³⁴

Here the suffering of these non-combatants is presented as an unequivocal good, a sign of the enemy's defeat. The narrator of the song looks forward eagerly to the day when springtime weather will allow him to take up his rifle and deprive his enemies' mothers of sons and wives of husbands and make children cry for their mothers. The song's context as a call to arms against oppressive regimes casts the grief and deaths of enemy non-combatants as a blow for freedom, suggesting that the singer means them to be seen as an unequivocal good.

The trope of conflating victory with the suffering of the mothers, wives, and children of dead opponents is also found in the *Iliad*. Diomedes boasts of his prowess by describing the effect that his killing of a man has on the man's family: τοῦ δὲ γυναικὸς μὲν τ' ἀμφίδρυφοί εἰσι παρειαί, / παῖδες δ' ὄρφανικοί. "The cheeks of his wife are torn on both sides [in grief] / and his

³³ Text from Χρηστάκης and Στεφανάκης 2000.

³⁴ Translation provided by Tim Winters (personal communication).

children are orphans” (11.393-94).³⁵ Similarly, Achilles in *Iliad* 18 associates his own pursuit of *kleos* with the tears of Trojan women (18.121-5):

νῦν δὲ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀροίμην,
καί τινα Τρωϊάδων καὶ Δαρδανίδων βαθυκόλπων
ἀμφοτέρησιν χερσὶ παρειάων ἀπαλάων
δάκρυ’ ὀμορξαμένην ἀδινὸν στοναχῆσαι ἐφείην,
γνοῖεν δ’ ὡς δὴ δηρὸν ἐγὼ πολέμοιο πέπαυμαι·

But now let me win good *kleos*,
And let me make one of the Trojan women and deep-bosomed Dardanian women
Wipe the tears from her soft cheeks with
Both hands and groan ceaselessly,
And let them know that I have ceased from war for a long time.

This statement is part of a larger pattern in the *Iliad* in which female tears are converted into male *kleos*, as when Hector envisions Andromache as a kind of *sēma*, or “memorial,” for his *kleos* after he himself has died. He suggests that some future man will look upon the weeping and enslaved Andromache and say, Ἐκτορος ἦδε γυνὴ ὃς ἀριστεύεσκε μάχεσθαι / Τρώων ἵπποδάμων ὅτε Ἴλιον ἀμφεμάχοντο, “This is the wife of Hector, who was the best of the horse-breaking Trojans at fighting, when they fought around Ilium” (6.460-61).³⁶ The glorious death of a warrior in battle causes pain to his surviving family, most prominently his female relatives, whose mourning in turn increases the glory of the dead man and the one who killed him. The result is a cycle in which the male attainment of *kleos* is intimately bound up with female suffering. Female grief becomes then both the cause of male *kleos* and its effect.

The difference between the *Iliad* and Πότε θα κάμει ξαστεριά is that in the *Iliad*, the wives and mothers of the dead are allowed to speak back, and the poem shows great concern for

³⁵ Cf. also Diomedes’ statement at 6.127: δυστήνων δέ τε παῖδες ἐμῷ μένει ἀντιώσιν, “The sons of wretched [parents] meet my might [in battle].”

³⁶ Cf. Pucci 1998; Scodel 2008: 28.

their grief and anger.³⁷ Richard Martin notes that the *Iliad*'s presentation of female characters is deeply sympathetic, and he suggests that this may be because poets in Archaic Greece occupied a marginalized and dependent position in society that in some ways mirrored that of women.³⁸ I propose that this sympathetic portrayal would in turn have led audiences to identify with the plight and emotions of the women whom Achilles and Diomedes caused to weep. As is shown in Plato's *Ion*, an oral performance of epic was intended to evoke a strong empathetic response in both performer and audience (535b-e). Ion says that when he is performing something "pitiful" (ἐλεινόν), his eyes are full of tears (δακρύων ἐπίμπλανταί μου οἱ ὀφθαλμοί), and when he performs something "frightening or worthy of awe" (φοβερὸν ἢ δεινόν), his hair stands on end and his heart leaps from fear (ὄρθαι αἱ τρίχες ἴστανται ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ ἡ καρδία πηδᾷ, 535c). The experiences of Andromache, Hecuba, and Priam are specifically listed as examples of "pitiful" things that a rhapsode might narrate (ἢ καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἀνδρομάχην ἐλεινῶν τι ἢ περὶ Ἑκάβην ἢ περὶ Πρίαμον, 535b). When Socrates asks if Ion's audience experiences the same feelings when they watch him perform, Ion says that they do (535d-e):

Σωκράτης: οἶσθα οὖν ὅτι καὶ τῶν θεατῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ταῦτα ταῦτα ὑμεῖς ἐργάζεσθε;

Ἴων: καὶ μάλα καλῶς οἶδα: καθορῶ γὰρ ἐκάστοτε αὐτοὺς ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος κλάοντάς τε καὶ δεινὸν ἐμβλέποντας καὶ συνθαμβοῦντας τοῖς λεγομένοις.

Socrates: Do you know that you (rhapsodes) produce the same effects in many of your spectators also?

Ion: Yes, I know it very well. For on each occasion I behold them from the platform above weeping and looking awestruck and being astounded in keeping with my words.

³⁷ This is not to say that women do not get to speak back in other modern Greek songs (see below).

³⁸ Martin 2001: 56n3. Cf. Reynolds 1995.

According to this passage, the goal of the oral performer of epic was to make audiences not only sympathize with characters, but to feel as if they were experiencing the events that were being performed for them. Female laments for warriors killed in battle, then, were expected to produce a visceral emotional response of grief and loss in both poet and listener, making it impossible for their tears to be related with the same gleeful relish that we see in Πότε θα κάμει ξαστεριά.

Previous scholarship has suggested that female lament in Homeric epic serves a subversive function. Through laments uttered for fallen warriors, the women of the *Iliad* such as Andromache, Hecuba, Helen, and Briseis are able to voice their objections to the masculine warrior ethic that has led to the deaths of their loved ones and their own suffering. Gail Holst-Warhaft has written that female lament in the *Iliad* is fundamentally opposed to the masculine pursuit of *kleos* because it emphasizes the pain caused by the hero's death rather than the glory that the hero wins by dying.³⁹ Andromache, for example, stresses that Hector's death has left her and Astyanax in danger of being enslaved or killed, and says that she wishes Hector had died in his bed, implying that her husband's glorious death in battle has been a direct cause of harm to her and the rest of his family (*Il.* 24.725-45). Citing Margaret Alexiou's research on the similarities between female laments in modern Greece and in the *Iliad*, Holst-Warhaft suggests that the practice of lamentation in the *Iliad* reflects a real female speech genre that has been incorporated into the epic.⁴⁰ For this reason, it is likely that the female laments of the *Iliad* reflect the attitudes that real women had towards the masculine warrior values of their own time.

³⁹ Holst-Warhaft 1992.

⁴⁰ Alexiou 2002 [1974]; Holst-Warhaft 1992. Perkell similarly takes the position that the laments of Andromache, Hecuba, and Helen in *Iliad* 24 are subversive both by content and by position, since they refuse to celebrate warrior *kleos* and have, as it were, the last word in the poem (2008).

Similarly, Nadia Seremetakis' work has shown that female lament in the Mani region of Greece constitutes a longstanding oral tradition that is distinct from "men's songs" and that serves a subversive function with regard to how women relate to their patriarchal communities:

If the poetics of women contain a rich repertoire of empowerment, it is because women have been targeted for colonization throughout Maniat history. Thus, the resistance of Maniat women is not a cultural practice that emerged with "modernity," nor does it necessarily end there. The institutions and instruments of internal and external colonization may have changed from one epoch to another, but the experiences of colonization and ongoing resistance by women constitute long-term structures. Rather than affirming the "powerlessness" of women's practices by depicting them as residues of destroyed totalities, this study asserts that it is the very condition of long-term cultural fragmentation and deritualization that renders the practices of death and divination all the more viable as vehicles of resistance.⁴¹

Thus the subversive nature of female lament is not a modern anachronism foreign to the values of the *Iliad*, but a practice deeply rooted in Greek traditional culture.

In this way, we see that the *Iliad* does not present a univocal celebration of the value of killing and dying for *kleos* but incorporates into itself the dissenting voice of female lament that challenges the masculine perspective. Yet how extensive is this challenge? Sheila Murnaghan takes the position that the critique of *kleos* expressed by female lament does not ultimately have a subversive function within the *Iliad*, since the emphasis on the pain that the warrior has caused ultimately increases his value and therefore his *kleos*.⁴² She suggests that the *Iliad* incorporates the seemingly antithetical voice of female lament into itself only to neutralize it and turn it to the service of its own poetic ends.⁴³ We are left with the question of whether the association of *kleos*

⁴¹ Seremetakis 1991: 2.

⁴² Murnaghan 1999.

⁴³ Murnaghan 1999. Cf. Doherty 1995 on how the *Odyssey* neutralizes female voices in a comparable way. Kakridis 1971 makes a similar argument, suggesting that the women in the *Iliad* are a narrative device, and that they are portrayed as attempting to hold the hero back from his heroic *kleos* so that he may resist them and reassert his dedication to his warrior identity.

with the suffering of women and other non-combatants in the *Iliad* functions as a critique of the system of heroic values, or whether it reinforces the system, with each scene of mourning increasing the *kleos* of slayer and slain.

In this dissertation I argue that female characters' perspectives on *kleos* in the *Iliad* are not neutralized, but are rather harnessed to comment on the destructive aspects of male warrior *kleos*. The subversive aspect of lament is not confined to the laments themselves, as Holst-Warhaft has suggested, but is also taken up by Achilles and the poem's narrator. Although Achilles is deeply concerned with the masculine warrior values of *kleos* and *timē* throughout most of the *Iliad*, in *Iliad* 24 he adopts a position that is much closer to that of female lament. At the end of the poem he is seemingly disinterested in *kleos*, and his focus is instead on the suffering that he has caused through his participation in the war. This emphasis on suffering rather than glory can also be found in the way the narrator speaks of dying warriors in the *Iliad*. In many of the "obituaries" that mark individual warriors' deaths, the focus is on the tragedy of the young man leaving behind his wife or parents when his life is cut short.⁴⁴ In this way, the feminine voice of lament can be shown to pervade the *Iliad* far beyond the limited scope of the speeches of female characters.

Previous scholarship on gender in the *Iliad* has tended to focus on the ways in which femininity is excluded from warfare and warrior identity. Marilyn Arthur, Thomas Van Nortwick, and Christopher Ransom have shown how men in the *Iliad*, and in particular Hector, see themselves as having to sever their ties to women and the feminine sphere of experience in order to fulfill their male warrior role.⁴⁵ These analyses continue a prominent trend in the last

⁴⁴ Cf. Tsagalis 2004: 179-188.

⁴⁵ Arthur 1981; Van Nortwick 2001; Ransom 2011.

200 years of classical scholarship whereby the *Iliad* has been characterized as a quintessentially masculine poem, often in supposed opposition to the more “feminine” *Odyssey*.⁴⁶ This view of the *Iliad* can be summed up with a quote from George Steiner: “There shines through the *Iliad* an idealized yet also unflinching vision of masculinity, of an order of values and mutual recognitions radically virile.”⁴⁷ That this idea still has considerable traction within the field of Classics is shown by the fact that multiple participants in a workshop on women writers and the *Iliad* at the 2016 Society for Classical Studies annual meeting cited this statement as an explanation of why the *Iliad* has received so few scholarly treatments and artistic adaptations by women.⁴⁸ My dissertation argues that the portrayal of warrior masculinity in the *Iliad* is neither “unflinching” nor uncritically celebratory, but rather deeply troubled. Further, I show that gender is central to the conflict of values that plays out in the *Iliad*, and that femininity is not excluded from the poem but is instead fundamental in the *Iliad*’s evaluation of heroic society.

The concept of *kleos* and its relationship to gender in the *Iliad* is important to my analysis in this dissertation, as are related concepts such as *kudos*, *euchos*, and *timē*. *Kleos* is a word that literally translates as “what is heard,”⁴⁹ but it often has a broader meaning of “reputation,” “fame,” or “glory,” namely the glory that the poet confers upon the hero by immortalizing him in epic song.⁵⁰ It can also refer to the songs that the poet sings: the poetic tradition is the *klea*

⁴⁶ Clayton 2004: 1-20. Cf. Felson and Slatkin 2004; Ebbott 2005.

⁴⁷ Steiner 1996: xviii-xix.

⁴⁸ The seminar was titled “Responses to Homer’s *Iliad* by Women Writers, from WW2 to the Present” and took place on January 7, 2016 at the 147th annual meeting of the Society for Classical Studies in San Francisco, CA.

⁴⁹ Ford 1992: 59. Cf. *LfgreE*.

⁵⁰ Edwards 1985: 71.

andrōn, “the glorious deeds of men.”⁵¹ In the *Iliad*, *kleos* is almost always used in the sense of poetic glory or fame, rather than in the more general sense of “rumor” or “news.”⁵² This idea of *kleos* as poetic glory was an important concept in Proto-Indo-European culture, in which poets and their patrons had a mutually beneficial relationship based on the poet’s ability to confer *kleos* *aphthiton* (*k’lews ŋ-dhgwhitom), “imperishable fame,” which Proto-Indo-Europeans considered more valuable “than life itself.”⁵³

In its original Indo-European context, *kleos* was not exclusively derived from martial prowess. In the *Rigveda*, the phrase *ākṣitam śrāvaḥ*, the Sanskrit formula that is cognate with *kleos aphthiton*, is associated with great wealth and strength rather than with heroic deeds (1.9.7).⁵⁴ However, the *kleos* that can be won by mortal men in the *Iliad* is exclusively a martial *kleos*.⁵⁵ Gods may sometimes have *kleos* derived from non-martial actions (such as building the walls of Troy, 7.458), and objects may have *kleos* based on their associations with famous people or events (such as the shield of Nestor, 8.192), but *kleos* for men in the *Iliad* comes only from fighting well, killing other men, or dying bravely.⁵⁶ The struggle to win such poetic immortality

⁵¹ Nagy 1974: 248; 1979: 16. Cf. Segal 1996.

⁵² Edwards 1985: 71. As opposed to the *Odyssey* where *aklēes*, “without *kleos*,” is used to mean “without news” (*Od.* 1.241, 4.728, 14.371).

⁵³ Watkins 1995: 70. Although there has been some attempt to challenge *k’lews ŋ-dhgwhitom as a PIE formula, Watkins makes a strong case for it that is difficult to refute. For the debate, see Floyd 1980; Finkelberg 1986; Risch 1987; Watkins 1995: 173ff.

⁵⁴ Cf. Risch 1987.

⁵⁵ Edwards 1985: 73.

⁵⁶ Cf. Schein 1984: 68. Here I list the passages in the *Iliad* in which mortals are said to win or possess *kleos*. Men win *kleos* for fighting well: 2.325, 5.3, 5.172, 5.532, 6.446, 10.212, 10.282, 15.564, 17.415, 18.121, 23.280. Men win *kleos* for capturing booty from the enemy: 5.273, 17.16, 17.131, 17.143, 17.232, 17.419. Men win *kleos* by killing other men: 4.197, 4.207, 7.91. Men win *kleos* by dying: 9.413, 9.415, 22.110, 22.305. The only instance in which a man is referred to as having *kleos* that does not come from participation in war is at 22.514, a complex passage that I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 1.

through exceptional martial deeds is central to the heroic ethos of the warriors of the Homeric poems.⁵⁷ In Iliadic society, it is considered worthwhile to die in exchange for eternal fame, since death is inevitable for all mortals. (*Il.* 12.322-328). Thus, *kleos* comes to be seen as a compensation or consolation for death.⁵⁸ In the traditional formulation of heroic values expressed in the *Iliad*, a glorious death in battle preserves the hero forever in the poetic tradition at his moment of greatest strength and beauty, ensuring a unique kind of immortality that is otherwise unachievable for mortals.⁵⁹ The ultimate articulation of this idea is the famous “choice of Achilles,” in which the hero must decide whether he would rather live a long life at home but be forgotten after his death, or die young at Troy but win *kleos apthiton* (*Il.* 9.413).⁶⁰ The other young warriors who left their homes to fight in the Trojan War did not know, as Achilles does, whether or not they would die, but all of them made the choice to risk death because they considered *kleos* to be a worthy compensation for a short life.

In the *Iliad*, unlike in the *Odyssey*, there seems to be almost no concept of negative *kleos*. Agamemnon in *Odyssey* 24 says that a “hateful song” (στρυγερή δέ τ’ αἰοιδῆ, *Od.* 24.200) will be sung about Clytemnestra in the future. This is a reference to the bad *kleos* she will have in contrast to the “graceful song” (αἰοιδῆν...χαρίεσσαν, *Od.* 24.97-98) that will be sung about Penelope. In the *Iliad*, however, *kleos* is viewed almost entirely as an unqualified good. Failure to fight well and die bravely results in being *akleēs*, “without *kleos*” (*Il.* 7.100). It is this fear of dying without *kleos* that leads Hector to face Achilles in battle, not a concern that he will have a

⁵⁷ Beck 2011: 442-43.

⁵⁸ Scodel 2008: 30.

⁵⁹ Vernant 1982.

⁶⁰ Cf. Edwards 1985: 75.

bad *kleos* in the future if he does not fight (*Il.* 22.304). Agamemnon does say that if he returns home to Greece without winning the war he will be *duskleēs*, which would literally mean “having a bad *kleos*” (*Il.* 2.115, 9.22), but Max Greindl argues that *kleos* is viewed as such an overwhelmingly positive quality in the *Iliad* that *duskleēs* has come to be synonymous with *akleēs*, suggesting that to have a “bad *kleos*” really means to have no *kleos*.⁶¹

Kudos and *euchos* are frequently used along with *kleos* as words for “glory” in the *Iliad*, but in some passages differences in meaning appear. Like *kleos*, *kudos* can refer to battlefield glory, but it often seems to refer to a more ephemeral glory that a warrior has in the present moment. Scodel refers to *kudos* as a kind of “divine charisma.”⁶² It can be won (ἀρέσθαι) in battle by great deeds like *kleos*, or it can be granted by a god.⁶³ But a god can instantly and unexpectedly take away the *kudos* that he bestows, as Nestor’s words to Diomedes in *Iliad* 8 make clear (8.140-144):

ἦ οὐ γινώσκεις ὃ τοι ἐκ Διὸς οὐχ ἔπετ’ ἀλκή;
 νῦν μὲν γὰρ τοῦτῳ Κρονίδης Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀπάξει
 σήμερον· ὕστερον αὖτε καὶ ἡμῖν, αἴ κ’ ἐθέλησι,
 δώσει· ἀνὴρ δέ κεν οὔ τι Διὸς νόον εἰρύσσαιτο
 οὐδὲ μάλ’ ἴφθιμος, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστι.

Don’t you know that the might of Zeus is no longer with you?
 For now Zeus the son of Kronos gives *kudos* to this man—
 Today. Later he will also give it again to us,
 If he desires. But a man cannot ward off the mind of Zeus,

⁶¹ Greindl 1938: 9.

⁶² Scodel 2008: 25.

⁶³ Scodel 2008: 25. Unlike *kudos*, *kleos* is rarely a gift from the gods (Scodel 2008: 26). *Kudos* in the *Iliad* won through martial prowess: 3.373, 4.95, 4.415, 9.303, 10.307, 12.407, 13.676, 14.365, 15.644, 16.84, 17.287, 17.321, 17.419, 18.165, 20.502, 21.543, 22.57, 22.207, 22.217, 22.393. *Kudos* in the *Iliad* bestowed by a god: 1.279, 5.33, 5.225, 5.260, 7.205, 8.141, 8.176, 8.216, 11.79, 11.300, 12.174, 12.255, 12.437, 13.303, 14.358, 15.279, 15.491, 15.596, 15.602, 16.88, 16.241, 16.730, 17.251, 17.453, 17.566, 18.294, 18.456, 19.204, 19.414, 21.570, 23.400, 23.406, 24.110. *Kudos* in the *Iliad* as a quality that gods possess: 1.405, 5.906, 8.51, 11.81, 22.217.

Not even a mighty one, since he is far stronger.⁶⁴

This ephemeral quality of *kudos* is also reflected in the fact that while the living can have both *kudos* and *kleos*, the dead can only have *kleos*, not *kudos*.⁶⁵

Euchos comes from *euchomai*, meaning “pray” or “boast.” *Euchos* literally signifies “what is prayed for” or “what is boasted of.” This etymology connects it with the idea of reputation, and hence with *kleos*—what is worthy of boasting about is also worthy of being remembered by others.⁶⁶ Adkins identifies *euchos* and the related word *euchōlē* as referring literally to the “victory-shout” that a warrior makes at the moment of triumph, and by extension to glory.⁶⁷ However, this kind of glory is not only associated with warriors, as Hecuba calls Hector her *euchōlē* at *Il.* 22.433.⁶⁸

Closely linked to the concept of *kleos* in the system of masculine warrior values in the *Iliad* is the idea of *timē*, “honor.” *Timē* is a reflection of a person’s status in and value to his community.⁶⁹ Warriors, for example, get *timē* for fighting well (16.84), while kings get *timē* because of their authority as rulers (*Il.* 1.278-79, 2.197).⁷⁰ As a physical manifestation of *timē*, individuals may be awarded a *geras*, or “prize.”⁷¹ Gods also possess *timē* and are owed honors

⁶⁴ Other passages in the *Iliad* in which a god takes away *kudos*: 8.237, 15.595, 21.596, 22.1

⁶⁵ Fränkel 1962: 88n14; Redfield 1975: 33. Although mortals who died but who then became gods can have *kudos*, cf. Semele in the *Catalogue of Women* (Most fr. 162.6).

⁶⁶ Muellner 1976: 82; Thalmann 1984: 90.

⁶⁷ Adkins 1969.

⁶⁸ Cf. Chapter 1.

⁶⁹ For *timē* in the *Iliad*, see Van Wees 1992: 61-153; Wilson 2002; Scodel 2008.

⁷⁰ Cf. Wilson 2002: 37 on the conflict in the *Iliad* between these two systems of *timē*.

⁷¹ Zanker 1994: 11.

from mortals.⁷² *Timē* additionally has the meaning of the “price” or “penalty” that is paid in recompense for some wrong (*Il.* 3.459).⁷³ Significantly, being awarded *timē* increases one’s *kleos*, while the loss of *timē* diminishes *kleos*.⁷⁴ Scodel describes the relationship between *timē* and *kleos* in the following way:

In some ways, *kleos* appears to be simply the extension of *timē* in space and time. *Timē*, manifest in face-to-face interaction, becomes good *kleos* when its object is not present, and people still speak deferentially about him or her. Thus honor becomes good reputation, and reputation ideally becomes everlasting glory.⁷⁵

Timē and *kleos*, honor during one’s lifetime and glory after death, are the dual rewards for which men in the *Iliad* fight and together constitute what is most valued by masculine warrior society.⁷⁶

Just as this system of warrior values can be shown to date back to the Proto-Indo-European past, the tradition of female lament is likely of similar antiquity.⁷⁷ Because of our lack of direct evidence concerning the Greek oral tradition before Homer, it is impossible to say when the genre of female lament was incorporated into epic, whether its presence in the *Iliad* is a longstanding feature of the Greek epic tradition or a relatively recent innovation. It is possible that the Iliadic tradition always contained a feminine-coded critique of the value of *kleos*. The danger that the warrior’s pursuit of *kleos* in battle posed to his society may always have been a source of anxiety and tension that could have been reflected in the epic tradition. However, evidence from the archaeological record suggests that the anxieties and tensions concerning

⁷² Cf. *Il.* 9.498, 9.514, 25.65-70.

⁷³ Redfield 1975: 33. See *Il.* 3.286, 3.288, 3.459.

⁷⁴ Schein 1984: 71.

⁷⁵ Scodel 2008: 23.

⁷⁶ Schein 1984: 68.

⁷⁷ Bozzone 2015.

warrior masculinity that we see in the *Iliad* were not particularly important to the Greeks of the Early Iron Age until the eighth century BCE, at which point both society and warrior masculinity were radically redefined. For this reason, I argue that the troubled portrayal of warrior masculinity in the *Iliad* reflects the concerns of this particular historical moment.

As for why the *Iliad* privileges feminine voices, I consider this to be an example of the phenomenon described by Laura Claridge and Elizabeth Langland, whereby, “Male authors, as they attempt to subvert the “masculine” subjective configurations available to them at a particular moment in history, initially if briefly align themselves with what their society codifies as the female.”⁷⁸ I argue that the *Iliad* uses feminine perspectives on *kleos* to critique the dominant paradigm of warrior masculinity in Greek society after the viability of this paradigm was called into question by the rapid social changes at the beginning of the Archaic period. Here I differ from Ian Morris, who views the *Iliad* as a kind of propaganda poem that is meant to assert aristocratic warrior values in the face of class conflict between the elites and the new “middling” class associated with the rise of the *polis*.⁷⁹ I instead suggest that the challenges to aristocratic warrior values which Morris sees in burial practices and other aspects of the archaeological record can also be found within the *Iliad* itself.

In my analysis, I make use of R.W. Connell’s work on hegemonic masculinity, in which she posits that when a society encounters a crisis point, its dominant form of masculinity will evolve in order to continue to justify its supremacy in changing social circumstances. I argue that when warfare in the eighth century began to threaten the stability of the emerging *polis*

⁷⁸ Claridge and Langland 1990: 5.

⁷⁹ Morris 1986; 1987: 171ff. For the conflict between “elite” and “middling” factions, see also Kurke 1999.

communities, the form of warrior masculinity that valued the pursuit of *kleos* above all else gave way to a new form of warrior masculinity that incorporated into itself elements that had previously been coded as feminine, such as prioritizing the defense of one's community over individual glory.

Connell argues that we should speak not of a singular "masculinity" within a given cultural context but of multiple "masculinities" that are ordered in hierarchies of power and that shift and change over time. The dominant, i.e. most ideologically privileged, form of masculinity in a society is called "hegemonic masculinity." The concept of hegemony is derived from Antonio Gramsci's analysis of class relations and refers to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life. Connell defines hegemonic masculinity as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women."⁸⁰

In Connell's theory, hegemonic masculinity subordinates not only women, but other forms of masculinity. For example, in late twentieth century American society, heterosexual men were dominant and homosexual men were subordinated, with "gayness" becoming the repository for whatever was symbolically excluded from hegemonic masculinity.⁸¹ In the society depicted in the *Iliad*, the position of hegemonic masculinity is occupied by the aristocratic warrior who holds himself aloof from the feminine sphere. Normative warrior masculinity in the *Iliad* is

⁸⁰ Connell 1995: 77.

⁸¹ Connell 1995: 78. Connell's analysis here is based upon the hegemonic masculinity of the late 1980s and early 1990s.

constructed in opposition to women and children, as when Hector before his duel with Ajax says (7.235-7):

μή τί μεν ἤϋτε παιδὸς ἀφαιροῦ πειρήτιζε
ἢ ἔ γυναικός, ἢ οὐκ οἶδεν πολεμήϊα ἔργα.
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν εὖ οἶδα μάχας τ' ἀνδροκτασίας τε

Don't test me as if I were some weak child,
Or a woman, who knows nothing about the works of war.
I myself know battle well, and the slaying of men.

Here a sharp dichotomy is drawn between men, who understand fighting, and non-masculine “others”, who do not.⁸² Male and female spheres are kept strictly separated, and femininity is excluded from the battlefield.⁸³ A primary concern in constructing the heroic self is to avoid the possibility of being perceived as sub-masculine while simultaneously undermining the masculinity of one's enemy. Warriors frequently verbally impugn the masculine status of their opponents on the battlefield, seeking to reduce their power and authority.⁸⁴ Thus Diomedes, when he is wounded by Paris' arrow, declares, οὐκ ἀλέγω, ὡς εἴ με γυνή βάλοι ἢ πάϊς ἄφρων, “I care no more than if a woman or a witless child had shot me” (11.389). He refuses the subjugation implicit in having been wounded by another warrior by negating his opponent's masculine status, thereby denying that Paris has any power to dominate him.

Warriors also rigidly police the masculinity of their comrades and themselves. Men may gender-shame their fellow-fighters in order to induce a change of behavior or provoke appropriate action. For example, at *Il.* 7.96 Menelaus berates the Achaean soldiers by calling

⁸² Redfield 1975: 120; Ransom 2011: 37.

⁸³ Schein 1984: 77; Arthur 1981; Van Nortwick 2001; Ransom 2011.

⁸⁴ For more on this verbal “flyting” between warriors, see Vermeule 1979: 99f; Martin 1989: 65-77. Van Wees has drawn comparisons between flyting and the “trash talk” associated with gangs or modern team sports (1992: 61, 110).

them Ἀχαιῖδες οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί, “Achaean women, no longer Achaean men,” in order to spur them into fulfilling their proper masculine role by fighting Hector.⁸⁵ Similarly, warriors also castigate themselves for displaying deficiently masculine behavior that could leave them vulnerable to an opponent. In *Iliad* 22, when Hector is considering whether or not to supplicate Achilles for his life, he tells himself that if he takes off his armor and surrenders, Achilles will kill him as if he were a woman (κτενέει δέ με γυμνὸν ἔοντα / αὐτως ὡς τε γυναῖκα 22.124-5).⁸⁶

Proper warrior masculinity in the *Iliad* is also dependent upon winning *kleos* by fighting in the frontlines of the battle. In *Iliad* 12, Sarpedon explains to Glaucus the behavior expected of a hero (12.310-28):

Γλαῦκε τί ἦ δὴ νῶϊ τετιμήμεσθα μάλιστα
 ἔδρη τε κρέασίν τε ἰδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσιν
 ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δὲ θεοὺς ὡς εἰσορόωσι,
 καὶ τέμενος νεμόμεσθα μέγα Ξάνθοιο παρ' ὄχθας
 καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο;
 τῷ νῦν χρὴ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισιν ἔοντας
 ἐστάμεν ἠδὲ μάχης καυστείρης ἀντιβολῆσαι,
 ὄφρα τις ᾧδ' εἶπη Λυκίων πύκα θωρηκτῶν·
 οὐ μὰν ἀκλεέες Λυκίην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν
 ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες, ἔδουσί τε πίονα μῆλα
 οἶνόν τ' ἔξαιτον μελιηδέα· ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ ἴς
 ἐσθλή, ἐπεὶ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισι μάχονται.
 ᾧ πέπον εἰ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντε
 αἰεὶ δὴ μέλλοιμεν ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε
 ἔσσεσθ', οὐτέ κεν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μαχοίμην
 οὔτε κε σὲ στέλλοιμι μάχην ἐς κυδιάνειραν·
 νῦν δ' ἔμπησ γὰρ κῆρες ἐφεστᾶσιν θανάτοιο
 μυρίαί, ἅς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ' ὑπαλύξαι,
 ἴομεν ἢ ἐτῶ εὖχος ὀρέξομεν ἢ ἐτις ἡμῖν.

Glaucus, why are we two especially honored
 With seats and meats and full cups
 In Lycia, and all behold us like gods,
 And we are allotted beautiful shares of land by the banks of the Xanthus

⁸⁵ The same phrase is used by Thersites at *Il.* 2.235 to shame the Greek soldiers when they run for the ships.

⁸⁶ Cf. Van Nortwick 2001.

Of orchard and wheat-bearing ploughland?
 Therefore now it is necessary to go and stand
 Among the first and to have a share of searing battle,
 So that one of the cuirass-armed Lycians might say often,
 “They do not rule inglorious in Lycia,
 Our kings, and eat the fat flocks
 And the excellent honey-sweet wine. But indeed their strength
 Is good, since they fight among the foremost Lycians.”
 O friend, if we two might be able to flee this war
 And live always and be ageless and immortal,
 I myself would neither fight among the first,
 Nor would I send you into battle that brings glory to men.
 But now since the countless dooms of death stand by us,
 Whom it is not possible for a mortal to flee or escape,
 Let us go and give glory to another or let someone give it us.

Warriors are expected to display strength (ἰς, 12.320) and to fight in the front lines seeking to win glory (εὖχος, 12.328) for themselves. This glory will serve as a compensation for the heroes’ inevitable mortality (12.320-28). Fulfillment of this martial role secures a warrior his privileged place in society. It is due to the warrior’s bravery and glory on the battlefield that he is granted honor, wealth, and status.⁸⁷

This form of martial masculinity can be described as hegemonic in Iliadic society because it justifies the superiority of warriors over women and other men. The latter two categories of people are alike in that they cannot fight for the community or receive martial *kleos*, relegating them to a lower social status. In Homeric society, the hegemonic position is occupied by the normative warrior masculinity that excludes all ties to femininity from itself. Subordinated masculinity is represented by the specter of the effeminate man who is no better than a woman. Nevertheless, similes spoken by the narrator—as well as Achilles’ own self-presentation at different points in the poem—suggest that a new form of masculinity may be

⁸⁷ See Redfield 100ff; Scodel 2008: 23.

emerging, one that incorporates into itself certain aspects of what was previously thought of as “feminine.”⁸⁸

Diomedes and Hector are in different ways perfect examples of normative hegemonic masculinity in the *Iliad*. Both Arthur and Hélène Monsacré characterize Diomedes as the quintessential Homeric hero.⁸⁹ Arthur points out that Diomedes is completely separated from the feminine sphere of life, seeming to feel no urge to engage with the world of women. For example, he attacks and wounds Aphrodite, the symbol of female sexuality, and tells her to withdraw from the battle because it is not her domain (5.349-51):⁹⁰

εἶκε Διὸς θύγατερ πολέμου καὶ δηϊοτῆτος·
ἢ οὐχ ἄλις ὄττι γυναῖκας ἀνάλκιδας ἠπεροπεύεις;
εἰ δὲ σὺ γ' ἐς πόλεμον πωλήσῃαι, ἦ τέ σ' οἴω
ρίγῃσιν πόλεμόν γε καὶ εἴ χ' ἐτέρωθι πύθῃαι.

Withdraw from the battle and strife, daughter of Zeus!
Is it not enough that you lead astray weak women?
But if you go into the war, indeed I think that you
Will shudder at war, even if you should learn of it from far off.

Diomedes insists that Aphrodite has no place in the war because of her associations with femininity, and at the same time demonstrates that he is immune to feminine seduction. He makes clear that he, a strong man, will not succumb to Aphrodite’s wiles in the way that a “weak woman” would. Similarly, unlike other warriors, Diomedes never expresses love or longing for Aegialeia, the wife he has left behind, or, in fact, even mentions her.⁹¹ We are only made aware

⁸⁸ See Chapter 3.

⁸⁹ Arthur 1981; Monsacré 1984.

⁹⁰ Arthur 1981: 20.

⁹¹ Arthur 1981: 23.

of her existence because Dione predicts that Aigialeia will weep if Diomedes dies in battle

(5.410-15):

τὸ νῦν Τυδεΐδης, εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερός ἐστι,
φραζέσθω μὴ τίς οἱ ἀμείνων σεῖο μάχηται,
μὴ δὴν Αἰγιάλεια περίφρων Ἀδρηστίνη
ἔξ ὕπνου γοόωσα φίλους οἰκῆας ἐγείρη
κουρίδιον ποθέουσα πόσιν τὸν ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν
ἰφθίμη ἄλοχος Διομήδεος ἵπποδάμοιο.

Therefore now the son of Tydeus, even though he is very mighty,
Should take care lest someone better than you fight with him,
Lest Aegialeia, wise child of Adrastus,
Lamenting should rouse her dear household companions from sleep,
Longing for her wedded husband, the best of the Achaeans,
She the strong wife of Diomedes breaker of horses.

Diomedes himself, however, does not appear to be concerned about the consequences that his martial actions will have on his wife.

Hector, on the other hand, feels the pull of the feminine sphere very strongly but vehemently rejects it, maintaining the boundaries of his masculinity against encroaching offers of feminine care and seduction that would distract him from his warrior role.⁹² In *Iliad* 6, he refuses first Hecuba his mother, then Helen his sister-in-law, and finally Andromache his wife when they attempt to delay him. When Hecuba offers Hector a cup of wine, he tells her: μή μοι οἶνον ἄειρε μελίφρονα πότνια μήτηρ, / μή μ' ἀπογυιώσης μένεος, ἀλκῆς τε λάθωμαι, “Don’t lift for me wine that is sweet to the mind, lady mother, lest you should enfeeble my strength, and I should forget my might” (6.264-65). Here Hector explicitly ties his rejection of Hecuba’s maternal care to his fear that such care will sap his strength and make him less fit for the battlefield. He similarly refuses Helen’s request that he sit down and rest by saying that his

⁹² Arthur 1981; Van Nortwick 2001; Ransom 2011.

“heart is eager to aid the Trojans” (6.361-61). He again opposes his duty to fight to a woman’s desire to offer him care.⁹³ Andromache’s attempt to convince Hector not to return to the frontlines is the most emotionally difficult for Hector. In contrast to Diomedes’ lack of concern for his wife, Hector shows great empathy for the pain he will cause Andromache when he dies in battle (6.448-465). He does not, however, seek to avert the fate that he sees for Andromache by taking her advice and preserving his own life. Hector is always hyper-conscious of his duty as a man and a warrior and does not allow himself to stray from it.

Paris, in contrast, represents the deviant, subordinated masculinity of a man who has given himself over to femininity by reveling in sexual pleasure and luxury.⁹⁴ He has become an effeminate, defective warrior who withdraws from the fighting, is considered cowardly, and is rebuked by Hector, Priam, and others. Helen in *Iliad* 6, for example, condemns Paris for his lack of concern for traditional warrior values, saying, ἀνδρὸς ἔπειτ’ ὄφελλον ἀμείνωνος εἶναι ἄκοιτις, / ὅς ἤδη νέμεσιν τε καὶ αἴσχεα πόλλ’ ἀνθρώπω, “Would that I were the wife of a better man, one who knew righteous anger (νέμεσιν) and the many reproaches of men (αἴσχεα)” (6.350-51). Helen is saying that Paris has no regard for *aidōs*, “shame,” and *nemesis*, “righteous anger,” two emotions that are important for the smooth functioning of warrior society.⁹⁵ Redfield describes the necessity of *aidōs* and *nemesis* for maintaining social cohesion: “*Aidōs* inhibits action by making the heroes feel that if they acted thus they would be out of place or in the wrong. *Nemesis* drives one to attack those who have shown themselves lacking a proper *aidōs*.”⁹⁶ *Aidōs*

⁹³ Cf. Van Nortwick 2001.

⁹⁴ Arthur 1981; Ransom 2011.

⁹⁵ On the importance of *nemesis* and *aidōs* in warrior culture, cf. Adkins 1960; Redfield 1975: 113ff; Scott 1980; Cairns 1993; Williams 1993. For women and *aidōs*, see Ferrari 1990.

⁹⁶ Redfield 1975: 116.

and *nemesis* thus prevent dangerous transgression of social norms and boundaries. Paris' lack of care for *aidōs* and *nemesis* shows that he is not concerned with acting properly as a warrior or with enforcing proper behavior in anyone else.

Paris' defective status as a warrior is explicitly tied to his effeminacy. When Paris flees from Menelaus in battle, Hector berates him (3.39-45, 54-55):

Δύσπαρι εἶδος ἄριστε γυναιμανὲς ἠπεροπευτὰ
αἰθ' ὄφελος ἄγονός τ' ἔμεναι ἄγαμός τ' ἀπολέσθαι·
καί κε τὸ βουλοίμην, καὶ κεν πολὺ κέρδιον ἦεν
ἢ οὕτω λώβην τ' ἔμεναι καὶ ὑπόψιον ἄλλων.
ἢ που καρχαλόωσι κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ
φάντες ἀριστῆα πρόμον ἔμμεναι, οὖνεκα καλὸν
εἶδος ἔπ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι βίη φρεσὶν οὐδέ τις ἀλκή.
...
οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίσμη κίθαρις τά τε δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης
ἢ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος ὅτ' ἐν κονίησι μγείης.

Evil Paris, best with respect to your form, mad after women, deceiver,
Would that you had died unborn and unmarried.
I also would wish this, and it would be much better
Than for you thus to be an outrage and an object of the suspicion of others.
Indeed I suppose the long-haired Achaeans will rejoice
Thinking a prince [has been chosen]⁹⁷ to be our foremost man because he has a
Beautiful appearance, but there is not strength in his mind nor any might.
...
Your lyre will not aid you nor the gifts of Aphrodite
Nor your hair nor your form when you will mingle with the dust.

Here Hector reproaches Paris for being excessively focused on his appearance, his sexual appetites, and his musicianship rather than on his duty as a warrior. As Monsacré has shown, physical beauty is not in itself a sign of effeminacy in Homeric epic if it is present in a man along with other desirable qualities such as martial skill, and descriptions of warriors' beauty by the narrator or other characters are usually complementary.⁹⁸ Priam, for example, says of

⁹⁷ For this translation of this line, see Kirk 1985.

⁹⁸ Monsacré 1984.

Agamemnon, καλὸν δ' οὕτω ἐγὼν οὐ πῶ ἶδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν, / οὐδ' οὕτω γεραρόν· βασιλῆϊ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικε, “I have never seen with my eyes a man so beautiful or so majestic. For he is like to a kingly man” (*Il.* 3.169-170). Agamemnon’s masculinity is not deficient because in addition to being *kalos*, “beautiful,” he is also kingly.

The trouble with Paris is that his beauty is all that he has to recommend him. Hector says that the Achaeans will think Paris was chosen as a leader because of his beauty, implying that he could not possibly have been chosen for his skill as a warrior, since he lacks *biē*, “force,” and *alkē*, “might.”⁹⁹ Excessive concern with one’s physical appearance is also associated with effeminacy. The narrator speaks disparagingly of Nastes in the Catalogue of Ships, who has rich personal ornaments but lacks martial skill (*Il.* 2.871-75):

ὄς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πόλεμον δ' ἴεν ἠὔτε κόυρη
νήπιος, οὐδέ τί οἱ τό γ' ἐπήρκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον,
ἀλλ' ἐδάμη ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο
ἐν ποταμῷ, χρυσὸν δ' Ἀχιλεὺς ἐκόμισσε δαΐφρων.

Nastes, who went to war wearing gold like a girl,
Foolish, nor did this in any way ward off baneful destruction from him,
But he was killed in the river at the hands of the swift-footed
Grandson of Aeacus, and skilled Achilles carried off his gold.

According to this passage, being overly preoccupied with one’s appearance makes one “like a girl” (ἠὔτε κόυρη) and therefore unsuited to martial pursuits.

Paris’ association with Aphrodite similarly marks him as excessively involved with the feminine sphere.¹⁰⁰ As Diomedes points out in *Iliad* 5, Aphrodite’s realm of influence is not the battlefield, but rather the seduction of women. Because she is Paris’ special patron, he is skilled

⁹⁹ The description of Paris “fondling” (ἀφώωντα) his armor as he sits in Helen’s chambers while the other Trojans fight highlights his lack of concern for his warrior responsibilities (cf. Kirk 1990: 202; Graziosi and Haubold 2010: 168-69).

¹⁰⁰ Arthur 1981.

in sexual matters, but his performance as a fighter leaves something to be desired. The reference to Paris being γυναιμανής, “mad after women” (3.39), also evokes Paris’ abduction of Helen from Sparta, the cause of the conflict between the Achaeans and Trojans. Hector rebukes Paris for starting the war but being unable to acquit himself honorably in it. As an effeminate man and a sub-standard warrior, Paris represents everything that is symbolically excluded from the hegemonic masculinity of the *Iliad*. He is the negative masculine archetype that other warriors seek to avoid.

Alongside this system of hegemonic and subordinated masculinities, I argue that the *Iliad* presents an alternative conception of masculinity that is associated with maternal protection and that is in conflict with the drive to win *timē* and *kleos*. This masculinity can be seen coming to the fore in similes spoken by both Achilles (9.323-27, 16.7-11) and the narrator (8.268-27, 11.269-272, 17.1-6) that compare warriors to mothers. This is not a subordinated masculinity but an emerging new form of hegemonic masculinity. Connell has theorized that hegemonic masculinity is vulnerable to “crisis tendencies,” meaning that when a system of masculinity can no longer justify its hegemony because of cultural change, a disruption and transformation of gender configurations will occur, leading to the emergence of a new system of hegemonic masculinity.¹⁰¹ I argue that such a crisis can be detected in the *Iliad*’s treatment of the value of *kleos*. In the *Iliad*, a warrior receives status and honor in return for his services to society (12.310-28). In an ideal situation, the Homeric warrior exists in a state of mutual benefit with his community, with the warrior offering martial protection, and the community offering *timē* during the warrior’s lifetime and *kleos* after his death.¹⁰² The *Iliad* shows how this system breaks down

¹⁰¹ Connell 1995: 84.

¹⁰² Redfield 1975: 100ff; Haubold 2000: 37.

when the warrior's desire for *kleos* interferes with his duty to protect his community. In this way, the system of masculinity in the *Iliad* is experiencing a "crisis" in the sense that Connell describes, since the justification for the old configuration of hegemonic masculinity has eroded, but a new configuration has not yet taken its place. I argue that this crisis in the *Iliad* reflects a similar crisis taking place in contemporary Greek society, and that the new "maternal masculinity" that we see emerging in the *Iliad* reflects changes and upheavals in masculine warrior identity that were taking place at the end of the Early Iron Age.

Burial practices for most of the Early Iron Age (a period lasting from the late eleventh to the early eighth-century BCE) seem to indicate that the hegemonic masculinity of the *Iliad*—a warrior masculinity that privileges the pursuit of *kleos* above all else and maintains a strict separation from femininity—was also hegemonic in Early Iron Age Greek societies. Male graves were marked by deposits of weapons, suggesting that for the class of men deemed worthy of burial, the identity of "man" and the identity of "warrior" were synonymous (in contrast to Bronze Age burials in which "warrior" appears as only one of many possible male identities).¹⁰³ Ian Morris has argued that in the Early Iron Age, only the upper classes of society were given formal burial.¹⁰⁴ "Warrior" would then have been the identity of elite males. That these warriors shared an ideology emphasizing the pursuit of *kleos apthiton* like that of Iliadic warriors is suggested by the practices of cremation and ritual destruction of grave goods found in Early Iron Age weapon burials. These practices mirror the funerals of slain warriors in the *Iliad* and suggest a homologous desire to cement the eternal fame of a warrior through the transcendent destruction

¹⁰³ Whitley 2002; Lemos 2002: 197.

¹⁰⁴ Morris 1987.

of his corpse and possessions.¹⁰⁵ The archaeological record also shows that throughout Greece, female graves were characterized by certain grave goods that were not found in male graves,¹⁰⁶ implying that Early Iron Age society had a strict separation of gendered roles and spheres as we see in the *Iliad*. Male graves are free of “feminine” grave goods just as Iliadic warriors must refrain from excessive contact with the feminine sphere in order to maintain their hegemonic masculinity.

In the mid- to late-eighth century these burial patterns were radically disrupted, suggesting that the hegemonic masculinity of the Early Iron Age had become contested. Weapon burials ceased, as did the strictly gendered deposition of grave goods, implying a societal re-evaluation of both masculinity and warrior identity. These changes co-occurred with the rise of the *polis*. The shift at this time from depositing weapons in graves to dedicating them in sanctuaries hints that the warrior’s role had been redefined from being primarily concerned with individual glory and status to being primarily concerned with the well-being of the community, leading to a new kind of hegemonic masculinity. The dissatisfaction with hegemonic masculinity in the *Iliad* and the emergence of community-oriented warrior masculinity show that the epic is engaging with this social shift in the purpose and meaning of masculine warrior identity.

This reevaluation of warrior identity may have come about because warfare in the late eighth century became more destructive to civilian populations than it had been previously. I will provide evidence that warfare during the Early Iron Age did not typically involve the destruction of settlements, but that around the beginning of the Archaic period (the eighth and seventh centuries BCE) war became more destructive and began to affect civilian populations to a much

¹⁰⁵ Whitley 2002: 227.

¹⁰⁶ Whitley 1996.

greater degree than it had previously.¹⁰⁷ This change, in turn, may have led to a reevaluation of the warrior's role, since the individualistic pursuit of glory had come to be seen as potentially dangerous to the community that he was meant to protect.¹⁰⁸ This tension between individual glory and the good of the community in the *Iliad* was largely resolved by the rise of the *polis* and its associated ideologies, which subordinated the good of the individual to the good of the community. The hoplite phalanx, for example, which would become the dominant military formation of the Archaic and Classical periods, depended upon the ability of individual soldiers to hold their place beside each other in the battle-line and was incompatible with the heroic monomachy of the *Iliad*.¹⁰⁹ This is the style of warfare depicted in the work of the seventh-century poet Tyrtaeus, who praises warriors for their ability to fight cohesively as members of a group, not for the glory they win in single combat.¹¹⁰ Even in the *Odyssey*, a more forgiving and expansive definition of *kleos* is presented, in which *kleos* is not synonymous with death as in the “choice of Achilles” in the *Iliad*, but whereby a hero may win both *kleos* and *nostos*.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Snodgrass 1971; Van Wees 2004.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Haubold 2000. For the Greek warriors of the *Iliad*, the community that they must protect is composed of the *laos*, their fellow-fighters, while for the Trojans, the community includes both the *laos* and non-combatants such as wives, children, and elderly parents.

¹⁰⁹ There is some debate over when hoplite tactics first began to be used in ancient Greek warfare. Some scholars posit a “hoplite revolution” in the seventh century that involved a drastic change in the way wars were fought, with the phalanx suddenly replacing the disorganized single combats described in Homeric epic. This in turn is supposed to have led to a sudden greater enfranchisement for the previously oppressed non-aristocrats who would have made up the bulk of the hoplite phalanx (Hanson 1989; 1995). Others, such as Snodgrass, have argued that the change toward hoplite tactics was gradual and did not have significant political consequences (1965). A third group argues that no hoplite revolution in fact took place, and that hoplite tactics were in use in the Geometric period and can be identified in the descriptions of massed infantry formations in the *Iliad* (Latacz 1977).

¹¹⁰ Cf. Adkins 1960; Jaeger 1966: 103; Snell 1969; Murray 1993; Raaflaub 1993. Irwin 2005, on the other hand, has argued that there is not a significant difference between the warrior ideologies of Homeric epic and Tyrtaean elegies. For my discussion of these ideas, see Chapter 5.

¹¹¹ Janko has dated the *Odyssey* later than the *Iliad* on the basis of his statistical analysis of linguistic forms in Archaic Greek epic (Janko 1982).

Odysseus does not need to leave his community defenseless, as Hector does, in order to ensure his own glory through a “beautiful death,” but is able to return and set things to rights in Ithaca.¹¹²

In the *Iliad*, however, no such resolution has yet taken place. The emphasis on the dysfunctional nature of the warrior values that we see in the poem reflects the concerns of a society in flux, in which the old system of belief no longer functions, but a new system has yet to be found. Perspectives associated with femininity therefore become an ideal vehicle for expressing disillusionment with the ideal of dying for *kleos* that the *Iliad* has inherited but cannot wholeheartedly endorse. The centrality of such feminine perspectives to the *Iliad* will be the theme of my dissertation.

This dissertation consists of five chapters. I begin by considering the relationship that women have to *kleos* in the first two chapters before moving on to examine the ways in which the interactions between gender and *kleos* play out in the context of contested masculinities. In my first chapter, I bring in evidence from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* to argue that female *kleos* is bound up with the biological cycle of birth and death and is fundamentally opposed to male warrior *kleos*, which seeks to transcend this natural cycle. In my second chapter, I show how Helen’s status as a metapoetic figure links her self-blame and distress at being the cause of the Trojan war to the ways in which the poetic tradition is complicit in promulgating the warrior ideology that privileges dying for *kleos*. In my third chapter, I explore how the opposition between femininity and *kleos* plays out within the contested construction of masculine warrior identity in the *Iliad*. I argue that the poem positively associates femininity, and in particular

¹¹² Odysseus’ relationship to his community is arguably problematized in other ways, such as in his failure to save the lives of his crew and in his aborted conflict with the families of the suitors in *Odyssey* 24.

maternity, with a warrior's defense of his comrades, and that this maternal defensive fighting stands in opposition to the pursuit of *kleos*. In my fourth chapter, I consider the case of Achilles in *Iliad* 24. I argue that in this final book of the poem, Achilles displays an attitude that has much in common with the negative valuation of *kleos* in female lament, and that the adoption of this perspective by the poem's preeminent warrior undermines the unqualified value of *kleos* elsewhere in the epic. In my fifth and final chapter, I examine the arguments that I have made in the previous chapters in the historical context of Early Iron Age and Archaic Greece and propose that the crisis of warrior masculinity that I have identified in the poem stems from the changing nature of Greek warfare and the warrior's place in society during this period.

CHAPTER 1

The Works of Women's Hands: Female *Kleos* in Archaic Epic

This chapter focuses on the nature of female *kleos* in Archaic Greek hexameter poetry, and on how this nature factors into the hostile attitudes that female characters in the *Iliad* often express toward male warrior *kleos*. Ioannis Kakridis has argued that women in the *Iliad* function as a narrative device, attempting to dissuade men from pursuing glory in battle so that the men may refuse them and reassert their dedication to warrior values.¹¹³ Other scholars, such as Pietro Pucci, have discussed how women are marginalized by the *Iliad's* system of warrior values and the ways in which male *kleos* is increased by female suffering.¹¹⁴ I suggest that women are not only marginalized and harmed by the system that confers *kleos* on men, but that female *kleos* operates according to a different paradigm: one that is generative rather than destructive. Women in Archaic Greek hexameter poetry tend to win *kleos* from weaving and from sexuality and childbirth, activities that nurture life and increase the biological prosperity of the community. Furthermore, a woman's *kleos* is closely tied to the survival and success of her descendants. In this way, female *kleos* is compromised by the desire of warriors to win *kleos* by fighting and dying in battle.

This association of female *kleos* with generation and male *kleos* with destruction is not absolute. In the case of Helen, for example, her great fame among future generations is tied to the suffering that she has caused, as she herself acknowledges (6.354-58). Elsewhere in Archaic

¹¹³ Kakridis 1971: 68ff.

¹¹⁴ Pucci 1993, 1998; Murnaghan 1999; Scodel 2008: 28. See Introduction.

poetry, men may win *kleos* through generative activities, such as the creation of song.¹¹⁵ In the *Iliad*, however, male *kleos* is bound up overwhelmingly with the destructive environment of the battlefield.¹¹⁶ Warriors achieve glory by killing their opponents, and, ultimately, by dying gloriously themselves (*Il.* 12.328). Jean-Pierre Vernant describes such a death in battle as a “beautiful death,” a perfect snapshot that immortalizes a hero forever in the poetic tradition at the moment of his greatest strength and beauty.¹¹⁷ Thus, while female *kleos* depends upon the creation and perpetuation of life, male warrior *kleos* depends upon cutting life short. The competition between these two paradigms is heightened because men in the *Iliad* perceive the genealogical continuity that fosters female *kleos* as a threat to their own future fame: they view the continuous replacement of one generation by another as a symbol of man’s anonymity and interchangeability, as in Glaucus’ simile where he compares the generations of men to the generations of leaves (*Il.* 6.145-49). Warriors seek to suspend this natural cycle of birth and death by achieving *kleos aphthiton*, “unwithering fame.” In this way, female *kleos* and male *kleos* in the *Iliad* become antithetical, each unable to thrive without diminishing the other.

Much of the previous scholarship on female *kleos* in Homeric epic has focused on the *Odyssey*, often emphasizing the similarities and differences in men’s and women’s relationships to fame. Some scholars have argued that Penelope can be seen as winning *kleos* equivalent to that of a male warrior through her *mētis* and *aretē*.¹¹⁸ Marilyn Katz has suggested that Penelope’s

¹¹⁵ In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, the poet promises to spread the *kleos* of the Delian maidens far and wide if they will spread in return his fame as the sweetest singer (165-175). See also the discussion in Chapter 2 of how Ibycus will spread his own *kleos* and that of Polycrates through song (cf. *PMG* 282).

¹¹⁶ See Introduction.

¹¹⁷ Vernant 1982.

¹¹⁸ Helleman 1995; Schein 1995.

kleos should instead be seen as indeterminate, and that the poem never fully resolves the question of whether her *kleos* is the result of her faithfulness to her husband or of her own excellence.¹¹⁹ More recently, Melissa Mueller has focused on women’s ability to win *kleos* through weaving in the *Odyssey*. Helen claims a share of *kleos* for herself in *Odyssey* 15 when she gives Telemachus a garment, which she calls a μνήμη Ἑλένης χειρῶν, “a remembrance of the hands of Helen” (*Od.* 15.126). This product of Helen’s weaving will serve as a vector of her fame when it is worn by Telemachus’ future bride and viewed by the people of Ithaca (15.127), just as a poet’s song increases the fame of its subject.¹²⁰ As I will argue in Chapter 2, the web that Helen weaves in *Iliad* 3 depicting the battles of the Trojans and Achaeans (3.126-27) is also closely linked to her *kleos*, although in a more complicated way.

The shroud that Penelope makes for Laertes stands as another example of a woman winning *kleos* through weaving. Antinous, after describing Penelope’s trick of weaving and unweaving Laertes’ shroud for three years (*Od.* 2.85-110), says that Penelope is making great *kleos* for herself while the suitors lay waste to Telemachus’ possessions (2.123-26):

τόφρα γὰρ οὖν βίον τε τεὸν καὶ κτήματ’ ἔδονται,
 ὄφρα κε κείνη τοῦτον ἔχη νόον, ὃν τινὰ οἱ νῦν
 ἐν στήθεσσι τιθεῖσι θεοί. μέγα μὲν κλέος αὐτῆ
 ποιεῖτ’, αὐτὰρ σοί γε ποθὴν πολέος βίότιο.

They will eat your livelihood and possessions
 As long as she holds this intention, which
 The gods put in her breast. She will make great *kleos*
 For herself, but for you a longing for much livelihood.

¹¹⁹ Katz 1991. Katz relates this ambiguity to the indeterminacy of Penelope’s character that is produced by the poet’s choice to leave the motivations for many of Penelope’s actions in the poem enigmatic or unstated. Murnaghan and Doherty, on the other hand, suggest that the indeterminacy of Penelope’s character is a binary oscillation between fidelity and infidelity, which reduces Penelope’s characterization to a reflection of male insecurities about female sexuality (Murnaghan 1994; Doherty 1995: 56). For the debate about Penelope’s motivations, particularly with regard to her choice to set the contest of the bow, see Harsh 1950; Amory 1963; Murnaghan 1986; Winkler 1990.

¹²⁰ Mueller 2010.

Mueller has stated that feminine *kleos* won through weaving runs parallel to male efforts to win *kleos*, but that it does not interfere with such efforts: “Weaving, while analogous to poetic song, was a realm in which women did not compete directly with men. Women could win fame from the work of their hands without compromising male *kleos*.”¹²¹ While it is true that weaving does not directly challenge male *kleos*, I find it significant that both of the examples of female *kleos* won through weaving cited by Mueller are ceremonial garments closely associated with significant stages in the human life cycle: the wedding garment with sexual union and new life, and the shroud with natural death from old age. The fame won through these acts of weaving is linked to genealogical continuity not only by weaving’s status as a generative process, but also through the symbolic associations of these woven garments.

Scholarship on female *kleos* in the *Iliad* has been less extensive and has largely focused on Helen.¹²² Nancy Felson and Laura Slatkin have gone so far as to argue that female characters in the *Iliad* do not have *kleos*.¹²³ While it is true that no woman in the *Iliad* is specifically said to possess *kleos* as Penelope is in the *Odyssey* (24.196-98), I suggest that there is still textual evidence for female *kleos* in the poem. For example, women in the *Iliad* are said to possess *kudos* (22.431-36), a kind of glory closely related to *kleos*,¹²⁴ and Helen in *Iliad* 6 speaks of being “an object of song for the men of the future” (ᾠοῖδιμοι ἐσσομένοισι, 6.358), a clear reference to the preservation of her fame in the poetic tradition.

¹²¹ Mueller 2010: 2.

¹²² Suzuki 1989; Blondell 2010.

¹²³ Felson and Slatkin 2004.

¹²⁴ For the relationship between *kudos* and *kleos*, cf. Introduction.

In this chapter I seek to further illuminate the nature of female *kleos* in the *Iliad* by examining it in the context of other instances of female *kleos* in the *Odyssey* and the Hesiodic corpus. I suggest that the unifying feature of female *kleos* in early Greek epic is that it is generative and that it depends upon the continued physical existence of the products of women's labor. I begin my discussion of this paradigm of *kleos* with the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, which declares its subject to be female excellence (Most fr. 1.3). I argue that this poem presents having a sexual encounter and giving birth to a child as a gender-specific path to *kleos* for women, analogous to dying in battle for men. In addition, I suggest that the *Catalogue* demonstrates the importance of genealogical continuity for the stability of women's future fame, and I provide examples of how this importance is expressed by female characters in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. I then explore the ways in which female *kleos* is compromised by the male warrior *kleos* of the *Iliad*, which preserves in poetry what has been destroyed in the physical world. I conclude that the fundamentally generative goals of women in the *Iliad* cannot peacefully coexist with the destructive male drive to win *kleos* on the battlefield.

The Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* is a fragmentary genealogy of the heroic age that organizes itself around mortal women who have sexual encounters with gods and give birth to famous lineages of heroes. It is characterized by the repeated formula ἢ ὅτι, "or such as her," which gives rise to its alternate title, the *Ehoiai*.¹²⁵ The *Catalogue* is usually dated to the sixth century BCE, but it is the product of a poetic tradition that evolved alongside the Homeric poems and interacted with them, as is shown by the intertextual links between the Hesiodic *Catalogue*

¹²⁵ For the debate over whether the *Ehoiai* and the *Megalai Ehoiai* are the same poem, see Cohen 1986 and D'Alessio 2005.

and the miniature catalogue of women in the *nekylia* of *Odyssey* 11.¹²⁶ The story of Tyro in particular has lines that are identical in both poems (Most fr. 30.2-3=Od. 11.249-50). It is thus appropriate to read the *Catalogue* alongside the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as part of an epic tradition with shared subject matter and themes.

In its proem, the *Catalogue* declares its subject to be the “tribe of women” (γυναικῶν φύλον, Most fr. 1.1) “who were the best (*aristai*) at that time” (αἱ τότε ἄρισται ἔσαν, Most fr. 1.3).¹²⁷ To be *aristos* (“the best”) means to possess *aretē*, “excellence” or “the quality of being *aristos*.” *Aretē* and *kleos* have a close relationship. As Greindl writes, *kleos* is *der “Ruhm,” der durch ἀρετή vom Helden erworben wird*, “the glory that will be acquired by the heroes through *aretē*.”¹²⁸ *Kleos* arises from *aretē*, as we see when Agamemnon says of Penelope, “The *kleos* of her *aretē* will never perish” (τῷ οἱ κλέος οὐ ποτ’ ὀλεῖται / ἧς ἀρετῆς, *Od.* 24.196-97). *Aretē*’s status as a source of *kleos* is also seen in the way in which the word *aretē* is often modified in poetry with the epithet *eukleiēs*, meaning “famous” or “possessing good *kleos*.”¹²⁹ Furthermore, *kleos* and *aretē* sometimes appear in the same place in related formulaic expressions,

¹²⁶ West 1985; Rutherford 2000; 2011. West argues for a sixth century date based on multiple pieces of evidence: the divinity of Heracles in the poem, the eponyms of the Medes that are used, the geographical scope of the peoples listed in the Phineus episode, and the mention of the city of Cyrene, which was founded in 631 BCE. He concludes that the poem can be dated to between 580 and 520 BCE, and that Athens was the likely place of composition for its present form. However, he suggests that the *Catalogue* is based upon local genealogies that were fixed no later than the eighth century BCE (West 1985: 125ff). Rutherford argues that a version of the *Catalogue* must have existed at the time of the composition of the Homeric poems (2000; 2011). Most scholars follow West in accepting Athens as the place of the *Catalogue*’s composition (Irwin 2005a; Rutherford 2005; Ormand 2014). Fowler 1998, however, suggests that it was composed in the region of Delphic Amphictyony and associates it with the First Sacred War. Hirschberger 2004 argues for a connection to Asia Minor.

¹²⁷ The first two lines of the *Catalogue* are identical to the last two lines of the *Theogony*: νῦν δὲ γυναικῶν φύλον ἀείσατε, ἠδυνέπειαι / Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο, “And now sing the tribe of women Olympian Muses, daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus” (*Theog.* 1021-22=Most fr. 1.1-2).

¹²⁸ Greindl 1938: 10.

¹²⁹ Greindl 1938: 10.

highlighting their close semantic and conceptual association.¹³⁰ Thus, by naming its subject as “the women who were best at that time,” the *Catalogue* suggests that it means itself to be read as a kind of Ur-text for female *kleos*. Lucian and Dio Chrysostom both viewed the *Catalogue* in this way, stating that it is a poem in praise of women (Luc. *Hes.* 1.44, D. Chr. 2.13).

The excellence of the women is linked to their roles as sexual partners of gods and as mothers of half-divine offspring. The ἄρισται, or “excellent/best women,” are the women who “loosened their girdles” and “mingled with the gods” (μίτρας τ' ἀλλύσαντο...μισγόμεναι θεοῖσ[ιν, Most fr. 1.4-5). Most’s reconstruction of the proem places emphasis on the offspring that resulted from these unions (Most fr. 1.14-16):

τάων ἔσπετέ μ[οι γενεὴν τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα
ὄσσο[ι]ς δὴ παρέλ[εκτο πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε
σ]περμ[αί]νων τὰ [πρῶτα γένος κυδρῶν βασιλῆων

Of these women tell [me the race and the splendid children:
all those with whom lay [the father of men and of gods,
begetting [at first the race of illustrious kings.¹³¹

These lines are fragmentary and the reconstructions of ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, “splendid children,” and γένος κυδρῶν βασιλῆων, “the race of illustrious kings” are not certain, but the participle σ]περμ[αί]νων, “begetting,” makes clear that the conception of children is being described. In this way, the *kleos* of the women in the *Catalogue* can be linked to their sexual and procreative functions. By giving birth and perpetuating a famous genealogy, the women secure their place in the poetic tradition. This pattern is observable in the following passage from the *Catalogue* about the daughters of Porthaon (Most fr. 23.5-37):¹³²

¹³⁰ Greidnl 1938: 25, 27.

¹³¹ Translation by Most 2007.

¹³² Translation by Most 2007. Lines 27-31 of this fragment are quoted in the scholia on Sophocles’ *Trachinian Women*.

ἡ' οἶαι [κο]ῦραι Πορθάονος ἐξεγέν[οντο
 τρε[ῖς, ο]ἷαι τε θεαί, περικαλλέα [ἔργ' εἰδυῖα]ι·
 τ[ά]ς ποτε [Λ]αο[θό]η κρείουσ' Ὑπερηῖς ἀ[μύ]μων
 γεῖνατο Παρθᾶνος [θ]α[λ]ερὸν λέχ[ος] εἰ[σ]αναβᾶσα,
 Εὐρ]υθεμίστην τε Στρατ[ο]νίκην [τ]ε Στ[ε]ρόπην τε.
 τα]ῖ δο[.] Νυμφάων καλλιπ[λο]κάμ[ων] συνοπηδοὶ
 .[.]...[...]. Μο[υ]σέων τε [κα]τ' ο[ὔ]ρεα] βη[σ]σήεντα
 .[.....].[.] ἔσχο[ν Π]αρνησοῦ τ' ἄκρα κάρηνα
[.] .[.]με[ν]αι χρυσο[σ]τεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης
[.] .[] εχ ...[]...[]...[]φ.[]..[]..αμοντες
 νυ[... ..].[.] πολλὰ κ[] .[] μῶνας ἴκοντο
 παρ[.....].[.]τι μάκρ' ο[ὔ]ρεα οἰ]κείουσαι,
 δώματ[α λείπο]υσαι π[ατρὸς καὶ μητ]έρα κεδνήν.
 αἶ ῥα τότε εἶ]δει ἀγαλ[λόμεναι καὶ αἰδ]ρείησιν
 ἀμφι περὶ κρ[ήνην Εὐήνου ἀργ]υροδίεω
 ἠέριαι στεῖβο[ν] ἐέρ[σιν
 ἄνθεα μαι[ό]μεν[αι κεφαλῆς εὐώ]δεα κόσμον·
 τάων μ[...].[.]με[.]. Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
 βῆ δὲ φέ[ρ]ων ἀνάε[δ]ν[ον εὐζωνον] Στ[ρ]α[τ]ονίκην·
 δῶκε δὲ π[αι]δὶ [φί]λωι θαλ[ερ]ήν [κ]εκλήσθαι ἄκοιτιν
 ἀ]ντιθέωι Μελ[αν]ῆϊ, [τὸν οὔρ]ε[σι] πότνια νύμφη
 Ο]ἰτη[ῖ]ς Προ[ν]όη]ωματ[...].ου..[
 τῶι δ' ὑπ[ο]κυσαμένη καλλίζωνος Στρατονίκη
 Εὐρυτον [ἐν μεγάροισιν ἐγεινατο φίλτατον υἰόν.
 τοῦ δ' υἱεῖς [ἐγένοντο Δηῖων <τε> Κλυτίος τε
 Τ[οξ]εύς [τ' ἀντίθεος ἠδ' Ἴφιτος ὄζος Ἄρης.
 τ[οὺς δ]ὲ μέθ' [ὀπλοτάτην τέκετο ξανθὴν Ἰόλειαν,
 τ[ῆς ἔν]εκ' Οἰχ[αλ]ίη[ν
 Ἀμφι]τρωνιάδης [
 τ]ῆν [δ'] αὐτέων παρὰ πα[τρ
 Θε[σ]τι]ος ἰππόδ[α]μος δ[
 ἠγάγεθ' ἵππ[ο]ισίν τε [καὶ ἄρμασι κολλητοῖσι
 μυρία ἔ[δ]να [πο]ρώ[ν

Or like them: the daughters who were born from Porthaon,
 three, like goddesses, [skilled] in very beautiful [works]:
 whom once [Laothoe,] blameless ruler of Hyperesia,
 bore after she went up into Porthaon's vigorous marriage-bed,
 Eurythemiste and Stratonice and Sterope.

They [] companions of the beautiful-haired Nymphs
 [] and of the Muses on the wooded mountains
 [] they possessed, and Parnassus' lofty peaks
 [] of golden-crowned Aphrodite
 [] [
] many [] they arrived
] they, dwelling in high mountains,

leaving] their [father's] mansions and their dear [mother.
 Then, exulting in their form and thoughtlessness,
 around [the fountain] of the silver-eddying [Euenus,
 early in the morning they walked []the dew
 seeking flowers, [a sweet-smelling] ornament [for their heads.
 Of them [] Phoebus Apollo,
 and he went carrying off [well-girdled] Stratonice without bridal gifts,
 and gave her to his dear son to be called his vigorous wife,
 to god-like Melaneus, whom [on the mountains] the queenly nymph,
 Oetaean Pronoe, [
 Pregnant by him, beautiful-girdled Stratonice
 in the halls bore Eurytus, her very dear son.
 From him were born sons, Deion and Clytius
 and god-like Toxeus and Iphitus, scion of Ares.
 After these, last of all he begot blonde Iolea,
 for whose sake Oechalia [
 Amphitryon's son [
 And her, beside their father [
 horse-taming Thestius [
 he led off with his horses [and closely-joined chariots
 [presenting] countless wedding-gifts [

The genealogical structure of this passage is typical of much of the *Catalogue*. Four generations are narrated here: first Laothoe bears Eurythemiste, Stratonice, and Sterope. Then Stratonice is abducted by Apollo, marries his son Melaneus, and bears Eurytus, who in turns begets four children, including Iolea, whose liaison with Heracles is presumably described in the following fragmentary lines about “Amphitryon’s son.”¹³³ The poem then returns to the second generation and begins to narrate the marriage of Eurythemiste to Thestius before the papyrus ends. This passage illustrates the way that the genealogies of the *Catalogue* are organized around women and female lines of descent, and how women enter into the poem as wives and mothers of successive generations.

¹³³ This Iolea is the Iolē from *Trachiniae*, the daughter of Eurytus king of Oechalia (S. *Trach.* 382).

It should be noted that a number of scholars have contested the reading of the *Catalogue* as a poem in praise of women. Elizabeth Irwin argues that the *Catalogue* is not encomiastic of the women it describes, since they are voiceless and lack agency. She suggests instead that any praise of the women should really be interpreted as praise of their male sexual partners, whose status is increased by a union with a superlative woman.¹³⁴ Lillian Doherty pushes back against this view, criticizing recent scholarship on the *Catalogue* for failing to acknowledge that the poem is about women. She argues that if scholars dismiss the female characters whose stories are told in the *Catalogue*, they are adopting a dangerous androcentric perspective.¹³⁵ Kirk Ormand, in contrast, follows Irwin in stating that Lucian is wrong to characterize the *Catalogue* as praise because the women in it are singled out not for their virtues but for their desirability as sexual objects. He argues that Doherty inflates the role of the women in the *Catalogue*, and that they function primarily as passive objects of male desire. Ormand concludes that the *Catalogue* is not about women at all, but about the heroes to whom they have given birth.¹³⁶

My position is that we cannot say that the poem does not praise women simply because the women in it do not possess qualities that we as a modern audience would consider praiseworthy, such as agency. Rather, we should infer that if a poem that declares itself to be a description of the “best women” places emphasis on the children born to these women, it is the quality of having given birth to children which makes a woman most praiseworthy. According to the *Catalogue*, a woman wins renown not through her own actions but through her descendants.

¹³⁴ Irwin 2005a: 50. See Cohen 1990 for a survey of the encomiastic epithets used to praise the women in the *Catalogue*. They are praised primarily for beauty, but also for other qualities such as intelligence and skill at weaving.

¹³⁵ Doherty 2006: 307.

¹³⁶ Ormand 2014: 46.

For example, in one fragment of the *Catalogue*, Dionysus is referred to as the son of “very glorious Semele” (Σεμέλης ἐρικυδέος ἀγλαὸς υἱός, Most fr. 162.6). Here Semele is explicitly referred to as possessing *kudos*, and it is clear that this *kudos* is derived from her status as the mother of immortal offspring. Similarly, Lysidice earns her place in the *Catalogue*, and thus her fame, by giving birth to Alcmene, who in turn gives birth to Heracles (Most fr. 136). The story of Niobe in the *Iliad* serves as a significant parallel to these themes identified in the *Catalogue*. Niobe’s boast that she is superior to Leto because she has twelve children and Leto only has two (*Il.* 24.607-8) suggests that a woman’s excellence is closely bound up with the number of descendants that she produces. The punishment for this boast (the murder of Niobe’s children) also highlights the importance of offspring for a woman. Leto’s superiority to Niobe is proved by her offspring’s successful elimination of Niobe’s progeny.¹³⁷

Additional evidence for this model of female excellence is found in the work of the female Boeotian poet Corinna, who may have been a contemporary of Pindar.¹³⁸ Significantly for our purposes, her extant fragments contain thematic and intertextual links with the *Catalogue*.¹³⁹ In a seemingly programmatic statement, Corinna declares, “I sing the excellences

¹³⁷ That Niobe has *kleos* is shown by Achilles using her as an exemplar of the quintessential grieving person in *Iliad* 24 (602-604). This renown does not come from her production of offspring, however, but, like Helen, from the pain that she has both caused and suffered.

¹³⁸ Corinna’s date is notoriously controversial. Ancient accounts place her in the fifth century and describe a poetic rivalry between her and Pindar, but the orthography of the Berlin papyrus of her poetry dates to the mid-fourth century BCE (Lobel 1930: 356, 365; Lesky 1966: 177-80). West has argued for a third-century date because he considers Corinna’s interest in genealogy and local myths to be characteristic of the Hellenistic period (West 1990; cf. Page 1953). Stewart has suggested that there is archaeological evidence to support an earlier date for Corinna, in the form of corroboration for Tatian’s list of the statues of female poets by the temple of Venus Victrix (*Ad Gr.* 33-4). Tatian describes a statue of Corinna by the fourth-century sculptor Silanion, which, if real, would rule out a third-century date (Stewart 1998). Larson 2002 has argued that there is nothing in Corinna’s subject matter that would rule out an earlier date.

¹³⁹ Larson 2002.

(*aretas*) of heroes and heroines” (ἰώνει δ’ εἰρώων ἀρετὰς / χειρωάδων, fr. 664). Notably, the female figures that appear in Corinna’s surviving work, such as the daughters of Asopus who are abducted by Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo and Hermes (fr. 654) or the 50 nymphs who gave birth to the sons of Orion (fr. 655.14-17), closely resemble those of the *Catalogue*. They attract the sexual interest of gods or heroes through their beauty and become the progenitors of famous genealogies but are passive figures without voice or agency.¹⁴⁰ As with the women of the *Catalogue*, their “excellences” seem to lie in their sexual attractiveness and fertility rather than in qualities for which we as modern feminist readers might like to laud them. Thus Corinna gives us an additional example of poetry that declares a woman’s primary claim to fame to be the children she bears.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that Helen once again presents a problem by not aligning exactly with this paradigm. In the *Catalogue*, Helen is said to have “great *kleos*” before she is even married (*mega kleos*, Most fr. 154.39), and it is in fact because of this *kleos* that so many men come seeking to marry her. For example, Podarces and Protesilaus offer wedding gifts on the basis of her *kleos* (Most. fr. 154.37-39):

ἄμφω δ’ ἀγγελίην Λακεδαιμονάδε προΐαλλον
 Τυνδαρέου π[οτ]ῆ δῶμα δαΐφρονος Οἰβαλίδαο
 πολλὰ δ’ ἔεδν[α δίδον,] μέγα γὰρ κλέος [ἔσκε γυ]ναικός

Both kept sending messages ahead to Lacedaemon,
 To the mansion of Oebalus’ son, valorous Tyndareus,
 and they gave many wedding-gifts, for great was the *kleos* of the woman.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Skinner 1983; Larson 2002.

¹⁴¹ That they have offered wedding gifts before they have even seen her is significant because the poem implies that gifts offered before the wedding cannot be taken back. In Most fr. 154c Odysseus does not offer gifts because he knows that Menelaus will win the competition and become Helen’s husband (cf. Ormand 2014: 69).

This *kleos* is explicitly linked to Helen's beauty and marriageability, and thus to her sexual and reproductive potential, a potential which is fulfilled when she marries Menelaus and gives birth to Hermione, the last "unexpected" (*aelpton*, Most fr. 155.95) child of the heroic age. However, the references to Helen's "great fame" also hint at the future destruction that this fame will cause when Paris abducts Helen on the basis of her reputation as the most beautiful woman in the world, causing the suitors whom the *Catalogue* has just enumerated to embark for Troy.¹⁴²

Deborah Lyons interprets the *Catalogue* in a way that is similar to Irwin and Ormand, contending that the majority of the women in the poem cannot be said to have *kleos* because they do not have a distinctive name and because they "have no story," suggesting instead that they are merely formulaic placeholders in genealogies.¹⁴³ She points out that in general the names of heroines are more variable and more repeatable than those of heroes. The heroines of two different myths often have the same name, and the same heroine often has two different names in two different versions of a myth. A good example of this tendency is Oedipus' mother, who is called Iocaste in Sophocles but Epicaste in the *Odyssey* (11.271). Lyons argues that this interchangeability of heroines is particularly pronounced in the *Catalogue*, noting that although the poem almost always assigns names to the women in its genealogies, it often gives them names that are not "distinctive," i.e. not unique, and that in many cases the names assigned to

¹⁴² Iphigenia (called Iphimede in the *Catalogue*) could also be seen as an exception to the argument that the women in the *Catalogue* win their place in the poem, and therefore their *kleos*, through marriage/sex and childbirth, since she neither marries nor has children, but is instead made immortal by Artemis after the Achaeans sacrificed an εἶδωλον ("phantom") in her place (Most fr. 19.17-26). However, Iphigenia's apotheosis renders mortal *kleos* unnecessary. We may recall Sarpedon saying that he only seeks *kleos* in battle because he cannot be "immortal and unageing" (ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε, *Il.* 12.323). Since Artemis has already made Iphigenia "immortal and unageing all her days" (ἀθάνατο[ν καὶ ἀγήρ]αον ἡμα[τα πάντα, Most fr. 19.24), she does not need to bear a child, just as a man who has achieved apotheosis no longer needs to fight. The same could also be said of Iphigenia's aunt Phylonoe, whom Artemis makes immortal at Most fr. 19.12, if Most's reconstruction is correct and the *Catalogue* presents the same story as Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.6.

¹⁴³ Lyons 1997: 51-55.

female figures in the *Catalogue* differ from those in other texts in which the same myth is preserved.¹⁴⁴ She argues that the women assigned these variable names cannot be said to have *kleos*, because “*kleos* depends on having a name and living up to it.”¹⁴⁵

Lyons makes an important point about the instability of female names in Greek mythology, and in doing so highlights the tradition’s greater interest in male heroes. However, I am not certain that this instability would have been regarded by Archaic epic’s original audience as canceling out the *kleos* of the women in the poems. In the oral culture of Archaic Greece, *kleos* is conveyed in the moment of speaking, as is indicated by its etymology. It is closely related to the verb *kluō*, “hear,” and many of its cognates in other Indo-European languages mean simply “sound.”¹⁴⁶ In Greek, the most basic definition of *kleos* is “what one hears of.”¹⁴⁷ Svenbro concludes that this “heard” quality is a necessary characteristic of *kleos*: “If *kleos* is not acoustic, it is not *kleos*.”¹⁴⁸ Thus it can only be the poet’s audible performance that conveys *kleos*. The name that is sung by the poet is the name that carries the *kleos* of that performance, even if another poet in a different performance were to speak another name.

The aural/oral nature of onomastic *kleos* is demonstrated in Theognis 237-52, in which Theognis tells Cynrus that he will make him immortal through song.¹⁴⁹ The poem makes clear that Cynrus will have *kleos* by virtue of his name being audibly *spoken or sung*. He will “lie in

¹⁴⁴ Lyons 1997: 54.

¹⁴⁵ Lyons 1997: 56.

¹⁴⁶ Chantraine 1970; Svenbro 1993 [1988]: 15.

¹⁴⁷ *LfGrE*.

¹⁴⁸ Svenbro 1993 [1988]: 14-15.

¹⁴⁹ For a discussion of the nature of *kleos* in this poem, see Goldhill 1991: 109-116.

the mouths of many” (πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν, 240). Boys will sing of him (ἄισονται, 243). He will be carried not on the backs of horses (249), but by the “shining gifts of the violet-crowned Muses” (ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων, 250), namely, by means of song. He will be a “subject of song” (ἄοιδή, 251). Regardless of whether the so called *sphragis* or “seal” poem of Theognis (19-26) indicates that the poet assembled a written collection of his poems,¹⁵⁰ the association of fame with being “in the mouths of many” at 240 clearly indicates that even in the sixth century, *kleos* was still conceived of as something conveyed through the spoken word. In this way, we may say that from an emic perspective, the *kleos* of the women in the *Catalogue* is created at the moment of performance and is not determined by the stability the women’s names between various mythological texts. Nevertheless, it is also true that names gain *kleos* through repetition, and that a woman’s name that exists only in one performance will have less *kleos* than a name that is repeated more often. In this way, we may say that while it is not true that the women in the *Catalogue* do not have *kleos*, it is the case that they have less *kleos* than they might have if their names were more consistent throughout the poetic tradition.

To return to the second part of Lyons’ argument, that the women of the *Catalogue* do not have *kleos* because they “have no story,”¹⁵¹ I suggest that they *do* have a story, albeit a simple one. The basic recurring “plot” of the *Catalogue*, as described by Osborne, involves an irresistibly beautiful woman attracting the attentions of a man or a god (or both), having a sexual encounter, and giving birth to a child.¹⁵² For many of the women in the *Catalogue*, this plot is conveyed by one or two formulaic lines, but some of them, such as Tyro, Mestra, Atalanta, and

¹⁵⁰ See Pratt 1995 and Nagy 1996: 222 for a discussion of the *sphragis*.

¹⁵¹ Lyons 1997: 51-55.

¹⁵² Osborne 2005: 14.

Helen, have stories that are much longer and specific to them as individual characters. These longer stories elaborating their beauty and their ensuing courtships, abductions, and rapes by gods and heroes are the story of every woman in the *Catalogue* writ large.

I suggest that this “attraction plot” (as Osborne calls it) is for women what dying heroically in battle is for men—a gender-specific path to *kleos*. Just as the attraction plot’s pattern of beauty-sex-childbirth is repeated over and over in the *Catalogue*, the male hero’s “death plot” is repeated over and over in the *Iliad* both for major characters such as Sarpedon, Patroclus, and Hector, and for minor characters who are, like many of the women in the *Catalogue*, simply a name.¹⁵³ For example, Hector’s combat with Achilles and his death take up the entirety of *Iliad* 22, whereas it only takes Patroclus two lines to dispatch the Lycian Sthenelaos in *Iliad* 16 (586-87). We cannot make a direct analogy between the *Iliad* and the *Catalogue*, since the *Iliad* is not only a catalogue of deaths but a narrative poem, and it contains numerous characters who do not experience the “death plot.”¹⁵⁴ However, the *Catalogue* and the *Iliad* are similar in that a single path for achieving *kleos* is repeated for many different characters on both a large and a small narrative scale. For men, this path involves fighting and dying in war, while for women, it involves marriage and childbirth.

The idea that women in Archaic epic could accomplish the same thing through marriage and childbirth as men did through death in battle is strengthened by the ways in which the Greeks seemed to view marriage, childbirth, battle, and death as related to each other in complex ways. Nicole Loraux has argued that during the Classical period, the death of a woman in labor

¹⁵³ For this pattern of the “beautiful death” in the *Iliad*, see Vernant 1982. For characters whose names appear only once in the *Iliad*, see Kumpf 1984.

¹⁵⁴ It is interesting to speculate, however, that such a catalogue poem of deaths might have existed in Greek oral epic, similar to the Welsh *Gododdin*.

was seen as equivalent to the death of warrior in battle in the sense that both were “beautiful deaths” that won glory for the deceased.¹⁵⁵ For example, Plutarch tells us that the Spartans allowed the name of the deceased to be inscribed on tombstones only for men who had died in battle and women who had died in childbirth (Plut. *Lyc.* 27.2-3).¹⁵⁶ Similarly, Vernant writes: “Marriage is to a girl what war is to a boy.”¹⁵⁷ Euripides’ *Medea* also associates battle and childbirth when she says that she would “rather stand beside a shield three times than give birth once” (ὡς τρις ἂν παρ’ ἀσπίδα / στῆναι θέλοιμ’ ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἅπαξ, 250-51). Nancy Demand has argued against an equivalent reading of death and battle and death in childbirth in Greek culture, pointing out that funerary iconography portrays women who died in childbirth as passive and worthy of pity, while dead warriors are portrayed as active and worthy of emulation.¹⁵⁸ However, there are a number of similes in the *Iliad* that compare warriors on the battlefield to mothers, such as the one at 11.269-272 in which Agamemnon is said to suffer pains from his wound like those of a woman in labor (ὡς δ’ ὅτ’ ἂν ὠδίνουσας ἔχη βέλος ὀξὺ γυναικα / δριμύ, 269-70).¹⁵⁹ This passage seems to me to present clear evidence of a conceptual link between childbirth and battle, although most of the *Iliad*’s maternal similes emphasize the mother’s role as protector rather than labor pains, as I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 3.

¹⁵⁵ Loraux 1995: 24-43.

¹⁵⁶ This reading depends upon an emendation (see Demand 1994: 121n2 for a discussion of the textual problems). However, this statement seems to be supported by tomb inscriptions from Laconia (*IG* V, 1: 713-14, 1128, 1277).

¹⁵⁷ Vernant 1974: 38.

¹⁵⁸ Demand 1994: 129. Similarly, men who died in battle were given public honors, but there were no such honors for women who died in childbirth (Demand 1994: 130n46).

¹⁵⁹ See also *Il.* 8.268-272; 9.323-27; 17.1-6.

The above examples largely focus on how the suffering and danger associated with childbirth can be likened to the environment of the battlefield, and they may not seem particularly relevant to the *Catalogue of Women*, in which no woman dies in childbirth and the pain of labor is not emphasized. However, there is ample evidence that the Greeks thought of marriage and sexual initiation for women as a kind of metaphorical death even without the attendant dangers of childbirth, since these events irrevocably alter a woman's ontological state. It was a common trope to conflate marriage and loss of virginity with death, as in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, where Persephone's rape/marriage involves a literal journey to the underworld.¹⁶⁰

The *Catalogue of Women* seems to adopt this paradigm of equivalence between sexual initiation and death in several passages in which a woman's marriage is linked by thematic and verbal resonances to a warrior's death in battle. For example, Ormand has shown that there is an intertextual link between the race in the *Catalogue* between Atalanta and Hippomenes and the battle between Achilles and Hector in *Iliad* 22.¹⁶¹ Atalanta seeks to avoid marriage by challenging all of her suitors to race against her. If a man can beat her, she will agree to marry him, but if he loses, he will be killed. Ormand argues that the description of Hippomenes' race "for his life" (περὶ ψυχῆς, Most fr. 48.32) resonates with the famous passage in *Iliad* 22 in which Achilles and Hector are said to race "for the life of horse-breaking Hector" (περὶ ψυχῆς θεόν

¹⁶⁰ Hades' abduction of Persephone in the *HHDem* involves many parallels to marriage rites. For example, Zeus' consent to the abduction is analogous to the agreement made between the father of the bride and the groom, the abduction itself stands in for the bride's ride on a chariot to the groom's house, the torches carried by Demeter echo the torches carried by the bride's mother in the marriage procession, and Persephone's eating of the pomegranate seeds can be seen as analogous to the way that in Athenian marriage, the bride's acceptance of food from the groom represented her acceptance of his authority over her (Foley 1993; DeBlois 1997). Cf. also Seaford 1987 and Rehm 1994 on the relationship between marriage and death in tragedy.

¹⁶¹ Ormand 2014: 119ff. Ormand does not assume that the written *Iliad* necessarily predates the extant written version of the *Catalogue*, but rather that the two poetic traditions could have co-existed and influenced each other.

Ἕκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο, 22.161). These parallel passages assimilate Hippomenes' erotic pursuit of Atalanta to a battle between two warriors. The link between this episode of the *Catalogue* and the *Iliad* is strengthened by the repeated use of the word ποδώκης, "swift-footed," to describe Atalanta, an epithet which is closely associated with Achilles.¹⁶²

This passage of the *Catalogue* does not suggest a literal equivalence between the fate of death and the fate of marriage, since the outcomes of the contest are said to be "unequal" for Atalanta and Hippomenes (οὐ γὰρ ἴσ[ον]... ἄθλον, Most fr.48.29-30). However, the link to the duel of Achilles and Hector suggests a strong metaphorical equivalence. The sudden reversal of Atalanta's certain victory achieved by means of Hippomenes' deception with the golden apples becomes analogous to the defeat of a warrior in battle. By juxtaposing a woman's marriage and a man's death as the alternative outcomes of a race which is itself assimilated to a fight to the death between heroes, this episode of the *Catalogue* underlines the way in which marriage can be seen as analogous to death for a woman—and not just to any death, but to the "beautiful death" of a warrior in battle.¹⁶³

Further verbal resonances between the *Catalogue* and Homeric poetry strengthen the analogy of marriage to combat. In the *Catalogue* when Alcmene goes to marry Amphitryon, she is said to leave behind her *patrida gaian*, her "father's land" (ἡ οἷη προλιποῦσα δόμους καὶ πατρίδα γαῖαν, Most fr. 138.8). This phrase and the closely related one *patrida aian*, also meaning "father's land," are frequently used in Homeric poetry to emphasize the separation of warriors from their families and native countries when they have left their homes to fight and die

¹⁶² Ormand 2014: 138. Atalanta is called ποδώκης at Most fr. 48.29 and 48.45.

¹⁶³ An erotic encounter is also likened to a battle between warriors in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, in which Aphrodite's seduction of Anchises features an "arming scene" in which she bathes and adorns herself, similar to the arming scene of a Homeric warrior before his *aristeia* (Schein 2016: 61).

in battle. For example, Achilles invokes the impossibility of returning to his *patrida gaian* at Patroclus' funeral in *Iliad* 23, since he knows that he will die soon at Troy: νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὐ νέομαι γε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν / Πατρόκλω ἥρωϊ κόμην ὀπάσαιμι φέρεσθαι, "Now since I am not returning to my father's land, I shall give my hair to the hero Patroclus to be carried away" (23.150-51). Greek heroes speak often of returning to their *patrida gaian*, and Odysseus' return is the major theme of the *Odyssey*.¹⁶⁴ This formula is also used specifically of warriors dying far from home, as in the phrase πολλοὶ Ἀχαιῶν / ἐν Τροίῃ ἀπόλοντο φίλης ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἴης, "Many of the Achaeans perished in Troy far from their dear fatherland" (*Il.* 2.161-62=2.177-78).¹⁶⁵ For Helen in the *Odyssey*, however, it is Aphrodite that causes her to leave her *patrida aian* (*Od.* 4.261-63):

ἄτην δὲ μετέστενον, ἣν Ἀφροδίτη
δῶχ', ὅτε μ' ἤγαγε κεῖσε φίλης ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἴης,
παῖδά τ' ἐμὴν νοσφισσαμένην θάλαμόν τε πόσιν τε

And I lamented afterwards the folly, which Aphrodite
Gave me, when she led me thither away from my dear fatherland,
Forsaking my child and my chamber and my husband.

As in the case of Alcmena, this formula that is used frequently for a departing warrior is applied to a woman leaving to engage in a sexual union. Additionally, Helen emphasizes that she left behind her husband and her child, just as warriors lament their separation from their wives and children. For example, Sarpedon in the *Iliad* says, τηλοῦ γὰρ Λυκίῃ Ξάνθῳ ἔπι δινήεντι, / ἔνθ'

¹⁶⁴ For this phrase used of the separation of a warrior from his distant homeland or of a warrior's return, hypothetical or real, see *Il.* 2.140, 158, 162, 174, 454, 4.180, 5.213, 7.335, 9.27, 47, 414, 428, 691, 11.14, 12.16, 15.499, 505, 16.832, 23.145, 150, 24.557, *Od.* 1.75, 203, 290, 407, 2.221, 3.117, 4.474, 476, 521, 522, 545, 558, 586, 823, 5.15, 26, 37, 42, 115, 144, 168, 204, 207, 301, 6.315, 7.77, 151, 193, 320, 333, 8.410, 461, 9.34, 9.79, 533, 10.29, 33, 49, 66, 236, 416, 420, 462, 472, 474, 562, 11.359, 455, 12.345, 13.52, 197, 219, 328, 426, 14.143, 322, 333, 15.30, 15.65, 129, 382, 16.206, 17.144, 149, 157, 539, 18.145, 148, 257, 384, 19.116, 258, 290, 298, 301, 484, 21.208, 23.102, 170, 259, 315, 340, 353, 24.237, 266, 322. See also *HH* 3.527.

¹⁶⁵ See also *Il.* 11.817, 13.645, 15.740, 18.101, 23.150, *Od.* 24.290.

ἄλογόν τε φίλην ἔλιπον καὶ νήπιον υἷόν, “For Lycia is far away by whirling Xanthus; there I left behind my dear wife and my infant son” (*Il.* 5.480-81).¹⁶⁶ In this way, Helen’s departure from her *patrida aian* can be likened to a warrior’s departure for battle.¹⁶⁷

An interesting parallel arises with Sappho 16, in which Helen also leaves behind her husband and child to sail to Troy (16.7-11):

Ἑλένα [τὸ]ν ἄνδρα
τὸν [πανάρ]ιστον

καλλ[ί]ποι[σ]’ ἔβα ’ς Τροΐαν πλέοι[σα]
καὶ οὐδ[ὲ] πα[ῖ]δος οὐδὲ φίλων το[κ]ήων
πά[μ]παν] ἐμνάσθη

Helen
Left behind her most excellent

Husband, and went sailing to Troy,
And didn’t think at all about her child
Or her dear parents.

I suggest that Sappho 16 is also drawing upon the grouping of images and metaphors that likens a woman’s departure for marriage to a warrior’s departure for battle. The poem explicitly sets up a comparison between the splendor of warfare on the one hand (in the form of armies and chariots, 16.1-2, 19), and one’s object of erotic love on the other hand (ὄτ-/τω τις ἔραται, 16.3-4). The pursuit of erotic love is thus implicitly given an equivalent value to warlike pursuits, as in Sappho 1 when the poet asks Aphrodite to be her *symmachos* or “fellow-fighter” (1.28).¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ See also *Il.* 5.213 and *Od.* 8.410 for emphasis placed on wives and children left behind by warriors.

¹⁶⁷ In her lament in *Iliad* 24, Helen also describes herself as having gone away from her native land (ἐμῆς ἀπελήλυθα πάτρης, *Il.* 24.766).

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Rissman 1983; Rosenmeyer 1997.

Sappho 16 seems to suggest that for Helen, departing her home to enter into a new sexual union can be seen as thematically comparable to men setting off for war.

Another instance in the *Catalogue* of a woman's sexual experience being likened to war comes when Poseidon abducts Mestra and takes her τῆλ' ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἐοῖο, "far from her father" (Most fr. 69.80). This phrase has a strong verbal resonance with the phrase τηλόθι πάτρης, "far from his fatherland," which is used in Homer almost exclusively to describe warriors dying in battle.¹⁶⁹ For example, the narrator of the *Iliad* describes Sarpedon as being fated to die ἐν Τροίῃ ἐριβόλακι τηλόθι πάτρης, "in deep-soiled Troy, far from his fatherland" (16.461). It is significant that the exception to this usage is when τηλόθι πάτρης appears in Agamemnon's description of Chryseis' fate (*Il.* 1.29-31):

τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω· πρὶν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν
ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἐν Ἄργεϊ τηλόθι πάτρης
ἴστον ἐποιχομένην καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν·

But I will not release her. Before that, old age will come upon her
In our house in Argos far from her fatherland
Going back and forth before the loom and sharing my bed.

Here again a woman's abduction and rape are described using language reminiscent of a dying warrior. Interestingly, Mestra alone in the extant fragments of the *Catalogue* returns to her *patrida gaian* after Poseidon has snatched her away: Μῆστρη δὲ προ]λιποῦσα Κόων ποτὶ πατρίδα γαῖαν / νηὶ θοῆι ἐπέρ]ησ', "But Mestra, having left Cos behind, crossed over to her fatherland in a swift ship" (Most fr. 69.90-91).¹⁷⁰ In making this return, she can perhaps be

¹⁶⁹ See *Il.* 16.461, 18.99, *Od.* 2.365. See also *Il.* 24.541 where it is used of Achilles, who is still alive, but who will shortly die.

¹⁷⁰ Penelope also describes Helen as returning to her *patrida* after the Trojan War (*Od.* 23.221).

compared to Odysseus, who makes a return from the Trojan War in which so many other warriors died.¹⁷¹

Further evidence for the Archaic Greek association of female *kleos* with marriage and the conflation of a woman's marriage with death is found in the funerary inscription associated with the sixth-century statue known as "the Phrasicleia *korē*," or simply Phrasicleia. The inscription reads:

σῆμα Φρασικλείας κούρη κεκλήσομαι αἰεὶ,
ἀντὶ γάμου παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο λαχοῦσ' ὄνομα.

I, the grave monument (*sēma*) of Phrasicleia, will always be called girl (*korē*),
Having been allotted this name from the gods instead of marriage.

The phrase κούρη κεκλήσομαι αἰεὶ, "I will forever be called *korē*," links the girl's immortal fame with her status as a *korē*, an unmarried virgin. However, *korē* can also be read as a pun on Kore, a name for Persephone, associating Phrasicleia with the trope of the dead virgin as the bride of Hades.¹⁷² Phrasicleia will therefore paradoxically be perpetually remembered as a bride, despite her unmarried state. Similar examples of this trope are found in other women's funerary inscriptions.¹⁷³

Phrasicleia's perpetual status as both virgin and wife can be compared to the imagery found in "maiden graves" of the Geometric period in Athens, in which young girls are buried with nuptial paraphernalia.¹⁷⁴ Like Phrasicleia, these girls are defined in death by their

¹⁷¹ The resemblance between Mestra and Odysseus is strengthened by the fact that they are both kept away from their homelands by Poseidon. Mestra's shapeshifting can also be compared to Odysseus' frequent lies and disguises, as well as his multivalent *polytropos* identity.

¹⁷² Svenbro 1993 [1988]: 19; Stieber 2004: 149.

¹⁷³ Cf. Stieber 2004: 109.

¹⁷⁴ See Langdon 2008: 130-143.

potential—yet unfulfilled—status as brides. In addition, they are also assimilated to Kore/Persephone by the presence of ritual objects such as model pomegranates, *kalathoi*, and handled baskets in the graves. Langdon writes: “The symbolism of marriage in the grave evokes double loss, not only of the daughter herself, but also of her potential to bear offspring.”¹⁷⁵ She further argues that girls received such lavish symbolic treatment in comparison to unmarried young men, whose burials from this period are not characterized by defining grave goods, because unmarried girls were considered to have been cheated of their ultimate purpose, i.e. marriage and procreation, while boys’ lives were “validated all along.”¹⁷⁶ This evidence from the archaeological record fits the pattern found in the *Catalogue of Women* whereby women are defined by the gendered *telos* of marriage/sex and childbirth.

This paradigm of female *kleos* can also be seen in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, although it should be noted that this is not an exclusive path to female *kleos* in Homeric epic, just as the “beautiful death” is not an exclusive path to male *kleos*. The *Odyssey* in particular allows its female characters greater scope of action, just as it allows its male characters to win *kleos* without dying in battle. The majority of mortal women in the *Iliad*, however, as with the women in the *Catalogue*, enter the poem through their relationship to a male character as either sexual partner or mother, and this status is reflected in how these women talk about their own fame. Hecuba’s lament for Hector at 22.431-36, for example, fits the pattern of women gaining renown through childbirth (22.431-36):

τέκνον ἐγὼ δειλή· τί νυ βείομαι αἰνὰ παθοῦσα
σεῦ ἀποτεθνηῶτος; ὃ μοι νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμᾶρ
εὐχολὴ κατὰ ἄστυ πελέσκεο, πᾶσι τ’ ὄνειαρ
Τρωσί τε καὶ Τρωῆσι κατὰ πτόλιν, οἳ σε θεὸν ὦς

¹⁷⁵ Langdon 2008: 141.

¹⁷⁶ Langdon 2008: 143.

δειδέχατ' ἤ γὰρ καὶ σφι μάλα μέγα κῦδος ἔησθα
ζῶδς ἐών· νῦν αὖ θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κιχάνει.

Child, I am wretched. Why now shall I live having suffered terrible things
Since you are dead? You who night and day
Were my glory throughout the town, and a benefit to all
The Trojan men and Trojan women throughout the city, who received you
Like a god. For surely you were also to them a very great glory
While you were alive. But now death and fate catch up to you.

Hecuba says that her son was her *euchōlē* and a *kudos*. *Euchōlē*, *euchos* and *kudos* are to some extent used interchangeably with *kleos* in the *Iliad* as words for glory or fame.¹⁷⁷ Strikingly, the glory conferred by her status as Hector's mother exists only in the past tense. Hector "was" a *euchōlē* (πελέσκεο, 22.433) for her, and he "was" a *kudos* "while he was alive" (κῦδος ἔησθα/ζῶδς ἐών, 22.435-36). Redfield has argued that *kudos* refers to a more specifically ephemeral kind of glory than *kleos*: "*kudos* belongs only to the living; *kleos* belongs also to the dead."¹⁷⁸ Hecuba seems to be saying that Hector *was* a source of fame/glory for her and for the Trojans while he was alive, but that this has now ceased with his death.

A similar sentiment appears to be expressed by Penelope's repeated assertions that her *aretē* was destroyed when Odysseus departed for Troy and that her *kleos* would be greater if Odysseus returned (18.251-255=19.124-128):

ἦ τοι μὲν ἐμὴν ἀρετὴν εἰδός τε δέμας τε
ᾠλεσαν ἀθάνατοι, ὅτε Ἴλιον εἰσανέβαινον
Ἀργεῖοι, μετὰ τοῖσι δ' ἐμὸς πόσις ἦεν Ὀδυσσεύς
εἰ κεῖνός γ' ἐλθὼν τὸν ἐμὸν βίον ἀμφοπολεύει,
μεῖζον κε κλέος εἶη ἐμὸν καὶ κάλλιον οὔτως.

Stranger, the immortals destroyed my *aretē* with respect
To beauty and form when the Argives embarked for Ilium,
And among them went my husband Odysseus.
If he would come and take care of my life,

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Introduction for the relationship between *kleos*, *kudos*, and *euchos*.

¹⁷⁸ Redfield 1975: 33. See also Fränkel 1962: 88n14.

In this way my *kleos* would be greater and more beautiful.

She gives this answer twice, once when Eurymachus says that she excels all women in beauty, stature, and wits (ἐπεὶ περίεσσι γυναικῶν / εἶδός τε μέγεθος τε ἰδὲ φρένας ἔνδον ἔϊσας, 18.248-49), and once when the disguised Odysseus says that her *kleos* goes up to the broad heaven like that of a blameless king (ἦ γάρ σευ κλέος οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἰκάνει, / ὥς τέ τευ ἦ βασιλῆος ἀμόμονος, 19.108-9). In response to attempts to praise her, Penelope denies that she can have *aretē* or great *kleos* while Odysseus is gone. Both Hecuba and Penelope seem to say that their *kleos* is not only dependent upon their relationship to their male child or sexual partner, but that it is also contingent upon this male figure's living presence, making their female glory much more fragile than the male *kleos* won by great deeds.

As I have stated, the question of Penelope's *kleos* is more complicated than her own somewhat disingenuous disavowals suggest, and it is dangerous to treat its causes reductively.¹⁷⁹ However, it is interesting to note that in the above examples, we see a discrepancy between the ways in which male characters describe Penelope's *kleos* and how she herself characterizes it. While Eurymachus and Odysseus attribute *kleos* to Penelope for her competency and superlative qualities, Penelope herself says that she cannot have *aretē* with her husband absent, and that her *kleos* will increase with Odysseus' return.¹⁸⁰ We see here an illustration of the indeterminacy that Katz has noted in Penelope's *kleos* with regard to whether it originates from her own inherent excellence or from her faithfulness to Odysseus. The other two descriptions of Penelope's *kleos* in the poem are similarly ambiguous. We have already discussed how Antinous said that

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Katz 1991.

¹⁸⁰ This striking difference between the descriptions of *kleos* by a female character vs. that of male characters is reminiscent of the difference between Helen's statement about her own *kleos* at 6.357-58 and Hector's statement at 22.304-5, suggesting once again that women conceive of *kleos* differently than men do.

Penelope will “make great *kleos* for herself” (μέγα μὲν κλέος αὐτῆ / ποιεῖτ’,) “as long as she holds this intention” (ὄφρα κε κείνη τοῦτον ἔχη νόον, 2.124-26). This statement comes after Antinous’ description of Penelope’s trick with Laertes’ shroud (2.85-110), linking her *kleos* both to her weaving and to her *mētis*. However, Antinous’ reference to the “intention” (νόον) that Penelope holds clearly refers to her refusal to remarry, since he tells Telemachus that as long as she holds this intention, the suitors will continue to lay waste to his possessions (2.123-24). Similarly, in *Odyssey* 24, Agamemnon says that Penelope has won *kleos* both for her wits (φρένες) and for remembering Odysseus (24.194-198):

ὡς ἀγαθαὶ φρένες ἦσαν ἀμύμονι Πηνελοπεΐη,
 κόρη Ἰκαρίου· ὡς εὖ μέμνητ’ Ὀδυσῆος,
 ἀνδρὸς κουριδίου· τῷ οἱ κλέος οὐ ποτ’ ὀλεῖται
 ἧς ἀρετῆς, τεύξουσι δ’ ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀοιδὴν
 ἀθάνατοι χάρισσαν ἐχέφρονι Πηνελοπεΐη

How good were the wits of blameless Penelope,
 The daughter of Icarus! How well she remembered Odysseus,
 Her wedded husband! Therefore the *kleos* of her *aretē*
 Will never perish, but the immortals will make for
 Those upon the earth a lovely song for prudent Penelope.

Here again Penelope’s *kleos* and *aretē* seem to have a double valence, associated with both her intelligence and her fidelity.¹⁸¹ Most significantly for our purposes, Penelope herself expresses commitment to a version of her own *kleos* and *aretē* that is linked to Odysseus, her husband.

It is important that both Hecuba and Penelope characterize themselves as having lost *kudos* or *kleos* as a result of their male child or sexual partner abandoning them while engaged in the pursuit of his own *kleos*—Hector through his heroic death at the hands of Achilles, and

¹⁸¹ I believe, *contra* Nagy and Edwards, that the οἱ at 24.196 must refer to Penelope, not Odysseus, since it is Penelope who is discussed in this passage as being celebrated in song. Therefore it clearly her *kleos* that is being referenced (cf. Nagy 1979: 37-38; Edwards 1985: 88; Katz 1991: 20-29).

Odysseus through his departure for the Trojan War. If we take the *Catalogue of Women* as a paradigm for female *kleos* in Archaic Greek poetry, we can shed light on the competition between male and female *kleos* visible in these passages from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The internal logic of the *Catalogue* helps to explain why Hecuba considers the glory she won from her status as Hector's mother to be lost with Hector's death. The women in the *Catalogue* gain their significance, their place in the poem, and thus their *kleos*, not only from giving birth to famous children but also from perpetuating a famous genealogy. It is through the women of the *Catalogue* that particular mortal families could be said to trace their descent from various Panhellenic gods: "Geographically local genealogies could be kept in their context only by arranging them according to the women who bore the heroes...The women in each set of parents belongs to a geographical place and a (human) familial line; the god belongs to neither."¹⁸²

Furthermore, the genealogies of the *Catalogue* were not conceived of as being confined to the lost heroic age, but as continuing on into the present, since the aristocratic families of Archaic Greece traced their descent to mythological heroes. For example, in Athens the Peisistratids (Hdt. 5.65.3), the Alcmeonids and the Paeonids (Paus. 2.18.9), and the family of Plato (D.L. 3.1; Hdt. 5.65.3; Plut. *Sol.* 1.2) all claimed descent from the Neleids, the family of the mythical Nestor son of Neleus in the *Iliad*, while the Bacchiads of Corinth identified themselves as descended from the Heraclids (Synkellos 337.3f). The genealogies of the *Catalogue* were seen as important because the aristocrats of the sixth century viewed them as the histories of their own families.¹⁸³ Such genealogies could even have political implications. For

¹⁸² Ormand 2014: 47.

¹⁸³ Cf. Irwin 2005a.

example, Herodotus says that after the Thebans were defeated by the Athenians in 506/5, they successfully petitioned the Aeginetans for aid based on Aegina's and Thebe's status as daughters of Asopus (Hdt. 5.79–81). I posit that continuity was an important feature of a poetic genealogy, since the genealogies of families that no longer exist lose significance. For example, in the *Iliad*, heroes recite their genealogies to each other as a way to boast of their own status. A genealogy ceases to be relevant when there is no longer anyone to claim it as a lineage. Thus, each woman of the *Catalogue* gains her *kleos* not simply from giving birth to children, but from an unbroken line of descendants whose existence will continue to render her status as progenitor of their genealogy meaningful in future times. If the genealogy ends, her *kleos* will be diminished or lost.

Support for this argument is found in the fact that although children do die in the *Catalogue*, no woman in the extant fragments is left without living descendants.¹⁸⁴ For example, all of the sons of Eurite are killed in the poem, since Oeneus is killed by his brothers, who are in turn killed by Oeneus' son Tydeus in revenge for his father's death. However, Eurite's bloodline still survives through Tydeus, her grandson. Similarly, all of the Neleids, the sons of Neleus and Chloris, are killed by Heracles except for Nestor, who survives to have many children of his own (Most fr. 33). Furthermore, whenever a familial line is said to have been wiped out in the *Catalogue*, it is always a *male* line. For example, all the sons of Lysidice and Electryon are killed by the Taphians, but their daughter Alcmene survives to become the mother of Heracles (Most fr. 136.10ff). Sisyphus' male line also comes to an end in the poem, as the story of his unsuccessful attempt to gain Eryisichthon's daughter Mestra as a wife for his son Glaucus makes clear (Most fr. 69.76-78):

¹⁸⁴ It is of course problematic to make such arguments about a fragmentary text, but since over a thousand lines of the *Catalogue* survive, we may assume that we have a good representative sample of its content.

ἀλλ' οὐ πως ἤιδει Ζηνὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο,
ὥς οὐ οἱ δοῖεν Γλαύκοι γένος Οὐρανίωνες
ἐκ Μήστρης καὶ σπέρμα μετ' ἀνθρωποῖσι λιπέσ[θαι].

But he did not in any way know the mind of aegis-bearing Zeus,
That the children of Ouranos would not grant to Glaucus a race
Arising from Mestra and progeny to be left among men.

Mestra escapes from Glaucus before she can bear him children, but Mestra herself will leave behind descendants from her son Eurypylus, whom she bore to Poseidon (Most fr. 69.80ff).¹⁸⁵ Sisyphus' second attempt to gain a wife for Glaucus also ends without Glaucus having any progeny, since Poseidon is the true father of Bellerophon by Glaucus' second wife Eurynome (Most fr. 69.105ff). Eurynome will have descendants, but Sisyphus and Glaucus will not. In this way, the story of Sisyphus drives home the gynocentric nature of the *Catalogue's* genealogy.

If women in Archaic Greek poetry gain *kleos* from the survival of their descendants, it would explain why Hecuba characterizes Hector's death as a loss of glory for herself. While Hecuba has other surviving children, and Hector's own son Astyanax still lives, Hector's fall in battle could be viewed as a death sentence for Hecuba's other descendants, since the *Iliad* makes clear that the destruction of the city will soon follow Hector's own demise.¹⁸⁶ Astyanax will be killed in the sack of Troy, as Andromache predicts (24.734-38), diminishing Hecuba's lineage and therefore her *kleos*. Similarly, at *Iliad* 24.243-44 Priam tells his remaining sons that they will be easier to kill now that Hector is dead. Later sources record that all of Hecuba's children died

¹⁸⁵ Asquith writes that Mestra's grandsons Chalcon and Antagores were killed by Heracles when he sacked Cos (Asquith 2005: 268), but this interpretation is not supported by the text. The *Catalogue* says only that Heracles sacked Eurypylus' city, not that he killed him or his sons: τῷ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀλιγῆς Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱὸς / ἔπραθεν ἱμερόεντα πόλιν, κε[ρ]αῖζε δὲ κώμας, "But the strong son of Zeus for small cause sacked his lovely city and laid waste to the villages" (Most fr. 69.85-86). Later sources do record that Heracles killed Eurypylus, but *not* his sons, who are in fact credited with defeating Heracles and driving him off (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.1; Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 58).

¹⁸⁶ It is said that "Hector alone protected Troy" (οἶος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἐκτωρ, 6.403), and when Hector is killed, the Trojans mourn as if the city itself were already being sacked, making clear that the destruction of the city will inevitably follow Hector's death (22.410-11).

except for Helenus, who survived to have a son named Cestrinus.¹⁸⁷ It is unclear whether the original audience of the *Iliad* would have known about the fates of Hecuba's children from the contemporary poetic tradition, but we can say that from Hecuba's point of view in *Iliad* 22, the deaths of all or most of her descendants are strongly foreshadowed by Hector's own death.

Penelope's statements that her *kleos* will be greater when Odysseus returns could be seen as emphasizing her sexual fidelity to her husband and characterizing this as the source of her *kleos*. However, it is worth noting that Penelope's lineage is also threatened by Odysseus' absence, just as Hecuba's lineage is threatened by Hector's death. With Odysseus gone, Telemachus, Penelope's only child, is in danger of being killed by the suitors, who in fact plot his death on more than one occasion (*Od.* 4.679ff, 20.243). Furthermore, in Odysseus' absence, Penelope is unable to have more children, which limits her *kleos*.

In the *Telegony* the situation is somewhat different, since Eustathius tells us that in this poem, Penelope and Odysseus had a second son named Arcesilaus (Eust. *Od.* 1796.48). She also gives birth to another son Ptoliporthes after Odysseus returns from Troy.¹⁸⁸ The threat that Odysseus' wanderings pose to Penelope's genealogical continuity is therefore less emphasized in the *Telegony* than in the *Odyssey*, since she has more than one child to carry on her bloodline. However, these additional sons for Penelope are matched by other sons for Odysseus by other goddesses and women, namely the titular character Telegonus, the son of Odysseus and Circe,

¹⁸⁷ See Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.5 for a list of Hecuba's children. The fates of Hecuba's children: Paris: died (Quint. Smyrn. 10), Deiphobus: died (Verg. *Aen.* 6.494), Polydorus: died (Eur. *Hec.*), Troilus: died (*Cypria* fr. 1), Polites: died (Verg. *Aen.* 2), Antiphus: died (*Il.* 4.489), Pammon: died (Quint. Smyrn. 8.214-15), Hipponous: died (Quint. Smyrn. 3.155), Cassandra: died (Aesch. *Ag.*), Polyxena: died (Eur. *Hec.*), Laodice: swallowed by the earth (Apollod. *Epit.* 4.5.23, Quint. Smyrn. 13.544), Helenus: survived, had a son (Paus. 1.11.2, 2.23.6), Creusa: wife of Aeneas, died in the sack of Troy (Verg. *Aen.* 2.650). According to the *Aeneid*, Creusa's descendants live on through Iulus, who becomes king of Alba Longa.

¹⁸⁸ Procl. *Chrest.* 7.34-37.

and Polypoites, Odysseus' son by a Thesprotian princess.¹⁸⁹ These extra births highlight the damage done to Penelope's *kleos* by Odysseus' absence in another way. The biological wealth, in the form of offspring, that should rightfully belong to Penelope is instead the property of other women with whom Odysseus has had liaisons, providing a tangible representation of what Penelope has lost while he has been away.

Female *kleos*, which depends upon the birth of children and the continuity of generations, requires a stability that is incompatible with masculine warrior *kleos*, since the male drive to win *kleos* in battle necessarily disrupts the family structures that foster female *kleos*. For this reason, men look upon the continuity of generations as antithetical to their own *kleos*. In *Iliad* 6, Glaucus describes the passing of mortal generations with the simile of the generations of leaves, which die and are born again anew each year (6.145-49):

Τυδεΐδη μεγάθυμε τί ἦ γενεὴν ἐρεεΐνεις;
οἷη περ φύλλων γενεὴ τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.
φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δὲ θ' ὕλη
τηλεθόωσα φύει, ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη·
ὥς ἀνδρῶν γενεὴ ἢ μὲν φύει ἢ δ' ἀπολήγει.

Great-hearted son of Tydeus, why do you ask about my generation?
As are the generations of leaves, such are the generations of men.
The wind pours leaves to the ground, but the flourishing
Wood grows others, and the season of spring comes again.
Thus one generation of men grows and another perishes.

This image is directly opposed to Vernant's "snapshot" model of beautiful death. Glaucus associates the natural progression of human generations with the insignificance and anonymity of individual humans. Men are as interchangeable and unremarkable as leaves in a forest, which fall and are replaced continually.¹⁹⁰ This interpretation of human life is explicitly linked with

¹⁸⁹ Procl. *Chrest.* 7.34–37.

¹⁹⁰ See also Mimnermus fr. 2.

genealogy, since Glaucus utters this speech in response to Diomedes' demand to know his identity and parentage (6.123ff), and then proceeds to narrate his own genealogy back to Sisyphus (6.150ff). The use of the simile of the leaves is striking in this context, since a similar simile is used by Apollo to highlight the insignificance of mortals in his speech to Poseidon in *Iliad* 21 (21.462-66):

ἐννοσίγαι' οὐκ ἄν με σαόφρονα μυθήσαιο
ἔμμεναι, εἰ δὴ σοί γε βροτῶν ἔνεκα πτολεμίξω
δειλῶν, οἳ φύλλοισιν εἰκότες ἄλλοτε μὲν τε
ζαφλεγέες τελέθουσιν ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδοντες,
ἄλλοτε δὲ φθινύθουσιν ἀκήριοι.

Earthshaker, you would not say that I was prudent
If I were to fight with you for the sake of wretched mortals,
Who like leaves at one time full of vigor
Flourish, eating the fruit of the field,
And at another time wither lifeless.

To compare mortals to leaves is to look upon them from a divine perspective that renders their actions trivial and their lives meaningless.¹⁹¹ Thus, genealogical continuity, whereby human generations replace each other as part of a natural progression, is incompatible with the desire of warriors to seek *kleos* as individuals who stand out from anonymous generations, often through the violent end of their own lives before the time of natural death.¹⁹²

This antithesis that the *Iliad* constructs between genealogical continuity and male warrior *kleos* can be related to Nagy's reading of Glaucus' simile of the leaves. Nagy has argued that this simile and other vegetal imagery of the *Iliad* represent the natural cycle of life and death, and

¹⁹¹ This is not the attitude towards mortal life taken by gods consistently in the *Iliad* (see Lynn-George 1996), but it is the attitude associated with the simile of the leaves in this speech by Apollo: he says that he and Poseidon should cease fighting because mortals are too inconsequential to be worth such dissention between gods.

¹⁹² We may compare Bakker's comment on Achilles' choice to die young at Troy rather than live a long life in Phthia: "Participating in the biological prosperity of his community...is for Achilles similar to death" (Bakker 2002: 26).

that *kleos* frees a hero from this inevitable cycle, a triumph of culture over nature.¹⁹³ Like plants, mortals “bloom” (*thallō*)¹⁹⁴ and decay (*phthiō*, *Il.* 21.466), but *kleos* is *aphthiton* (*Il.* 9.413), “unwithering,” from the root *phthi-*, the inherited meaning of which is literally “to wilt.” *Kleos aphthiton* thus evokes an image of a plant that never withers, the natural life cycle in unnatural suspension.¹⁹⁵

Bakker associates this idea with the scepter of Agamemnon, which is described as *aphthiton aiei*, “forever unwithering,” (*Il.* 2.46, 186). It was once a piece of living wood, but now it has been removed from the biological life cycle, and, as Achilles says, it will “never put forth leaves or shoots anymore” (τὸ μὲν οὐ ποτε φύλλα καὶ ὄζους φύσει, 1.234-35). Bakker writes:

This piece of live wood has died to become physically immortal, part of the divine Olympian order as it is represented in the royal line of the house of the Atrides. It was once subject to *khronos* the creator and destroyer, but in its state of being *aphthiton* it has become as timeless as the Olympian gods. In the same way, Achilles’ *kleos aphthiton* is the instatement of cultural permanence out of nature’s fragility.¹⁹⁶

Just as the scepter becomes *aphthiton* by forfeiting its ability to take part in patterns of seasonal growth, the hero too achieves a kind of immortality by removing himself from the cycle of human generations narrated by Glaucus in *Iliad* 6, which demands that he grow and decay as anonymously as the leaves.

¹⁹³ Nagy 1979. For more on vegetal imagery in the *Iliad*, see Strasburger 1954: 36ff; Stein 2013.

¹⁹⁴ See the use of the word *thaleros*, “blooming,” to describe young warriors (*Il.* 3.26, 10.259, 11.414, 14.4, 17.282).

¹⁹⁵ There is an intertextual link between the simile of the generations of leaves and the *Catalogue of Women*. The simile is explicitly associated with the recitation of a genealogy: Glaucus’ own ancestry, and the *Catalogue* itself uses the image of trees shedding their leaves in the blast of the North Wind to describe the destruction of the final generation of heroes at the end of the heroic age (Most fr. 155: 124-26). See Clay 2003: 173. See also Nagy 1979: 220n5 on how the falling leaves are a metaphor for the dying heroes. The *Catalogue* thus seems to associate itself with the vegetal nature of human existence that Iliadic heroes try to escape. As a record of human generations, the genealogical poem has as its subject the perpetual rhythm of organic growth and decay.

¹⁹⁶ Bakker 2002: 26.

This opposition between generational continuity and heroic *kleos* seems to be uniquely Homeric. For example, Jasper Griffin has noted that the epic cycle and the Hesiodic corpus attribute to various Homeric characters extra children that do not exist in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.¹⁹⁷ One might posit that this dearth of children in the Homeric epics is related to these poems' concern with exploring *kleos apthiton* rather than genealogy. As Bakker has pointed out, there is no conflict between winning *kleos apthiton* and perpetuating a long line of descendants in lyric, as in the following passage from Tyrtaeus describing a man who has died gloriously in battle (fr. 12.27-31):¹⁹⁸

τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες,
 ἀργαλέῳ δὲ πόθῳ πᾶσα κέκηδε πόλις,
 καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρίσημοι
 καὶ παίδων παῖδες καὶ γένος ἐξοπίσω·
 οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ

Young and old alike mourn him,
 All the city suffers with painful longing,
 Both his tomb and his children are notable among men,
 And his children's children and his descendants after them.
 His good *kleos* is never lost, nor his name

Here the dead hero has managed both to achieve eternal *kleos* through a glorious death and to leave behind offspring who will ensure the survival of his line far into the future. This image contrasts strikingly with the choice that Achilles faces in the *Iliad* between *either* leaving behind many descendants *or* winning *kleos apthiton* (9.409-13).

The *Iliad* also presents Hector's *kleos* as being unable to coexist with his descendants, although in a somewhat different way. In her lament at Hector's funeral, Andromache blames Hector's prowess in battle for the impending death of Astyanax (24.734-39):

¹⁹⁷ Griffin 1977: 43-44. As in the *Telegony* discussed above.

¹⁹⁸ Tyrtaeus text taken from Gerber 1999.

ἢ τις Ἀχαιῶν
ρίψει χειρὸς ἐλὼν ἀπὸ πύργου λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον
χωόμενος, ᾧ δὴ πού ἀδελφεὸν ἔκτανεν Ἴκτωρ
ἢ πατέρ' ἢ καὶ υἱόν, ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλοὶ Ἀχαιῶν
Ἴκτορος ἐν παλάμησιν ὀδᾶξ ἔλον ἄσπετον οὐδας.
οὐ γὰρ μείλιχος ἔσκε πατήρ τεὸς ἐν δαῖ λυγρῆ·

Or one of the Achaeans
Will take you by the hand and throw you from the tower to a horrible death,
Angry because Hector killed perhaps his brother
Or his father or his son, since very many Achaeans
Seized the boundless earth with their teeth at the hands of Hector.
For your father was not gentle in baneful war.

Thus the two factors that grant Hector *kleos*, his skill as a warrior and his glorious death, combine to seal his only son's fate, since Hector created many enemies by killing Greeks but is now no longer alive to protect his son from their anger.¹⁹⁹

The emphasis on the ways in which the individual pursuit of *kleos* interferes with generational stability is more extreme in the *Iliad* than in the *Odyssey*, since at the end of the latter epic Laertes, Odysseus, and Telemachus are presented as going out to fight the suitors' families together. Laertes' statement that Odysseus and Telemachus "are having a contest concerning *aretē*" (ἀρετῆς περὶ δῆριν ἔχουσιν, 24.515) suggests that in these circumstances it is possible for both father and son to win *kleos* together by displaying their martial prowess. However, the abrupt end to the battle engineered by Zeus and Athena before it can properly begin prevents this joint acquisition of *kleos* by father and son from occurring. The incompatibility of generational continuity and martial *kleos* is thus never truly negated.

Furthermore, the tension between Odysseus and Telemachus in the final scene of the poem that

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Murnaghan 1999. Hector himself does not seem aware of this conflict between his *kleos* and Andromache's desire to protect their offspring. At 6.481 he imagines that Astyanax will delight the heart of his mother by bringing home bloody spoils, despite Andromache's hostile attitude towards male *kleos* throughout the *Iliad* (see below).

Laertes characterizes as “having a contest concerning *aretē*” hints that father and son are in some way uncomfortable with each other’s presence on the battlefield. The word δῆριν can mean not just “contest” but “strife” or even “battle” or “war,”²⁰⁰ hinting that the desire for *kleos* threatens the stability of the father-son relationship.

A further way in which the desire of heroes to transcend the vegetal life cycle causes conflict between masculine and feminine paradigms is that women in Archaic Greek epic are deeply implicated in the perpetuation of this cycle. As Vernant has argued, the Pandora myth in Hesiod links the female womb to the earth which brings forth grain: “The belly of the woman, which man must plough if he wishes to have children, is like the belly of the earth that he must plough if he wishes to have wheat since Zeus has hidden the *bios* in it.”²⁰¹ Page duBois has shown that this metaphor of the woman-as-earth is pervasive in both Archaic and Classical Greek literature: “Like the fields of the earth, women must be cultivated, ploughed by their husbands, to ensure a new crop of children, which is like the crops of the fields.”²⁰² A good example of this phenomenon is found in the Athenian marriage formula preserved in Menander: “I give you this woman for the ploughing of legitimate children” (σοι τήνδ’ ἐγὼ δίδωμ’ ἔχειν γνησίων παίδων ἐπ’ ἀρότῳ, *Dys.* 842-4, *Sam.* 726-7, *Pk.* 1013-4). In this formula, the wife is the field or furrow in which the new generation will spring up like grain. The woman is thus the site of production for

²⁰⁰ *LfGrE*.

²⁰¹ Vernant 2011: 196.

²⁰² duBois 1988: 39. See duBois 1988: 39-85 for a complete investigation of this metaphor in ancient Greek literature and culture.

man's vegetal nature, and the vehicle for the perpetuation of the anonymous generations that replace each other like leaves.²⁰³

In this way, women are associated with the preservation of the human race through natural reproduction and natural death, a process which the pursuit of male warrior *kleos* interferes with. Female investment in this natural cycle is illustrated by Andromache's statement that she would have preferred Hector to die in his bed (24.743-45):

Ἕκτορ· ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα λελείπεται ἄλγεα λυγρὰ.
οὐ γάρ μοι θνήσκων λεχέων ἐκ χειῖρας ὄρεξας,
οὐδέ τί μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν ἔπος, οὗ τέ κεν αἰεὶ
μεμνήμην νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέματα δάκρυ χέουσα.

Hector: baneful sorrows have especially been left for me.
For you did not stretch out your hands from your bed to me while dying,
Nor did you speak some wise word to me, which I might
Always remember, pouring tears night and day.

Andromache is saying that she wishes Hector had lived out his natural lifespan and died a natural death, rather than meeting with the glorious battlefield death that both cut short his physical life and immortalized his memory by winning him *kleos*.

A point of comparison for this resistance to the unnatural suspension of *kleos apthiton* can be found in Hesiod's *Theogony*. Gaia, the primordial feminine force, always supports the younger generation in its efforts to overthrow the older generation, promoting natural succession rather than stasis:

The generative principle, identified with the female, promotes change, as Gaia does here when she instigates the plot against Uranus and encourages her youngest son Cronus to depose his father. This continual impetus for change constitutes a radically destabilizing force in the cosmos. Gaia will always be on the side of birth and of the younger against the older generation.²⁰⁴

²⁰³ Sherry Ortner has argued that this association of women with the natural world because of their role in childbirth is near-universal in human cultures (Ortner 1974).

²⁰⁴ Clay 2003:17. See also Arthur 1982 on the succession myth in Hesiod.

Marylin Arthur has shown that the creation of the first woman Pandora, and thus of bisexual reproduction for the human race, represents a displacement of this dangerous cycle of succession from the divine realm onto the mortal one.²⁰⁵ The rule of Zeus will remain *aphthiton*, while men are doomed to die and be replaced by younger men.²⁰⁶ The female production of generations is thus on the one hand necessary for the preservation of human life, and on the other hand, antithetical to human immortality, since it ensures that each generation will always be replaced by the next. The pursuit of *kleos aphthiton* in battle represents an attempt to thwart this feminine cycle of death and birth. However, it also serves to thwart women's accumulation of *kleos* through the accumulation of progeny.

The opposition between female and male *kleos* can help to explain Helen's negative attitude towards her own *kleos* in the *Iliad*, which is very different from the way male warriors conceptualize *kleos*. In *Iliad* 6, Helen characterizes her *kleos* as a misfortune that has been imposed upon her against her will. While speaking to Hector, she represents her status as a future character in epic song as an "evil fate" (6.354-58):

ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν εἴσελθε καὶ ἔζεο τῷδ' ἐπὶ δίφρῳ
 δᾶερ, ἐπεὶ σε μάλιστα πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν
 εἶνεκ' ἐμεῖο κυνὸς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔνεκ' ἄτης,
 οἷσιν ἐπὶ Ζεὺς θῆκε κακὸν μόνον, ὡς καὶ ὀπίσσω
 ἀνθρώποισι πελώμεθ' ἀοίδιμοι ἐσσομένοισι.

But come now, come in and sit on this chair,

²⁰⁵ Arthur 1982: 75.

²⁰⁶ Indeed, humans in the *Theogony* are very much as they appear in Glaucus' and Apollo's leaf similes. The proem speaks of poets who sing the κλειᾶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων, the "famous deeds of former men" (100), but these deeds are not the subject of the *Theogony*. With the exception of Heracles, humans appear in the poem as a largely undifferentiated mass without individuality or distinguishing characteristics. Heracles alone in the *Theogony* is singled out as having *kleos* (530), but in this case it may be significant that he is a mortal who is destined to become a god. The myth of the ages in Hesiod's *Works and Days* that describes the different races of human beings similarly presents mortals as homogenous groups and does not mention the *kleos* of individuals.

Brother-in-law, since suffering has especially encompassed your mind
On account of me, dog that I am, and on account of the folly of Alexander,
On whom Zeus placed an evil fate, that we should be
Subjects of song for those yet to come.

Although the word *kleos* is not explicitly used in this passage, it is clearly *kleos*, the quality of being made famous in the songs of poets, which Helen describes as a *kakon moron*.²⁰⁷ We may compare this characterization of *kleos* with a statement made by Hector about his own *kleos* as he prepares to face Achilles in *Iliad* 22: μη μὲν ἀσπουδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην, / ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἔσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι, “May I not die without a struggle and without *kleos*, but having done some great deed for those yet to come to hear of” (22.304-5). The two statements have a strong verbal resonance, both invoking the future memory of the speaker among the ἔσσομένοισι, the “people yet to be.” The value that Helen and Hector assign to *kleos*, however, is very different.

Helen’s assertion that it will be a misfortune for her to be remembered by the people of the future is striking because it undermines the values of Homeric warrior society that characterize such remembrance as the ultimate goal of mortal existence. One could perhaps argue that Helen is not here expressing a negative view of *kleos* in general but is instead saying that she herself will have a bad *kleos*, i.e. a bad reputation in the future, like the “hateful song” (στρυγερὴ δὲ τ’ αἰοιδή, *Od.* 24.200) that Agamemnon at the end of the *Odyssey* says Clytemnestra will have. However, this distinction between good *kleos* and bad *kleos* is not clearly expressed in Helen’s speech in *Iliad* 6, inviting a destabilizing reading that casts doubt on the value of *kleos* in general. This reading is strengthened by the fact that male heroes in the *Iliad* seem to regard

²⁰⁷ Furthermore, the phrase αἰοιδίμοι ἔσσομένοισι (6.358) resonates closely with Theognis’ statement that Cynus will be an ἔσσομένοισιν αἰοιδή, “a subject of song for those yet to come” (251) in a poem that is explicitly about how Cynus’ *kleos* will never die (245).

kleos as something wholly good and desirable. Hector, for example, does not specify at 22.304-5 that he wants to win good *kleos* rather than bad, but instead seems to conceptualize any future fame as a positive outcome.²⁰⁸

The negative view that Helen holds of her own *kleos* can in part be explained by the fact that her *kleos* in the *Iliad* is destructive rather than generative. In the *Catalogue of Women*, she conforms to the basic story pattern of a woman who attracts a husband with her beauty and gives birth to a child. In this sense she could be said to possess the kind of feminine *kleos* that depends upon the perpetuation of the natural life cycle. However, her entrance into the genealogy of the *Catalogue* is also the point of destabilization that brings the heroic age to an end, since it is her marriage to Menelaus that ultimately leads to the Trojan War and the destruction of the race of heroes. In the *Iliad* as well, Helen and her beauty are primarily associated with destruction, as when the Trojan elders say (3.156-58):

οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐϋκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοιγῆδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·
αἰνῶς ἀθανάτησι θεῆς εἰς ὧπα ἔοικεν·

There is no reproach that the Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans
Suffer woes for a long time on account of such a woman:
She is terribly like the immortal goddesses to look on.

In this way, Helen's *kleos* is similar to the *kleos* of a male warrior in that it is linked to the death and suffering that she causes. In lamenting the *ponos* ("toil" or "suffering") that is bound up with her status as an object of song (6.355), she speaks from the feminine perspective that values generation rather than heroic *kleos* predicated upon destruction.

²⁰⁸ See Introduction. The conception of a "negative *kleos*" is almost totally absent from the *Iliad*. Negative fates are more commonly described as *akleēs*, "without fame" (12.318, 15.100, 22.304, see also *Od.* 4.728). The word *duskleēs*, "of bad fame," does appear at *Il.* 2.115 and 9.22, but Greindl 1938 argues that this word should also be taken to mean "without fame," (*ruhmlōs*), so that having a bad reputation in the *Iliad* becomes synonymous with having no reputation at all.

The *kleos* that arises from the suffering and death of warriors can be contrasted with the *kleos* that Helen gains from the robe she gives Telemachus in the *Odyssey*, which she says will be a *mnēma* of her hands (*Od.* 15.126). The robe is a physical product of Helen’s effort, and thus the *kleos* that arises from it is the outcome of a creative process. That this process was generative rather than destructive could explain why Helen speaks negatively of her *kleos* at *Il.* 6.354-58, but has a positive attitude about the robe as a *mnēma* at *Od.* 15.126. The opposition between generative and destructive *kleos* is also illustrated by the passage in *Iliad* 22 in which Andromache says that she will burn Hector’s clothes to be a *kleos* for him now that he is dead (22.510-14):

ἀτάρ τοι εἴματ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι κέονται
λεπτὰ τε καὶ χαρίεντα τετυγμένα χερσὶ γυναικῶν.
ἀλλ' ἦτοι τάδε πάντα καταφλέξω πυρὶ κηλέῳ
οὐδὲν σοὶ γ' ὄφελος, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐγκείσεαι αὐτοῖς,
ἀλλὰ πρὸς Τρώων καὶ Τρωϊάδων κλέος εἶναι.

In your halls lie clothes,
Fine and graceful, made by the hands of women.
But I will burn all these in a blazing fire,
No benefit to you, since you will not lie in them,
But to be a *kleos* in the eyes of the Trojan men and Trojan women.²⁰⁹

In my analysis of this passage, I will show how this statement about the “works of women’s hands” brings together weaving, childbirth, and vegetal growth in the context of Andromache’s feminine critique of male *kleos*.

P.E. Easterling describes *Iliad* 22.510-14 as a positive example of how women can participate in the production of *kleos*.²¹⁰ Following this interpretation, it is possible to read

²⁰⁹ πρὸς with the genitive has a somewhat ambiguous meaning. It can mean “from,” “in the eyes of,” “in the name of,” or “at the hands of.” I have chosen to translate it here as “in the eyes of” because Andromache is identifying herself as the agent of the action of burning, but other meanings are not necessarily excluded.

²¹⁰ Easterling 1991.

Andromache’s plan to burn the clothes as an ostentatious display to honor Hector, as when Achilles sacrifices the Trojan youths on Patroclus’ funeral pyre. However, the phrase οὐδὲν σοί γ’ ὄφελος, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐγκείσεται αὐτοῖς, “no benefit to you, since you will not lie in them” suggests a grimmer, more ironic meaning. Andromache seems to say that the clothes *would* have been a benefit if Hector *could* have lain in them, but now they will become a *kleos*, which she views as no benefit to him at all. This reading opens up the possibility that Andromache may in fact be undermining the value of *kleos* here. I suggest that this passage can be read as a critique of the necessary link between the destruction of an object or person and the perpetuation of Iliadic *kleos*. Andromache characterizes Hector’s clothes as creating *kleos* only in the moment of their immolation, which can be seen as a metaphor for the “beautiful death,” in which young men achieve a kind of poetic immortality at the price of their lives.

The immortality conferred by *kleos* is meant to be a compensation for a warrior’s death, since the conceit of epic poetry is that it preserves what would otherwise be lost in the normal progression of mortal life. However, in order for something to enter into the poetic tradition, it must first be destroyed in the physical world. This idea that destruction increases the *kleos* of what has been destroyed is apparent in the passages in the *Iliad* about the Achaean wall. In *Iliad* 7, Poseidon protests that the *kleos* of this wall built by mortals will overshadow the *kleos* of the walls of Troy, which he and Apollo built (7.451-453):

τοῦ δ’ ἤτοι κλέος ἔσται ὅσον τ’ ἐπικίδναται ἠώς·
 τοῦ δ’ ἐπιλήσονται τὸ ἐγὼ καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
 ἦρω Λαομέδοντι πολίσσαμεν ἀθλήσαντε.

The *kleos* of this wall will exist as far as the dawn spreads,
 But they will forget the one which I and Phoebus Apollo
 Toiled to build for the hero Laomedon.

Because of Poseidon's complaint, Zeus gives permission for the wall to be destroyed after the Achaeans have departed (7.459ff). In *Iliad* 12, the narrator lays out the particulars of this destruction (12.13-33):

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μὲν Τρώων θάνον ὄσσοι ἄριστοι,
πολλοὶ δ' Ἀργείων οἳ μὲν δάμεν, οἳ δὲ λίποντο,
πέρθετο δὲ Πριάμοιο πόλις δεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ,
Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἐν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἔβησαν,
δὴ τότε μητιόωντο Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων
τείχος ἀμαλδῦναι ποταμῶν μένος εἰσαγαγόντες.
ὄσσοι ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ὄρέων ἄλα δὲ προρέουσι,
Ῥῆσός θ' Ἐπτάπορος τε Κάρησός τε Ῥοδῖος τε
Γρήνικός τε καὶ Αἴσηπος δῖός τε Σκάμανδρος
καὶ Σιμόεις, ὅθι πολλὰ βοάγρια καὶ τρυφάλεια
κάππεσον ἐν κονίησι καὶ ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν·
τῶν πάντων ὁμόσε στόματ' ἔτραπε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,
ἐννῆμαρ δ' ἐς τεῖχος ἴει ρόον· ὕε δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς
συνεχές, ὄφρ' αὖ κε θᾶσσον ἀλίπλοα τείχεα θείη.
αὐτὸς δ' ἐννοσίγαιος ἔχων χεῖρεςσι τρίαιναν
ἠγεῖτ', ἐκ δ' ἄρα πάντα θεμεῖλια κύμασι πέμπε
φιτρῶν καὶ λάων, τὰ θέσαν μογέοντες Ἀχαιοί,
λεῖα δ' ἐποίησεν παρ' ἀγάρροον Ἑλλήσποντον,
αὐτίς δ' ἠΐονα μεγάλην ψαμάθοισι κάλυψε
τείχος ἀμαλδύνας· ποταμοὺς δ' ἔτρεψε νέεσθαι
κὰρ ρόον, ἧ̄ περ πρόσθεν ἴεν καλλίρροον ὕδωρ.

But when the best of the Trojans had died
And many of the Argives, some of whom were slain and some of whom left,
And the city of Priam was sacked in the tenth year,
And the Argives had departed in their ships to their dear fatherland,
Then Poseidon and Apollo took counsel
To destroy the wall, bringing against it the force of the rivers,
However many flow down from the mountains of Ida to the sea,
Rhesus and Heptaporus and Caresus and Rhodius,
And Granicus and Aesepus and shining Scamandrus,
And Simois, where many bull-hide shields and helmets
Fell in the dust and a race of half-divine men.
Of all these Phoebus Apollo turned the mouths together,
And for nine days he sent their stream against the wall, and Zeus rained
Constantly, so that he might more quickly cover the wall with water.
And the Earthshaker himself, holding his trident in his hands,
Led them, and he sent with the waves all the foundations
Of logs and stones, which the Achaeans had toiled to make,
And he made them smooth by the strong-flowing Hellespont,

And again covered the great beach with sand,
Having destroyed the wall. And he turned the rivers to go
Along the stream where before they had sent their fair-flowing water.

This destruction is intended to efface the *kleos* of the Achaean wall, but it has the paradoxical effect of increasing the wall's renown. James Porter suggests that the fame of the wall, which Poseidon says will be greater than the walls of Troy itself (7.442-453), comes about because of the fantastic means of its destruction:

The monumental obliteration of the Achaean Wall, rather than erasing the memory of the wall, to the contrary ensures that the same wall will go down in the annals of memory as one of the most unforgettable walls ever constructed. Not even the Trojan Wall suffered such an unforgettable annihilation: though it may have been divinely made (θεοποίητον), it was destroyed by mere men, albeit with the aid of the gods. The Achaean Wall was humanly made, but it took three gods, eight rivers, nine days, an earthquake, and an ocean to destroy it.²¹¹

Because of the noteworthy destruction of the Achaean wall, it became worthy of being preserved forever in song.²¹² By saying that she will burn Hector's clothes to be a *kleos*, Andromache can therefore be viewed as commenting upon the destructive nature of poetic *kleos*, which only immortalizes what has been physically annihilated. The clothes become a *kleos* when they are burned, just as the hero becomes an object of song when he is killed.

Andromache's choice of clothing, "the work of women" (22.511), as the object that will be destroyed to create *kleos* is also highly symbolic. In *Iliad* 6, Hector sets up an opposition between weaving, the work of women, and war, the work of men, suggesting that the two crafts can be seen as antithetical to each other (6.490-93):

²¹¹ Porter 2011.

²¹² Eustathius similarly commented that although the Achaean wall does not have a physical existence, it has surpassed Troy in fame because of the skill of the poet: Ἀὐτὸ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ποιητοῦ λογιότητα ἐκ μὴ ὄντος ἐστὶ τρόπον τινά, ἢ δὲ ἀληθῆς Τροία τῆ τοῦ χρόνου φορᾶ ἐκ τοῦ ὄντος ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ μηδέν, ἀφανισθεῖσα. (Eust. *Il.* 7.452). He is making a somewhat different argument, however, since he appears to be saying that Homer invented the Achaean wall out of nothing, and that this imaginary wall has greater fame than the real wall of Troy.

ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε
ἰστόν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεςσι μελήσει
πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί, τοῖ Ἰλίῳ ἐγγεγάασιν.

But go into the house and be busy about your own works,
The loom and the distaff, and order your maids
To ply their work; But war will be a care for all men
Who have been born in Ilium, and to me especially.²¹³

By saying that she will burn Hector's clothes to be a *kleos*, Andromache implies that the creation of male *kleos* is predicated upon the destruction of the work that women have labored to create.

I suggest that we can extend the metaphor further and view the clothing woven by female hands as symbolic of the other primary product of female labor, children. In this way, Andromache's speech can also be read as a metaphor for the opposition between the female *telos* of generation and the male *telos* of winning *kleos* through a beautiful death. There are other parallels in the text that allow us to connect weaving with children. In *Iliad* 6, both the baby Astyanax and the *peplos* offered to Athena, also designated as the "work of women" (*erga gynaikōn*, 6.289) are given short similes comparing them to stars. The *peplos* is said to "shine like a star" (ἀστήρ δ' ὡς ἀπέλαμπεν, 6.295), and Astyanax is said to be "like a beautiful star" (ἀλίγκιον ἀστέρι καλῶ, 6.401). Although star similes appear frequently in the *Iliad*,²¹⁴ the use of ἀστήρ twice in such close proximity can be seen as suggesting a link between the two objects described.

²¹³ This reference to the loom and the distaff as women's work in opposition to the work of men can also be found at *Od.* 1.356-59 and 21.350-53. These passages are identical to Hector's words to Andromache at *Il.* 6.490-93 except that *polemos*, "war," is replaced with *mythos*, "speaking." This similarity suggests that such statements may have been formulaic in hexameter poetry. Cf. Chapter 2 for a longer discussion of these passages.

²¹⁴ Star similes in the *Iliad*: 4.75 (of Athena), 5.5 (of the light reflecting off Diomedes' armor), 8.555 (of the Trojan watch-fires), 11.62 (of Hector), 19.381 (of Achilles' helmet), 22.26 (of Achilles), 22.317 (of Achilles' spear).

Another hint that women’s work as bearers and nurturers of children can be associated with the work of weaving is found in the iconography of the web that Andromache is weaving in *Iliad* 22 when she is interrupted by the sound of lamentations for Hector’s death. The cloth is decorated with “flowers of various colors” (ἐν δὲ θρόνα ποικίλ’ ἔπασσε, 22.441).²¹⁵ This vegetal imagery associates the garment with other vegetal imagery representing human mortality in the *Iliad*. Flower imagery in particular is associated with young warriors, who are often described as *thaleros*, “blooming” (3.26, 10.259, 11.414, 14.4, 17.282).²¹⁶ For example, the dying Gorgythion in *Iliad* 8 is compared to a poppy (8.306-308):

μήκων δ’ ὡς ἐτέρωσε κάρη βάλεν, ἢ τ’ ἐνὶ κήπῳ
καρπῶ βριθομένη νοτίησί τε εἰαρινῆσιν,
ὡς ἐτέρωσ’ ἤμυσε κάρη πήληκι βαρυνθέν.

And he bent his head to one side like a poppy, which in the garden
Is heavy with its fruit and with spring rains,
Thus his head sank to one side, weighed down by his helmet.

A similar simile describes the dying Geryon in Stesichorus’ *Geryoneis* (P. Oxy. 2617 fr. 5):

ἀπέκλινε δ’ ἄρ’ ἀγένα Γαρ[υόνας
ἐπικάρσιον, ὡς ὄκα μ[ά]κω[ν]
ἄτε καταισχύνουσ’ ἀπαλὸν [δέμας
αἴψ’ ἀπὸ φύλλα βαλοῖσα...

[The arrow of Heracles] made the neck of Geryon droop
At an angle, as when a poppy, spoiling its soft body,
Suddenly throwing away its leaves...

These two passages likening a dying boy to a flower shedding its petals suggest that the comparison may be formulaic. The θρόνα of Andromache’s web could therefore be seen as

²¹⁵ For the word θρόνον meaning “flower” in Linear B, see Προμπονά 1974 on the Mycenaean festival called the *Thronoelktēria*.

²¹⁶ Schein writes that the use of *thaleros* to describe the dying Simoeisios at 4.474 “suggests a youth both blooming and potentially a husband, warmth and energy that might have been directed toward a fruitful, procreative life but were instead turned toward war, where death put an end to warmth, flowering, and potential” (Schein 2016: 7).

having a semantic or thematic connection to images in the *Iliad* of young men who are about to die in battle. This connection is strengthened when we consider that this web, a garment likely intended for Hector, will in all probability be among the clothing that Andromache envisions herself burning in lieu of a funeral for her husband. In this way, the destruction of the θρόνα woven into the cloth will create *kleos* in the same way as the destruction of the young men who die like drooping flowers creates *kleos*. Andromache's web thus serves as a complex symbolic representation of the products of women's labor and their fate when they come into contact with the male drive to win *kleos* on the battlefield.

The products of weaving (cloth) and the products of sexual intercourse (children) are further linked by the association of weaving with female sexuality in Homeric epic.²¹⁷ Both Circe and Calypso, dangerously seductive goddesses, are depicted as singing with a "beautiful voice" (ὀπι καλῆ) while going back and forth (ἐποιομένης) in front of their looms (*Od.* 5.61-2, 10.221-22).²¹⁸ Although Odysseus' sexual unions with Circe and Calypso do not produce offspring in the *Odyssey*, Homeric audiences were likely aware of the poetic traditions represented by Hesiod's *Theogony* and the epic cycle's *Telegony*, both of which assign Odysseus children by these goddesses.²¹⁹ With these children in mind, the seductive weaving sequences may have carried overtones of procreative sexuality. The erotic connotations of the phrase ἰστὸν ἐποιομένην, "going back and forth before the loom," are strengthened by Agamemnon's description of Chryseis as "going back and forth before the loom and sharing my bed" (ἰστὸν ἐποιομένην καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν, *Il.* 1.31), linking Chryseis' labor as a weaver with her

²¹⁷ Worman 1997: 161; Karanika 2014: 48-49.

²¹⁸ It is this image of Circe singing and weaving which entices Odysseus' men into her trap (10.226-28).

²¹⁹ *Theog.* 1011- 1018

sexual slavery. In the *Catalogue of Women*, the formula περικαλλέα ἔργ' εἰδυῖαι, “skilled in very beautiful works,” is an epithet applied to women.²²⁰ This knowledge of weaving (*erga*) is one of the qualities which increases the value of women as sexual objects, leading to intercourse and procreation. In the *Iliad*, Achilles describes the ability to both “vie with Aphrodite in beauty (*kallos*)” and “equal Athena in works (*erga*)” as a quality that makes a wife particularly desirable (9.389-90). Scheid and Svenbro also link weaving with the procreative sexuality of the marriage bed through the importance of the nuptial garment/bed cover.²²¹ In addition, the association between female sexuality and weaving is seen in a ritual that took place at the Delian tomb of the Hyperborean maidens, at which girls would dedicate locks of hair wrapped around a spindle.²²² Female hair was associated with fertility and sexuality, which was why women regularly covered their hair, and girls cut their hair at the time of marriage.²²³ Thus the offering of hair wrapped around a spindle identifies this fertility and sexuality with the production of textiles.²²⁴

In light of the evidence that has been presented, we can view the two activities by which women win *kleos*, weaving and childbirth, as having a close symbolic connection with each other. If we consider weaving and childbirth as belonging to the same conceptual domain, it allows us to posit a unified theory of female *kleos* as a generative activity, opposed implicitly and explicitly to the works of war (cf. *Il.* 6.490-93). This generative *kleos* depends upon the

²²⁰ See Cohen 1990.

²²¹ Scheid and Svenbro 1996 [1994]: 51-83.

²²² Hdt. 4.34; Paus. 1.43.4; Callim. *Hymn* 4.296-299.

²²³ Langdon 2008: 148-149.

²²⁴ Boys also offered hair at the tomb of the Hyperborean maidens, but they wrapped their cut locks around a green shoot rather than a spindle (Langdon 2008: 150). This is interesting in light of the association between young men and vegetal imagery in Archaic poetry.

continued physical existence of the products which it creates and is thus compromised by the male warrior *kleos* of the *Iliad*, which preserves in poetry what has been destroyed in the physical world.²²⁵ For this reason, women in the *Iliad* are frequently hostile towards the masculine drive to win *kleos* because it destroys the products of their labor and compromises their future fame.

Despite the link between female *kleos* and the natural life cycle, my intent is not to suggest that “female is to male as nature is to culture.”²²⁶ Although the Greeks certainly associated women more closely with nature, female *kleos*, like male *kleos*, is a product of culture. Weaving is a cultural technology, and the significance assigned to it is likewise culturally determined. In the same way, although sex and childbirth are natural processes, genealogy is a cultural artifact. The true opposition between male and female *kleos* in the *Iliad* that I seek to illuminate is not the opposition between nature and culture, but rather between a *kleos* that is tied to the physical world and a *kleos* that has transcended physical existence. The conflict between these two forms of *kleos* in the *Iliad* is evident in the way the poem treats physical *sēmata*, “signs,” and *mnēmata*, “remembrances,” that have the potential to carry *kleos*. These *sēmata* include tombs and objects such as weapons or metal household goods that have significant histories as guest-gifts or spoils of war.²²⁷ For example, Agamemnon in *Odyssey* 24

²²⁵ For the opposition between physical objects vs. poetry as bearers of *kleos*, see Grethlein 2008 and Ford 1992: 131-146. Both argue that the *kleos* conferred by physical objects is more fragile and less reliable than the *kleos* of poetry.

²²⁶ Cf. Ortner 1974. Anthropologist Sherry Ortner’s influential article “Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?” posited that women are universally devalued in human societies because they are associated, through the act of childbirth, with nature, the antithesis of culture, which is the domain of men.

²²⁷ Crielaard 2003; Grethlein 2008.

describes how Achilles' tomb will serve as a conspicuous monument among future generations (24.80-84):

ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον
χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητῶν
ἀκτῆ ἔπι προῦχούσῃ, ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ,
ὥς κεν τηλεφανῆς ἐκ ποντόφιν ἀνδράσιν εἶη
τοῖς οἷ νῦν γεγάασι καὶ οἷ μετόπισθεν ἔσσονται.

Then we, the sacred army of Argive spearmen,
Poured a huge and blameless grave-mound
On a promontory, by the broad Hellespont,
So that it can be seen from afar by men on the sea,
Both those who are now alive and those who will be in the future.

Similarly, Menelaus gives Telemachus a goblet in *Odyssey* 4, inviting him to use it to pour libations to the immortals and to think of Menelaus while he does so (4.591-92). In this way, the goblet serves as a *mnēma* of Menelaus after it has passed out of his hands.

Female *kleos* that is reliant upon genealogy and the products of women's labor is located in this realm of material *mnēmata*. As Mueller has indicated, a woven garment can also function as a *mnēma*, calling to mind the woman who created it after it has been given to a new owner.²²⁸ The status of living descendants as *mnēmata* for their ancestors is also closely linked to the ways in which objects are *mnēmata* for former owners. Crielaard has noted that the "biographies" of significant objects in Homeric epic are structured very similarly to the genealogies of heroes:

There are a number of similarities between genealogies of important human beings and the cultural biography or genealogy of certain prestigious goods... There are also close parallels in the way that the poet recounts artefacts' biographies and families' genealogies are not just name lists, like the ones we find the Old Testament for instance, but are in fact a sequence of mini-biographies that give all kinds of details about the ancestors' glorious deeds and good qualities, and the way they lived and died... As we will see shortly, this also relates to objects that bear a particular reputation.²²⁹

²²⁸ Mueller 2010.

²²⁹ Crielaard 2003: 53-54.

Thus the *kleos* of ancestors is conveyed by the recitation of their genealogy by their offspring, just as the *kleos* of an object's former owner is conveyed by recounting the object's biography.

However, although the *Iliad* acknowledges the potential of objects to convey *kleos*, it persistently problematizes the stability of the kind of *kleos* that depends on a connection to the physical world. The cultural memory associated with tombs and "prestige objects" in the poem has a shallow temporal depth, generally stretching back only one generation, or at most two or three generations for a particularly significant object or individual.²³⁰ The *Iliad* highlights tombs whose occupants have been forgotten, such as the tomb of "dancing Myrrhine," whom only the gods remember (2.811-14), and the nameless tomb used as a turning-post for the race at Patroclus' funeral games (23.326-33). Similarly, Andrew Ford has argued that the fragility of the Achaean wall represents the impossibility of "preserving the fame of the Trojan War in physical form."²³¹

The poetic tradition of the *Iliad* privileges the *kleos* of the immaterial over the material because immaterial *kleos*, the glory of dead heroes, is its primary subject. In order to justify its own existence, the poem must present song as the only medium through which heroic *kleos* can reliably be conveyed. However, the *Iliad* is also aware of the problems inherent in such a model, as is shown by its inclusion of women's voices that question and undermine the value of glorious death in battle. In this way, the poem acknowledges that by presenting material dissolution as the only path to poetic immortality, it is privileging an ideology that has a negative effect on the

²³⁰ Grethlein 2008: 29, 37.

²³¹ Ford 1992: 150.

biological prosperity of communities. The way in which the poem navigates this moral problem will be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

The Voice of the Loom: Helen as Poet in the *Iliad*

*There was a Helen before there was a war
but who remembers her?*
– H.D.

In Chapter 1 I explored how weaving can be a way for women to win *kleos* for themselves. In this chapter I discuss weaving as an analogue for poetic craft and as a way for women to “speak,” commenting upon their own *kleos* or the *kleos* of others. I then move on to explore the metapoetic significance of Helen’s web at *Iliad* 3.126-27 in the larger context of masculine and feminine attitudes towards *kleos* in the *Iliad*, as well as the metapoetic status of Helen herself as a character. For the purposes of this chapter, I define metapoetry as poetry that in some way expresses awareness of its own status as poetry. I suggest that because of the metapoetic resonances of Helen’s Trojan War tapestry and other passages in which she comments upon her role in the conflict, Helen’s painful awareness of the destructive nature of her own *kleos* can be compared to epic poets’ awareness of the ways in which heroic *kleos* and the poetic tradition are similarly bound up with the death and suffering of young warriors who die in pursuit of glory.

Metapoetic readings of early Greek epic have gained acceptance over the last several decades.²³² For instance, it is common to interpret the *nautilia* of Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, in which Hesiod declares his dislike of ships and seafaring, as a rejection of Homeric poetry, with the sea representing the domain of Homer.²³³ Pietro Pucci has shown that the song of the Sirens

²³² Although some scholars remain opposed to metapoetic readings of early Greek epic. Scodel, for example, argues that “recent interpretations have gone too far in the tendency to treat archaic hexameter poems as competitive in their self-assertion against other poems and in seeking metapoetic allusions” (Scodel 2012: 501).

²³³ Rosen 1990; Dougherty 2001: 39; Purves 2010: 79.

in the *Odyssey* reflects the subject-matter and diction of the *Iliad*, representing the intrusion of Iliadic poetry into the *Odyssey*. The association of the Sirens with death can be viewed as the *Odyssey*'s way of disavowing the themes and concerns of the *Iliad* (such as glorious death, pity, and grief) in favor of its own themes of life and homecoming.²³⁴ Sometimes a specific character can become a focal point for a poem's self-referentiality. Such is often the case when we encounter a poet within a poem, like the *Odyssey*'s Demodocus or Phemius.²³⁵ Similarly, a character may participate in an action or process that is presented as a metaphor for poetry, as Carol Dougherty argues with respect to Odysseus' building of the raft in *Odyssey* 5.²³⁶ She suggests that we can view the construction of Odysseus' raft as a representation of the composition of oral poetry:

Like the planks of Odysseus' raft, the different themes or parts of a song can be taken apart and rearranged to create new songs for new contexts. And in fact this is exactly what we find when we compare the songs that Odysseus sings of his adventures to the Phaeacians in Books 9-12 with those that he tells Eumaeus and Penelope upon arriving in Ithaca.²³⁷

As Dougherty implies, Odysseus also exhibits another metapoetic characteristic: his repeated narrations of his adventures to various audiences which establish him as a kind of quasi poet-figure. In addition, a character can be classified as metapoetic because they show awareness of their status as a character within a story, as Helen does when she speaks of her future fame at *Iliad* 6.354-58.²³⁸

²³⁴ Pucci 1998: 1-10.

²³⁵ Cf. Ford 1992: 100ff.

²³⁶ Dougherty 2001: 35.

²³⁷ Dougherty 2001: 82.

²³⁸ Cf. Torrance 2013: 3.

In early Greek epic, there is a close metapoetic connection between weaving and poetry.²³⁹ In many ways, weaving functions as an alternative to authoritative speech for women who want to bestow and comment upon *kleos*, just as it also functions as an alternative to fighting and dying as a way of winning *kleos*. In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, men send women to the loom when women become too outspoken in traditionally masculine spheres and question male authority. But women can also use weaving to communicate when their voices have been silenced. Thus, the voice of the loom can be seen as a marginalized form of feminine speech that expresses challenges to the status quo of masculine power. Helen's web at 3.126-27 is an example of weaving that is used to express a critique of masculine warrior values in this way. By emphasizing the connection between the suffering of the war and Helen's *kleos*, the web represents her lament that her identity has become inextricably bound up with the war. It expresses her regret that no conception of Helen as an individual either in the present or in the minds of future people can exist separately from the violence that has resulted from her continued existence within the walls of Troy. This evaluation of her own *kleos* is also seen in other passages in which Helen displays a metapoetic consciousness.

In addition to her status as a metapoetic weaver, Helen's close relationship to *kleos* links her to the poetic tradition. As Mihoko Suzuki and Ruby Blondell have argued, Helen functions as a signifier of *kleos*, a living source and symbol of glory for the warriors who fight to possess her.²⁴⁰ In this way, Helen can be said to stand in a similar position to an epic poet, who is able to grant *kleos* to warriors by ensuring that they will be remembered in song. No other character in

²³⁹ Bergren 1979; 1983; Snyder 1981; Clayton 2004.

²⁴⁰ Suzuki 1989; Blondell 2010. For more on Helen as a source of *kleos*, see below.

Homeric epic shares Helen's status as both a source of *kleos* and a character who comments upon the nature of *kleos*. This unique role, combined with Helen's metapoetic awareness and the verbal resonances that associate Helen's web with the text of the *Iliad*, invites us to read Helen as a vehicle through which the poem may comment upon the link between the poetic tradition and violence. Helen's complicity in the suffering of the Trojan War can be said to mirror epic poets' complicity in the violence of the warfare that they narrate, since by singing the *klea andrōn*, "the glorious deeds of men" that are the subject of the epic tradition, they encourage the young men of their audience to perpetuate further violence by fighting and dying for *kleos*. The feminine voice of Helen's loom can thus be seen to reflect poets' own discomfort with the more destructive side of the poetic tradition in which they participate.

Numerous scholars have discussed the link between weaving and poetry in Archaic Greek literature. The verb ὑφαίνω is used both of weaving and of the composition of songs, suggesting that the weaving of women can be seen as in some way equivalent to the work of the poet.²⁴¹ Weaving is frequently used as a metaphor for the production of verse in Archaic Greek poetry.²⁴² On this subject Ann Bergren writes:

Greek culture inherits from Indo-European a metaphor by which poets and prophets define themselves as "weaving" or "sewing" words. That is, they describe their activity in terms of what is originally and literally woman's work *par excellence*. They call their product, in effect, a "metaphorical web."²⁴³

Bergren and Barbara Clayton have demonstrated the ways in which the mechanics and narrative strategies of weaving mirror those of oral poetry. Bergren argues that the suspension of linear time in a tapestry, in which all events are depicted simultaneously, reflects the suspension

²⁴¹ Bergren 1979; 1983; Snyder 1981; Clayton 2004.

²⁴² Snyder 1981.

²⁴³ Bergren 2008 [1983]: 16.

of temporal realism that we often see in the *Iliad*, as in the case of the *teichoscopia* occurring in the ninth year of the war, when we might more realistically expect it to happen at the beginning. In this way, oral poetry produces a complex verisimilitude in which realistic narrative is combined with a suspension of the plot's history:

The two conventions of realistic narration and temporal suspension produce a verbal version of what we would see in Helen's tapestry, that is, the action of struggle in stasis, both movement in time—indeed imperfected movement—and metatemporal permanence, both at once.²⁴⁴

Helen's weaving can thus be seen as “a reflection of the poetic process of the *Iliad*.”²⁴⁵

In a similar way, Clayton suggests that Penelope's continual weaving and unweaving of Laertes' shroud in the *Odyssey* can serve as a metapoetic representation of the process of oral poetry. The songs of an oral poet are recreated anew in each performance but are still conceived of as being the same song. Likewise, Penelope's web is recreated with each weaving, but remains in a sense the same web:

The warp threads, which remain unaffected by Penelope's constant rewavings, represent that which remains constant in the composition of oral poetry: the poet's command of traditional material such as epithets, type scenes, line endings, and so on. The woof threads, or the *πήνη*, weave a subtly different pattern with every repetition, just as each performance of the bard's song is always subtly unique.²⁴⁶

Clayton argues that Penelope's status as a poet figure, a “reweaver” of songs, allows her to posit a “Penelopean poetics” as central to the *Odyssey*. She suggests that this “rewoven” poetics is visible throughout the poem, such as in Odysseus' “Cretan tales,” in which he retells the false story of his origin as a Cretan prince in different versions tailored for different audiences.

²⁴⁴ Bergren 2008 [1979]: 46-47.

²⁴⁵ Bergren 2008 [1979]: 46.

²⁴⁶ Clayton 2004: 35-36. This argument is very similar to Dougherty's metapoetic interpretation of Odysseus' raft (Dougherty 2001: 35).

Clayton argues that this centrality of Penelope and her reweaving to the poetics of the *Odyssey* allows us to view the poem as being charged with a kind of “feminine alterity,” in contrast to the more “masculine” *Iliad*.²⁴⁷

The metapoetic status of weaving is significant because weaving often functions as an alternative means of communication for women who are prevented from speaking. The most dramatic example of this trope is Philomela, who weaves the story of her own rape after her tongue has been cut out.²⁴⁸ Bergren’s statement that “Greek women do not speak, they weave,” is perhaps not wholly accurate.²⁴⁹ Female poets did exist, of whom Sappho is only the most prominent example.²⁵⁰ Some female poets even play with the metaphorical link between weaving and song in their own poems.²⁵¹ However, it *would* be accurate to say that women in Homeric epic weave rather than participating in the authoritative speech of poetry and other male-dominated spheres.²⁵² In *Iliad* 6, Hector sets up a contrast between weaving, the work of women, and war, the work of men, when he tells Andromache to cease giving him advice about what he should do in battle (6.490-93):

ἀλλ’ εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ’ αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε
ἰστόν τ’ ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· πόλεμος δ’ ἄνδρεςσι μελήσει
πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ’ ἐμοί, τοὶ Ἰλίῳ ἐγγεγάασιν.

²⁴⁷ Clayton 2004: 19.

²⁴⁸ Bergren 2008 [1983]: 16. See Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.8.

²⁴⁹ Bergren 2008 [1983]: 15.

²⁵⁰ An epigram in the Greek Anthology (*A.P.* 9.26) lists nine female poets: Praxilla, Moero, Anyte, Sappho, Erinna, Telesilla, Corinna, Nossis, and Myrtis. I.M Plant lists 24 female Greek writers between the seventh and the second centuries BCE with extant works or fragments (Plant 2004).

²⁵¹ Sappho fr. 99, 102, 188 L-P. Cf. Snyder 1981: 195. The title of the Hellenistic poet Erinna’s hexameter poem “The Distaff” (Ἡλακάτη) may also be a play on the link between weaving and poetry.

²⁵² A rare example of a setting in which women can speak publicly without male censure is the funerary lament (Alexiou 2002 [1974]; cf. *Il.* 24.725-775).

But go into the house and be busy about your own works,
The loom and the distaff, and order your maids
To ply their work; But war will be a care for all men
Who have been born in Ilium, and to me especially.

Using almost identical language, in *Odyssey* 1 Telemachus tells Penelope that women should not be concerned with speaking (*mythos*), which is the concern of men, but rather with the distaff and the loom (*Od.* 1.356-59):

ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε,
ἰστόν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· μῦθος δ' ἄνδρεςσι μελήσει
πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί· τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.

But go into the house and be busy about your own works,
The loom and the distaff, and order your maids
To ply their work. But speaking (*mythos*) will be a care to all men,
And especially to me; for mine is the power in the house.

Telemachus says this in response to Penelope's attempt to make the bard Phemius sing a different song than the *Achaiōn noston*, the “return of the Achaeans,” which reminds her of Odysseus' absence. Richard Martin defines *mythos* as performance in the sense of authoritative self-presentation to an audience.²⁵³ By ordering her to leave *mythos* to the men, Telemachus is denying her the ability to engage in authoritative speech.²⁵⁴ In addition, since this command comes in the context of her attempt to change Phemius' song, she is being denied authority in the performance of epic poetry, which is here also implicitly characterized as the care of men. This passage explicitly marks weaving as the activity that women engage in instead of words. Thus Bergren's statement that “semiotic woman is a weaver” applies perfectly to Penelope, as Bergren

²⁵³ Martin 1989: 231.

²⁵⁴ Victoria Wohl reads this passage as an example of how the *Odyssey* reaffirms male control over women (Wohl 1993).

herself notes.²⁵⁵ Clayton writes: “Telemachus sends Penelope away specifically to weave, inviting us to see her weaving as a gendered *language*, one that is positioned in opposition to men’s speech.”²⁵⁶

Telemachus uses the formula “go back to the loom and the distaff” again in *Odyssey* 21 when Penelope is chastising the suitors for their abuse of the disguised Odysseus and insisting that he should have a turn with the bow. Telemachus intervenes in the dispute, stating that he has the ultimate authority in the situation (21.343-353):

τὴν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἠΐδα·
‘μητρὲς ἐμή, τόξον μὲν Ἀχαιῶν οὐ τις ἐμεῖο
κρείσσων, ᾧ κ' ἐθέλω, δόμεναί τε καὶ ἀρνήσασθαι,
οὔθ' ὅσσοι κραναὴν Ἰθάκην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν,
οὔθ' ὅσσοι νήσοισι πρὸς Ἥλιδος ἵπποβότοιο·
τῶν οὐ τις μ' ἀέκοντα βιήσεται, αἶ κ' ἐθέλωμι
καὶ καθάπαξ ξείνῳ δόμεναί τε τάδε τόξα φέρεσθαι.
ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε,
ἰστόν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· τόξον δ' ἄνδρεςσι μελήσει
πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί· τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.

Again wise Telemachus spoke in answer to her:
My mother, no Achaean has greater control over this bow
Than I, to give or refuse to whom I wish,
Neither those who rule throughout rocky Ithaca,
Nor those in the islands near horse-pasturing Elis.
None of these can compel me against my will, even if I want
To give it once and for all to a stranger to carry away with him.
But go into the house and be busy about your own works,
The loom and the distaff, and order your maids
To ply their work. But the bow will be a care to all men,
And especially to me; for mine is the power in the household.

Here Telemachus again chides his mother for interfering in what he perceives to be exclusively male affairs. In this passage, as in the one from Book 1, Penelope has engaged in authoritative

²⁵⁵ Bergren 2008 [1983]: 15.

²⁵⁶ Clayton 2004: 37-38.

speech. She asserts her right to give the bow to whom she chooses, saying, ὧδε γὰρ ἐξερῆω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται, “For thus I tell you, it will be a thing accomplished” (21.337). She can also be seen as intruding on the masculine business of warfare, since she is giving orders about the proper handling of a weapon. Telemachus silences her, telling her that the bow will be the concern of men, and that it is his right to give or withhold it. In this way he reasserts male authority over both weapons and public speaking.

As Hector’s speech to Andromache marks weaving as the feminine alternative to war, Telemachus’ speech to Penelope in *Odyssey* 1 designates it as the feminine alternative to speaking. The phrasing is nearly identical, suggesting an epic formula in which women are told to pursue weaving instead of men’s activities. These passages imply that what war and speaking are to men, weaving is to women. War is the traditional arena in which men win *kleos*, and speech is the means by which men perpetuate the *kleos* of others, preserving heroic deeds in song. The idea that weaving plays the same role for women that battle does for men is strengthened by the verbal resonances between the descriptions of Andromache dropping her shuttle in *Iliad* 22 when she hears the laments for Hector (χαμῶ δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε κερκίς, 22.448) and Teucer dropping his bow when he is wounded in *Iliad* 8 (τόξον δέ ἔκπεσε χειρός, 8.329). In this chapter, I suggest that just as weaving functions as an alternative path to *kleos* for women, it can also serve as an alternative way for women in Homeric epic to control and shape the *kleos* of others.

The valence of the feminine voice of the loom in Archaic Greek poetry is complex, signifying both the marginalization of female speech and women’s refusal to be silenced. Men send women to the loom when they wish to stop them from exerting authority and influence in spheres dominated by men, whether the women are offering advice on military strategy or telling

a bard to sing a different song. From the masculine perspective the loom thus serves as a way to neutralize the threat that the female voice poses to male hegemony. But sometimes the loom functions as a way for silenced women to “speak,” communicating their resistance and refusal to submit.

The extent to which the voice of the loom succeeds in subverting masculine authority varies significantly according to context. As I discussed in Chapter 1, the web that Andromache is weaving in *Iliad* 22 when Hector is killed depicts θρόνα, “flowers” (*Il.* 22.441), which can be linked symbolically to poetic images of young men who are said to fall like drooping flowers when they die in battle.²⁵⁷ The use of this imagery in Andromache’s web can be read as a comment upon Hector’s desire to win *kleos apthiton*. In *Iliad* 6, Andromache voices her opposition to Hector’s wish to continue to risk his life in battle, telling him (6.431-37):

ἀλλ’ ἄγε νῦν ἐλέαιρε καὶ αὐτοῦ μίμν’ ἐπὶ πύργῳ,
μὴ παῖδ’ ὀρφανικὸν θήης χήρην τε γυναῖκα·
λαὸν δὲ στῆσον παρ’ ἐρινεόν, ἔνθα μάλιστα
ἀμβατός ἐστι πόλις καὶ ἐπίδρομον ἔπλετο τεῖχος.
τρὶς γὰρ τῆ γ’ ἐλθόντες ἐπειρήσανθ’ οἱ ἄριστοι
ἀμφ’ Αἴαντε δύω καὶ ἀγακλυτὸν Ἴδομενῆα
ἠδ’ ἀμφ’ Ἀτρεΐδας καὶ Τυδέος ἄλκιμον υἱόν·

But come now, have pity and remain here on the tower,
Lest you should make your son an orphan and your wife a widow.
But station the host by the fig tree, where the city is
Especially easy to scale and the wall is vulnerable to assault.
For three times they came there and made an attempt,
The best men with the two Ajaxes and very famous Idomeneus
And the two sons of Atreus and the strong son of Tydeus.

The course of action that Andromache advises would benefit the city by protecting its most vulnerable point, but it would deprive Hector of the chance to win glory in battle.²⁵⁸ Hector, in

²⁵⁷ Cf. *Il.* 8.306-308 and Stesichorus’ *Geryoneis* (P. Oxy. 2617 fr. 5).

²⁵⁸ See Arthur 1981.

response, disregards Andromache's request and reiterates his commitment to winning *kleos*

(6.441-46):

ἦ καὶ ἐμοὶ τάδε πάντα μέλει γύναι· ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς
αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας ἔλκεσιπέπλους,
αἷ κε κακὸς ὧς νόσφιν ἀλυσκάζω πολέμοιο·
οὐδέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν, ἐπεὶ μάθον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλὸς
αἰεὶ καὶ πρότοισι μετὰ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι
ἀρνύμενος πατρός τε μέγα κλέος ἠδ' ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ.

Indeed, all these things are a care to me, woman. But I would be
Very terribly ashamed before the Trojans and Trojan women with trailing robes
If like a coward I should shun the war and remain apart;
Nor does my spirit bid me, since I have learned to be brave
Always and to fight among the foremost Trojans,
Striving to win great glory for my father and for myself.

Hector indicates that he realizes his course of action will end in his death, saying that he knows a day will come when “sacred Ilium will fall” (εὖ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε οἶδα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν· / ἔσσεται ἡμᾶρ ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώλη Ἴλιος ἱρῆ, 6.447-48), and envisioning a future in which he has died and Andromache is being led away as a captive (6.454-59). It is in this context that he tells Andromache to go back to the loom and leave war to the men (6.490-91). Hector's command that Andromache should weave rather than speak is closely associated here with his intent to seek a glorious death in battle against her wishes. In this way, the floral imagery of Andromache's web can be viewed as a subtle way of non-verbally indicating her preference for the natural life cycle of growth and death as opposed to the masculine goal of dying in battle and acquiring *kleos apthiton*.²⁵⁹ She later verbally expresses this view at Hector's funeral when she says that she wishes he had died in his bed (24.743-45). As long as Hector remains alive, the

²⁵⁹ See Chapter 1 for a discussion of how vegetal imagery in the *Iliad* represents the natural life cycle that warriors attempt to transcend through a glorious death (cf. Nagy 1979).

woven web is her only means of expressing the viewpoint that Hector has discouraged her from speaking aloud.²⁶⁰

Perhaps the most significant web in Homeric poetry is the one which Penelope uses to trick the suitors in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 2.85-110, 19.141-61). The poem never tells us which images, if any, are depicted on this shroud that Penelope weaves. Using knowledge about the production of textiles, Elizabeth Barber argues that the amount of time that Penelope was able to spend on the shroud without arousing suspicion suggests that the design must have been complicated and that it likely depicted a narrative:

Penelope could have woven [a plain shroud] in a couple of weeks and wouldn't have come close to fooling her suitors for three years. Homer's audience would have known that only the weaving of a non-repetitious pattern such as a story is so very time-consuming, but we who no longer weave or regularly watch others weave are more easily misled.²⁶¹

A Homeric audience would have been able to infer that Penelope was weaving a narrative, but would not know what this narrative was. Clayton has suggested that the lack of information about the appearance of Penelope's web is deliberate:

I do not think that Homer's silence on this point represents the omission of an unimportant detail. I would argue instead that Homer deliberately leaves the narrative content of the web within the realm of potentiality. And this aspect of potentiality in turn complements the fact that Penelope's web is potentially never complete. Homer allows us to image that Penelope may be weaving anything, including the adventures of Odysseus himself.²⁶²

We can evaluate the significance of the story that Penelope weaves only by her desire to keep it unfinished. Clayton associates Penelope's refusal to give this story a definite ending with the

²⁶⁰ I do not necessarily suggest that Andromache should be imagined as consciously including the flowers in her web as a form of protest, but rather that the presence of floral imagery in her web can be viewed as symbolizing her feelings and opinions about heroic glory.

²⁶¹ Barber 1994: 154.

²⁶² Clayton 2004: 34.

theory of *écriture féminine* (“female writing”) proposed by French feminists from the *Psychoanalyse et Politique* movement such as Hélène Cixous and Luce Irigaray. This writing is characterized as having a “subversive multiplicity” and being opposed to the masculine language of definite signs.²⁶³ In a similar way, Penelope’s never-finished web keeps open all possible outcomes and possible meanings.²⁶⁴

I propose a related reading of Penelope’s unweaving and reweaving within the context of the relationship between weaving and speaking that I have discussed above. I suggest that Penelope’s unwillingness to finish her web does not reflect a celebration of narrative indeterminacy but rather a refusal to communicate in a situation where any definite response to her suitors’ demands could be potentially disastrous.²⁶⁵ She obviously does not wish to remarry, but the suitors refuse to leave Ithaca until she chooses a new husband. Additionally, she does not want to risk angering them because of the violence that could potentially erupt if they are dissatisfied.²⁶⁶ She thus uses her loom to create in the suitors the false impression that she has acquiesced to their desires while in reality postponing the necessity of an answer.

Penelope’s retreat to the loom appears unthreatening to the suitors because from the male perspective, the loom is a woman’s proper place, safely removed from the affairs of men.

²⁶³ See Cixous 1981.

²⁶⁴ Clayton 2004: 38-39.

²⁶⁵ As Murnaghan 1994 has pointed out, the late twentieth-century post-structuralist aesthetic that prizes works that seem to foreground their own indeterminacy runs the risk of anachronism when applied to texts from other cultures and time periods. She argues that the celebration of narrative indeterminacy is foreign to Homeric epic, and that narration in the *Odyssey* is always “a highly pointed activity, designed to achieve some determinate end” (Murnaghan 1994: 83). I do not suggest that Penelope’s web is indeterminate for indeterminacy’s sake, but rather that Penelope refuses to bring the story of her web to a determinate end as a tactic of resistance against the suitors.

²⁶⁶ Penelope’s son Telemachus is in the greatest danger from the suitors, who plot his death twice during the course of the *Odyssey* (Od. 4.679ff, 20.243).

Penelope herself is careful to frame her desire to weave a shroud for Laertes as part of her status as a “good woman” (*Od.* 19.141-47):

κοῦροι, ἔμοι μνηστῆρες, ἐπεὶ θάνε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
μῖμνετ' ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν ἐμὸν γάμον, εἰς ὃ κε φᾶρος
ἐκτελέσω—μή μοι μεταμῶνια νήματ' ὄληται—
Λαέρτη ἥρωϊ ταφήιον, εἰς ὅτε κέν μιν
μοῖρ' ὀλοή καθέλησι τανηλεγέος θανάτιο·
μή τίς μοι κατὰ δῆμον Ἀχαιϊάδων νεμεσήσῃ,
αἶ κεν ἄτερ σπείρου κεῖται πολλὰ κτεατίσσας.

Young men, my suitors, since brilliant Odysseus has died,
Wait, although you are eager for my marriage, until I complete
A web—lest what I spin should perish in vain—
A shroud for the hero Laertes, for the time when
The ruinous fate of death that brings long woe shall destroy him,
Lest one of the Achaean women in the land should blame me,
If he should lie without a shroud despite having acquired many possessions.

She says that she wishes to complete the shroud out of respect for her father-in-law and out of fear that she will be blamed by other women for not fulfilling her obligation as a wife and daughter-in-law. This pretext reinforces the suitor’s belief that the loom is a site of dutiful and innocuous feminine activity. But Penelope uses her loom to tell a different story than the one the suitors expect to hear.

Penelope’s completed web would represent the end of her obligation to Odysseus’ family and her acknowledgment that her time in Odysseus’ house is finished. For Penelope to finish the story woven into her web would signify the end of her own story as the wife of Odysseus. For this reason, she instead attempts to keep the story radically incomplete, using the unfinished shroud to communicate her refusal to accept that Odysseus will not return. Her act of unweaving becomes a means of indicating her true feelings in a way that is safely invisible to male eyes. Thus, Penelope’s loom becomes a site of subversive resistance to the narrative that male characters in the poem attempt to write for her.

Penelope's trick with the shroud is successful until she is betrayed by an unfaithful maid and forced to finish the shroud "against her will" (οὐκ ἐθέλουσ', *Od.* 19.156). The case of Penelope's web then becomes an instance of the subversive feminine voice of the loom being co-opted by men and forced to serve their purposes, since the finished web is made to communicate an ending to its own story that Penelope wished to remain unspoken and unrealized. Nevertheless, it is significant that this male intrusion is made possible only by the intervention of another woman. Without female assistance, the suitors' lack of understanding regarding the process of weaving and their mistaken belief that the loom is a site of harmless feminine labor would likely have continued to aid Penelope in deceiving them. Their inability to uncover her plot unaided highlights the function of the loom as an instrument of covert feminine subversion.

Woven garments that have left the loom can also serve as a means of communication on behalf of and between women.²⁶⁷ An example is the *peplos* which Hecuba and the Trojan women offer to Athena in *Iliad* 6 while attempting to enlist the goddess' aid against the rampaging Diomedes. Helenus tells Hector to go to Hecuba and ask her to give Athena "a *peplos*, which seems fairest and greatest in the hall and by far the dearest to her," (πέπλον, ὅς οἱ δοκέει χαριέστατος ἠδὲ μέγιστος / εἶναι ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ καὶ οἱ πολὺ φίλτατος αὐτῆ, *Il.* 6.90-91). Hector relays the message to Hecuba, who chooses a *peplos* (6.288-96):

αὐτὴ δ' ἐς θάλαμον κατεβήσετο κηώνετα,
 ἐνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλα ἔργα γυναικῶν
 Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδῆς
 ἤγαγε Σιδονίηθεν ἐπιπλῶς εὐρέα πόντον,
 τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν·
 τῶν ἔν' ἀειραμένη Ἑκάβη φέρε δῶρον Ἀθήνη,
 ὃς κάλλιστος ἔην ποικίλμασιν ἠδὲ μέγιστος,
 ἀστὴρ δ' ὧς ἀπέλαμπεν· ἔκειτο δὲ νείατος ἄλλων.

She herself went down into her fragrant chamber,

²⁶⁷ Cf. Mueller 2010.

Where there were robes (*peploi*), the embroidered works of
Sidonian women, whom godlike Alexander
Brought from Sidon sailing on the broad sea,
On the journey on which he brought back Helen, daughter of a noble father.
Hecuba chose one of these and brought it as a gift to Athena,
The one that was most beautiful with embroidery and largest,
And it shone like a star; it lay beneath the others.

Such a gift is meant to indicate the reverence and devotion of the people of Troy for Athena and to convey a plea for mercy (6.94-95). Here, as with Penelope's finally finished web, the communicative function of the woven cloth has been enlisted by men to serve their purposes, since it is Helenus and Hector who ask that Hecuba perform the offering to aid their military endeavors. However, like the suitors, the Trojan men also require female assistance. Hecuba is regarded as the proper authority to choose the correct *peplos*, even if she is doing so at the request of her sons. Furthermore, the offering of the weaving also hints at the ways in which this feminine activity can be dangerous to the male military enterprise, since the women accompany the offering of the *peplos* with a prayer for the destruction of Diomedes (6.305-7):

πότνι' Ἀθηναίη ἐρυσίπτολι δῖα θεάων
ἄξον δὴ ἔγχος Διομήδεος, ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτὸν
πρηγέα δὸς πεσέειν Σκαιῶν προπάροιθε πυλάων

Lady Athena, defender of the city, illustrious among goddesses,
Break the spear of Diomedes, and grant that he fall
On his face before the Scaean Gates.

This prayer suggests that women—with the aid of Athena—have a sinister ability to curse men, and that the woven cloth acts as a medium between the mortal women and the goddess, conveying their intentions to the deity. In *Iliad* 6 this ability is harnessed to harm Troy's

enemies, but the possibility exists that the power of the woven offering could be turned against Trojan men in the future.²⁶⁸

Athena, however, rejects the Trojan women's prayer (ἀνένευε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη, 6.311). Her reasons for doing so are not stated, but the circumstances imply that it may be because of the nature of the offering. In this case, as with Penelope's web, the design or pattern of the *peplos* is not mentioned, but the circumstances of its making contribute to its meaning as a gift.

Andromache Karanika suggests that Athena may refuse the *peplos* because Hecuba did not weave it with her own hands.²⁶⁹ Barbara Graziosi and Johannes Haubold propose that the reason for Athena's rejection lies in the *peplos*' association with the rape of Helen and thus with the judgment of Paris.²⁷⁰ Here the woven garment conveys a message that Hecuba did not foresee and does not intend. Instead of indicating the respect of the Trojan women for the goddess of weaving by offering her a superlative example of woven craft, the gift of the *peplos* brings to mind Athena's humiliating loss to Aphrodite and serves as a reminder of the continued presence of Paris, the architect of that humiliation, within Troy.²⁷¹ It could be argued that the reason why Hecuba's gift goes awry is because she is less aware and in control of the range of meanings that the *peplos* could convey than she would be if it had been a product of her own hands. Because

²⁶⁸ There is certainly precedent for women turning on their male relatives in Greek mythology, as is evidenced by Medea (Eur. *Med.*), Althaea the mother of Meleager (*Il.* 9.566-72), and Procne (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.8; Ov. *Met.* 6.426-674).

²⁶⁹ Karanika 2001: 285.

²⁷⁰ Graziosi and Haubold 2010: 27-28.

²⁷¹ In this context, the phrase δῖα θεάων, with its common superlative force ("most noble/illustrious of goddesses," cf. *LSJ* A1), could even be read as a sarcastic reminder of Athena's defeat in the judgement of Paris, in which she was judged *not* to be the most illustrious of goddesses.

Hecuba gives Athena a piece of weaving that was made by someone other than herself, the gift ends up sending the wrong message.²⁷²

We see here that the “authorship” of a piece of weaving is an important component of its meaning, one that can have a serious effect on the way it is received. Hecuba takes authority over a piece of weaving that she did not author and does not fully understand, and thus fails to communicate effectively. To return to the analogy between weaving and oral poetry, Hecuba can be compared to a patron who attempts to use a poet’s performance of a song to advance their own agenda. We may consider, for example, Pindar’s odes in praise of tyrants such as Hieron. The patron thinks that they control what the poet sings because the poet is economically and socially dependent on the patron, just as the Sidonian slaves who wove the *peplos* are socially subordinate to Hecuba. Nevertheless, the emphasis on the authorship of the *peplos* suggests that the *Iliad* considers the poet, as the “author” of their own performance, to be prone to conveying meanings that the patron did not intend.

A more successful example of a woven garment that serves as a medium of communication on behalf of women is the robe that Helen gives Telemachus in *Odyssey* 15.²⁷³ This robe is destined to be a gift for Telemachus’ bride, and Helen tells him that until he marries he should give it to Penelope for safekeeping (15.125-28). In this way, the robe creates a network of *xenia* between three women, with Telemachus functioning as a medium of exchange between them.²⁷⁴ Through the gift of the robe, Helen takes control of her own *kleos*. By creating a

²⁷² Since it is actually the priestess Theano who lays the *peplos* on the knees of Athena’s statue, the garment has now moved two degrees of separation away from its original manufacture, perhaps further compromising its effectiveness as a means of communication (6.302-3).

²⁷³ Mueller 2010.

²⁷⁴ Mueller 2010: 11.

garment for a bride to be a μνήμη Ἑλένης χειρῶν, “a remembrance of the hands of Helen” (*Od.* 15.126), Helen rewrites herself as a figure that is acceptable to be associated with a bride. The hands of Helen will now be connected in future time with legitimate marriage rather than with her own infamous infidelity.

The effectiveness of the loom as a form of feminine communication in Homeric epic is somewhat ambiguous, since most of the examples presented here do not have favorable outcomes for the women involved. However, I suggest that the specter of the myth of Procne and Philomela, a story in which a loom’s function as a form of communication is both effective in its aims and disastrous for male authority, could be said to lurk behind the webs of female characters in Homeric epic. In the most well-known version of the myth, Tereus, the king of Thrace, marries Procne, the daughter of king Pandion of Athens. Some time passes and Procne gives birth to a son named Itys. Tereus is then overcome with lust for Procne’s sister Philomela. He rapes her and cuts out her tongue to prevent her from telling anyone his crime. Philomela weaves a tapestry depicting what has been done to her and shows it to Procne, who seeks revenge on Tereus by cooking Itys and feeding him to his father. The sisters and Tereus are then turned into birds: Philomela into a swallow, Procne into a nightingale, and Tereus into a hoopoe (*Apollod. Bibl.* 3.14.8). The rape and the tapestry are not mentioned in Homer, but Procne’s transformation into a nightingale is referenced when Penelope compares her own incessant lamenting to Procne’s (*Od.* 19.518-24):

ὥς δ’ ὅτε Πανδαρέου κόυρη, γλωρηῖς ἀηδῶν,
καλὸν ἀείδησιν ἔαρος νέον ἰσταμένοιο,
δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκινόισιν,
ἢ τε θαμὰ τρωπῶσα χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν,
παῖδ’ ὀλοφυρομένη Ἴτυλον φίλον, ὃν ποτε χαλκῶ
κτεῖνε δι’ ἀφραδίας, κοῦρον Ζήθοιο ἄνακτος,
ὥς καὶ ἐμοὶ δίχα θυμὸς ὀρώρεται ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα...

Just as the daughter of Pandareus, the pale nightingale,
Sings beautifully when spring first comes,
Sitting among the thick leaves of the trees,
And warbling often she pours out her many-toned voice,
Lamenting her dear son Itylus, whom once she slew with bronze
Through folly, the son of King Zethus,
Thus also my spirit rushes divided this way and that...

The names of the characters differ slightly from the version given in Apollodorus and Ovid, but the details of the woman who turns into a nightingale after killing her son are the same.²⁷⁵ While this passage does not prove that the detail of Philomela's web was known to Homer's audience, it does strongly suggest that they would have been familiar with the rest of the story.

Nagy argues that Philomela's web may be referenced in *Works and Days* with the nightingale's epithet *poikilodeiros*, "having a varied[-sounding] throat" (203). *Poikilos* ("variegated") is often used to refer to embroidery, suggesting that the epithet may refer to Philomela's act of "speaking" through her tapestry.²⁷⁶ If Nagy is correct, *poikilodeiros* provides evidence that Philomela's weaving was already an integral part of the myth at the time that early Greek epic was being composed. *Works and Days* is certainly aware of the story of Procne and Philomela, since the swallow is called "the daughter of Pandion" in line 568.²⁷⁷ One problem with Nagy's argument is that it should properly be the swallow (Philomela) rather than the nightingale (Procne) who speaks through the medium of textiles. However, it is possible that which sister turned into which bird was not yet fixed in the tradition at this time. The earliest

²⁷⁵ Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.8; Ov. *Met.* 6.426-674.

²⁷⁶ Nagy 1996: 65.

²⁷⁷ See also Sappho fr. 135. Aelian tells us that in Hesiod the nightingale does not sleep and the swallow sleeps half as much as other birds "because of the suffering ventured in Thrace with regard to that lawless feast" (διὰ τὸ πάθος τὸ ἐν Θράκῃ κατατολμηθὲν τὸ ἐς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκείνο τὸ ἄθεσμον, *VH* 12.20). This may be a reference to a lost passage in the *Catalogue of Women* or another lost Hesiod poem.

known definite reference to Philomela's web in Greek literature is in Sophocles' lost play *Tereus*, which seems to have followed the classic version of the story known from Apollodorus and Ovid.²⁷⁸ Significantly for our purposes, Aristotle mentions that this play included a reference to ἡ τῆς κερκίδος φωνή, "the voice of the shuttle" (Arist. *Poet.* 1454b). Here we have an explicit mention of the "speaking loom" as a means of covert female communication in the Classical Greek imaginary.²⁷⁹ If Nagy is correct about Hesiod's nightingale, such a motif was likely also known to Homeric epic's original audiences.

In the story of Procne and Philomela, the voice of the loom is both subversive and dangerous, leading to the violent destruction of Tereus' male line. Penelope's reference to Procne suggests that the possibility of such subversion lies behind Penelope's own web and other instances of weaving in the *Odyssey*, and perhaps in the *Iliad* as well, since the act of silencing a woman by sending her to the loom would always have the potential to evoke silenced Philomela's own woven speech. Therefore, despite the perception of Homeric male characters that the loom is a safe place to send a woman, a threatening subtext can be said to inform acts of female weaving in Homeric epic.

Further evidence for the association of female speech with weaving can be found in the descriptions in the *Odyssey* of Calypso and Circe singing as they weave (*Od.* 5.61-2, 10.221-22).²⁸⁰ No information is supplied by the text about either the narratives of the songs or the images that they weave, leaving the audience to imagine both. It is possible that we are meant to envision these two goddesses as singing the events that they weave, conveying the same story in

²⁷⁸ Gantz 1996: 240.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Joplin 1991 on how Philomela uses the shuttle to reclaim her lost voice.

²⁸⁰ Nagler writes of Calypso and Circe, "Their weaving is closely connected with their singing as an expression of their daemonic identity and power" (1996: 152).

two different mediums. Calypso shows herself to be a storyteller skilled in interpreting the epic tradition when she complains that the gods persecute goddesses who have affairs with mortal men (5.118-129):

‘σχέτλιοί ἐστε, θεοί, ζηλήμονες ἔξοχον ἄλλων,
οἳ τε θεαῖς ἀγάσθε παρ’ ἀνδράσιν εὐνάζεσθαι
ἀμφοδίην, ἣν τίς τε φίλον ποιήσεται ἀκοίτην.
ὧς μὲν ὄτ’ Ὀρίων’ ἔλετο ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,
τόφρα οἱ ἠγάσθε θεοὶ ῥεῖα ζῶοντες,
ἧος ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ χρυσόθρονος Ἄρτεμις ἀγνή
οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιομένη κατέπεφνε.
ὧς δ’ ὀπότ’ Ἴασίῳ ἐνπλόκαμος Δημήτηρ,
ᾗ θυμῷ εἷξασα, μίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ
νειῶ ἐνι τριπόλῳ· οὐδὲ δὴν ἦεν ἄπυστος
Ζεὺς, ὅς μιν κατέπεφνε βαλὼν ἀργῆτι κεραυνῶ.
ὧς δ’ αὖ νῦν μοι ἄγασθε, θεοί, βροτὸν ἄνδρα παρεῖναι.

You are cruel, gods, and jealous above all others,
You who are angry with goddesses for sleeping beside mortal men
Openly, if one of them should make a man her dear husband.
So when rosy-fingered Dawn chose Orion,
You gods who live easily were angry,
Until chaste golden-throned Artemis in Ortygia
Came upon him and killed him with gentle arrows.
And so it was when beautiful-haired Demeter yielded to her desire
For Iasion and mingled in love and bed
In the thrice-plowed fallow land. Zeus was not unaware
Of it, and he struck him with a bright thunderbolt and killed him.
And so you are angry with me, gods, for being beside a mortal man.

By characterizing her own story as the latest example of unfair persecution that Zeus metes out to goddesses and their mortal paramours, Calypso voices her opposition to the patriarchal hegemony that discourages goddesses from sleeping with mortals. If we image Calypso weaving these same stories of goddesses and mortals that she narrates in her complaint to Hermes, we are presented with yet another image of a female character using her loom to express her desire to subvert the masculine order.

From these examples, a picture emerges of the voice of the loom in Homer as speaking subversive opinions from the margins, potentially powerful but often thwarted. It is the voice of discounted and dismissed feminine perspectives that seek to challenge male hegemony when allowed to speak. This is the context in which we should interpret Helen's web at *Iliad* 3.126-27. The initial meaning of the web is somewhat enigmatic. Iris (disguised as Laodice) comes in search of Helen before the duel of Paris and Menelaus and finds her weaving an image of the battles between the Trojans and the Greeks (*Il.* 3.125-28):

τὴν δ' εὔρ' ἐν μεγάρω· ἦ δὲ μέγαν ἴστων ὕφαινε
 δίπλακα πορφυρέην, πολέας δ' ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους
 Τρώων θ' ἵπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,
 οὓς ἔθεν εἵνεκ' ἔπασχον ὑπ' Ἄρηος παλαμάων.

She found her in the hall; she was weaving a great purple
 Web with a double fold, and she was embroidering on it the many battles
 Of the horse-breaking Trojans and the bronze-clad Achaeans,
 Who for her sake suffered at the hands of Ares.

ἄεθλος can mean “contest” in the sense of a one-on-one fight between two heroes, but in the plural it can also simply mean “struggles,” making it uncertain whether Helen is weaving a depiction of the entire war, as Bergren suggests, or a single scene in which many individual duels are being fought.²⁸¹ The description of the action is devoid of either positive or negative adjectives, a fact which becomes particularly evident when this passage is compared to Iris' speech to Helen in the following lines (3.130-33):

δεῦρ' ἴθι νύμφα φίλη, ἵνα θέσκελα ἔργα ἴδῃαι
 Τρώων θ' ἵπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,
 οἳ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι φέρον πολύδακρυν Ἄρηα
 ἐν πεδίῳ ὀλοοῖο λιλαιόμενοι πολέμοιο·

Come here, dear young woman, so that you might see the wondrous deeds
 Of the horse-breaking Trojans and the bronze-clad Achaeans,

²⁸¹ Cf. Bergren 1979. For ἄεθλος, see *LfGrE*.

Who formerly were bearing much-lamented Ares against each other
On the plane, desiring destructive war.

Like Helen's web, Iris also describes the deeds of the Τρώων θ' ἵπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων, "horse-breaking Trojans and bronze-clad Achaeans" (3.131), but she characterizes those deeds as "wondrous," θέσκελα, while at the same time calling war πολύδακρυν, "of many tears," and ὀλοοῖο, "destructive." The narrator's account of Helen's web, on the other hand, describes the contests of the Trojans and Achaeans simply as πολέας, "many," making it unclear whether the glorious or destructive aspects of war are being emphasized in the images she weaves.²⁸² The Trojans and Achaeans are said to "suffer" (ἔπασχον), however, suggesting that the painful aspects of war may indeed be depicted in the web.

Although P.E. Easterling has argued that Helen's web should be read as an example of a woman providing *kleos* to warriors through her weaving,²⁸³ it is unclear from the description of the web whether individual warriors are distinguished in its design, or whether it depicts a mass of anonymous battling figures. If individual warriors cannot be identified in the web, it is difficult to see how Helen's weaving could bestow personal *kleos* upon specific heroes, although it could grant *kleos* to "the Achaeans" and "the Trojans" as collective groups. What is clear from the description of the web is that it depicts the war, and specifically the war in relation to Helen herself, since the Trojans and Achaeans in the web are said to suffer (ἔπασχον, 3.128) "for her sake" (ἔθεν εἵνεκ, 3.128). It is thus Helen's *kleos* and its relationship to the war that is being commented upon through Helen's web.

²⁸² O'Gorman argues that Helen's web depicts a "sanitized" version of the war, since the negative descriptors attached to war in Iris' speech do not appear in the description of Helen's web (O'Gorman 2006: 203). However, the lack of any descriptors whatsoever, including positive ones, complicates this reading in my view.

²⁸³ Easterling 1991.

As I have shown in Chapter 1, Helen’s relationship to her own *kleos* in the *Iliad* is ambivalent at best. When speaking to Hector in *Iliad* 6, she describes her future status as an object of song as an “evil fate” (6.354-58):

ἀλλ’ ἄγε νῦν εἴσελθε καὶ ἔζεο τῷδ’ ἐπὶ δίφρῳ
 δᾶερ, ἐπεὶ σε μάλιστα πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν
 εἴνεκ’ ἐμεῖο κυνὸς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔνεκ’ ἄτης,
 οἷσιν ἐπὶ Ζεὺς θῆκε κακὸν μόρον, ὡς καὶ ὀπίσσω
 ἀνθρώποισι πελώμεθ’ ἀοίδιμοι ἐσσομένοισι.

But come now, come in and sit on this chair,
 Brother-in-law, since suffering has especially encompassed your mind
 On account of me, dog that I am, and on account of the folly of Alexander,
 On whom Zeus placed an evil fate, that we should be
 Subjects of song for those yet to come.

The emphasis on how suffering (πόνος, 6.355) has come upon Hector because of Helen (εἴνεκ’ ἐμεῖο κυνὸς, “on account of me, dog that I am,” 6.356) echoes the description of the web in *Iliad* 3, in which the Achaeans and Trojans are said to “suffer under the hands of Ares” (ἐπασχον ὑπ’ Ἄρηος παλαμάων, 3.128) “for her sake” (ἔθεν εἴνεκ’, 3.128). This verbal resonance suggests that the meaning of the images in Helen’s web is in tune with her negative evaluation of her own *kleos*, which she characterizes as a source of suffering for herself and others.²⁸⁴ I argue that Helen’s web can be shown to reflect Helen’s unhappiness in the *Iliad* with the way in which her *kleos*—and indeed her very existence—are so thoroughly bound up with the destruction of war.

²⁸⁴ The association of Helen’s *kleos* with suffering is also reflected in the passage where the Trojan elders see Helen on the wall of Troy in *Iliad* 3: οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐϋκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς / τοιῆδ’ ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν· αἰνῶς ἀθανάτησι θεῆς εἰς ὅπα ἔοικεν· “There is no reproach that the Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans / Suffer woes for a long time on account of such a woman: / She is terribly like the immortal goddesses to look on” (3.156-58). Helen’s beauty is identified as a source of suffering for Greek and Trojans, and it is this beauty which gives Helen her *kleos* (cf. *Catalogue of Women*, Most. fr. 154.37-39). See Chapter 1 for a discussion of this passage with regard to Helen’s *kleos*.

At multiple points in the *Iliad*, Helen voices harsh self-recriminations, often calling herself a dog and wishing that she had died before she ever came to Troy with Paris.²⁸⁵ In *Iliad* 3 when Priam asks Helen to identify Agamemnon during the *teichoscopia*, she uses her reply as an opportunity to castigate herself (*Il* 3.173-80):

ὡς ὄφελεν θάνατός μοι ἀδεῖν κακὸς ὀππότε δεῦρο
 υἱεῖ σῶ ἐπόμην θάλαμον γνωτούς τε λιποῦσα
 παῖδά τε τηλυγέτην καὶ ὀμηλικίην ἐρατεινήν.
 ἀλλὰ τὰ γ' οὐκ ἐγένοντο· τὸ καὶ κλαίουσα τέτηκα.
 τοῦτο δέ τοι ἐρέω ὃ μ' ἀνείρεαι ἠδὲ μεταλλᾶς·
 οὗτός γ' Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρὺ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων,
 ἀμφοτέρων βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής·
 δαῖρ αὐτ' ἐμὸς ἔσκε κυνώπιδος, εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε.

Would that evil death had been pleasing to me when
 I followed your son here, having left behind my bridal chamber and kinsmen
 And my darling child and my lovely age-mates.
 But these things did not happen, and I mourn this and waste away.
 But I will tell you this, what you inquire and ask.
 This man is the son of Atreus, wide-ruling Agamemnon,
 Both a noble king and a strong spearman.
 And he was the husband's brother of dog-eyed me, if he ever existed.

In *Iliad* 6, she similarly inserts self-abuse into her request that Hector stay and talk to her rather than returning to battle, calling herself “a dog, a chilling contriver of evils” (κυνὸς κακομηχάνου ὀκρυόεσσης, 6.344) and saying that she wishes the wind had carried her away on the day that her mother gave birth to her (6.345-48):

ὡς μ' ὄφελ' ἤματι τῷ ὅτε με πρῶτον τέκε μήτηρ
 οἴχεσθαι προφέρουσα κακῇ ἀνέμοιο θύελλα
 εἰς ὄρος ἢ εἰς κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,
 ἐνθά με κῦμ' ἀπόερσε πάρος τάδε ἔργα γενέσθαι.

Would that on the day when my mother first bore me
 An evil storm of wind had come, bearing me away
 To a mountain or to a wave of the loud-roaring sea,
 Where a wave might have swept me away before these deeds happened.

²⁸⁵ Cf. Blondell 2010.

She includes a similar wish in her lament for Hector in *Iliad* 24: ἤ μὲν μοι πόσις ἐστὶν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής, / ὅς μ' ἄγαγε Τροίηνδ' ὥς πρὶν ὄφελλον ὀλέσθαι, “Indeed my husband is godlike Alexander, / Who led me to Troy. Would that I had died before then” (*Il.* 24.763-64). The common themes in these passages are Helen’s denigration of herself and her self-reproach for her continued survival. She voices her regret for the destructive consequences that her life has had, wishing that she had died before these disastrous events took place.

Such statements take on extra resonance when we consider that Helen herself is strongly associated with *kleos* and in some sense serves as a living symbol of martial glory. The warriors in the *Iliad* fight for glory, as Sarpedon says in *Iliad* 12 (ἴομεν ἢ ἐ τῷ εὖχος ὀρέξομεν ἢ ἐ τις ἡμῖν, “let us go and bestow glory on another or may another bestow it on us,” 12.328), or as Achilles says in *Iliad* 18 (νῦν δὲ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀροίμην, “But now may I win good *kleos*,” 18.121), but they also fight for possession of Helen. The war is repeatedly said to take place “for the sake of Helen” (2.354-56, 3.128, 6.356), and in *Iliad* 3 “Helen and all her possessions” (Ἑλένη καὶ κτήμασι πᾶσι, 3.70) are the prize for the winner of the duel between Paris and Menelaus that is proposed as a solution to end the war once and for all (3.66-75).²⁸⁶ This overlap of motivations causes a kind of semantic slippage in which Helen becomes a signifier of *kleos*.²⁸⁷ To gain uncontested possession of Helen is to possess victory, and thus glory, making Helen and glory in some way functionally equivalent to each other. Helen is also referred to several times in the *Iliad* as a *euchōlē* (2.160, 176; 4.173), which literally means “thing to be boasted over,” but is also used to mean “glory.”²⁸⁸ For example, in *Iliad* 2 Athena berates Odysseus (2.176-78):

²⁸⁶ Similarly, in *Iliad* 22, Hector fantasizes about ending the war by handing over “Helen and all her possessions” to the Greeks (22.111–122).

²⁸⁷ Cf. Blondell 2010: 18.

²⁸⁸ See Introduction.

κὰδ δέ κεν εὐχολὴν Πριάμῳ καὶ Τρωσὶ λίποιτε
Ἀργεῖην Ἑλένην, ἧς εἵνεκα πολλοὶ Ἀχαιῶν
ἐν Τροίῃ ἀπόλοντο φίλης ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἴης;

Would you leave Argive Helen for Priam and the Trojans
As a *euchōlē*, for whose sake many Achaeans
Perished in Troy far from their dear fatherland?

Helen's status as a *euchōlē* makes clear that whatever side is left in possession of her at the end of the war will win the glory, making her living presence a tangible representation of martial *kleos*.

Because Helen is the cause of the war, some scholars have interpreted Helen's denigration of herself as a subtle criticism of male warrior culture. Suzuki has argued that the portrayal of Helen in the *Iliad* as both "beautiful and baneful" reflects the "doubleness of heroic fate" and the ambivalence that warriors feel towards war which brings them both glory and death.²⁸⁹ O'Gorman has similarly suggested that Helen's characterization of herself as evil and worthless can be read as a critique of the male warrior enterprise. If Helen herself is not a worthy prize, then the war fought on her behalf is itself unworthy.²⁹⁰ By extension, Helen's criticism of herself can be viewed as a critique of *kleos*. Just as Helen brings suffering to those who fight to possess her, *kleos* itself brings suffering and is not worth the price paid for it.²⁹¹

Ruby Blondell, however, has argued that Helen's self-blame should not be interpreted as a critique of male warrior *kleos* because to express such a critique would not be in Helen's best interest:

²⁸⁹ Suzuki 1989: 43.

²⁹⁰ O'Gorman 2006: 203-205.

²⁹¹ See my discussion in Chapter 1 of how Helen is critical of her own *kleos* because it is associated with the suffering of others.

In so far as her own κλέος, and her identity, depend on her function as an emblem of male *kleos*, to question her own value as an object of heroic struggle is to flirt with self-annihilation... She cannot afford, then, to translate her self-blame into a critique of male heroism or repudiate the war as such.²⁹²

Blondell instead suggests that Helen's self-blame should be seen as an assertion of agency, since the male characters who absolve Helen of fault do so by characterizing her as a passive figure who is not responsible for the consequences of her presence at Troy.²⁹³ According to this argument, Helen is claiming control over her past actions by blaming herself.²⁹⁴

Nevertheless, to say that Helen would not flirt with self-annihilation is to ignore the significance of Helen's repeated wishes that she had died before coming to Troy. I would argue that a flirtation with self-annihilation is precisely what Helen is doing. Aware of the fact that her existence and her very identity *qua* Helen are responsible for the war, she toys with the idea of not existing, imaging an alternate world in which she died as a baby or before she left Sparta. The appeal of these fantasies is that they would absolve Helen of guilt were they to constitute reality, but the tragedy of Helen's circumstances is that she cannot erase her guilt without erasing herself. The nature of the bind in which Helen finds herself is highlighted by the way that her wishes for self-annihilation necessitate constant referrals back to the self she wishes to destroy. Her speeches make continuous use of the first-person pronoun, repeatedly inserting herself back into the text despite expressing a longing to be permanently removed: μοι (3.173), ἐμὸς (3.176), μ', με (6.345), με (6.348), εἴνεκ' ἐμεῖο (6.356), μοι (24.763), μ' (24.764). By reiterating her guilt

²⁹² Blondell 2010: 18.

²⁹³ This trend of absolving Helen of blame while depriving her of agency continues in the so-called *encomia* of Helen by Gorgias and Isocrates.

²⁹⁴ Arthur anticipates Blondell in attributing more agency to Helen than to other female characters in the *Iliad*, seeing her as a powerful character who manipulates men for her own ends (Arthur 1981). Worman similarly emphasizes Helen's use of language to manipulate those around her (Worman 2002).

as the cause of the sufferings of the war, Helen paradoxically increases her own *kleos*, even as she laments this *kleos*' destructive consequences.

What Helen then ultimately mourns is the way that she and the war are inextricably bound up with each other, both in the present and in the time to come (cf. 6.354-58), so that the war consumes her entire identity, making it impossible for her to be known as anything other than the woman for whom it was fought.²⁹⁵ As the 20th century Imagist poet H.D. wrote, "There was a Helen before there was a war / but who remembers her?"²⁹⁶ I argue that the message of Helen's web is thus both an acknowledgement and a statement of regret that Helen will forever be thought of in relation to the sufferings of the war, just as the war is forever associated with her.

Helen's web also has a more extensive metapoetic significance. Her status as a source of *kleos* and—through her weaving—a "narrator" of the Trojan War story links her with the internal narrator of the *Iliad* and with the oral performers of the *Iliad*'s poetic tradition. The verbal resonances between the description of her web (3.126-29) and Iris' description of the war (3.130-33) are also significant. Both passages share the line Τρώων θ' ἰπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων ("of the horse-breaking Trojans and bronze-clad Achaeans," 3.128=3.131) and references to Ares (3.129, 3.132). These resonances associate Helen's weaving not only with the generic production of oral poetry, but specifically with the poetry of the *Iliad*, since the web echoes an adjacent passage of the poem.

²⁹⁵ An example of this fundamental identification of Helen with the war is found in the famous lines of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, when immediately upon seeing Helen, Faust exclaims: "Was this the face that launch'd a thousand ships, / And burnt the topless towers of Ilium?" (Act V, Scene I). Here Helen is reduced to her face (her beauty) and the war that is her beauty's legacy.

²⁹⁶ "Winter Love" 89-90 (Doolittle 1972: 91).

The association that this passage creates between Helen and the putative “poet of the *Iliad*” was first pointed out by a scholiast, who wrote in reference to Helen’s weaving that “the poet has fashioned a worthy model of his own poetic art” (ἀξιόχρεων ἀρχέτυπον ἀνεπλαξεν ὁ ποιητῆς τῆς ἰδίας ποιήσεως).²⁹⁷ The use of the word *archetypon*, “archetype” or “model,” in reference to Helen’s web is striking. An *archetypon* is a model in the sense of being the true, initial, or quintessential instantiation of something.²⁹⁸ It is the genuine original from which copies are made.²⁹⁹ The word is frequently used of the models that artists paint from, so that the *archetypon* is the real person or object that the painting fictively represents.³⁰⁰ By describing Helen’s web as the *archetypon* of the poet’s art, the scholiast is envisioning the *Iliad* as a copy of Helen’s work. He says that the poet has “fashioned” (ἀνεπλαξεν) Helen to be his own *archetypon*, suggesting that the poet seeks to subtly lend authority to his own narrative with the conceit that he is telling Helen’s story—from her own perspective—as she herself wove it.

This link between Helen’s web and the *Iliad* invites us to look more closely at the significance of the relationship that the poem sets up between Helen and “the poet.” By “poet” I do not mean a real person responsible for creating the *Iliad* in its present form, but rather the poet implied by the text, the internal narrator who speaks to us in the first person in select sections of the poem, such as at the beginning of the Catalogue of Ships (2.484-93).³⁰¹ It is this individual

²⁹⁷ Erbse 1969 on *Il.* 3.126-127.

²⁹⁸ *LSJ*. Cf. D.H. *Is.* 11; Plut. *Mor.* 489, 966; Plot. *Enn.* 5.9; Jul. *Or.* 2.93; *Caes.* 336; Luc. *Dom.* 23; *Prom. Es* 3.

²⁹⁹ For *archetypon* or its related adjective *archetypos* as an original contrasted with a copy, see Emp. D126, R77; Longin. 1.2; Philo Judaeus *Who is the Heir* 231; *Migration of Abraham* 40; *On Drunkenness* 133; *On the Creation* 16; *On Joseph* 87.

³⁰⁰ See Sen. *Controv.* 10.25; *A.P.* 9.253; Luc. *Im.* 15, 16; *Zeux.* 3. *Archetypon* is used as the original copy of a letter at Cic. *Att.* 16.3 and Plin. *Ep.* 19.10.

³⁰¹ For the narrator of the *Iliad*, see de Jong 1987: 41-52. For the difference between “poet” and “narrator,” see de Jong 1987: 29-30. Cf. de Jong 2006.

that the *Iliad* conceives of as its creator, regardless of the circumstances of its actual composition. As John Foley has argued, this poet-figure, whom we may call “Homer,” is really a personification of the poetic tradition.³⁰² He is a character just as much as Helen is, but he reflects how real epic poets thought about themselves and their art. In this way, Helen’s close association with this poet-figure becomes a way for the *Iliad* to comment critically upon the complicity of the poetic tradition in the violence that it narrates.

I suggest that Helen’s situation, in which she cannot separate her own identity from the Trojan war, mirrors the situation of the singers of the *Iliad*, in which the songs of *kleos apthiton* are intimately bound up with the untimely deaths of young warriors who pursue glory on the battlefield. If we posit a close association between Helen and the poet-narrator of the *Iliad*, a possible reading emerges in which Helen’s self-blame can be viewed as the poem’s acknowledgement that epic poets benefit from the deaths of warriors because the societal investment in *kleos apthiton* won from glorious death enhances the poets’ status in his community. In this context, Helen’s feminine voice and negative perspective on male warrior *kleos* emerge as more central to the *Iliad* than previous scholars have accounted for.

Helen’s status as a metapoetic character is not based upon her weaving alone, but also upon other passages in the poem in which she displays a metapoetic consciousness. For example, she seems uniquely aware of her own poetic afterlife, as in the passage in *Iliad* 6 when she describes her future *kleos* as an evil fate (6.354-58). Although Homeric warriors frequently hope to be remembered in the future, Helen expresses an unusually prescient certainty that she will be

³⁰² Foley 1998.

an object of song for future generations.³⁰³ As I discussed above, both this passage and the description of Helen's web emphasize that Helen's fame is tied to the suffering that men have undergone for her sake.

Another point in the poem where Helen appears to display a metapoetic awareness is during the *teichoscopia*, the section of the *Iliad* in which she identifies the leading Greek warriors for Priam, pointing out in succession Agamemnon, Odysseus, Ajax, and Idomeneus. In this scene, her list of heroes follows the same order as the Catalogue of Ships in *Iliad 2*, again linking Helen to the narrator of the poem.³⁰⁴ As in the passages discussed above, Helen here focuses on the negative aspects of her presence at Troy, interjecting into her description of Agamemnon a wish that she had died before coming to Troy (3.173-75) and calling herself "dog-eyed" (3.180). Thus we may say that self-blame and an emphasis on the suffering that she has caused are common characteristics of Helen's metapoetic scenes in the *Iliad*.

Some scholars have argued that the metapoetic quality of the *teichoscopia* is undercut by Helen's ignorance of the fate of Castor and Polydeuces. After listing the other Achaean leaders, Helen wonders why she cannot see her brothers (*Il.* 3.34-42):

νῦν δ' ἄλλους μὲν πάντας ὄρω ἑλίκωπας Ἀχαιοῦς,
οὐς κεν ἐν γνοίην καὶ τ' οὔνομα μυθησαίμην·
δοιῶ δ' οὐ δύναμαι ἰδέειν κοσμήτορε λαῶν
Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ πῦξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα
αὐτοκασιγνήτω, τῷ μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ.
ἢ οὐχ ἐσπέσθην Λακεδαιμόνος ἐξ ἐρατεινῆς,
ἢ δεύρω μὲν ἔποντο νέεσσ' ἐνὶ ποντοπόροισι,
νῦν αὖτ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι μάχην καταδύμεναι ἀνδρῶν
αἵσχα δειδιότες καὶ ὄνειδα πόλλ' ἅ μοι ἐστίν.

³⁰³ For Homeric warriors' hope to be remembered in the future, see Hector at *Il.* 7.88-91, when he imagines one of the "later-born men" (ὀμιγόνων ἀνθρώπων) seeing the tomb of a man he slew and remembering him, or at 22.304-5 when he wishes that he may not die without having done some glorious deed for future people to hear of.

³⁰⁴ Suzuki 1989: 40. Here Suzuki suggests that Helen occupies a position "akin to that of the male poet."

And now I see all the other quick-glancing Achaeans
Whom I could recognize well and tell their names.
But I am not able to see the two marshallers of the people,
Horse-breaking Castor and Polydeuces, good at boxing,
My own brothers, whom my own mother bore.
Either they did not follow from lovely Lacedaemon,
Or they followed here in the sea-journeying ships
But now they do not want to enter into the battle of men,
Fearing the many shames and reproaches which are mine.

The narrator immediately follows this speech with a statement that her brothers are dead: ὥς φάτο, τοὺς δ' ἤδη κάτεχεν φυσίζοος αἴα / ἐν Λακεδαίμονι αὖθι φίλη ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ, “Thus she spoke, but the life-producing earth already covered them there in Lacedaemon, their dear fatherland” (*Il.* 3.243-44). Because this passage demonstrates that the poet has knowledge that Helen does not possess, George Kennedy contends that it confirms the superiority of the bard’s verbal art over Helen’s web.³⁰⁵ However, the narrator’s interjection at the end of Helen’s speech can also be shown to emphasize the cost of war and of Helen’s presence at Troy in the same way that Helen’s speech to Hector and Helen’s web do, suggesting a close thematic connection between the three passages.

Castor and Polydeuces did not die in the Trojan War, but their deaths are the result of the same system of values that urges young men to prove their bravery and seek glory through feats of violence. The two earliest sources on the fate of Castor and Polydeuces, the *Cypria* and Pindar, report that Castor was killed in a cattle raid while trying to steal the cows of the brothers Idas and Lynceus, and that Polydeuces agreed to share his immortality with him, so that the twins spend alternate days on Olympus and in the underworld.³⁰⁶ In the *Iliad*, the narrator merely

³⁰⁵ Kennedy 1986. Cf. also Suzuki 1989: 40 on Helen’s human fallibility in this passage, and Lovatt 2013 on how Helen’s lack of knowledge about her brother’s fate subordinates her to the narrator.

³⁰⁶ Cf. *Cypria* fr. 1; Pind. *Nem.* 10.60ff.

says that the two brothers have been covered by the earth (*Il.* 3.243-44), implying that they are both truly dead. This pessimistic version of the Dioscuri's fate is in keeping with the *Iliad's* general unwillingness to grant immortality to its mortal heroes.³⁰⁷ It is possible, then, that the *Iliad* is implying that both Castor and Polydeuces lost their lives in the cattle raid that features in the *Cypria* and Pindar.

Cattle raiding is essentially a kind of warfare in that it frequently involves armed conflict. In Greek mythology it is also closely associated with more formal military enterprises in terms of its themes and justifications. Johnston associates cattle raiding myths with initiation into adulthood:

The primary purpose of cattle-raid myths is to demonstrate that young men win admission to the adult community by displaying certain qualities: bravery, initiative, and physical strength being among the most obvious. Most myths therefore exaggerate the monstrosity of the victim from whom the young man raids cattle so as to magnify the dangers he confronts and thus glorify his bravery, initiative, and strength.³⁰⁸

Bravery, physical strength, and the possession of glory are also key characteristics of the Homeric warrior, as Sarpedon's speech to Glaucus in *Iliad* 12 demonstrates.³⁰⁹ McInerney interprets cattle raiding as being even more closely tied to formal war in terms of its goals and social function:

As a myth and as a way of understanding social relations, the cattle raid authorizes a permanent state of conflict. This is readily seen in societies that remain more fully pastoral, such as the Dinka and Nuer, who attribute the continuous warfare between them to a primeval raid when the first Dinka stole cattle intended as a gift from the sky god Kwoth to the Nuer. Cattle raiding myth retained its power for the Greeks, not

³⁰⁷ Achilles in Homeric epic, for example, is denied the divine afterlife on the island of Leuke that he is granted in the *Aethiopis* (cf. *Aethiopis* fr. 1). See Griffin 1977; Schein 1984: 91.

³⁰⁸ Johnston 2013: 160.

³⁰⁹ Sarpedon tells Glaucus that they are honored in Lycia because they are strong, they fight amongst the forefront of the Lycians, and they are not inglorious (12.9-13).

because they too lived entirely by pastoralism (since they did not), but because they did live in a state of permanent conflict, among themselves and with non-Greek people. The cattle raid encapsulates agonism. Its complements are those myths that substitute women for cattle, the other commodity that causes endless disputes.³¹⁰

In this way, a death in a cattle raid can be said to result from the same societal impulses that led young men to lose their lives in the Trojan War. Indeed, Nestor explicitly equates cattle-raiding with war when describing his raid on the Eleians in *Iliad* 11 (11.669-83). He says of himself on this expedition that he “went into war young” (μοι τύχε πολλά νέω πόλεμον δὲ κίοντι, 11.684).³¹¹ By reporting the deaths of Helen’s brothers at the end of the list of heroes in the *teichoscopia*, the narrator of the *Iliad* could be viewed as highlighting the personal cost of the agonistic violence that the Greek and Trojan warriors are about to engage in.

It is also interesting that McInerney highlights the thematic connection between cattle-stealing and woman-stealing, since in an alternate version of the Dioscuri myth Castor is killed because he and his brother abduct the daughters of Leucippus, and the men to whom the girls were previously betrothed come to steal them back.³¹² Although this version of the myth appears only in later sources, it is possible that it reflects an alternative tradition that was known at the time of the *Iliad*’s composition. If this is the case, then the narrator’s reference to the deaths of Castor and Polydeuces could be further associated with the deaths of men who died in the Trojan War, another conflict originating from the theft of a woman.

The deaths of the Dioscuri also highlight the personal cost of the Trojan war for Helen herself. Griffin has written of how this passage about Castor and Polydeuces resonates with the

³¹⁰ McInerney 2010: 112.

³¹¹ Nestor’s raid then sparks an all-out war between Pylos and Elis (11.706-60).

³¹² Hyg. *Fab.* 80; Lactant. 1.10; Ov. *Her.* 16.327, *Fast.* 5.709; Theoc. 7.137; Prop. 1.2.15.

many passages in the *Iliad* in which young warriors are described as dying “far from home.”³¹³ In this case, however, Helen’s brothers are buried in their homeland, and she herself is the one who is far away. Not to be present at the death-bed of a loved one is characterized as a great sorrow in Andromache’s lament for Hector in *Iliad* 24, when she wishes that Hector had died in his bed so that he could stretch out his hands to her and whisper a final word for her to remember (24.743-45). Helen is here unwittingly the victim of an even greater sorrow, that of not even knowing that her brothers have died.³¹⁴ Her absence from her family is the result of her departure from Sparta with Paris, the event that immortalized her forever as the catalyst of the Trojan War. Thus the circumstances that brought Helen *kleos* also caused her to be absent when her brothers died.

A parallel can be drawn here between Helen and Achilles, who in his speech to Priam in *Iliad* 24 expresses his sorrow that his father Peleus grows old and suffers far away from him in Phthia (24.537-42):

ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ καὶ τῷ θῆκε θεὸς κακόν, ὅττι οἱ οὔ τι
παίδων ἐν μεγάροισι γονὴ γένετο κρειόντων,
ἀλλ’ ἓνα παῖδα τέκεν παναώριον· οὐδέ νυ τόν γε
γηράσκοντα κομίζω, ἐπεὶ μάλα τηλόθι πάτρης
ἤμαι ἐνὶ Τροίῃ, σέ τε κήδων ἠδὲ σὰ τέκνα.

But upon him also a god brought evil, because to him
No offspring of princely sons was born in his halls,
But he begot one son doomed to an untimely death. Nor now
Do I care for him as he grows old, since very far from my fatherland
I sit in Troy, causing pain to you and your children.

³¹³ Griffin 1980: 111. See for example the passage where Hippothous is killed by Ajax over Patroclus’ body: ὁ δ’ ἄγχ’ αὐτοῖο πέσε πρηνῆς ἐπὶ νεκρῷ / τῆλ’ ἀπὸ Λαρίσης ἐριβόλακος, “He fell close to him, face-down upon the corpse / far from deep-soiled Larissa” (17.300-1). See also Chapter 1 on the formulas *tēlothi patrēs* and *patrida gaian*.

³¹⁴ Griffin writes that this line “places Helen in an especially touching light” (1980: 112).

Achilles' father suffers because Achilles has left his homeland to pursue *kleos apthiton* and is fated not to return. Helen too has departed for Troy and separated herself from her loved ones so that she does not know what sufferings befall them in her absence. This is another way that, as I discussed in Chapter 1, Helen resembles a warrior who has left his family behind to go to war.³¹⁵

The narrator's interjection into the *teichoscopia* is thus thematically in tune with Helen's other metapoetic passages in terms of its emphasis on the cost of the war for both Helen and those who fight for her. That the narrator supplies this emphasis rather than Helen herself does not diminish the significance of this passage, but, I suggest, rather strengthens the connection between Helen and the poet. Here the narrator implicitly reinforces the ways in which Helen elsewhere in the poem characterizes the kind of *kleos* that is associated with war and suffering as an evil fate. This reinforcement, in turn, suggests an alignment of Helen's views of war and *kleos* with the *Iliad's* thematic agenda.

It should be noted that Helen also displays metapoetic characteristics in the *Odyssey*, although in a somewhat different way. Bergren has noted how the description the "good drug" that Helen uses in *Odyssey* 4 to alleviate the sorrows of Menelaus and Telemachus (4.220-234) closely mirrors the vocabulary used to describe *kleos* in early Greek epic.³¹⁶ The drug, like a performance of the *klea andrōn*, "the glorious deeds of men," can cause people to forget all of their cares.³¹⁷ In this way, Helen appears again as a kind of poet-figure, with her drug as an analogue for epic poetry. Helen's metapoetic associations in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* suggest that this quality may have been an inherent aspect of her character in the wider epic

³¹⁵ See Chapter 1 on how Helen resembles a warrior who leaves his family behind to pursue *kleos*.

³¹⁶ Bergren 2008: 116-118.

³¹⁷ Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 98-103.

tradition. However, Helen’s status as a truthful tale-teller is called into question when her story of how she aided the disguised Odysseus in Troy (4.240-64) is countered by Menelaus’ tale of how she tried to deceive the warriors inside the Trojan horse by mimicking the voices of their wives (4.272-89). Helen is here presented as untrustworthy and duplicitous, and the extent to which she can be said to reflect the role of an epic poet is thrown into doubt. The relationship between Helen and the poet-narrator is thus more complicated in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*.

I suggest that Helen in the *Iliad* is more aligned with the poet-narrator than other metapoetic characters in Homeric epic such as Achilles, Penelope, and Odysseus. Helen’s role as a living symbol of *kleos* makes her similar to an epic poet, who grants fame to heroes through song and enshrines them forever in the poetic tradition. No other character in Homeric epic shares Helen’s qualities as both a source of *kleos* and an individual who comments upon the nature of *kleos*. Achilles, for example, has been identified as a metapoetic character by scholars because of the scene in *Iliad* 9 in which Odysseus, Phoenix, and Ajax find him playing the lyre and singing of the famous deeds of heroes (9.186-89):³¹⁸

τὸν δ’ εὖρον φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ
καλῆ δαιδαλέῃ, ἐπὶ δ’ ἀργύρεον ζυγὸν ἦεν,
τὴν ἄρετ’ ἐξ ἐνάρων πόλιν Ἡετίωνος ὀλέσσας·
τῆ ὅ γε θυμὸν ἔτερπεν, ἄειδε δ’ ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν.

And they found him delighting his mind with the clear lyre,
Beautiful and elaborate, and there was a yoke of silver on it;
He had taken this lyre from the spoils when he sacked the city of Eetion;
He was delighting his heart with this, and he sang the glorious deeds (*klea*) of men.

Klea andrōn, “the glorious deeds of men,” is the name that Homeric epic uses for “heroic poetry,” the same genre of poetry as the *Iliad*, meaning that Achilles is singing of the kinds of

³¹⁸ Suzuki 1989: 40.

deeds in which he himself participates in the poem.³¹⁹ Bryan Hainsworth writes, “An amateur singer... who is also a member of the patron class is not readily paralleled.”³²⁰ Achilles’ performance is therefore marked, calling attention to his unusual metapoetic status. Martin has also noted that Achilles’ use of language in the *Iliad* more closely mimics that of the narrator than the language of any other character, suggesting that Achilles, like Helen, should be viewed as closely connected to the *Iliad*’s putative poet.³²¹

It is significant that Achilles, like Helen, also comments negatively on the accepted warrior values of his society, as in *Iliad* 9 when he says that no compensation is worth his life (οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ψυχῆς ἀντάξιον, 9.401), and when he considers going home without the *kleos* that has been prophesied for him if he dies at Troy (9.410-20). Achilles is unlike Helen, however, in that he is overwhelmingly concerned with *kleos* as something that he will or will not possess, rather than something he is responsible for bestowing on others. His primary function is to be a hero and win glory, even if for a large portion of the *Iliad* he is rebelling against that function. Helen’s role, on the other hand, is to be a prize and an observer of the action. Helen is additionally tied more closely to the poet of the *Iliad* than Achilles is by the fact that her web depicts the action of the Trojan War, while the *klea andrōn* that Achilles sings belong to unspecified heroes of the past.

While Penelope is also a metapoetic character, she is similarly unlike Helen in that she does not function as a source of *kleos* for other characters.³²² Her continual unweaving can even

³¹⁹ Hainsworth 1993: 88.

³²⁰ Hainsworth 1993: 88.

³²¹ Martin 1989: 146-205.

³²² Although some scholars have argued that the *kleos* that Agamemnon speaks of at *Od.* 24.196-97 should be interpreted as resulting from Penelope’s virtue but belonging to Odysseus, rather than belonging to Penelope as the

be seen as a refusal to grant *kleos* by declining to bring the narrative that she weaves to a close. The *Odyssey* makes clear that for a hero to have *kleos*, his story must have an ending: he must either die gloriously or return home. To have his fate remain unknown, his story unfinished, leaves a hero in an eternal limbo.³²³ Penelope's unfinished shroud is a denial of the potential *kleos* in the narrative that the finished web would depict. Similarly, she denies the *kleos* that the shroud might grant to Laertes, whom it is meant to honor.

Penelope does win *kleos* for herself from the web, as Antinous says (*Od.* 2.123-26).³²⁴ However, any *kleos* that accrues to Penelope from her trick with Laertes' shroud stems from Penelope's cleverness in conceiving the stratagem, not from the finished shroud itself, since the completed web signals the failure of Penelope's ruse. Her *kleos* and her weaving are not bound up with the *kleos* of heroes and with war, as Helen's weaving and *kleos* are, but rather with her creation of a kind of anti-*kleos*, a deliberate lack of specificity and meaning. In this sense, it is very fitting that the story depicted on Penelope's web remains unknown, and its characters anonymous.

The *Odyssey* in general is a more overtly metapoetic poem than the *Iliad*. Zachary Biles writes, "The poem's preoccupation with bards and song has long been recognized as an

line is traditionally translated. They suggest that τῶ οἱ κλέος οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται / ἧς ἀρετῆς should read "and the *kleos* of his virtue will never perish" rather than the *kleos* of "her" virtue (Nagy 1979: 37-38; Edwards 1985: 88. Cf. Katz 1991: 20-21 for an overview of this issue). However, since the remainder of the sentence following this line refers specifically to Penelope's fame (τεύξουσι δ' ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀοιδῆν / ἀθάνατοι χάρεισσαν ἐχέφρονι Πηνελοπέει, "but the immortals will make a graceful song for wise Penelope for those upon the earth," *Od.* 24.97-98), I think the *kleos* in question must be Penelope's.

³²³ In the storm in *Odyssey* 5, Odysseus laments that if he had died at Troy, the Achaeans would have "spread [his] *kleos* far and wide" (καί μεν κλέος ἦγον Ἀχαιοί, *Od.* 5.311), but that if he dies at sea he will have a "wretched death" (λευγαλέῳ θανάτῳ, *Od.* 5.312). Since Odysseus has failed to die in the Trojan war, there will be no glory for him if he dies in the storm with no one to tell of his fate; if he wants his share of *kleos* he must make it back to Ithaca.

³²⁴ See Chapter 1 for how weaving can be a source of *kleos* for women.

indication of a high degree of poetic self-consciousness.”³²⁵ Multiple characters in the *Odyssey* tell and retell their own stories, with performances by bards featured in several scenes. Of these bard-characters, Demodocus, the blind poet of the Phaeacians, has been considered to have a particularly close relationship to the *Odyssey*’s putative poet. Ancient readers thought that Demodocus was modeled on or meant to represent Homer himself.³²⁶ Some modern scholars, in contrast, have suggested that the ancient conception of Homer as a blind bard may be based upon the character of Demodocus.³²⁷ Graziosi offers a suggestion as to why Demodocus, rather than the other Odyssean bard Phemius who sings to the suitors on Ithaca, has been considered to be closely related to Homer by both ancient and modern audiences:

As far as Homer is concerned, it is not difficult to see why Demodocus, rather than Phemius, was thought to be a close parallel. ...Homer is equidistant from all audiences, and far removed from them all. This is the reason why, like Demodocus, he does not address his listeners in his songs, or privilege one particular set of local concerns... The only characters Homer addresses at all are some heroes, and the gods closest to him as a singer. Homer is impartial, and his blindness can be seen as a symbol of that impartiality.³²⁸

The impartiality that Graziosi identifies as a trait of the Homeric poet could in a way be said to be true of Helen in the *Iliad*. Helen is unlike Demodocus in that she comments frequently on the action unfolding around her. She is deeply invested in the outcome of the war, since it will determine her own fate, and in this way she can hardly be said to be impartial. She could, however, be viewed as non-partisan, since she does not clearly seem to favor one side of the war

³²⁵ Biles 2003: 192. Cf. Fränkel 1962: 8; Segal 1996: 202.

³²⁶ Rutherford 1996: 10.

³²⁷ Graziosi 2002: 133.

³²⁸ Graziosi 2002: 141.

over the other.³²⁹ The narrator of the *Iliad* similarly does not seem to favor either the Greeks or the Trojans, portraying heroes from both sides with great sympathy and pathos.³³⁰

This impartiality cannot be attributed to Odysseus, another character in the *Odyssey* who has a metapoetic status. Throughout the poem, Odysseus tells various false and true accounts of his own adventures to various audiences, including narrating four whole books of the poem in his own voice, suggesting that he too should be seen as having a close relationship to the *Odyssey*'s implied poet.³³¹ Odysseus is, however, blatantly partisan (towards himself) throughout the *Odyssey*, and all of his tales are meant to favor himself and his own interests.³³² His stories similarly are not concerned with granting *kleos* to anyone other than to himself.³³³

Helen thus emerges as the only metapoetic character in Homeric epic who both grants *kleos* to others (whether willingly or unwillingly) and also evaluates the quality and worth of

³²⁹ In *Iliad* 3, Helen tells Paris that she wishes he had been killed by Menelaus, but then immediately asks him not to fight with Menelaus again for fear that he should be killed (*Il.* 3.428-36). This passage is notable because Helen first orders Paris to fight Menelaus in lines 3.432-33, and then immediately in lines 3.433-36 begs him not to out of fear for his safety. She cannot seem to choose one husband over the other. Similarly, she speaks very highly of the Achaean warriors whom she describes during the *teichoscopia* (3.172-242), but also speaks with great affection of both Hector and Priam (3.172, 6.354-56, 24.762-775), indicating that she has emotional ties to heroes on both sides of the conflict. For Helen as a liminal figure with shifting allegiances, see Bergren 1983; Suzuki 1989; Blondell 2010.

³³⁰ Cf. Schein 1984: 168-69.

³³¹ See Thalmann 1984: 157-184 for Odysseus as a bardic figure. See Clayton 2004: 53-82 on the metapoetic nature of Odysseus' "lying tales."

³³² Odysseus' "lying tales" (to Athena 13.256-286, to Eumaeus 14.192-359, to Penelope 19.165-202) are all meant to elicit sympathy and forge a connection with his listeners while at the same time withholding his true identity until he considers it advantageous to reveal it. Odysseus' "true tale" (to the Phaeaceans, *Od.* 9-12), is similarly told for his own advantage to request help from the Phaeacians. The tale in 9-12 is a self-justification, making clear that his misfortunes and failure to bring his crew safely home are not his own fault. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the poet of the *Odyssey* is more blatantly partisan towards Odysseus than the poet of the *Iliad* is towards any of his characters, as is evidenced by the *Odyssey*'s proem having several lines devoted to arguing that Odysseus should not be held responsible for the deaths of his crew (*Od.* 1.6-10).

³³³ Heroic *kleos* in the *Odyssey* is also of a different nature than *kleos* in the *Iliad*, since it is not exclusively derived from fighting and dying in battle but can also come from *nostos*. The *kleos* of Odysseus that the *Odyssey* is concerned with is thus different from the *kleos* of glorious death which is tied to Helen.

kleos. For this reason, she is the character best-suited to express the complex relationship that poets have to *kleos*. In the remainder of this chapter, I would like to further tease out the similarities between Helen and an epic poet, focusing particularly on the ways in which poets can be said to be complicit in the violence they describe in that same way that Helen is.³³⁴ Like Helen, poets can in some sense be viewed as the cause of young men dying in battle, since it is the desire for the *kleos* celebrated by poets that causes warriors to risk their lives. Also like Helen, they risk a kind of self-annihilation by questioning the value of this *kleos*. The poet benefits from warriors' pursuit of glory in battle, because their investment in the poetic immortality he confers grants him power and status within his community. The interdependent relationship between the poet and the warriors he praises is ancient, dating back to Indo-European times. Calvert Watkins describes the mutual exchange of benefit between the Indo-European poet and his patrons:

The poet did not function in that society in isolation; he had a patron. The two were precisely in an exchange or reciprocity relation: the poet gave poems of praise to the patron, who in turn bestowed largesse upon the poet. To the aristocracy of Indo-European society this reciprocal relation was a moral and ideological necessity. For only the poet could confer on the patron what he and his culture valued more highly than life itself: precisely what is expressed by the "imperishable fame" formula.³³⁵

The antiquity of this poet-patron relationship, which depends upon the poet's ability to supply *kleos* and the patron's ability to supply monetary reward, shows that if epic poets explicitly questioned the value of *kleos* they would be undermining the justification for their own existence.

³³⁴ O'Gorman 2006: 195 says of Helen's comments on the Trojan War, "The position from which she [Helen] speaks about war, therefore, is far from innocent; it risks complicity, yet this risk could also be what offers to her a more self-aware perspective as a historian of warfare."

³³⁵ Watkins 1995: 70. See Watkins 1995: 173ff. on the Indo-European origins of the *kleos aphthiton* formula.

Watkins considers the interdependence of poet, patron, song, and *kleos* to be perfectly summed up by a quotation from Ibycus addressed to his patron, Polycrates of Samos: καὶ σύ, Πολύκρατες, κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔξεις / ὡς κατ' αἰδᾶν καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος, “You too, Polycrates, will have undying fame (*kleos aphthiton*) / in accordance with my song and my *kleos*.”³³⁶ This quote demonstrates how the *kleos* of poet and patron are inextricably linked, each dependent on the other. Without glorious patrons to celebrate, the poet would have no subject for his songs.

Redfield describes the symbiotic relationship between poet and warrior as follows:

There is thus a curious reciprocity between the bard and his heroes. The bard sings of events which have a *kleos*; without the heroes he would have nothing to sing about. At the same time, the bard confers on his heroes a *kleos*, without which they would have no existence in the later world of the bardic audience.³³⁷

Thus we see that the poet’s identity *qua* poet depends upon singing the *klea andrōn*.³³⁸ In the *Iliad*, the primary avenue for winning *kleos* is to fight and die gloriously in battle, and the *klea andrōn* are the deeds of men who fought and died in this way.³³⁹ Therefore by questioning the value of this martial *kleos*, poets of the Iliadic tradition threaten their own identity and social role.³⁴⁰

Just as the poet’s fame is linked to the fame of his patrons, Helen’s fame is linked to the fame of the warriors who fight for her. Without the war and the suffering of the warriors who

³³⁶ *PMG* 282; cf. Watkins 1995: 70.

³³⁷ Redfield 1975: 32.

³³⁸ Ford 1992: 59. In a way, *kleos* becomes synonymous with the poet’s song. Nagy writes: “*Kleos* was the formal word which the singer himself (*aoidos*) used to designate the songs which he sang in praise of gods and men, or, by extension, the songs which people learned to sing from him” (Nagy 1974: 248).

³³⁹ Cf. Vernant 1982.

³⁴⁰ Cf. Edwards 1985: 79 and de Jong 2006: 205 on how the *Iliad* is self-conscious of the fact that its existence—and its *kleos*—are predicated upon the death of its hero Achilles.

fight in it, Helen would not be not worthy of remembrance.³⁴¹ Similarly, just as the poet's identity and social status depend upon the value placed upon *kleos* in his community and his ability to confer such *kleos*, Helen's status and survival within her community are linked to her own value as a living signifier of *kleos*, able to confer glory on the men who win her. In this way, both Helen and the epic poet are in the same position, wherein if they express a critique of or disillusionment with warrior *kleos*, they do so at the expense of their own *kleos*. Helen the metapoetic weaver is thus the ideal vehicle through which the poem may express such a critique or disillusionment, a critique which, because of the poet's own position, must remain implicit rather than explicit.

As has been shown, the voice of the loom often speaks views that are marginalized in regard to masculine society and that are in some way threatening to the hegemony of that society. In this way, the voice of Helen's loom speaks from a perspective that threatens to unravel the entire system of values upon which the poet's place in masculine warrior society is built.

Fred Ahl has written of the ways in which implicit criticism of popular opinion regarding political, moral, or religious issues was considered both safer and more appropriate in Greek society than explicit criticism, even in the context of democracy, where *parrhesia* ("free speech") was theoretically valued.³⁴² He uses the example of Thersites from the *Iliad* to illustrate this point:

Ancient poets and critics alike had little use for forthright expression. If art is concealment, what is obvious is not really art. Homer's blunt critic of the powerful, Thersites, is beaten by Odysseus and mocked by the soldiers on whose behalf he is

³⁴¹ Cf. Blondell 2010.

³⁴² Ahl 1984: 174.

speaking (*Il.* 2.211-77). His efforts have been wasted. True, Thersites' judgement of the warrior kings is not unlike the judgement we ourselves might want to pass on them. It may even be the poet's own judgement on them. But the criticism is not done in the right way by the right person.³⁴³

Ahl's analysis provides a further explanation for why the *Iliad* presents a critique of the poetic traditions' role in perpetuating violence through the subtle association of Helen with the poet-narrator rather than with a more explicit statement. Overt criticism is considered aesthetically undesirable and is not received well by audiences.

The link between Helen and the poet allows us to challenge the view of the *Iliad* as fundamentally "masculine" in comparison with the more "feminine" *Odyssey*, the view to which Clayton subscribes when she writes of how the *Odyssey* is charged with "feminine alterity."³⁴⁴ In parallel to Clayton's reading of the "Penelopean poetics" of the *Odyssey*, I propose a "Helenic poetics" of the *Iliad*. Like Penelope in the *Odyssey*, Helen in the *Iliad* is a bardic figure whose weaving recapitulates the story of the poem that she herself inhabits. Because of her close connection with the poet-narrator, it is possible to speak of her poetic "voice" as playing a larger role in the *Iliad* than has previously been supposed. In this way, we may view the *Iliad* as also incorporating into itself a "feminine alterity" that subtly criticizes and undermines the celebration of masculine warrior *kleos* that the *Iliad* inherits from the poetic tradition and upon which the poet-patron relationship is based.

A similar characterization of Helen as being of central importance to the fundamental nature of the *Iliad* is found in a story about Helen and Homer that Isocrates attributes to the Homeridae (Isoc. *Helen* 65):

³⁴³ Ahl 1984: 175-75.

³⁴⁴ Clayton 2004: 19.

λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ τῶν Ὀμηριδῶν ὡς ἐπιστᾶσα τῆς νυκτὸς Ὀμήρῳ προσέταξε ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν στρατευσαμένων ἐπὶ Τροίαν, βουλομένη τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον ζηλωτότερον ἢ τὸν βίον τὸν τῶν ἄλλων καταστήσαι· καὶ μέρος μὲν τι καὶ διὰ τὴν Ὀμήρου τέχνην, μάλιστα δὲ διὰ ταύτην οὕτως ἐπαφρόδιτον καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὀνομαστὴν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν ποίησιν.

And some of the Homeridae also relate that Helen appeared to Homer by night and commanded him to compose a poem on those who went on the expedition to Troy, since she wished to make their death more to be envied than the life of the rest of mankind; and they say that while it is partly because of Homer's art, yet it is chiefly through her that this poem has such charm and has become so famous among all men.

This story of Homer's dream closely associates Helen with the creation of the *Iliad* and attributes the poem's success more to her than to the poet himself. Since she is in fact the ultimate source of the poem, having ordered Homer to compose it, she appears as a kind of Muse who, like the Muses of Homeric epic and Hesiod's *Theogony*, tells the poet the story he is to sing. This passage further suggests that the *Iliad* has taken its fundamental character from Helen's presence within it. Because of her (διὰ ταύτην), the *Iliad* is ἐπαφρόδιτον ("lovely, fascinating, charming") and ὀνομαστὴν ("famous"). Here the poem has taken on the characteristics of Helen. The word ἐπαφρόδιτον, etymologically derived from Aphrodite's own name, suggests that Helen's own captivating sexual desirability has been transferred to the *Iliad*. Further, the fame of the poem here is associated with the fame of Helen herself. This passage from Isocrates shows that in antiquity, the character of Helen was seen as fundamental to the essential nature of the *Iliad* as a poem, and Isocrates' attribution of this story to the Homeridae suggests that oral performers of Homeric epic in particular saw Helen in this way. This view of the epic implies that a reading of Helen as a figure closely associated with the central poetics of the *Iliad* is not anachronistic but rather in keeping with how ancient audiences and performers may have viewed Helen's role in the poem.

The idea that there can be something “feminine” in the voice of a male singer of oral epic poetry may seem counter-intuitive, but it is corroborated by the anthropological research that Dwight Reynolds has done on the singers of the North African Bani Hilal epic. He argues that within the context of the poem, a kind of equivalence is drawn between a hero’s female dependents and the poet who praises his deeds:

[T]he poet is to some degree a feminized male; he complements the hero (as do the hero’s female dependents), and, although he is a necessary part of the hero’s honor (as are wives and daughters), he is in fact dependent—on both hero and patron. He is a man dependent on men. He is a man who does not ride into battle where independent honor may be achieved, but rather carries his “weapon” (the *rabāb*),³⁴⁵ which is precisely *not* a sword, into the arena where such honor is vicariously celebrated. Such is the ambiguity of the panegyric poet: a figure with no heroic deeds on which to base his own honor, yet indispensable for the process of propagating the honor of heroes.³⁴⁶

This analysis suggests that because the epic poet occupies a marginalized and dependent position in the heroic world, he is in many ways inherently similar to a woman. This “feminized” role that the poet plays *vis à vis* his patron could help to explain the use of weaving, a female activity, as a metapoetic analogue for poetic craft. It also validates the suggestion that there is a feminine quality in the narration of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, since these poems were sung by poets on the feminized margins of society. I will return to this idea of the “feminine alterity” of the *Iliad* in Chapter 4.

Through the figure of Helen, who laments the way in which her current existence and future *kleos* are irrevocably associated with the suffering of the Trojan War, the *Iliad* highlights how the poetic tradition is bound up with the deaths of young men who lost their lives in pursuit of martial *kleos*. Just as Helen can be viewed as responsible for the suffering and death of

³⁴⁵ The *rabāb* is a two-stringed bowed instrument used by the Bani Hilal poets.

³⁴⁶ Reynolds 1995: 85.

warriors through her role as the cause of the war and as a living symbol of heroic glory, epic poets are also implicated in the deaths of warriors in battle. In this way, Helen's self-blame can be seen as a reflection of epic poets' awareness of the role they play in perpetuating the negative consequences inherent in male warrior *kleos*. This articulation of the destructive aspects of martial *kleos* is, through Helen's web, associated with the feminine-identified voice of the loom, which speaks in opposition to masculine voices that try to silence it. This voice constitutes an understated but significant counterpoint to the masculine warrior values expressed by male characters in the *Iliad*.

CHAPTER 3

The Maternal Warrior: Gender and *Kleos* on the Battlefield

In the first two chapters of this dissertation, I focused on how female characters in the *Iliad* conceptualize *kleos*. Now I will turn to the role that gender plays in the relationship male characters have to their own *kleos*. In this chapter, I argue that the *Iliad* uses maternal imagery in martial contexts to highlight the conflict between the Homeric hero's obligation to protect his comrades and his imperative to win *timē* and *kleos*, "honor and glory." Maternity in Homeric poetry is strongly associated with protection, and maternal imagery is primarily applied to warriors engaging in the defense of their comrades. In several key passages in the *Iliad*, however, maternal imagery is deployed either by the narrator or by individual characters to emphasize the ways in which heroes fail in their duty to act as protectors because of their individual desire for honor. By examining how the paradigm of the maternal warrior plays out in the thoughts and actions of Achilles, Hector, and other male characters in the *Iliad*, I demonstrate the ways in which the figure of the Homeric mother is used to expose the contradictions inherent in the hegemonic masculinity of Iliadic society.

In general, Homeric heroes formulate their masculine identity in opposition to women and children.³⁴⁷ However, while the majority of instances in direct speech where men compare themselves or other men to women are negative and reflect the anxiety that surrounds masculinity on the battlefield, there is a series of similes spoken by both Achilles and the narrator in which men are compared to women in ways that are either neutral or complimentary

³⁴⁷ Arthur 1981; Van Nortwick 2001; Ransom 2011: 37. Cf. Introduction.

(8.268-272, 9.323-27, 16.7-11, 17.1-6). In these similes, warriors are compared to mothers, and the comrades under their protection are compared to their children. Helene Foley has stated that unlike the “reverse-sex similes” in the *Odyssey*, which are integral to the structural development of the poem, these reverse-sex maternal similes in the *Iliad* “cluster randomly around the relation of Patroclus and Achilles.”³⁴⁸ In what follows, I argue that these similes are not random, but that they instead illuminate a crucial aspect of warrior masculinity: the conflict between the obligation to protect one’s comrades and the desire to win glory and personal status. I suggest that these similes reflect an alternative paradigm of masculinity which incorporates into itself certain aspects of Iliadic maternity.

In examining these maternal similes and their relationship to the larger thematic program of the epic, I analyze the representations of mothers in the *Iliad* in order to reconstruct the complex resonances that maternal imagery would have had for the poem’s original audience. As Richard Martin has pointed out, audiences of oral poetry have in their heads “the mental equivalent of a CD-ROM player” full of phrases, type-scenes, and other information that Homeric scholars can only reconstruct through painstaking examination of the written text.³⁴⁹ William Scott argues that Homeric audiences used this mental lexicon to interpret similes in context during oral performances:

When the audience heard a simile...they would know from previous experience how to unify the elements of the full passage in order to derive the poet’s full meaning.... When they heard a warrior described by a lion simile, they would know the possible range of lionlike activities in the traditional simile language and would evaluate appropriately the specific content of the simile as an enhancement to the warrior’s individual actions and spirit.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁸ Foley 1978: 21.

³⁴⁹ Martin 1993: 227.

³⁵⁰ Scott 2009: 10.

This knowledge of “lionlike activities” is culturally specific and can only be retrieved by modern scholars through a detailed examination of the roles that lions play in Homeric epic. So too in order to understand how the *Iliad*'s original audience would have interpreted maternal similes applied to warriors, it is necessary to rediscover the valences and associations of maternity that they would have known intuitively. I do this by investigating the role that mothers play in the *Iliad* both in similes and in the narrative. My conclusion is that motherhood in the *Iliad* carries a double valence. On the one hand, mothers are linked with protection, and thus become associated with a warrior's martial duty to defend his comrades in battle. On the other hand, Homeric poetry also strongly associates mothers with the deaths of their offspring, both by blaming the maternal act of giving birth for the child's mortality and through the recurring trope of the murderous mother who kills her own children.³⁵¹ I will show how several of the maternal similes in the *Iliad* carry resonances of this double meaning of protection and destruction.

Several scholars have noted that maternity in the *Iliad* is associated with martial protection, but so far none have explored the larger ramifications of the ways in which this theme of maternal protection interacts with masculine heroism and the warrior ethos.³⁵² Mothers in Homeric epic are driven to preserve the lives of their offspring at any cost, but their attempts to save their children are often at best only partially successful. When applied to the Homeric warrior, the maternal paradigm therefore highlights both the importance of preserving life and

³⁵¹ Cf. Murnaghan 1992; 1999.

³⁵² For maternal similes and martial protection in the *Iliad*, see Moulton 1977:103; Monsacré 1984; Gaca 2008; Dué and Ebbot 2012.

the ultimate futility of this endeavor in the context of war.³⁵³ The futility of this “care work” stresses the destructive effects of warrior ideology on the society that it is meant to protect.

Alongside the image of the devoted mother who strives to preserve her children’s lives, we also see the more sinister paradigm of the “murderous mother” who brings about her children’s deaths, such as Althaea, the mother of Meleager (9.566-72).³⁵⁴ This destructive side of motherhood is particularly applicable to the similes in which Achilles is compared to the mother of the Achaeans (9.323-27) and of Patroclus (16.7-11)—both groups for whose destruction he is at least partially responsible. As I will demonstrate below, it is particularly telling that in Achilles’ first maternal simile he portrays himself as a diligent mother bird who suffers on behalf of her children, while in the other he characterizes himself as a disinterested mother whose daughter’s pleas for attention hinder her from going about her business. These similes can be seen as a reflection of his conflicted feelings toward the Achaean army. His self-identification with maternity, I will argue, indicates a tacit acknowledgement that in refusing help to the Greeks and in wishing them dead (as he makes explicit at 1.407-10), Achilles is failing to fulfil his proper role as mother-protector. It also shows his frustration that the Achaeans’ need for his protection is hindering his personal pursuit of *timē* and *kleos*. Achilles withdrew from the war not only because Agamemnon insulted his *timē*, but because of a general concern with the value of his own honor in a society in which Agamemnon is allowed to act in such a way.³⁵⁵ To reenter

³⁵³ Cf. Lynn-George 1996 on the ways in which care is valued in the *Iliad*.

³⁵⁴ Murnaghan 1992 argues that mothers are associated with mortality because by giving birth to children they guarantee their deaths. Maternal care is also associated with death because mothers try to keep children out of danger and thus deprive them of *kleos*. In this way, the figure of the protective mother is closely linked in the Greek imagination with the trope of the “murderous mother,” such as Procne or Althaea, who kills her own children.

³⁵⁵ Cf. *Il.* 9.319-22, 334-36, 410-16. Achilles’ motivations for remaining apart from battle after the Embassy in Book 9 are notoriously complex: Parry 1956 and Whitman 1958 characterize Achilles in *Iliad* 9 as rejecting the heroic values of *timē* and *kleos*. Redfield 1975 argues that Achilles is expressing dissatisfaction with heroic society but cannot envision an alternative system of values. Wilson 2002 suggests that Achilles is not rejecting the value of

the battle would mean relinquishing this concern. Thus, Achilles is forced into a position where he must choose between the maternal warrior's role as defender and his heroic drive to win status and fame. As I have discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, this opposition between the feminine desire to preserve life and the masculine pursuit of *kleos* is also seen in the laments of female characters in the *Iliad*. The conflict between Achilles' maternal drive to protect and his masculine pursuit of glory and honor is thus part of a larger pattern of opposing gendered views of *kleos* in the *Iliad*.³⁵⁶ In what follows, I explore the implications of Achilles' dilemma through his own references to the imagery and discourse of motherhood.

Achilles' engagement with maternity is particularly significant given that the performance of hegemonic masculinity in the *Iliad* typically involves the vehement disavowal of feminine attributes and practices.³⁵⁷ From the perspective of the majority of male characters in the *Iliad*, any deviation from normative warrior masculinity results in the paradigm of effeminacy exemplified by Paris and is worthy of mockery and reproach. Yet Achilles does not fit into either the paradigm of traditional warrior masculinity or the paradigm of deficiently masculine effeminacy. On the one hand, he is hyper-masculine in the sense of being an almost super-human warrior, "a great bulwark for all the Achaeans against evil war" (μέγα πᾶσιν / ἕρκος Ἀχαιοῖσιν πέλεται πολέμοιο κακοῖο, 1.283-84) and the "best of the Achaeans," (ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν, 1.244), capable of turning the tide of battle with his presence or absence. He is also

timē, but only the idea that *timē* associated with status should trump *timē* associated with prowess. However, it is clear that despite any reservations that he might have, Achilles remains deeply concerned with his own glory and honor in the *Iliad*: he commands Patroclus to win him *timē* and *kudos* and expresses the desire to be awarded gifts by the Achaeans (*Il.* 16.84-86).

³⁵⁶ See Introduction, Chapter 1, and Chapter 4.

³⁵⁷ Cf. Introduction.

deeply concerned with the masculine warrior values of *timē* and *kleos*.³⁵⁸ As we have discussed, it is the breakdown of the system that confers these values that drives him to withdraw from the war, as he says to Odysseus in *Iliad* 9 when he expresses his outrage that brave men and cowards receive the same *timē* (9.315-22).³⁵⁹ As Sarpedon says at 12.310-28, men fight because they are rewarded for their bravery and effort with status, material honors, and fame. Achilles remains deeply invested in this system of values even as he declares its dysfunction.

On the other hand, Achilles is unlike other Homeric heroes in that he does not exert effort to separate himself from femininity, but instead publicly engages in feminine-coded behaviors and practices. For example, in *Iliad* 19 he participates in antiphonal lament for Patroclus with his slave women (19.282-337).³⁶⁰ Although other men in Homer do engage in *goos* (lament), extended *goos* is otherwise linked exclusively with women, giving Achilles' actions here a feminine association.³⁶¹ Similarly, he performs a traditionally feminine ritual act when he cradles Patroclus's head in his hands at the funeral in *Iliad* 23: ὄπιθεν δὲ κάρη ἔχε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς / ἀχνύμενος· ἔταρον γὰρ ἀμύμονα πέμπ' Ἄϊδόςδε (“And from behind shining Achilles held [Patroclus's] head, grieving, for he was sending his blameless companion to Hades,” 23.136-137).³⁶² We know from vase paintings that it was an established custom for the deceased's nearest female relative to perform this gesture at funerals, as Andromache and Hecuba do for

³⁵⁸ Cf. Schein 1984: 89-127.

³⁵⁹ ἐν δὲ ἰῆ τιμῆ ἡμὲν κακὸς ἡδὲ καὶ ἐσθλός·, “The coward and the brave man are held in the same honor” (*Il.* 9.319).

³⁶⁰ Cf. Pucci 1993.

³⁶¹ Murghan 1999.

³⁶² Cf. Pucci 1993, 1998: 179-230 and Murnaghan 1999 for more on Achilles and female lament.

Hector in *Iliad* 24 (24.710-12, 722-23).³⁶³ In the same way, Thetis holds Achilles' head while he weeps at the beginning of *Iliad* 18 (18.71), indicating that she is grieving for him as though he were already dead.³⁶⁴

Furthermore, Achilles is the only character in the *Iliad* to compare himself to a woman in a manner that is not negative, as he does in two self-spoken similes in which he compares himself to a mother.³⁶⁵ Achilles speaks his first maternal simile in *Iliad* 9 when he likens his protection of the Achaean army to a mother bird bringing back food for her chicks (9.323-27):

ὥς δ' ὄρνις ἀπτῆσι νεοσσοῖσι προφέρησι
μάστακ', ἐπεὶ κε λάβησι, κακῶς δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλει αὐτῆ,
ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ πολλὰς μὲν ἀϋπνοὺς νύκτας ἴαυον,
ἤματα δ' αἱματόεντα διέπρησσον πολεμίζων,
ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενος δάρων ἔνεκα σφετεράων.

For as to her wingless chicks a bird brings back
Morsels, wherever she can find them, but for herself things go evilly,
So also I passed many sleepless nights,
And I went through bloody days fighting,
Striving with men for the sake of their wives.

The second simile comes at the beginning of *Iliad* 16, when Patroclus comes to Achilles weeping, and Achilles compares him to a little girl crying to her mother to be picked up (16.7-11):

τίπτε δεδάκρυσαι, Πατρόκλεες, ἠὔτε κούρη
νηπίη, ἢ θ' ἅμα μητρὶ θεοῦσ' ἀνελέσθαι ἀνώγει,
εἰανοῦ ἀπτομένη, καὶ τ' ἐσσυμένην κατερύκει,
δακρυόεσσα δέ μιν ποτιδέρκεται, ὄφρ' ἀνέληται·
τῆ ἵκελος, Πάτροκλε, τέρεν κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβεις.

Why are you crying like some foolish girl, Patroclus,

³⁶³ Kakridis 1949: 68.

³⁶⁴ Kakridis 1949: 70.

³⁶⁵ For scholarship on these similes, see Moulton 1977: 103; Baltés 1983; Ledbetter 1993; Mills 2000; Pratt 2007; Gaca 2008; Scott 2009: 51; Porter 2010; Ready 2011: 141-45.

Who, running alongside her mother, begs to be picked up,
Clinging to her garment, and hinders her in her hurrying,
And looks up at her crying, so that she might be picked up?
Like such a one, Patroclus, you shed a soft tear.

Although the first layer of meaning here is criticism of Patroclus through the likening of him to a little girl, it is significant that Achilles casts himself in the role of Patroclus' mother, as other scholars have argued.³⁶⁶ The image of the mother ignoring the needs of her child represents the way that Achilles at this point in the poem is ignoring the needs of the Achaeans, whom he described as his children at 9.323-27. Achilles' use of this simile here should thus not be regarded as incidental, but rather as part of his larger pattern of maternal identification. In Book 9 the mother bird is self-sacrificing, directing all of her attention towards her chicks. In the second simile, a change has taken place in Achilles' conception of himself as a mother; now he has turned his back on the child and moves away from her. Although the scene is domestic and familiar rather than destructive or threatening, it highlights Achilles' refusal in Book 16 to take up his protective role and foreshadows this refusal's destructive consequences, especially when read in contrast with the mother of the chicks. The gender dynamics of this image are also intriguing; although the comparison of Patroclus appears to be negative, nothing in the text suggests that Achilles impugns his own masculinity by associating himself with the mother.

Indeed, Achilles' masculinity is never questioned by any character in the *Iliad* despite his public transgression of the strict boundary between the masculine and feminine spheres. One could argue that Achilles is given a free pass for his flirtations with femininity because in other respects he is unusually virile. Nicole Loraux, in her study of Heracles, has argued that femininity is an essential element in the persona of the "supermale," allowing ultra-

³⁶⁶ Moulton 1977: 104; Ledbetter 1993; Mills 2000; Pratt 2007.

masculine heroes to maintain a semblance of balance in their gender presentation:

An excess of virility leaves Herakles' strength in constant danger of being exhausted, and so it is appropriate for him periodically to return to a more reasonable level of male energy. Given Herakles' own ambivalence, such equilibrium will always be unstable, and he can only acquire it by balancing one excess against another—a surplus of femininity against an excess of masculinity. The feminine element in Herakles is essential, in that it is a major factor in keeping him within the human limits of *andreia* (maleness/masculinity). Herakles is all the more the human figure of the masculine hero for being dressed as a woman and performing women's tasks.³⁶⁷

Such an argument could be made for the Achilles of the mythological tradition as well, especially since he, like Heracles, has his own cross-dressing episode. In several later accounts, Thetis attempts to prevent Achilles from going to war by disguising him as a girl and hiding him at the court of Lycomedes on the island of Scyros.³⁶⁸ Loraux's analysis of Heracles is a helpful comparandum for Achilles, therefore, in so far as it reveals the complex types of gender performance that "hypermale" mythological heroes engage in. But something quite specific is happening in the case of Achilles in the *Iliad*, in that his feminine similes and actions are closely bound up with his role as a warrior and his motivations to fight, rather than distracting him from his martial duties. In addition, he is never shamed for his feminine associations, which is highly unusual.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁷ Loraux 1995: 129.

³⁶⁸ Bion *Epith.*; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.8; Stat. *Achil.* It is unclear how old this story is. The *Iliad* itself seems to deny the story of a cross-dressing Achilles by assuming different circumstances for Neoptolemus's conception. *Iliad* 9.668 says that Achilles conquered Scyros, and the scholia to this passage explain that Achilles fathered Neoptolemus while waging war on Scyros on behalf of Peleus. A fragment of the *Little Iliad* seems to offer yet another version, saying that Achilles was unintentionally carried to Scyros by a storm. Proclus's summary of the *Cypria* says that Achilles married Deidameia but doesn't specify how (Procl., *Chrest.* 3.1-33). This could indicate that the story of Achilles cross-dressing was not known to Homer or the cyclic poets and was developed by later authors. However, a scholiast on *Il.* 19.326 recounts a version of the cross-dressing story in which it is Peleus, not Thetis as in other accounts, who disguises Achilles as a girl on Scyros, and attributes this story to "the cyclic writers" (ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς, West fr. 19). Some have argued that the phrase ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς κυκλικοῖς is not meant to apply to the whole story of Achilles dressed as a girl on Scyros, but only to the story of Neoptolemus coming to fight at Troy, as the wording is ambiguous. See Fantuzzi 2012: 21-98.

³⁶⁹ Cf. Introduction.

In contrast, Heracles' feminization is frequently portrayed in ancient texts as humiliating and deviant. In Sophocles' *Trachiniae*, for example, Heracles' crossdressing and performance of female tasks such as wool-working is described as an *oneidos*, a "source of shame," for the hero (254).³⁷⁰ Sources that depict Achilles' cross-dressing interlude on Scyros also frequently characterize his feminine dress as shameful. Euripides, for example, is known to have written a play about Achilles on Scyros called *Scyrioi*, which contains the line, spoken by Odysseus, σὸ δ' ὦ τὸ λαμπρὸν φῶς ἀποσβεννὺς γένους / ξαίνεις, ἀρίστου πατρὸς Ἑλλήνων γεγῶς; ("And you, extinguisher of your family's brilliant light, are you combing wool, you, born of the best father of the Greeks?").³⁷¹ Both Heracles in *Trachiniae* and Achilles in *Scyrioi* are shamed because their feminine actions, namely weaving and wearing female clothing, are seen as interfering with their proper masculine duties as warriors and heroes. The lack of shaming surrounding Achilles' performance of femininity in the *Iliad* stands out all the more in comparison with these examples and suggests that the poem's characterization of male femininity in this particular instance goes beyond traditional accounts of gender transgression and excoriation.

I suggest that the lack of shaming with regard to Achilles' performance of femininity in the *Iliad* is related to the fact that Achilles specifically identifies himself with a mother rather than with another type of female role, and that he associates his maternal role with his warrior role. Maternity in the *Iliad* is to a large extent exempt from many of the other negative

³⁷⁰ In *Heroides* 9, Deianeira berates Heracles for his feminine dress (Ov. *Her.* 9). In the *Life of Pericles*, Plutarch alludes to unnamed comedies that styled Aspasia the "New Omphale" in reference to her undue influence over Pericles (Plut. *Per.* 24). See also Luc. *DDeor.* 15 and Tert. *De Pallio* 4.3.

³⁷¹ *TrGF* v.2 **683a (Plut. *De Audiendis Poetis* 34d). See also Statius's *Achilleid*, in which Achilles submits to shameful feminine dress in order to rape Deidamia (Stat. *Achil.* 283-337) and Lycophron's *Alexandra*, in which Cassandra also characterizes Achilles' female disguise as shameful and explicitly states that his motivation for avoiding the war is cowardice (Lycoph. *Alex.* 269-80).

connotations associated with femininity. In particular, maternal comparisons are never used derogatorily as a form of gender-shaming. Warriors do not call each other “mothers” as an insult.³⁷² Mothers may have special status because the dichotomy between the masculine-as-martial and the feminine-as-non-martial does not apply to maternity.³⁷³ This special status is shown by a set of similes spoken by the narrator in which individual warriors on the battlefield are compared to mothers. At 8.268-272, Teucer is said to take shelter behind Ajax’s shield like a child taking shelter with its mother, at 17.1-6, Menelaus stands over Patroclus’s body like a mother cow over her first-born calf, and at 11.269-272, Agamemnon is said to suffer pain from his wound like that of a woman in labor.³⁷⁴

Hélène Monsacré has written of these similes as rare instances in the *Iliad* where men are compared to women in ways that are not derogatory and are indeed even positive. She argues that because the pain of women, and specifically mothers, is seen in Homeric epic as the pinnacle of suffering, it increases the status of a warrior to be described as successfully enduring such pain.³⁷⁵ This theory could explain the link that Achilles makes between himself and maternity in the mother-bird simile in *Iliad* 9, where the emphasis is on how the bird sacrifices her own comfort for her chicks (9.323-25). The maternal aspect of this simile underlines the way Achilles has endured pain in war for the benefit of the Achaeans, thereby highlighting his own strength

³⁷² When mothers do appear in warriors’ battlefield taunts, it is usually when men seek to enhance their status through boasts about their exceptional lineage, as at *Il.* 20.206-10 where Aeneas declares that he is the son of Aphrodite and therefore able to rival Achilles the son of Thetis.

³⁷³ This may also be related to Monsacré’s idea of *bonne douceur*, positive aspects of femininity that it does not shame a male warrior to engage in, such as caretaking and gentleness (Monsacré 1984: 92).

³⁷⁴ For an in-depth discussion of this simile that differs from Monsacré’s interpretation, see Holmes 2007.

³⁷⁵ Monsacré 1984: 92. See also Murnaghan 1992 and Loraux 1995: 34, who suggest that these similes collectively connect the pain of warriors to maternal anguish and specifically to the pain of childbirth.

and value as a warrior. The mother/daughter simile in *Iliad* 16, on the other hand, seems to have a different meaning. It is used to describe not endurance on the battlefield, but an emotional encounter between Achilles and Patroclus. Furthermore, the mother in this simile is not suffering for her offspring, but is instead ignoring her weeping child. The little girl is presented as a hindrance holding her mother back, making this an unsuitable representation of positive feminine caretaking. The image presents a more complicated idea of motherhood and suggests that there is more to Achilles' use of maternal similes than simply self-praise.

The key to this simile may lie in the fact that maternity in the *Iliad* is associated not only with suffering and pain, but, as I have suggested, also with protection.³⁷⁶ This is seen, for example, in the simile in *Iliad* 17 involving Menelaus mentioned above (17.4-6):

ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῷ βαῖν' ὥς τις περὶ πόρτακι μήτηρ
πρωτοτόκος κινυρή, οὐ πρὶν εἰδυῖα τόκοιο·
ὥς περὶ Πατρόκλω βαῖνε ξανθὸς Μενέλαος.

He stood over him like a mother cow who has given birth for the first time,
Who has not known birth before, lamenting, stands over her calf.
In this way did fair-haired Menelaus stand over Patroclus.

There is an element of suffering present in this image, as the mother cow is described as κινυρή, “wailing” or “plaintive.” However, the defensive roles played by both the cow and Menelaus are emphasized by the use of the verbs ἀμφιβαίνω (for the cow) and περιβαίνω (for Menelaus). Both words have strong connotations of protection and are commonly used for warriors bestriding their fallen comrades.³⁷⁷ This image further assimilates the maternal role to the warrior's role.

³⁷⁶ The connection between Homeric maternity and protection is noted in passing by Moulton 1977: 103; Monsacré 1984; Gaca 2008. It is also explored by Dué and Ebbot 2012, who cite as a parallel to Achilles' mother bird simile an interview with a modern American soldier who said that he felt about the men under his command the way a bird feels about its young (Dué and Ebbot 2012: 2).

³⁷⁷ For ἀμφιβαίνω: *Il.* 5.299, 14.477. For περιβαίνω: *Il. passim*, esp. in *Il.* 17 with Patroclus's body, cf. 17.137.

The simile also calls repeated attention to the cow's status as a mother, referring to her not only as μήτηρ ("mother"), but also as πρωτοτόκος ("having given birth for the first time") and οὐ πρὶν εἰδυῖα τόκοιο ("not knowing birth before"). These phrases stress the maternal aspect of the simile and strengthen the association between motherhood and defense.

In the Ajax simile, there is no reference to suffering, and the focus is entirely on protection: αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτις ἰὼν πάϊς ὧς ὑπὸ μητέρα δύσκειν / εἰς Αἴανθ'· ὁ δέ μιν σάκει κρύπτασκε φαεινῶ ("[Teucer] would go back again to Ajax like a child plunging into the [lap of] his mother, and Ajax would hide him with his shining shield," 8.271-72). The combination of ὑπό with δύσκειν calls to mind someone diving into the ocean (*Il.* 18.145; *Od.* 4.435) and suggests that the child has been completely enveloped and hidden, with the mother's body playing the same role as a warrior's shield. A similar association is found outside the realm of simile, when Aphrodite snatches the wounded Aeneas away from Diomedes in *Iliad* 5 (5.311-18, as she had already done for Paris at 3.380-82), enfolding him in her robe in such a way that he becomes like a child in the womb.³⁷⁸ There is a strong verbal resonance between the image of Aphrodite hiding Aeneas behind a fold of her "shining *peplos*" (πέπλοιο φαεινοῦ, 5.315) and Ajax hiding Teucer behind his "shining shield" (σάκει...φαεινῶ, 8.272), which is increased by the fact that Aphrodite's *peplos* serves the same function as a shield, becoming a ἔρκος...βελέων ("a bulwark against missiles," 5.316).³⁷⁹ Both passages convey the idea of the child in a sense re-entering the mother's body, which serves as a bulwark against external threat.

³⁷⁸ Monsacré 1984: 88; Murnaghan 1992: 250.

³⁷⁹ Monsacré 1984: 90.

There are other instances in the *Iliad* of mothers acting as places of safety. When Aphrodite herself is wounded by Diomedes, she flees to her own mother Dione, who “takes her into her arms” (ἀγκὰς ἐλάζετο, 5.371) and heals her (5.370-417). In *Iliad* 14, Sleep recounts how he escaped the wrath of Zeus by fleeing to his mother Night, who saved him (14.259-60).³⁸⁰

Similarly, although Thetis in the *Iliad* is unable to protect her son Achilles, she displays a kind of surrogate-maternal protection when Dionysus, fleeing Lycurgus, “dives into the waves of the sea” (δύσεθ’ ἄλδος κατὰ κῦμα) and she “receives him into her *kolpos*,” her “lap” or “bosom” (Θέτις δ’ ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ, 6.136). The combination of “diving” (δύσεθ’) into safety and being sheltered in a protective female body calls to mind the image of the child who “dives into the mother’s lap” in the Ajax simile (παῖς ὡς ὑπὸ μητέρα δύσκειν, 8.271). Thetis is also said to have received Hephaestus into her *kolpos* at 18.398, when he was hurled off of Olympus by Hera (Θέτις θ’ ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ, “And Thetis received him into her lap”). Here the protection of Thetis replaces the protection that Hera, Hephaestus’s real mother, should have given him. Finally, Thetis is said to have “warded off destruction” (λοιγὸν ἀμῦναι, 1.398) from Zeus when the other gods were trying to overthrow him, again suggesting that she has powerful protective abilities, even if they are limited to the divine realm.³⁸¹ Laura Slatkin has noted the repeated references to Thetis’ protective power in the *Iliad*, and suggests that Thetis’ inability to use this power with regard to Achilles alludes to the myth that Pindar retells in *Isthmian* 8, wherein it was prophesied that Thetis would give birth to a son who would be greater than his father. Zeus then ordered her to marry a mortal in order to avoid the birth of a new god who would overthrow the

³⁸⁰ The *Iliad* does not explicitly name Night as the mother of Sleep, but Hesiod’s *Theogony* does so at 211-12 and 757-58.

³⁸¹ Cf. Slatkin 1991: 55. For more on the significance of ἀμῦναι, see Lynn-George 1993: 214.

Olympian order. According to Slatkin, Thetis is unable to save Achilles' life because the reign of Zeus depends on his death as a mortal in war.³⁸² Zeus' masculine imperative to preserve cosmic order thus thwarts the maternal protective drive.³⁸³ Nevertheless, in the references to Thetis' sheltering of vulnerable surrogate-sons in her divine *kolpos* we can see the potential power of Thetis' maternal protection if she were allowed to act unconstrained.

The characterization of the maternal *kolpos* as a site of protection from danger is also evident in the scene between Hector and Astyanax in *Iliad* 6. When Hector stretches out his arms to his son, the baby "screams and jerks back into the *kolpos* of his well-bosomed nurse" (ἄψ δ' ὁ πᾶϊς πρὸς κόλπον εὐζώνοιο τιθήνης / ἐκλίνθη ἰάχων, 6.467-68), terrified by Hector's helmet (6.469-70). Here Astyanax flees from the perceived threat of his father's martial gear into the enveloping body of his nurse, his surrogate mother. The passage emphasizes the female *kolpos* as a refuge from specifically martial danger.

Finally, Athena is given two protective maternal similes. In *Iliad* 4, she is said to "ward off" (ἄμυνεν, 4.129) Pandarus's arrow from Menelaus "as when a mother brushes a fly away from her child who is lying in sweet sleep" (ὡς ὅτε μήτηρ / παιδὸς ἐέργη μυῖαν, ὅθ' ἠδέϊ λέξεται ὕπνω, 4.130-31). This wording recalls the protective, warding function of Aphrodite's *peplos* and Ajax's shield, as well as Thetis warding off destruction from Zeus. Then in *Iliad* 23, Locrian Ajax attributes his loss in the footrace to Athena, who "stands by Odysseus like a mother and helps him" (ἦ τὸ πάρος περ / μήτηρ ὡς Ὀδυσῆϊ παρίσταται ἠδ' ἐπαρήγει, 23.782). παρίστημι,

³⁸² Slatkin 1991.

³⁸³ Slatkin argues that Thetis in the *Iliad* comes to accept that "cosmic equilibrium is bought at the cost of human mortality," and that this is why she constrains her powers and allows Achilles to die (1991: 103). Becker, however, sees no evidence for this in the text, and states that it seems more reasonable that Zeus prevented Thetis from acting, since he had previously shown himself to be capable of constraining her behavior by preventing her from marrying an Olympian (Becker 1992).

“stand by,” can also mean “help” or even “defend” (*Il.* 10.279, 15.255, 21.231), again resonating with other images of mothers standing between their offspring and danger, such as the mother cow standing over her calf in the simile about Menelaus and Patroclus.³⁸⁴

In all these similes and scenes, we see maternity characterized as a protective force, with mothers, and particularly the maternal body that the child is enveloped in, serving as places of refuge or shields to ward off danger. Achilles’ description of himself as a mother bird to the Achaeans thus clearly evokes this idea of the warrior as mother-protector that we also see in the similes about Ajax and Menelaus. Achilles is the preeminent protector of the Achaeans, making his self-association with motherhood particularly appropriate. The opposing image of the murderous mother can also be shown to lurk behind Achilles’ use of this simile, however, especially when we consider that Achilles is not only neglecting his simile-children in Book 9 by refusing to come to their aid but has in fact been actively plotting their deaths (1.407-10). The attentive maternal actions that he describes himself undertaking in the past contrast sharply with his present conduct and serve to associate him with the more destructive side of the maternal paradigm.

Maternal imagery in the *Iliad* can be shown to evoke not only care, but also its opposite: the trope of the murderous mother who kills her own children. The most famous examples of this character-type in Greek mythology are Procne and Medea, both of whom kill their sons in order to seek vengeance for an injury done to them. Their stories would have been well-known to Homeric audiences: in *Odyssey* 19, Penelope compares her grief to that of Procne (19.519-24), and a variant of the Medea story roughly contemporary with Homeric epic appeared in

³⁸⁴ A final example, which is not Iliadic but which seems to be engaging with the same set of ideas, is *Odyssey* 10.410-15, where Odysseus’ men run to him like calves returning to their mothers. For more on reverse-sex similes in the *Odyssey*, see Foley 1978.

Eumelus's *Corinthiaca* (8th-7th c. BCE).³⁸⁵ In addition, in *Odyssey* 5 we see the appearance of Ino, who became a murderous mother when she jumped into the sea with her baby son Melicertes. Both were deified, hence Ino's appearance in Homeric epic as the goddess Leucothea.³⁸⁶

This association of maternity with death in Archaic epic extends even to mothers who do not murder their children. It is important to note that maternal protection in the *Iliad* is often problematic, no matter how good the intention. In many of the instances listed above, the protection is incomplete or ultimately unsuccessful. Aphrodite is forced to abandon Aeneas under Diomedes' onslaught (5.343), Pandarus's arrow still wounds Menelaus, even if it does not kill him (4.134), and although Thetis saves Zeus, Dionysus, and Hephaestus, she cannot save her own son from death. Similarly, Teucer is eventually wounded in *Iliad* 8 despite Ajax's protection (8.324), and Menelaus is forced to abandon Patroclus's body temporarily, leading to the stripping of his armor (17.180). These cases suggest that the maternal similes may be applied to warriors precisely in circumstances where protection is not wholly successful.

The uncertainty of maternal protection in the *Iliad* may be related to the link between maternity and mortality in Homeric poetry identified by Sheila Murnaghan. Mothers are the source of life, but they also come to be blamed for the death of their own offspring, because by the act of bringing their children into the world, they are perceived as transmitting to them "the

³⁸⁵ Pache 2004: 9-48. The *Corinthiaca* is lost but the Medea story from it is summarized by Pausanias (2.3.11). In this version, Medea seems to have killed her children unintentionally while trying to make them immortal. Cf. Alden 2000 on Homer's use of para-narrative in the *Iliad*.

³⁸⁶ Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.2.

mortal condition itself.”³⁸⁷ In this way, all mothers eventually become like Thetis, unable for all their efforts to shield their offspring from the consequences of mortality.

Through the framework provided by his maternal similes, Achilles can be read both as an example of unsuccessful maternal protection and as a murderous mother who participated directly in bringing about his “children’s” deaths. Achilles sets himself up as a failed protector in his lament for Patroclus in *Iliad* 18, blaming himself for the deaths of those he did not defend (18.102-4):

οὐδέ τι Πατρόκλω γενόμεν φάος οὐδ’ ἐτάροισι
τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἳ δὴ πολέες δάμεν Ἕκτορι δίω,
ἀλλ’ ἦμαι παρὰ νηυσὶν ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης

Nor was I in any way a light for Patroclus, nor for my other companions,
many of whom were subdued by shining Hector,
But I sit by the ships, a profitless burden on the earth.

Murnaghan notes the similarities between Achilles’ lament for Patroclus in *Iliad* 18 and the trope of the mourning mother who blames herself for the loss of her children.³⁸⁸ It is important to remember, however, that Achilles caused the deaths of the Achaeans, his “fledglings,” not merely by his negligence but through his desires and actions.³⁸⁹ In *Iliad* 1, he tells Thetis to supplicate Zeus for the deaths of his comrades (1.407-10):

παρέζεο καὶ λαβὲ γούνων,
αἳ κέν πως ἐθέλησιν ἐπὶ Τρώεσσιν ἀρῆξαι,
τοὺς δὲ κατὰ πρύμνας τε καὶ ἀμφ’ ἄλλα ἔλσαι Ἀχαιοὺς
κτεινομένους, ἵνα πάντες ἐπαύρωνται βασιλῆος

Sit beside him and take hold of his knees,

³⁸⁷ Murnaghan 1992: 243.

³⁸⁸ Murnaghan 1999.

³⁸⁹ Cf. Buchan 2012: 20 for more on the significance of Achilles’ responsibility for the Achaeans’s deaths. It is interesting that Buchan’s implicit argument is that Achilles displays the “inconstancy of a Helen or the treachery of a Clytemnestra” *contra* Felson and Slatkin 2004, but he does not explore the ramifications of this statement with regard to gender.

In the hope that he may desire to aid the Trojans,
And to shut in the Achaeans being slaughtered among the sterns of their ships
And around the sea, so that they may all profit from their king.

The suffering of the Achaeans in Books 2-16 is a direct result of Thetis' and Zeus' acquiescence to Achilles' request. In this way, Achilles resembles the murderous mother of the *Iliad*: Althaea in the Meleager story told by Phoenix in *Iliad* 9. Although in other versions of the myth, Althaea kills her son by burning the log of wood prophesied at his birth to last as long as the length of his life (Bacchyl. 5), the *Iliad* seems to tell a different story. In *Iliad* 9, Althaea prays to the gods for Meleager's death (9.566-72):

ἦ ῥα θεοῖσι
πόλλ' ἀχέουσ' ἠρᾶτο κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο,
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλοία
κυκλήσκουσ' Αἴδην καὶ ἐπαινὴν Περσεφόνειαν,
πρόχῳ καθεζομένη, δεύοντο δὲ δάκρυσι κόλποι,
παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον· τῆς δ' ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινὺς
ἔκλυεν ἔξ Ἑρέβessφιν, ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα.

She prayed to the gods, grieving much for the slaughter of her brother,
And many times she smote the much-nurturing earth with her hands,
Calling on Hades and dread Persephone,
Sitting in a crouch, and her lap was wet with tears,
To give death to her son. And the Erinys that goes clothed in mist,
Having an ungentle heart, heard her from Erebus.³⁹⁰

This version of the story of Althaea and Meleager aligns closely with Achilles bringing about the deaths of the Achaeans through his prayers to Thetis and Zeus. Achilles, like Althaea, has, out of a sense of personal injury, sought divine intervention to bring about the deaths of those he is meant to protect (*Il.* 1.408-10). His maternal similes thus inevitably evoke the figure of the murderous mother as well as his role as a mother-protector.

³⁹⁰ It is significant that Althaea's *kolpoi* are emphasized as being "wet with tears" (*Il.* 9.570), given the important of the *kolpos* to the paradigm of maternal protection. The focus on Althaea's tear-soaked *kolpoi* highlights the perversion of Althaea's protective maternal drive.

As I have shown, Achilles is not the only warrior in the *Iliad* to be associated with maternal protection. He is, however, unique in that he speaks his own maternal similes, while other heroes' maternal similes are spoken by the narrator.³⁹¹ Achilles is thus the only hero to actively identify with maternity. Perhaps this is because the double-natured maternal paradigm of protection and annihilation is uniquely applicable to him, and it provides a cipher for his complicated relationship with the Achaean army. His conflicted feelings about his fellow soldiers illuminate the contrast between the mother bird simile in *Iliad* 9 and the mother and daughter simile in *Iliad* 16. Before the beginning of the *Iliad*, Achilles' primary relationship to the Achaeans was as a protector and a warder-off of destruction, which are traits associated with the positive aspects of Iliadic maternity. Indeed, his protective role can be seen in his decision at the beginning of *Iliad* 1 to call the assembly out of concern for the dying Achaean soldiers and in his insistence that Agamemnon return Chryseis.

While such benevolent maternity is reflected in the mother bird simile in *Iliad* 9, at this point in the poem Achilles has already made the appeal to Zeus that is responsible for the deaths of the Achaeans, his chicks, making the sinister connotations of motherhood equally applicable to this passage.³⁹² It is appropriate for Achilles to describe himself as a mother in this situation precisely because he identifies as a protector but has become a neglectful destroyer. These circumstances are further displayed in the simile in *Iliad* 16: Patroclus's tears, which Achilles likens to the tears of the little girl, are for the Achaeans. Thus, the image of the mother ignoring

³⁹¹ Martin has noted that Achilles uses more similes than other characters in direct speech and stresses the similarity between the language used by Achilles and the language of the narrator: "The 'language of Achilles' is none other than that of the monumental composer" (Martin 1989: 222). For a discussion of similes spoken by characters rather than by the narrator, see Ready 2011: 31-68.

³⁹² Birds are strongly associated with female lament and mourning, making the subtext of this simile even more sinister (cf. Moulton 1977: 103, Dué 2006: 15).

her weeping child reflects Achilles' refusal to act in the face of the suffering of his fellow Greeks. The child wishes to be lifted up and enfolded in the mother's body, the gesture of protection. The little girl is even pulling on her mother's dress, as if she wishes to be wrapped up in it as Aphrodite wraps up Aeneas. By refusing to pick up her child, the mother is by implication refusing to protect her.

The mother/daughter simile can be read as echoing Achilles' internal conflict. The description of the little girl "hindering" (κατερύκει) her mother who "is hurrying" (έσσυμένην) somewhere on business of her own reflects Achilles' frustration with the fact that his personal pursuit of honor is being hindered by the Achaeans' and Patroclus' need for his protection.³⁹³ Nevertheless, that he is still comparing himself to a mother shows that in his own mind he cannot wholly remove himself from his function as protector of the Greeks. This simile is especially striking because it is the only one in the *Iliad* to depict a neglectful parent, and Homeric parents in general are very attentive to their offspring.³⁹⁴

Similar language is used by Andromache in *Iliad* 22 when imagining the future Astyanax will have now that Hector is dead. He will go up to his father's companions and "pull at their garments" (χλαίνης έρύων, 22.493) as he begs for food, like the little girl in Achilles' simile who

³⁹³ Whitman has argued that in this scene Patroclus represents Achilles' suppressed compassion for the Greeks, externalized as Homer often externalizes a "spiritual or mental state in the form of an image or a god" (Whitman 1958: 199). Therefore, the encounter between Achilles and Patroclus can be seen as a dramatization of Achilles' conflicting motivations.

³⁹⁴ Ready 2011: 182. Gaca argues that this scene does not depict a neglectful mother, but rather a mother and daughter who are fleeing as refugees from the sack of a city (Gaca 2008). This reading of the simile could serve as foreshadowing of Patroclus' fate and Achilles' failure to provide maternal protection, just as the mother in the simile is unable to provide protection to her daughter. This interpretation would also resonate with other images of mothers in the poem who try unsuccessfully to protect their offspring. However, I think it is clear that in *Iliad* 16 Achilles has a choice: to enter the battle or to remain by the ships. If he had entered the battle himself, he could have saved Patroclus. Achilles in *Iliad* 16 is thus not a mother who has tried and failed to protect her offspring but one who has failed to try in the first place.

“pulls at her mother’s dress” (εἰανοῦ ἀπτομένη) and “holds her back” (κατερύκει). Just as Astyanax is δακρυόεις (“tearful”) after being rebuffed (22.500), the little girl is δακρυόεσσα (“tearful”) as her mother ignores her. These thematic echoes suggest that Achilles is neglectful to the extent that the Achaeans and Patroclus have been reduced to the status of orphaned children. The mother/daughter simile can thus be seen as Achilles’ tacit acknowledgement of the fact that in refusing help to the Greeks and in wishing them dead he is shirking his proper role, just as the “murderous mother” acts out a corruption of the mother’s natural drive to preserve her child’s life.³⁹⁵

At the same time, Achilles’ use of the mother figure in *Iliad* 16 also represents his opposing desire to continue to act as a protector, particularly with regard to the doomed Patroclus. Whereas earlier Achilles prayed to Zeus for the deaths of the Achaeans, he now prays for Patroclus to come back to him alive after he has beaten back the Trojans from the ships (16.236-48). This second prayer is a reversal of the first, since Patroclus’s success will mean deliverance for the Achaeans from the death willed on them by Achilles in *Iliad* 1. Achilles now expresses a wish for the defense of his comrades. The vengeful rage of the murderous mother has subsided in favor of the original impulse of maternal protection. A cessation of anger is indicated by Achilles’ own comment: ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν· οὐδ’ ἄρα πως ἦν / ἀσπερχές κεχολῶσθαι ἐνὶ φρεσίν (“But we will allow these things to be over and done with, nor was it in my heart to be angry unceasingly,” 16.60-61).

Nevertheless, Achilles says that he himself cannot reenter the battle because of his previous statement in *Iliad* 9 that he would not rejoin the fighting until the fire reached the tents

³⁹⁵ Cf. Mills 2000 on how the bird represents the impossibility of a hero abandoning his caregiving obligation.

and ships of the Myrmidons (16.61-62).³⁹⁶ Both in *Iliad* 9 and in *Iliad* 16, this assertion is linked to Achilles' complaint that Agamemnon has treated him like τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην ("some dishonored migrant," 16.59=9.648). Here we see that although Achilles no longer wishes the Achaeans dead, he is prevented from playing the part of maternal protector by his continuing preoccupation with the consequences that a re-entry into the war will have on his *timē*. Achilles withdrew from the war in *Iliad* 1 not merely out of anger, but because of his concern for how Agamemnon's insult has affected the value of his *timē* and *kleos*.³⁹⁷ If Achilles were to reenter the war in *Iliad* 16, it would mean allowing Agamemnon's insult to stand and relinquishing his concern for his personal honor and glory, something which he cannot bring himself to do.³⁹⁸ Here his individualistic pursuit of *kleos* and his fear of losing *timē* prevent him from resuming the selfless role of the mother bird who sacrifices herself for her chicks.

Patroclus's death marks an important turning point, and Achilles' identification with maternity becomes particularly pronounced from *Iliad* 18 on. Before this point in the poem, Achilles' maternal self-association is confined to similes, but after Patroclus is killed Achilles begins to participate publicly in lament, a traditionally feminine speech genre.³⁹⁹ In this way, he is depicted as embracing the maternal role as an outlet for his grief.⁴⁰⁰ It is in this context that he

³⁹⁶ Compare *Il.* 9.650-53.

³⁹⁷ Cf. Whitman 1958: 181-220; Redfield 1975: 3-29; Schein 1984: 89-127; Wilson 2002.

³⁹⁸ His continuing concern with honor and glory is demonstrated not only by his complaint that Agamemnon has dishonored him (16.59), but also in his instructions to Patroclus. Patroclus is to win *timē* and *kudos* for Achilles (16.84), but he must avoid making Achilles "less honored," *atimoteron* (6.90).

³⁹⁹ For female lament in Greek culture, see Holst-Warhaft 1992; Alexiou 2002 [1974]. For Achilles' lament in the *Iliad* as an appropriation of femininity, see Murnaghan 1999.

⁴⁰⁰ In the *Iliad*, Achilles seems to experience the pain of mortality, both his own and others' (specifically Patroclus's), more strongly than any other male character, to the extent that the violence of his emotional reaction is deemed inappropriate. In *Iliad* 9, Ajax rebukes him by saying, καὶ μὲν τίς τε κασιγνήτιοι φονῆος / ποιήνῃ ἢ οὗ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο τεθνηῶτος... σοὶ δ' ἄλληκτόν τε κακόν τε / θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι θεοὶ θέσαν εἵνεκα κούρης / οἷης

performs a feminine ritual act by cradling Patroclus's head in his hands at the funeral in *Iliad* 23. While this gesture may be performed by female relatives other than mothers, it is easily mapped onto the maternal paradigm already established by Achilles with regard to his relationship with Patroclus.⁴⁰¹

However, it is important to note that in this scene where Achilles' behavior is at its most maternal as he publicly performs the role of a grieving mother, the narrator chooses to describe Achilles using an explicitly *paternal* simile, reconfiguring his grief as male (23.222-24):

ὡς δὲ πατὴρ οὗ παιδὸς ὀδύρεται ὅστέα καίων,
νυμφίου, ὅς τε θανὼν δειλοὺς ἀκάχησε τοκῆας,
ὡς Ἀχιλεὺς ἐτάροιο ὀδύρετο ὅστέα καίων

As a father mourns for his son as he burns his bones,
His recently married son, who, having died, causes grief to his wretched parents,
Thus Achilles, mourning, burned the bones of his companion.

The simile is significant because protection is much more closely associated with Homeric mothers than Homeric fathers. Ready has argued that the *Iliad*'s characters and narrator often compete with each other in their deployment of similes, and I suggest that the narrator's simile at

("Someone accepts recompense even from the slayer of his brother, or when his son is dead...but as for you, the gods have put in your breast a heart that is implacable and evil on account of a girl only," 9.632-38), and in *Iliad* 24 Apollo expresses displeasure with Achilles' continuing grief and maltreatment of Hector's corpse: μέλλει μὲν πού τις καὶ φίλτερον ἄλλον ὀλέσσει / ἢ ἐκασίγνητον ὁμογάστριον ἢ ἐκαὶ υἱόν· / ἄλλ' ἦτοι κλαύσας καὶ ὀδυράμενος μεθέηκε· / τλητὸν γὰρ Μοῖραι θυμὸν θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν ("A man must have lost someone even dearer, either a brother from the same womb or a son. But having wept and wailed he lets it go. For the Fates gave an enduring heart to men," 24.46-49). These rebukes, while not accusations of effeminacy, nevertheless show that Achilles' grief surpasses the bounds of what is considered acceptable in warrior society. This may explain why Achilles chooses to associate himself with maternal/female grief, because he is conscious that what he feels exceeds the paradigm of male grief.

⁴⁰¹ Some scholars have discussed possible erotic overtones in Achilles' enactment of this gesture, since it may be performed by a wife for a husband (Clarke 1978; Halperin 1990: 75-87). I suggest that a maternal reading of Achilles cradling Patroclus's head is invited by Achilles' maternal similes, but this does not exclude an erotic interpretation of Achilles' and Patroclus's relationship, and we may see this gesture as functioning on multiple levels.

23.222-24 is a response to Achilles' maternal similes earlier in the poem.⁴⁰² The narrator's choice of a paternal simile for Achilles in *Iliad* 23 highlights Achilles' failure to protect Patroclus in *Iliad* 16.

We see the disparity between maternal and paternal protection in the divine sphere in particular. While goddesses such as Aphrodite and Thetis try, albeit often unsuccessfully, to save their sons, gods never once act to save their children. Zeus is tempted to save Sarpedon, but ultimately decides not to because Hera convinces him that it would set a bad precedent (16.433-61). Ares, for his part, is not even aware of the death of his son Ascalaphus because he is away on Olympus when he is killed in battle (13.521-25). In the *Odyssey*, we may compare how Poseidon does not protect Polyphemus from being blinded but pursues revenge against Odysseus after the event has occurred, just as Zeus does not prevent Sarpedon's death but does ensure that he is given a proper burial after his is killed.

With regard to similes, there is likewise no image of parental protection in the *Iliad* that is unambiguously paternal, although there are many that are explicitly maternal.⁴⁰³ This lack of protective paternal similes is significant because it seems to indicate that for the poet and his audience, fathers were not intuitively associated with protection and safety in the way that mothers were. This disparity strengthens the idea that the narrator's deployment of a paternal simile for Achilles in *Iliad* 23 is a pointed commentary on his failure to provide protection to the Achaeans and Patroclus.

⁴⁰² Ready 2011: 7-8.

⁴⁰³ There are two pairs of parental similes in the *Iliad* involving animals in which the gender of the animals is not stated: the swarm of wasps at 12.167-70 and 16.259-65, and the lions at 17.133-6 and 18.318-2. For more on these lion similes, see below.

There is less of a distinction between maternity and paternity with regard to protection among human characters, as, for example, both Hecuba and Priam are equally unsuccessful in their attempts to protect Hector by convincing him not to fight Achilles in *Iliad* 22. Nevertheless, a general trend remains. Overall in the *Iliad*, although mothers are often shown failing to defend their offspring successfully, they are still far more likely to *attempt* such a defense than fathers are. Even the deer at 11.113-19 whose young are devoured by a lion is at least present at the scene of her children's deaths (11.116), and the phrase οὐ δύναται σφι / χραισμεῖν ("she is not able to help them") implies that she would help if she could, but she is physically unable to do so. We may compare Thetis' statement about Achilles in *Iliad* 18.62-64:

οὐδέ τί οἱ δύναμαι χραισμηῆσαι ἰοῦσα.
 ἀλλ' εἴμι', ὄφρα ἴδωμι φίλον τέκος, ἦδ' ἔπακούσω
 ὅττι μιν ἴκετο πένθος ἀπὸ πτολέμοιο μένοντα.

And I am not able to help him in any way if I go to him.
 But I will go, so that I might see my dear child, and hear
 What sorrow has come to him as he remains away from the war.

Thetis, like the deer, yearns to help her child (χραισμηῆσαι), but is unable to (οὐδέ...δύναμαι).⁴⁰⁴

Nevertheless, it is very important for her to be close to Achilles as he nears death, providing another example of how mothers tend to be physically present in their children's time of need.

This pattern is born out in the larger epic tradition: in the lost epic *Aethiopsis*, Thetis and Eos seem to have been present on the battlefield to watch their children Achilles and Memnon fight and die.⁴⁰⁵ Thetis also never ceases trying to act as a protector to Achilles despite knowing that it

⁴⁰⁴ Lynn-George notes that the verb *chraismein* ("help") in a negative construction is used in the *Iliad* to highlight "the basic, primordial need for help and protection as a fundamental condition for survival" (Lynn-George 1993: 198). The frequency of this negative construction emphasizes the fact that in the *Iliad* this need is often unmet.

⁴⁰⁵ Slatkin 1991: 23-25. This element of the plot is not preserved in Proclus' summary of the *Aethiopsis*, but it is well-attested in iconography (Johansen 1967: 200-201).

is futile, as is shown by her repeated warnings to him about actions that are fated to bring about his death (9.410-16, 16.95-96).⁴⁰⁶

Zeus, in contrast, is clearly able to save Sarpedon if he chooses to, given that he describes the situation to Hera as a decision that he must make (16.435-38):

διχθὰ δέ μοι κραδίη μέμονε φρεσὶν ὀρμαίνοντι,
ἢ μιν ζῶδ' ἔοντα μάχης ἄπο δακρυόεσσης
θείῳ ἀναρπάξας Λυκίης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ,
ἢ ἤδη ὑπὸ χερσὶ Μενoitιάδαο δαμάσσω.

The heart in my breast is divided in its intentions as I ponder,
Whether I should snatch [Sarpedon] out of the sorrowful battle
Alive and set him down in the rich land of Lycia,
Or whether I should now subdue him under the hands of the son of Menoetius.

Zeus is prevented from saving his son not by a lack of power, but by considerations about the cosmic order, whereas Thetis' statement of οὐδέ...δύναμαι ("I am not able") suggests that saving Achilles' life is actually impossible for her. Similarly, Zeus, unlike Thetis, does not attempt to warn Sarpedon that he will die if he fights Patroclus, nor does he leave Olympus and come to the battlefield to be present for Sarpedon's death.

It should be noted that the unsuccessful nature of maternal protection and the absence of paternal protection in the *Iliad* fit in with a more general theme of the failure of care in the poem.⁴⁰⁷ Parents are not the only characters who fail in the respect; Achilles, for example, does not care for his father in his old age because he is away at Troy (24.540-41). In the realm of parental care, however, the contrast between mothers and fathers is striking, in that mothers are overwhelmingly characterized as being present to offer protection to their children, while fathers

⁴⁰⁶ She also prophesied that he would die after killing Memnon in the *Aethiopsis* (Procl. *Chrest.* 5.1-6).

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. Lynn-George 1993.

are almost always far from their children in their hour of need. It might be most accurate to say that maternal and paternal care typically fail in different ways: mothers try and fail to protect their offspring, while fathers fail to try.⁴⁰⁸

It is notable that despite Achilles' identification with maternity, he fits much more closely with the paternal paradigm than the maternal paradigm, in that he was able to be present and help Patroclus and the Achaeans but chose not to, just as Zeus ultimately chose not to help Sarpedon.⁴⁰⁹ The narrator subtly highlights this choice by contrasting Achilles' maternal actions at Patroclus's funeral with the paternal simile quoted above (23.222-24), emphasizing the fact that at the crucial moment, Achilles chose *timē* and *kleos* over protecting his comrades.⁴¹⁰

Achilles' absence from the battlefield during Patroclus's death is alluded to in a dramatic parental simile from *Iliad* 18, where Achilles is said to mourn for his friend (18.318-22):

ὣς τε λῖς ἠϋγένειος,
ᾧ ῥά θ' ὑπὸ σκύμνους ἐλαφιβόλος ἀρπάσῃ ἀνὴρ
ὔλης ἐκ πυκνῆς· ὁ δέ τ' ἄχνηται ὕστερος ἐλθῶν,
πολλὰ δέ τ' ἄγκε' ἐπῆλθε μετ' ἀνέρος ἴχνι' ἐρευνῶν,
εἴ ποθεν ἐξεύροι·

Like some well-bearded lion
Whose cubs a man, a deer-hunter, has snatched away from it

⁴⁰⁸ This argument raises the question of whether Hector should be viewed as a paternal protector. Pratt has argued extensively in favor of this reading of Hector, suggesting that he sacrifices his life out of paternal devotion (Pratt 2007). I, however, think that Arthur's analysis of Hector's character is more correct: that he ultimately chose the pursuit of *kleos* over his duty to protect his family (Arthur 1981). Pratt contends that Hector did not abandon his family, saying that he had no choice but to fight Achilles in *Iliad* 22, since if he did not fight Troy would be defenseless (Pratt 2007: 30). However, as Arthur points out, Hector could have chosen to follow the advice that Andromache gave him at *Il.* 6.433-37, in which she suggested that he station his troops by the wall in a defensive formation. This plan would have allowed Hector both to preserve his own safety and to prioritize the defense of the city, but he rejected it because it would not allow him to win *kleos* the way that fighting in the frontlines would (*Il.* 6.441-46, cf. Arthur 1981). Therefore, Hector can be viewed as choosing *kleos* over his duty of parental protection, just as Achilles does.

⁴⁰⁹ The similarity between Zeus and Achilles here is heightened by the fact that both made the choice not to offer protection because of a commitment to what they considered a higher principal: cosmic order for Zeus and *timē* and *kleos* for Achilles.

⁴¹⁰ Cf. Porter 2010 on how Homer uses similes contrastively in this way.

Out of the close wood. And it grieves having come back too late,
And it goes into many valleys searching after the footsteps of the man,
If it might find him out from somewhere.

The similarities between Achilles and the lion are obvious: both have come back too late to fulfil their role of parental protection. Whether this is a maternal or paternal simile is unclear, because the gender of lions in Homer is somewhat ambiguous. *λίς* and *λέων*, while grammatically masculine, can be used for both male and female lions.⁴¹¹ Some scholars, taking their cue from the grammatical gender, translate all lions as if they were male.⁴¹² Others assume that all lions with cubs are female, since in the wild it is female lions who care for offspring.⁴¹³ However, given the masculine grammatical gender and the lack of explicitly maternal vocabulary associated with this simile, in contrast to Menelaus's cow simile at 17.4-6, it seems unwise to make any bold claims based on the assumption that this lion is a mother rather than a father or vice versa.⁴¹⁴

The same problem is presented by the lion simile in *Iliad* 17, which forms a pair with Menelaus as mother cow (17.132-36):

Αἶας δ' ἀμφὶ Μενoitιάδῃ σάκος εὐρὸν καλύψας
ἔστήκει ὡς τίς τε λέων περὶ οἷσι τέκεσσιν,
ᾧ ῥά τε νήπι' ἄγοντι συναντήσονται ἐν ὕλῃ
ἄνδρες ἐπακτῆρες· ὁ δέ τε σθένει βλεμεαίνει,
πᾶν δέ τ' ἐπισκύνιον κάτω ἔλκεται ὄσσε καλύπτων·

Ajax stood over the son of Menoetius, hiding him with his broad shield,

⁴¹¹ The word *λέαινα*, “lioness,” does not appear until Aeschylus (cf. *Lfgre*, Lonsdale 1990: 30n33).

⁴¹² Cf. Lattimore 1951: *passim*; Mills 2000: 9.

⁴¹³ Edwards 1991: 75. Cf. Aristarchus on these lines (Did/A). For more on the gender of animals in Homer, see Fränkel 1977 [1921]: 92-93.

⁴¹⁴ The adjective *ἠϋγένειος*, “well-bearded” is no help. Scholia AT insist that female lions are bearded, while male lions have manes. However, lions without cubs are also called *ἠϋγένειος* (15.271-6, cf. Edwards 1991: 184). Furthermore, female lions with manes appear in Archaic Greek art, such as the one found on the Athenian acropolis (Dickins 2014: 77).

Like a lion stands over its children,
When the lion is leading its young along in the forest, and huntsmen
Come upon them. It exults in its strength
And draws its whole brow down, hiding its eyes.

This passage shares imagery with the maternal simile applied to Ajax at 8.271-72 where he hides Teucer under his shield (σάκεϊ κρύπτασκε), and if this lion were female it would fit well with the pattern of mothers as protectors seen elsewhere in the *Iliad*.⁴¹⁵ Achilles' lion simile in *Iliad* 18 does not fit the pattern of maternity so neatly, since that lion behaves more like a Homeric father by being absent when the hunters come for its cubs, in contrast to the lion at 17.133-36 who is there to ward off the hunters.⁴¹⁶ I suggest that the ambiguous gender of the lion in *Iliad* 18 resonates with Achilles' own ambiguous status as a self-identified mother who has neglected his duties of maternal protection in favor of the masculine pursuit of honor and glory. Since the gender of the lion is not clearly marked, both maternal and paternal associations are able to be mapped onto Achilles' character at once, emphasizing simultaneously his role as absent father-figure and failed mother-figure.

Throughout the *Iliad*, Achilles casts himself in the role of a mother, playing in turn the parts of protector, murderer, and mourner. The narrator, in contrast, highlights the fact that Achilles' protective drive is subverted into a destructive impulse by his heroic, masculine desire to acquire *timē* and *kleos*. It is this desire which keeps him out of the war. As Redfield writes,

⁴¹⁵ Gates 1971 argues that all animal parents that appear in similes in Homer are mothers, not fathers. If this is true, it would indicate that the lion is female. Cf. Redfield 1975: 119.

⁴¹⁶ The fact that the "cubs" in both similes represent Patroclus ties these two images together closely and invites that they be read as a series. Patroclus's role as the child in Achilles' maternal simile in *Iliad* 16 also fits into this pattern. As Mills has pointed out, all the parental similes in the second half of the poem cluster around Achilles and Patroclus, highlighting the care that Achilles is meant to give Patroclus and the other Achaeans but does not (Mills 2000). She does not, however, take into account the distinction between maternal and paternal similes. See Fenik 1968: 160-61 and Scott 2009: 55 for more on the relationship between the cow simile at 17.4-6 and the lion simile at 17.133-36.

“Achilles’ refusal of the warrior’s role is an affirmation of the warrior’s ethic.”⁴¹⁷ In this way, maternity becomes an ideal analogy for a warrior’s relationship to his people because Homeric motherhood, representing as it does both preservation and annihilation, emphasizes the inherent instability of the principles upon which Iliadic warrior values are based. The metaphor of the warrior-as-mother thus serves as a way to redefine the defense of one’s comrades as a warrior’s most important duty, seeming to suggest that just as the figure of the murderous mother represents a corruption of the mother’s life-giving role, the destructive drive to win *kleos* can become a corruption of the warrior’s protective role. Although in ideal circumstances the goals of *kleos* and protection would perfectly overlap, the *Iliad* uses the story of Achilles to show the ways in which the two objectives can all too easily become mutually exclusive.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss the ways in which the maternal warrior paradigm plays out in the stories of three other male characters in the *Iliad*: Hector, who rejects it, and Ajax and Menelaus, who embody it unproblematically. In many ways, Hector functions as a foil to Achilles in the *Iliad*.⁴¹⁸ Like Achilles, Hector experiences a conflict between his duty to protect and his desire to win *kleos*, and he also conceives of this conflict in gendered terms. However, he does not characterize defense as specifically maternal but as generally feminine, thereby allowing himself to portray the prioritization of defensive fighting over the pursuit of *kleos* as wholly negative. The important distinction between maternity specifically and femininity in general in the *Iliad* is that maternity on the battlefield can carry a positive valence. The “maternal warrior” paradigm used by the narrator and Achilles thus serves to elevate the

⁴¹⁷ Redfield 1975: 105.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. Goldhill 1991: 92.

feminine-associated protective drive to a level worthy of respect. By characterizing defensive fighting as maternal, the narrator and Achilles stress its potential to interfere with the pursuit of *kleos* without denigrating femininity. In this way, they portray the conflict between a warrior's defense of his comrades and his pursuit of *kleos* as a complex moral dilemma. Hector, on the other hand, presents an opposition between femininity and *kleos* in which the femininity is wholly undesirable and shameful.

For example, in *Iliad* 6, Andromache, fearing for Hector's safety, asks him to have pity on her and his son and not to fight in the forefront of the battle (6.432). She tells him instead to station his troops where the wall is most vulnerable to attack (6.433-37).⁴¹⁹ She does not ask him to withdraw from the war, but rather to adopt a defensive strategy where he will not win *kleos* but where he will be less likely to be killed.⁴²⁰ She is asking him to forgo *kleos* so that he may remain alive and continue to protect her and Astyanax. Andromache's plan is also of benefit to the city, since she recommends protecting an exposed place in the wall where the Achaeans have previously attacked. If Hector were to follow Andromache's advice, he would be fulfilling his duty to safeguard his family and the people of Troy. Nevertheless, Hector denies Andromache's request by reasserting his dedication to male warrior values (6.441-46):

ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς
αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας ἐλκεσιπέπλους,
αἶ κε κακὸς ὥς νόσφιν ἀλυσκάζω πολέμοιο·
οὐδέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν, ἐπεὶ μάθον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλὸς
αἰεὶ καὶ πρότοισι μετὰ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι,
ἀρνύμενος πατρός τε μέγα κλέος ἢ δ' ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ.

But I would be terribly ashamed
Before the Trojans and the Trojan women with trailing robes

⁴¹⁹ See also Chapter 2.

⁴²⁰ Arthur 1981: 33. Cf. Sarpedon to Glaucus on how it is in the forefront of a battle that men win glory and honor (12.322ff).

If like a coward I should shun the war and remain apart,
Nor does my spirit bid me, since I learned to be brave always
And to fight among the first of the Trojans
Striving to win great *kleos* for my father and for myself.

In this passage, Hector rejects Andromache's sound advice because it would interfere with his pursuit of *kleos*; in this way he prioritizes his desire for glory over his duty to protect Troy. He justifies himself by saying that he knows "a day will come when sacred Ilium will fall" (ἔσσεται ἡμᾶρ ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώλη Ἴλιος ἱρή, 6.448), implying that his own death, the fall of Troy, and Andromache's enslavement are all inevitable and therefore cannot be altered by any course of action he might take. This reasoning echoes Sarpedon's statement in *Iliad* 12 that he will seek to win glory because his own death is inevitable (12.325-28). Troy's fall, however, will only become inevitable after Hector's own death. As the narrator says, "Hector alone defended Ilium" (οἷος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἐκτώρ, *Il.* 6.403).⁴²¹ By eliding the importance of his own survival for the preservation of Troy, Hector seeks to exculpate himself for the damage that his pursuit of *kleos* will cause to others.

Granted, Zeus also prophesies the death of Hector and the fall of Troy at *Il.* 15.65-75, seeming to lend credence to Hector's characterization of himself as being without a choice. However, the well-known phenomenon of "double determination" or "double motivation" in Homeric epic has shown that characters do not lose their free will even in cases of divine intervention.⁴²² Hector's consciously chosen actions play a role in the chain of causality leading

⁴²¹ This choice that Hector makes in *Iliad* 6 is fulfilled in *Iliad* 22 when he chooses to face Achilles and die rather than yield to the pleas of his parents. Priam begs Hector, "Come inside the walls my child, so that you may save the Trojans and the Trojan women" (ἀλλ' εἰσέρχου τείχος, ἐμὸν τέκος, ὄφρα σώσῃς / Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας, 22.56-57), but Hector does not obey him, making explicit his refusal of his role as Troy's guardian. As Achilles drags his corpse away, the Trojans lament "as if all steep Ilium smoldered with fire from top to bottom" (ὥς εἰ ἅπασα / Ἴλιος ὀφρυόεσσα πυρὶ σμύχοιτο κατ' ἄκρης, 22.410-11), symbolizing that the destruction of Troy is now imminent.

⁴²² Cf. Dodds 1951: 1-18; Lesky 1961; Scodel 2008: 112.

to the fall of Troy that Zeus describes, since Zeus says that Hector's own death will be brought about by his slaying of Patroclus (*Il.* 15.65). If Hector had listened to Andromache in *Iliad* 6 and stationed his troops defensively rather than attacking the Achaean ships, he would not have killed Patroclus and provoked Achilles' wrath against himself, leading Achilles to reenter the war. Hector's choice to reject Andromache's advice led to his own death—a death that would not have been inevitable if he had listened to her. Although Hector is all that stands between Troy and destruction, much like Achilles for the Achaean army, he cannot forgo the pursuit of glory that will ultimately rob the Trojans of their last defense, just as Achilles is unable to help his comrades because of his concern for his own *kleos*.⁴²³

When Hector refuses his protective role in favor of dying for glory, he frames it as a rejection of femininity. At the end of *Iliad* 6, he tells Andromache to be busy about her own work, the “loom and the distaff” (ἰστόν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, 6.491), contrasting this with the work of war, which will be “a care to men” (ἄνδρεςσι μελήσει, 6.492), and to Hector especially (μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί, 6.493).⁴²⁴ By saying that war is not women's business, Hector dismisses Andromache's advice, characterizing a concern with defense above all else as feminine. Similarly in *Iliad* 22, when Hector ignores his mother's breast that she holds out as she begs him not to fight Achilles, he is denying her attempts to extend protection over him, again turning away from the feminine and the maternal at the same time as he denies his own role as protector.⁴²⁵ He briefly considers taking off his armor and going to supplicate Achilles, promising to return Helen and give the treasures of Troy to the Greeks (22.111-21), and in doing so imagines making peace and ending

⁴²³ For more on the conflict between a warrior's roles as killer and caregiver see Redfield 1975: 99-127, Mills 2000: 9 ff.

⁴²⁴ For more on this passage, see Chapter 2.

⁴²⁵ Cf. Murnaghan 1992.

the war. This is an act that would be undertaken at the expense of *kleos*, but which would represent an attempt to save the Trojans, since Hector knows that if the war continues, Troy will fall (6.448). Nevertheless, Hector quickly dismisses this idea, unable to bear the thought of being killed “like a woman” (ὥς τε γυναῖκα, 22.125). While Hector is undoubtedly right that Achilles will kill him regardless of what he does, it is significant that at the last he chooses a death while fighting for *kleos* rather than a death during a “feminine” supplication undertaken for his people.

Strikingly, in the last lines of this speech Hector likens his imagined supplication of Achilles to a boy and a girl talking to each other like lovers (22.125-28):

οὐ μὲν πως νῦν ἔστιν ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης
τῷ ἀριζέμεναι, ἅ τε παρθένος ἠΐθεός τε,
παρθένος ἠΐθεός τ' ἀριζετον ἀλλήλουιν.

There is no way now from oak or rock
To talk like a sweetheart to him, the kinds of things that a virgin and
A young man, a virgin and a young man say to each other as sweethearts.

There is an element of femininity present in this simile, but it is not the subjugated femininity of a few lines before where Hector equated himself dying without armor to a woman, an intolerable image that he recoiled from.⁴²⁶ The boy and girl here are equal participants in the action of ἀριζετον (“talk like a sweetheart”), with ἀλλήλουιν (“to each other”) implying a reciprocity between male and female which extends to the two warriors the simile describes. It is not made clear who is the παρθένος (“virgin”) and who is the ἠΐθεός (“young man”); in some sense each of them is both. Specifics do not matter because for the purposes of this passage, there is no difference between the young man and the young woman. This image is significant because it is

⁴²⁶ Cf. Van Nortwick 2001.

foreign to the schema found in the similes used by warriors to insult each other, wherein masculinity dominates and femininity is dominated.⁴²⁷

Hector does not speak of the femininity in this simile with contempt, but instead with a kind of hopeless wistfulness. He wishes for a space where masculine and feminine could be blurred like this, an alternative to the brutal kill-or-be-killed world of the battlefield.⁴²⁸

Nonetheless, he ultimately rejects this vision, reiterating again that it is better to pursue glory:

βέλτερον αὐτ' ἔριδι ξυνελαυνέμεν ὅτι τάχιστα· / εἶδομεν ὀπποτέρῳ κεν Ὀλύμπιος εὖχος ὀρέξῃ

(“It is better to rush together in strife as fast as possible. Let us know to which of us the Olympian will grant glory (*euchos*),” 22.129-30). Hector’s rejection of the image of the young girl and boy underscores the fact that for him, femininity is incompatible with his role as a fighter. To be like a woman is to cease to be a warrior. But by rejecting everything which he associates with femininity, Hector also ultimately rejects actions undertaken for the protection of Troy, leading to increased suffering for his people.

We see in the examples of Hector and Achilles a similar opposition between feminine-identified protection and the masculine drive to win *kleos*. However, while Hector characterizes all femininity as antithetical to masculine warrior identity, Achilles’ presentation of maternal/feminine defensive fighting is more positive, as in the complimentary use of maternal similes by the narrator to describe warriors on the battlefield. Achilles furthermore expresses guilt at his failure to protect his comrades and publicly enacts feminine grief at Patroclus’s funeral, suggesting that he identifies with the maternal paradigm.⁴²⁹ The similarity between

⁴²⁷ Cf. Introduction.

⁴²⁸ Cf. Van Nortwick 2001.

⁴²⁹ There is some controversy over whether Homeric heroes can be said to experience “guilt” as opposed to merely “shame” (cf. Adkins 1960) but see Zanker 1994 for a defense of the term. See also Williams 1993, who argues

Achilles' characterization of maternal/defensive fighting and the narrator's implies that the poem ultimately sides with Achilles, not Hector, in privileging a masculinity that can encompass some aspects of femininity, such as the quality of maternal protection.

This alternative form of masculinity is exemplified by Ajax, who receives one of the narrator's maternal similes (8.268-272). Ajax serves as the quintessential defender of the Achaeans during the *Iliad*, as is shown by his epithet ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν, "bulwark of the Achaeans" (*Il.* 3.229, 6.5, 7.211). This appears to be a title that he has taken over from Achilles, who in *Iliad* 1 is called "a great bulwark against evil war for the Achaeans" (ἔρκος Ἀχαιοῖσιν πέλεται πολέμοιο κακοῖο, 1.284).⁴³⁰ After Achilles withdraws from the war, it is Ajax who must take up the mantle of the protector of his comrades. Throughout the *Iliad*, Ajax's most prominent moments on the battlefield involve defensive fighting, such as when he opposes the Lycians trying to break through the Achaean wall in *Iliad* 12 (12.364-471), when he stands alone against the Trojans coming to burn the Achaean ships (15.726-745, 16.101-123), and when he successfully defends Patroclus' body from the Trojans in *Iliad* 17. The poem suggests that Ajax identifies strongly with this role as a defender. The only time that Ajax mentions *kleos* (or any other word for glory) in the *Iliad* occurs when he is exhorting the Achaeans to work together to defend the ships in Book 15 (15.561-64):

ὦ φίλοι ἀνέρες ἔστε, καὶ αἰδῶ θέσθ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ,
ἀλλήλους τ' αἰδεῖσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας.
αἰδομένων δ' ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σοοὶ ἢ ἐπέφανται·
φευγόντων δ' οὔτ' ἄρ κλέος ὄρνυται οὔτε τις ἀλκή.

Friends, be men, and put shame in your spirit,
And show regard for each other in the strong encounters.

contra Snell that Homeric characters should be seen as moral agents whose intentions, decisions, and actions are presented as being much like our own.

⁴³⁰ The phrase ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν is not used to describe any warrior other than Ajax and Achilles in the *Iliad*.

When men show regard for each other, more are safe than are slain.
But when they flee, there is no *kleos* nor any might.

Here he envisions *kleos* as something that soldiers may win communally by standing their ground and protecting each other. This formulation of *kleos* prefigures the poems of the seventh-century Spartan poet Tyrtaeus, in which communal rather than individual effort on the battlefield is what wins men glory. For example, Tyrtaeus exhorts the Spartans (fr. 11.11-14):⁴³¹

οἷ μὲν γὰρ τολμῶσι παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες
ἔς τ' αὐτοσχεδίην καὶ προμάχους ἰέναι,
παυρότεροι θνήσκουσι, σαοῦσι δὲ λαὸν ὀπίσσω·
τρεσσάντων δ' ἀνδρῶν πᾶσ' ἀπόλωλ' ἀρετή.

For those who dare to remain beside one another
And go towards hand-to-hand combat and the front ranks,
They die in fewer numbers, and they save the host behind them.
But when men flee, all *aretē* is lost.

As I will argue in Chapter 5, this communal conception of *kleos* and warrior identity becomes a new form of hegemonic masculinity that eventually supplants the more individualistic Homeric hegemonic masculinity adhered to by characters in the *Iliad* such as Hector.

That Ajax himself considers the defense of friends to be paramount is made clear in his speech during the embassy to Achilles in *Iliad* 9 (*Il.* 9.624-642):

‘διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη πολυμήχαν’ Ὀδυσσεῦ
ἴομεν· οὐ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ μύθοιο τελευτὴ
τῆδὲ γ’ ὀδῶ κρανεέσθαι· ἀπαγγεῖλαι δὲ τάχιστα
χρὴ μῦθον Δαναοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἀγαθὸν περ ἔοντα
οἷ που νῦν ἔαται ποτιδέγμενοι. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
ἄγριον ἐν στήθεσσι θέτο μεγαλήτορα θυμὸν
σχέτλιος, οὐδὲ μετατρέπεται φιλόητος ἑταίρων
τῆς ἧ μιν παρὰ νηυσὶν ἐτίομεν ἕξοχον ἄλλων
νηλής· καὶ μὲν τίς τε κασιγνήτοιο φονῆος
ποινήν ἢ οὐ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο τεθνηῶτος·
καὶ ῥ’ ὃ μὲν ἐν δήμῳ μένει αὐτοῦ πόλλ’ ἀποτίσας,
τοῦ δὲ τ’ ἐρητύεται κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ

⁴³¹ Cf. Tyrtaeus fr. 10 and 11. See Chapter 5 on the ways in which Tyrtaeus represents a new formulation of heroic glory that comes to replace the Homeric model.

ποινήν δεξαμένω· σοὶ δ' ἄληκτόν τε κακόν τε
θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι θεοὶ θέσαν εἵνεκα κούρης
οἴης· νῦν δέ τοι ἐπτὰ παρίσχομεν ἔξοχ' ἀρίστας,
ἄλλὰ τε πόλλ' ἐπὶ τῆσι· σὺ δ' ἴλαον ἔνθεο θυμόν,
αἶδεσσαι δὲ μέλαθρον· ὑπάροφιοι δέ τοί εἰμεν
πληθύος ἐκ Δαναῶν, μέμαμεν δέ τοι ἔξοχον ἄλλων
κῆδιστοὶ τ' ἔμεναι καὶ φίλτατοι ὅσσοι Ἀχαιοί.

Zeus-born son of Laertes, Odysseus of many wiles,
Let us go. For it does not seem to me that any outcome
Of speaking will be accomplished on this journey. But it is necessary
To tell this story to the Danaans as quickly as possible, although it is not good,
Who now sit awaiting us. For Achilles
Has made savage the great-hearted spirit in his breast,
He, a wicked man, and he does not show regard for the friendship of his companions
With which we honored him above all others by the ships,
Pitiless! A man accepts recompense even from the slayer of his brother,
Or for his dead son. And the guilty man,
Having paid back many things, stays there in the country,
And the heart of the injured man is curbed, and his manly spirit,
When he receives the ransom. But as for you, the gods have put in your breast
A heart that is obdurate and evil on account of one girl only.
But we have provided seven girls, especially excellent,
And many things in addition to them. Make your spirit gracious
And respect your house. For we are under the same roof with you
from the multitude of the Danaans, and we desire especially above all the Achaeans
To be most cared for and dearest to you.

In this speech, Ajax expresses his disgust that Achilles places his own injured pride over the well-being of his comrades. In his mind, Achilles has “unambiguously and unreasonably violated the ethical bonds between friends.”⁴³² He considers it to be Achilles’ duty to accept the compensation that has been offered to him and come to the aid of the Greeks. As far as he is concerned, the slight that Agamemnon dealt to Achilles was less severe than greater crimes, such as murder, for which men accept monetary recompense, and that Achilles’ continuing rage and existential crisis are thus unreasonable. Ajax is unable to understand why Achilles’ anger over

⁴³² Wilson 2002: 104.

his lost *timē* or his anguished questioning of the value of *kleos* would override the needs of his companions. Unlike Achilles, whose primary concern for most of the *Iliad* is his own honor and glory, Ajax cannot comprehend how Achilles could refuse to come to the aid of men who have shown him great friendship.

Ajax positions himself as being unquestionably in the right according to the values of his community.⁴³³ However, as Wilson points out, it is not necessarily the case in Homeric society that the wronged party in a dispute will always accept *poinë* (“recompense”) and let go of their anger, as Ajax suggests.⁴³⁴ Ajax’s comment that a man will accept *poinë* even from the killer of his brother or son recalls the scene on the shield of Achilles in which “two men were disputing over the *poinë* for a man who had been killed” (δύο δ’ ἄνδρες ἐνεΐκεον εἴνεκα ποινῆς / ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένου, 18.498-99). In this scene, it is not at all obvious what the outcome of the dispute will be, or which man the community considers to be in the right (18.499-508):

ὁ μὲν εὐχέτο πάντ’ ἀποδοῦναι
δῆμῳ πιφαύσκων, ὃ δ’ ἀναΐνετο μηδὲν ἐλέσθαι·
ἄμφω δ’ ἰέσθην ἐπὶ ἴστορι πείραρ ἐλέσθαι.
λαοὶ δ’ ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπήπυον ἀμφὶς ἀρωγοί·
κήρυκες δ’ ἄρα λαὸν ἐρήτυον· οἱ δὲ γέροντες
εἶατ’ ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις ἱερῶ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ,
σκῆπτρα δὲ κηρύκων ἐν χέρσ’ ἔχον ἠεροφάνων·
τοῖσιν ἔπειτ’ ἤϊσσον, ἀμοιβηδὶς δὲ δικάζον.
κεῖτο δ’ ἄρ’ ἐν μέσσοισι δύο χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
τῷ δόμεν ὃς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἴποι.

One man promised to pay back everything,
Proclaiming it to the people. But the other man refused to accept anything.
Both men hastened to a judge to have a verdict.
And the people shouted in support for both, advocates on both sides.
But the heralds restrained the people. And the old men
Sat on polished stone in the sacred circle,
And they held in their hands the scepters of the loud-voiced heralds.

⁴³³ Hainsworth 1993: 142.

⁴³⁴ Wilson 2002: 105-6.

The two men rushed to the elders and pleaded their cases in turn.
And there lay between them two talents of gold,
To be given to the man who among them passed judgement most justly.

In this scenario, some of the people support one man, and some support the other. It is uncertain which side the judges will ultimately favor. Thus, it seems clear that the acceptance of *poinë* is not a given, and that there is no unanimous societal expectation that the wronged man *should* accept *poinë*. By characterizing the acceptance of *poinë* as the only acceptable action, Ajax shows that he has a tendency to interpret the values of heroic society in whatever way redounds most to the communal good. When there is a conflict between individual and communal interests, he believes that the individual should subordinate his rage at being wronged to the needs of his friends and comrades.⁴³⁵ Ruth Scodel has written of the Embassy scene in *Iliad* 9 as one of a number of instances in the poem in which the values of heroic society do not offer a clear solution to a problem, and heroes must weigh different needs and imperatives against each other.⁴³⁶ Achilles chooses to prioritize the imperative to win *kleos* over the needs of his comrades. Ajax, on the other hand, indicates his belief in the absolute necessity of defending one's friends.

Menelaus, the other warrior who receives a complementary maternal simile from the narrator (17.1-6), can also be shown to embody the maternal-protective form of Homeric masculinity exemplified by Ajax. Like Ajax, his feats on the battlefield are primarily defensive.

⁴³⁵ Hainsworth writes: "Aias' failure to understand the θυμαλγῆς λῶβη suffered by Akhilleus verges on the comic, as if the seizure of Briseis had been a mere theft" (Hainsworth 1993: 143). Scodel offers a different interpretation, suggesting that Ajax is proposing a reasonable solution according to the values of Homeric society—that he is aware of the impossibility of *poinë* making up for a wronged person's pain, but that he believes *poinë* should be accepted because it allows all parties to save face and restores communal harmony (Scodel 2008: 84-85).

⁴³⁶ Scodel 2008: 141. Cf. Scodel 2008: 12: "Short-term and long-term goals can conflict, and the heroic code does not tell characters how to perform the calculus through which they compare their chances."

He, along with Ajax, is one of the few Greek heroes to survive *Iliad* 11 unwounded, and thus forms an important part of the Achaean defense in books 12-16. His *aristeia* comes in *Iliad* 17 when he, along with Ajax, carries Patroclus' body out of the fighting.

Significantly, in the cases of both Menelaus and Ajax, their most prominent battlefield moments when they are not fighting defensively involve one-on-one duels: Menelaus with Paris in *Iliad* 3 (3.84ff), and Ajax with Hector in *Iliad* 7 (7.206-302). Both armies stop fighting in temporary truce in order to watch each pair of warriors fight. Any renown they win by their success in these duels thus does not come at the expense of their comrades, because the battle has been paused. For both Ajax and Menelaus, then, displays of valor and the winning of personal renown do not come into conflict with the needs of their fellow-soldiers.

Ajax and Menelaus represent heroes whose fighting is predominantly maternal, i.e. defensive, in contrast to Hector and Achilles, who endanger their comrades in their pursuit of *kleos*. Thus, we may conclude that the maternal-protective similes used by the narrator to describe Ajax and Menelaus in battle are not generic descriptors that can be applied to any warrior, but rather a comment on the ways in which these two heroes interpret the imperatives of their warrior identities. Unlike Achilles and Hector, Ajax and Menelaus do not appear concerned with the conflict between defensive fighting and the pursuit of *kleos*, nor with the gendering of defensive fighting as feminine/maternal. They themselves certainly do not characterize their behavior as feminine. This may be because the pursuit of *kleos* is less paramount to either of them on a personal level than it is for Achilles or Hector, and they therefore do not need to resort to gendered metaphors in order to make sense of the inconsistencies inherent in their warrior roles. Nevertheless, the overall conflict between defense and *kleos* in the *Iliad* is still apparent in the stories of Menelaus and Ajax, even if they themselves are not aware of it. Significantly,

neither Menelaus nor Ajax wins *kleos* equivalent to that of Hector and Achilles, the *Iliad*'s two most prominent warriors. Menelaus has both bravery and compassion, but he is not a first-class fighter.⁴³⁷ And although Ajax's skill in battle is superior to Hector's, his role as a defender means that he will always take second place.⁴³⁸ Despite Ajax's exhortation to the Achaeans, the *Iliad* does not characterize defense as a prominent source of *kleos*. However, as I will discuss in Chapter 5, the model of defensive fighting and communal heroism exemplified by the maternal-warrior paradigm eventually supplants normative Homeric masculinity to become the preeminent way to win glory in Greek culture.

The maternal warrior paradigm represents an alternative to the hegemonic masculinity to which the majority of male characters in the *Iliad* subscribe. Unlike the normative masculinity that excludes all femininity from itself and is focused on winning *timē* and *kleos*, this alternative paradigm of masculinity incorporates into itself a particular kind of maternal femininity that is concerned with protection and the preservation of life. In presenting this figure of the maternal warrior, the poem hints at a different way of performing masculinity that is less destructive to a warrior's own society. The *Iliad* emphasizes the importance of this protective paradigm even as it remains ultimately pessimistic about the possibility of preserving life and community. In Chapter 5, I will discuss how the paradigm of the maternal warrior in the *Iliad* represents the first hints of a change in Greek hegemonic masculinity that occurs as a result of the political and social changes at the end of the Early Iron Age.

⁴³⁷ For Menelaus' bravery, see *Il.* 7.96-102. For his compassion, see *Il.* 6.51-53. For his weaknesses as a warrior, see *Il.* 7.103-119.

⁴³⁸ For Ajax as superior to Hector, see Scodel 2008: 34-35. For the way in which Ajax is doomed never to take first place, see Scodel 2008: 40. Ajax's failure to win Achilles' armor by defending Achilles corpse in the Epic Cycle shows clearly how his role as a defender is not rewarded with *timē* and *kleos*.

CHAPTER 4

The Price of *Kleos*: Achilles at the End of the *Iliad*

In Chapter 3, I discussed how Achilles identifies strongly with the paradigm of Iliadic maternity and displays a number of feminine-coded behaviors and perspectives in the later books of the *Iliad*, particularly with regard to his mourning for Patroclus. In this chapter, I focus on Achilles' identification with femininity in the final book of the *Iliad* and on the relationship that this identification has with his attitude towards martial *kleos* at the epic's close. A number of scholars have suggested that, although Achilles does experiment with feminine behaviors earlier in the poem, this flirtation with femininity ends in *Iliad* 24 when he is reintegrated back into masculine warrior society.⁴³⁹ I argue that Achilles' identification with maternity remains consistent throughout *Iliad* 24 and persists until the end of the poem. In addition, I suggest that at the end of the *Iliad* Achilles' view of martial *kleos* has fundamentally shifted and become closely aligned with the negative views that female characters in the *Iliad* hold towards male warrior *kleos*.

In particular, I argue that the way in which Achilles speaks of fighting and dying in battle in *Iliad* 24 is similar to how female laments treat these topics, in that he emphasizes the suffering caused by martial pursuits rather than the glory that is won from them. As lamenting women stress the pain that the deaths of warriors have caused them, Achilles focuses on the pain that he himself has caused by leaving his homeland to fight and die. His concern at the end of the *Iliad* is not with his own poetic immortality, but with the human cost of the actions by which he has won it.

⁴³⁹ Murnaghan 1999; Van Nortwick 2001; Felson 2002; Holmes 2007.

For the preeminent hero in the poem to adopt this attitude undermines the desirability of *kleos* for a warrior and calls into question the interpretation that the ending of the *Iliad* reasserts the values of normative warrior masculinity. Instead, Achilles' continued feminine alignment at the end of the epic emphasizes the dysfunctional nature of Iliadic paradigms of both gender and heroic glory. I also argue that this feminine alignment is a quality that Achilles shares with the narrator of the *Iliad*, particularly with regard to the narrator's "obituaries" for dying warriors.⁴⁴⁰ At the end of this chapter, I return to the idea of the *Iliad*'s "feminine alterity" that I introduced in Chapter 2, and I suggest that feminine voices and perspectives ultimately emerge as preeminent in the poem.

Gail Holst-Warhaft has argued that female lament in Ancient Greek society subverts the masculine social order by emphasizing the suffering caused by the warrior's death rather than the glory that he wins by dying: "By focusing as it does on mourning and loss rather than praise of the dead, [lament] denies the value of death for the community or state, making it difficult for authorities to recruit an obedient army."⁴⁴¹ Traditional lament in modern Greece still functions in a similar way, providing an opportunity for women to undermine masculine hegemony. Nadia Seremetakis, for example, has documented how Maniot women use lament to oppose the authority of male relatives and elders.⁴⁴² Sheila Murnaghan elaborates upon how the subversive nature of female lament can be said to operate in the *Iliad*:

In general, the concern of lamenting women for their own sufferings means that they have no use for what concerns a warrior most: the disembodied reputation that outlives the services through which it is earned. . . . In the context of Homeric poetry, then, women's laments are subversive, not just because they dwell on the negative consequences of heroic action, but because they ignore the death-defying *kleos* that

⁴⁴⁰ For these obituaries, see Griffin 1980: 103-143; Tsagalis 2004: 179-188.

⁴⁴¹ Holst-Warhaft 1992: 3.

⁴⁴² Seremetakis 1991.

provides a positive compensation for heroic sacrifice and constitutes a major function of epic itself.⁴⁴³

Some scholars have suggested that the fact that the final book of the *Iliad* ends with the three laments given by Andromache, Hecuba, and Helen at Hector's funeral gives special prominence to this feminine viewpoint.⁴⁴⁴

Nevertheless, Murnaghan has argued that despite the critique of masculine warrior values implicit in female laments in the *Iliad*, such laments actually serve to increase male *kleos* by emphasizing the value of the warrior who is mourned. The greater a hero's prowess and status in life, the greater the suffering caused by his death. Lamenting women thus become monuments to the *kleos* of the dead warrior:

As she gives voice to her role as the bearer of Hector's *kleos*, Andromache's words fill in what Hector's gloss over when he imagines her enslaved and mournful figure as the inspiration for a detached assessment of his excellence as a warrior. . . . In doing so, she gives an implicit analysis of why heroic epic cannot do without lamentation, the genre in which "grief has the chief place," even though laments often seem to subvert epic's purposes or at least to distract us from epic's central claims. Before it can be converted into pleasant, care-dispelling song, a hero's achievement is measured in the suffering that it causes, in the grief that it inspires.⁴⁴⁵

Therefore, according to Murnaghan, feminine criticism of *kleos* is incorporated into the *Iliad* in service to the epic's larger poetic project of valorizing *kleos* won through a glorious death.⁴⁴⁶ In this way the subversive elements of female lament are ultimately neutralized. The position of the

⁴⁴³ Murnaghan 1999: 214-5.

⁴⁴⁴ Holst Warhaft 1992; Perkell 2008.

⁴⁴⁵ Murnaghan 1999: 217.

⁴⁴⁶ See also Kakridis 1971, who suggests that the *Iliad* portrays women begging men not to fight in order for the men to have an opportunity to reaffirm their commitment to warrior values by rejecting the women's pleas.

laments at the end of *Iliad* 24 could then simply be read as highlighting the *kleos* won by Hector, and by extension, all warriors who make the decision to die bravely in battle.

As I discussed in Chapter 3, previous scholars have noted Achilles' participation in feminine mourning after Patroclus' death.⁴⁴⁷ This association with femininity is often considered to be a result of Achilles' estrangement from warrior society: he cannot express his feelings using the set of behaviors deemed appropriate for a man, so he turns to the marginalized feminine position for alternative modes of expression.⁴⁴⁸ The majority of scholars argue that this feminine estrangement is only temporary, and that Achilles eventually makes his way back to the normative masculine position. In reference to lament, Murnaghan argues that Achilles' flirtation with femininity ends in *Iliad* 24, and that he adopts a masculine position as a proponent of the need to moderate one's grief:

In keeping with Achilles' role as a preeminent warrior, whose function is to turn grief into action, he becomes at the end of his story an advocate of keeping lamentation in its place. In his meeting with Priam in book 24, once he and Priam have experienced their parallel mourning—he for his father and Patroclus, Priam for Hector—the desire for *goos* leaves Achilles' mind and body, and he makes Priam stop mourning too, telling him: *ou gar tis prexis peletai krueroio gooio*, “There is no practical use to chilling lamentation” (*Iliad* 24.524). This determination marks Achilles' return, however brief, to the world of the male fighting force, for whom lamentation is a transient experience that merely punctuates recurrent action in battle.⁴⁴⁹

Brooke Holmes also draws a contrast between male grief, which is appropriately bounded, and female grief, which is boundless, and which is represented by the figure of Niobe, who weeps eternally for her dead children even after being turned to stone (24.602-17). She argues that when Achilles tells Priam not to grieve “ceaselessly” (*ἀλίσστων*, 24.549), this should

⁴⁴⁷ Cf. Kakridis 1949: 68; Murnaghan 1999; Pucci 1993; 1998.

⁴⁴⁸ Pucci 1993; Foley 2001: 44.

⁴⁴⁹ Murnaghan 1999: 212.

be taken as a sign that Achilles has rejected boundless and excessive female grief in favor of masculine restraint.⁴⁵⁰ Thomas Van Nortwick and Nancy Felson both similarly suggest that Achilles' acceptance of the human condition in *Iliad* 24 is a turn away from the feminine towards the masculine. No longer identifying himself with his divine mother, Achilles instead forms a connection with Priam, who stands in as a surrogate for his human father Peleus. This interaction marks Achilles' re-entry both into human society and into the masculine sphere.⁴⁵¹

The question of whether or not Achilles ends his feminine identification in *Iliad* 24 is thus intimately bound up with the question of how fully Achilles is reintegrated back into society at the end of the *Iliad*. This reintegration is the subject of a long-standing debate in Homeric scholarship, and it is related to the dispute concerning whether or not Achilles ultimately accepts or rejects the normative values embraced by other warriors in the poem. Some scholars envision Achilles in *Iliad* 24 as returning to the status quo of the beginning of the *Iliad*, while others have seen him as having reached a new understanding whereby he rejects and transcends the values of his society. James Redfield suggests that the essence of this debate can be summed up by the opposing positions taken by C.M. Bowra and Cedric Whitman. In Bowra's view, the *Iliad* is a story of wrongdoing, punishment, and restoration. He argues that Achilles falls into "sin" when he rejects the embassy from the Achaeans in *Iliad* 9 and that he is punished for this transgression by the death of Patroclus. Achilles is then further debased by his wrathful rampage through the Trojan ranks and his desecration of Hector's body, until the gods finally intervene in *Iliad* 24:

The healing comes in the last book, with the visit of Priam to ransom the body of Hector.... Achilles cannot withstand the request which comes from the gods that he

⁴⁵⁰ Holmes 2007: 76-7.

⁴⁵¹ Van Nortwick 2001; Felson 2002.

should release the body of Hector. In this act he recovers his true nature. His anger has passed away, and he is himself again.⁴⁵²

According to Bowra, the *Iliad* is a kind of morality play that lays out the consequences of violating normative masculine warrior values. Achilles is only led to transgress these values by his rage first against Agamemnon and then against Hector, which distorts his personality and causes him to act in an uncharacteristically savage manner. By relinquishing this rage, Achilles accepts once again the values of his society and becomes his true self.⁴⁵³ Seth Schein similarly suggests that Achilles' story is not one of change but of returning to the person he was at the beginning of the poem:

But Achilles is not changed into a new and different character, either because of some inward, spiritual growth or on account of his reintegration into the human community. Rather, he is reestablished as his distinctive self—as the hero with capacities for both *philotēs* and *mēnis* he was the beginning of Book 1.⁴⁵⁴

Whitman, however, offers a very different perspective on the progression of Achilles' characterization in the *Iliad*. He views Achilles as undergoing a fundamental shift in perspective:

He progresses from young hopefulness, cheerfully accepting the possibility of early death with glory, through various phases of disillusion, horror, and violence, to a final detachment which is godlike indeed. Tragedy, especially that of Sophocles, slowly uncovers a character which is complete from start to finish, but Achilles is actually not complete until the poem is complete.⁴⁵⁵

Whitman suggests that at the beginning of the poem Achilles' attitude towards the values of his society differs little from that of other warriors, but Agamemnon's violation of the social

⁴⁵² Bowra 1930: 22.

⁴⁵³ Bowra 1930: 19-22.

⁴⁵⁴ Schein 1984: 162. See also Wilson 2002: 132-33, who argues for Achilles' reintegration back into the system of heroic values.

⁴⁵⁵ Whitman 1958: 187-8.

contract leads him to realize the fundamental flaws inherent in the “heroic code” he has followed all his life. This realization brings him in turn to a new understanding of humanity and his place within it:

Since he has renounced his own life, Achilles can look, as it were, from a distance upon the living and their emotions, including his own. And the very detachment of his vision brings him closer than he has ever been to a real communion with his human fellows.⁴⁵⁶

In Whitman’s analysis, Achilles’ acceptance of his own humanity does not signal a reintegration into warrior society but is instead a further way in which he is alienated from his comrades, who do not share his new vision of human nature.

Scholars who view Achilles as returning to his proper masculine state in *Iliad* 24 are following Bowra in envisioning a static Achilles whose femininity, like his rage, represents only a temporary displacement from his essential self. My own reading follows Whitman in arguing that the Achilles of *Iliad* 24 displays an attitude towards *kleos* that is radically different from his attitude at the beginning of the poem or even in Books 18-23. First I will examine the question of whether Achilles’ statements to Priam that they should cease weeping and be mindful of food must be read as a rejection of excessive feminine grief in favor of masculine self-control. Achilles explicitly suggests Niobe as an exemplar of someone who took thought of food despite her sorrows (*Il.*24.602-17), introducing an implicit comparison between her and Priam and himself. The source of Niobe’s grief was the deaths of her twelve children at the hands of Apollo and Artemis after she boasted that she was superior to their mother Leto because she had borne twelve children, while Leto had borne only two. For Niobe, eating was only a brief interlude in a

⁴⁵⁶ Whitman 1958: 218. See also Griffin 1980: 99-100; King 1987: 44; Zanker 1994: 122-25.

sorrow that proved to be eternal, since she was eventually turned to stone on the peak of Mount Sipylus and continued to mourn forever (24.614-17):⁴⁵⁷

νῦν δέ που ἐν πέτρῃσιν ἐν οὖρεσιν οἰοπόλοισιν
ἐν Σιπύλῳ, ὅθι φασὶ θεάων ἔμμεναι εὐνὰς
νυμφάων, αἶ τ' ἀμφ' Ἀχελώϊον ἐρρώσαντο,
ἐνθα λίθος περ ἐοῦσα θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσει.

But now somewhere among the rocks in the lonely mountains,
On Sipylus, where they say are the beds of goddesses,
The nymphs, who dance around Achelous,
There although she is stone she broods over her cares from the gods.

Holmes argues that Achilles' and Priam's grief should be seen as qualitatively different from Niobe's, since theirs has a limit, while she grieves until she turns to stone:

Achilles invokes Niobe in bidding Priam to take food again. Yet although that mourning mother remembers to eat, Achilles closes his speech by shifting from the past tense of Niobe's meal (σίτου μνήσατ') to the eternal present tense of her endless digestion (πέσσει) of her sorrows (24.613-17). That is, while the repetition of *peSSô* at 24.639 links Achilles to Niobe, the temporal sequence is inverted so as to produce a sense of closure implicitly contrasted to her open-ended sorrows: whereas, she ate, and then mourned forever, before, he was always sorrowing (ἀλλ' αἰεὶ στενάχω καὶ κήδεα μυρία πέσσω), but *now* he has tasted food (νῦν δὲ καὶ σίτου πασάμην). The idea of taking one's fill of mourning is repeated throughout the last book, but it is always among men, and the importance of satiety and proper limits seems implicitly correlated with the restoration of a system of exchange for the circulation of goods. Disruption of the setting of limits is here, as elsewhere in Greek culture, seen as feminine.⁴⁵⁸

I would argue, however, that the poem does not present a clear limit to the grief of either Achilles or Priam. Despite the fact that Achilles tells Priam, μὴ δ' ἀλίσστον ὀδύρεο σὸν κατὰ θυμόν· / οὐ γὰρ τι πρήξεις ἀκαχήμενος υἱὸς ἔηος, "Don't grieve ceaselessly in your spirit. For

⁴⁵⁷ For a fuller account of the story of Niobe, see Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.6.

⁴⁵⁸ Holmes 2007: 76-7.

you will not accomplish anything by grieving for your son,”⁴⁵⁹ Achilles later explicitly states that Priam will mourn for Hector a great deal in the future: ἔπειτά κεν αὖτε φίλον παῖδα κλαίοισθα / Ἴλιον εἰσαγαγών· πολυδάκρυτος δέ τοι ἔσται, “Then you will mourn your dear son when you have brought him back to Ilium. He will be much wept over by you,” (24.619-20). Achilles does not assume a clear end for Priam’s grief in the *Iliad*.⁴⁶⁰

This image of future weeping is in opposition to how Apollo characterizes appropriate male grief at *Il.* 24.46-49. He describes it as coming to a complete and final end after a period of mourning, contrasting this ideal behavior with Achilles’ excessive grief for the dead Patroclus (*Il.* 24.46-49):

μέλλει μὲν πού τις καὶ φίλτερον ἄλλον ὀλέσσαι
ἢ ἐκασίγνητον ὁμογάστριον ἢ ἐκὼν καὶ υἱόν·
ἀλλ’ ἦτοι κλαύσας καὶ ὀδυράμενος μεθέηκε·
τλητὸν γὰρ Μοῖραι θυμὸν θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν.

A man must have lost someone even dearer,
Either a brother from the same womb or a son,
But having wept and wailed he lets it go.
For the Fates gave an enduring heart to men.

Although Achilles does cease the behavior that Apollo is primarily objecting to, the daily dragging of Hector’s corpse around Patroclus’ tomb, there is no moment when Achilles can be said to let go of (μεθέηκε) his grief for Patroclus once and for all, and in fact the text suggests that he will never do so.⁴⁶¹ In *Iliad* 18, Thetis prophesies in her lament that she will never receive

⁴⁵⁹ Similarly, despite the fact that Priam says that he was brooding over his cares in the past (κῆδεα μυρία πέσσω, 24.639) and now has tasted food (γῆν δὴ καὶ σίτου πασάμην, 24.641), this does not mean that he will not continue to grieve after an interlude of food and sleep.

⁴⁶⁰ For the parallel between Niobe’s eternal grief and Priam’s future lamenting at 24.619-20, see MacLeod 1982: 139.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. Lynn-George 1987: 250-51.

Achilles again in his father's house, and then says, ὄφρα δέ μοι ζῶει καὶ ὄρᾳ φάος ἠελίοιο / ἄχνηται, οὐδέ τί οἱ δύνamai χραισμῆσαι ἰοῦσα, "So long as he lives and sees the light of the sun, he grieves, nor am I able to help him by going to him" (18.61-2). With her typical divine prescience, Thetis informs us that Achilles' grief for Patroclus will end only when he himself dies, and that his death will come soon. Neither Achilles nor Priam, then, is depicted as making a clean end to mourning in the *Iliad* as Apollo describes. Rather, their meeting in *Iliad* 24 represents only a temporary pause to their grieving, just as Achilles says Niobe temporarily paused to eat in the midst of her sorrow (24.613).⁴⁶²

Some critics have seen Niobe's eternal mourning and transformation into stone as incompatible with the idea of putting aside one's grief to eat and have declared 24.614-17 to be an interpolation.⁴⁶³ Ioannis Kakridis writes:

Both Achilles and Priam are in deep grief; but both will yield to the demands of the flesh.... Achilles introduces Niobe as an example of a similar yielding of the soul to the flesh, and it is impossible to believe that the version of the story here implied went on to describe her petrification. ... A Niobe who after burying her twelve children 'remembers to eat' cannot be compatible with the Niobe who, although turned to stone on Mt. Sipylus, still remembers her sorrows and weeps. The latter is the symbol of a mother's grief, the former a fundamentally different, but no less real, symbol: that of the human being who in her deepest sorrow must needs dry her tears and yield to the requirements of the body.⁴⁶⁴

It is significant that here Kakridis tries to distance Achilles from the "mother's grief" that has no end. This statement dove-tails with Holmes' argument that there is a difference between the grief of Priam and Achilles on the one hand and Niobe on the other hand, a difference that is marked

⁴⁶² Cf. Lynn-George 1996: 15; Heath 2005: 163.

⁴⁶³ Kakridis 1949: 96-103; Lohmann 1970: 13. Some ancient commentators also objected to these lines because they found them illogical (cf. Richardson 1993: 341).

⁴⁶⁴ Kakridis 1949: 97.

by the divisions between masculinity and femininity. Michael Lynn-George, however, argues that Achilles makes use of the tale of Niobe precisely because there is no limit to her grief, and because this lack of limit mirrors Priam's and Achilles' own inability to cease mourning.⁴⁶⁵ He suggests that Achilles' invocation of Niobe reflects his knowledge of the insufficiency of his first *consolatio*, or "consolation speech," to Priam (24.518-551) that emphasized the need to accept suffering and stop grieving: μή δ' ἀλῖαστον ὀδύρεο σὸν κατὰ θυμόν, "do not grieve unceasingly in your spirit" (24.549). This *consolatio* is, in a sense, a failure. Priam rejects Achilles' suggestion that he rest in a chair and seek a respite from his sorrow, instead urging Achilles to quickly accept the ransom and return Hector to him (24.553-58). Lynn-George asserts that the tale of Niobe is meant to represent Achilles' acknowledgement that grief will endure beyond any attempts at consolation:

The encouragement to partake of food is accompanied by the telling of a tale. This second speech is something of a *consolatio* spoken in the insufficiency of the former attempt at consolation. But the additional speech seems not so much to compensate for the incompleteness of the first *consolatio* as to articulate an awareness of the necessary incompleteness of any attempt to seal the gaps of loss and enclose them within carefully structured statements of its significance. If a 'consolation', then, the speech is also a recognition of the inconsolable. The narrative concerning Niobe, with its story of slain children buried finally only after a delay, reflects something of the situation within the *Iliad*. But the telling of the tale does not end in burial nor even in the taking of a meal. The story passes into an indefinite structure of openness beyond burial, beyond the meal, in which it closes by suspending its statement of any final determinate meaning.⁴⁶⁶

Indeed, Achilles is like Niobe in that he too is ultimately destroyed because of the grief he feels for the death of a loved one. When Thetis tells Achilles in *Iliad* 18 that his own death will follow soon after if he kills Hector, he says (18.98-104, 114-15):

αὐτίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ἐταίρω

⁴⁶⁵ Lynn-George 1987: 250-51.

⁴⁶⁶ Lynn-George 1987: 250.

κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμῦναι· ὃ μὲν μάλα τηλόθι πάτρης
ἔφθιτ', ἐμεῖο δὲ δῆσεν ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα γενέσθαι.
νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὐ νέομαί γε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,
οὐδέ τι Πατρόκλῳ γενόμεν φάος οὐδ' ἐτάροισι
τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἳ δὴ πολέες δάμεν Ἴκτορι δίῳ,
ἀλλ' ἦμαι παρὰ νηυσὶν ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης

νῦν δ' εἴμ' ὄφρα φίλης κεφαλῆς ὀλετῆρα κιχείω
Ἴκτορα·

Immediately let me die, since I was not destined
To have brought aid to my companion while he was being slain, but he died
Very far from his fatherland, and he needed me to be a warder-off of ruin.
But now since I will not go back to my dear fatherland,
Nor was I a light for Patroclus or my other companions,
Many of whom were laid low by shining Hector,
But I sit by the ships, a profitless burden on the earth

Now I will go so that I may catch Hector, the slayer of that
dear head.

Overcome with both grief at Patroclus' death and his own culpability in not being present to protect him, Achilles does not hesitate to agree to die in order to avenge his friend.⁴⁶⁷ The implication of his statement is that he considers his own life to now be worthless: he is nothing but a “profitless burden on the earth” (ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης), and his continued existence is pointless now that he has failed to save Patroclus. In the same way, Niobe finds her own grief and guilt for her children's deaths so unbearable that she becomes stone.⁴⁶⁸

Similarly, just as Niobe continues to mourn even after becoming stone (ἐνθα λίθος περ ἐοῦσα, 24.617), Achilles in *Iliad* 22 envisions himself as continuing to remember Patroclus even after he himself has died (22.386-390):

⁴⁶⁷ There is some controversy over whether Homeric heroes can be said to experience “guilt” as opposed to merely “shame” (cf. Adkins 1960) but see Zanker 1996 for a defense of the term. See also Williams 1993, who argues *contra* Snell that Homeric characters should be seen as moral agents whose intentions, decisions, and actions are presented as being much like our own.

⁴⁶⁸ Apollodorus says that Niobe prayed to Zeus to become stone (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.6). Cf. Richardson 1993: 341-2.

κεῖται πὰρ νήεσσι νέκυς ἄκλαυτος ἄθαπτος,
Πάτροκλος· τοῦ δ' οὐκ ἐπιλήσομαι, ὄφρ' ἂν ἐγὼ γε
ζωοῖσιν μετέω καί μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρη
εἰ δὲ θανόντων περ καταλήθοντ' εἰν Αἴδαο,
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ κεῖθι φίλου μεμνήσομ' ἑταίρου.

There lies by the ships a corpse, unwept for, unburied,
Patroclus. Him I will not forget, so long as I
Am among the living and my limbs have the power to move.
And even if men in the house of Hades forget the dead,
Even there I will remember my dear companion.

Achilles speaks these words immediately after killing Hector, showing that once his revenge has been accomplished, his thoughts turn immediately to being reunited with Patroclus again in death.⁴⁶⁹

Like Niobe's meal in the midst of her grief, Achilles' renewed interest in food, sex, and sleep in *Iliad* 24 represent only a brief interval in his journey deathwards.⁴⁷⁰ The knowledge of his fated end is a constant presence throughout the last book of the poem. Thetis tells him, οὐ γὰρ μοι δηρὸν βέη, ἀλλὰ τοι ἤδη / ἄγχι παρέστηκεν θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή, "You will not be with me long, but already / death and strong fate stand near you" (24.131-32). That Achilles' fated end is still very much on his own mind is shown by his statement that his father Peleus suffers because he begot only one son who is παναώριον, "doomed to an untimely death" (*Il.* 24.540). Achilles' angry response to Priam's wish that he might return to his native land and

⁴⁶⁹ Such a declaration of posthumous memory is striking because, as is portrayed in the *nekylia* of *Odyssey* 11, the shades of the dead in Hades have neither memory nor the power of speech unless they drink the blood of the ram Odysseus slaughters for them (*Od.* 11.1-567). Although the T scholium seems to take Achilles' and Patroclus' presence together in the underworld at *Od.* 11.467-8 as confirmation that Achilles did in fact remember Patroclus after death. The first 200 lines of *Odyssey* 24, in which the dead converse amongst themselves, seem to reflect a different tradition than *Od.* 11, one in which shades are not mute and senseless (Rohde 1925). However, Achilles' statement seems to imply that it is taken for granted that the dead are considered not to remember, thereby making his own memory of Patroclus after death all the more significant as a declaration of devotion.

⁴⁷⁰ Several scholars have argued that he is in a sense already dead (Schein 1984: 158; King 1987: 40) or inhabiting a liminal space between life and death (Whitman 1958: 217; Lynn-George 1987: 242).

enjoy the ransom that Priam has given him similarly shows his consciousness of his imminent mortality. He declares (24.568-70):

τὸ νῦν μή μοι μᾶλλον ἐν ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ὀρίνης,
μή σε γέρον οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν ἐάσω
καὶ ἱκέτην περ ἔόντα, Διὸς δ' ἀλίτωμαι ἐφετμάς.

Therefore now do not stir up my spirit more in my sorrows,
Lest, old man, I should not spare you in my hut,
Although you are a suppliant, and transgress the commands of Zeus.

Priam's comment provokes Achilles' barely-controlled emotions by calling to mind his ἄλγεσι, his "sorrows:" Achilles will never return home because Hector killed Patroclus. Although he has just wept once again for his father and for Patroclus (24.511-12), Achilles' pain is not assuaged, and seems to be on the verge of re-erupting at any moment. In this way, Niobe, who pauses briefly to eat in her endless mourning that ultimately destroys her, becomes a perfect exemplar for Achilles in *Iliad* 24, who suppresses his rage and grief long enough to share a meal with Priam despite his continuing sorrow over Patroclus and his knowledge of his own coming death.

Achilles' choice of Niobe as a point of comparison is also significant given Achilles' own previous identification with mother-figures in the *Iliad*. As I discussed in Chapter 3, Achilles links himself through similes and actions with the problematic figure of the Homeric mother, who is both protector and destroyer of her own offspring. This identification reflects his complex relationship with the Achaean army and with Patroclus, both of whom suffer death and devastation because Achilles fails in his duty to protect them.⁴⁷¹ In Chapter 3, I drew a comparison between Achilles and Althaea, the murderous mother in the story told by Phoenix in *Iliad* 9, who prays to the gods of the underworld to kill her son Meleager in revenge for his slaughter of her brothers (*Il.* 9.566-72). In this way Althaea is similar to Achilles, who prays to

⁴⁷¹ Cf. *Il.* 18.98-104 above.

Thetis and Zeus for the deaths of the Achaeans, his simile-children, because he is angry that they allowed Agamemnon to dishonor him.

However, while Achilles may be an Althaea to the Achaeans, he more closely mirrors Niobe as a simile-mother to Patroclus. Whereas Althaea seeks her son's death out of a desire for vengeance, Niobe inadvertently causes her children's deaths because of her excessive love for them. Niobe's pride in her children causes her to boast that she is superior to Leto, and thus brings the anger of the gods down upon her family. In the same way, Achilles' great love for Patroclus plays a role in Patroclus' death. After Achilles denies the embassy's pleas to save the Greeks in *Iliad* 9, it is clear that he allows Patroclus to come to the aid of the Greeks in *Iliad* 16 because of his affection for him, whom he later says is dearer to him than all other companions (17.655; 19.315). The dramatic extent to which Achilles' love for Patroclus exceeds his love for his other friends is shown by the passage in *Iliad* 16 in which Achilles wishes that all of the other Greeks and Trojans would die so that he and Patroclus might conquer Troy together (16.97-100):

αἶ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον,
μήτε τις οὖν Τρώων θάνατον φύγοι, ὅσσοι ἔασι,
μήτε τις Ἀργείων, νῶϊ δ' ἐκδῶμεν ὄλεθρον,
ᾧ φρ' οἴοι Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύωμεν.

O father Zeus and Athena and Apollo,
Would that no one of the Trojans might escape death, however many there are,
Nor any of the Argives, but that we two might escape destruction,
So that we alone might destroy the sacred battlements of Troy.⁴⁷²

Achilles' love for Patroclus not only surpasses his feelings for his other companions but excludes and eclipses them, so that Patroclus becomes for Achilles the only person whose survival matters

⁴⁷² Zenodotus and Aristarchus (scholia A/T) athetize these lines because they thought that this passage suggests a pederastic relationship between Achilles and Patroclus, which the scholiasts consider to be an anachronism (Erbse 1975: 183-4).

to his own happiness. We may compare this passage with the passage in *Iliad* 9 in which Diomedes says that if the other Achaeans were to leave Troy, he and Sthenelus would stay and conquer Troy by themselves: νόϊ δ' ἐγὼ Σθένηλός τε μαχησόμεθ' εἰς ὃ κε τέκμων / Ἰλίου εὔρωμεν, "We two, Sthenelus and I, will fight until we witness the end of Troy" (9.48-49).

Both Achilles and Diomedes envision themselves and their chosen companions standing alone against Troy on the battlefield. Achilles' sentiments, however, are both more fervent and more disturbing. Diomedes does not desire the other Achaeans to leave, but only states that *if* (εἰ δὲ καὶ, 9.46) they flee, he and Sthenelus will be brave enough to remain. Achilles, on the other hand, wishes for the *deaths* of all the other Achaeans and Trojans so that he and Patroclus alone may win glory together. Schein writes of this passage, "Both the intensity and the tragedy of their relationship are shown in Achilles' nihilistic wish that it be fulfilled in the total destruction of everyone else in their world, whether friend or enemy."⁴⁷³ It is because of this intensity in his love for Patroclus that Achilles yields in *Iliad* 16 to Patroclus and no one else. Thus, the strength of Achilles' love is in a sense responsible for Patroclus' death on the battlefield. In this way, he becomes a maternal figure like Niobe who caused his simile-child's death through his excessive attachment to them.

Achilles' invocation of Niobe as an example for himself in *Iliad* 24 shows that his maternal identification has not abated. Indeed, his positioning of himself as a maternal figure is further shown by his treatment of Hector's corpse after he accepts Priam's ransom. When Achilles lifts Hector's body and places it on the bier (αὐτὸς τὸν γ' Ἀχιλεὺς λεχέων ἐπέθηκεν ἄειρας, 24.589), he is performing an action which he himself has previously identified as

⁴⁷³ Schein 1984: 120.

maternal.⁴⁷⁴ After Achilles kills Lycaon in *Iliad* 21 and throws him in the river, he says (21.122-125):

ένταυθοῖ νῦν κεῖσο μετ' ἰχθύσιν, οἳ σ' ὠτειλήν
αἶμ' ἀπολιχμήσονται ἀκηδέες· οὐδέ σε μήτηρ
ένθεμένη λεχέεσσι γοήσεται, ἀλλὰ Σκάμανδρος
οἴσει δινήεις ἔισω ἄλός εὐρέα κόλπον.

Lie there now among the fishes, who will lick off
The blood from your wound, uncaring. Nor will your mother
Lament after laying you on a bier, but eddying Scamander
Will bear you into the wide gulf of the sea.

Here Achilles is saying that Lycaon will be denied the customary funeral rights. Rather than having his wounds washed and dressed, fish will lick away his blood. Rather than being placed on a bier by his mother, he will be carried into the sea by the river.⁴⁷⁵ The use of the word κόλπον, which can mean the “gulf” of the sea but also the “bosom” or “lap” of a woman is significant. As I discussed in Chapter 3, the word κόλπος strongly evokes maternal protection, with the κόλπος often serving as a place for a child to take refuge against external threats. Achilles’ reference to the ἄλός εὐρέα κόλπον, the “wide gulf of the sea,” can here be seen as an ironic reminder that Lycaon’s despoiled corpse will be denied this maternal protection, entering the cold embrace of the sea rather than being cradled in his mother’s arms.

Achilles makes a very similar speech to Hector when he is about to kill him in *Iliad* 22, refusing Hector’s request that he return his corpse to his family (22.352-54):

οὐδ’ ὧς σέ γε πότνια μήτηρ
ένθεμένη λεχέεσσι γοήσεται ὄν τέκεν αὐτή,
ἀλλὰ κύνες τε καὶ οἰωνοὶ κατὰ πάντα δάσσονται.

Nor will your lady mother thus
Lament you after laying you on a bier, you whom she bore,

⁴⁷⁴ See MacLeod 1982: 138 on how laying a body on a bier is a mother’s task.

⁴⁷⁵ Richardson 1993: 64.

But dogs and birds will eat you whole.

As in his speech over Lycaon's body, Achilles contrasts the care of a mother laying her son on a bier with the actual fate of the son's corpse, which is to be eaten by animals. The repetition of μήτηρ / ένθεμένη λεχέεσσι γοήσεται suggests that this phrase is formulaic, indicating that the maternal action of laying her son on a bier is well-known and ubiquitous in epic poetry.

In the case of Hector, the arms that place him on his bier are Achilles' own, taking the place of his absent mother. Here Achilles is once again assuming an explicitly feminine role by participating in the preparation of a corpse for burial.⁴⁷⁶ The stages of funeral ceremonies in Homer are more or less equivalent to the stages of Greek funerals recorded in other ancient sources. In the first stage, which is undertaken by the deceased's female relatives, the corpse is washed, dressed, wrapped in a shroud, and placed on a bier. This stage is followed by the *prothesis*, in which both men and women mourn around the corpse, and the *ekphora*, or funeral procession.⁴⁷⁷ The washing and dressing of Hector's corpse are undertaken by Achilles' slave women (24.582-8), but Achilles himself first carries Hector's corpse away to be washed out of Priam's sight (νόσφιν αειράσας, 24.583), and then lifts it onto the bier after it has been prepared. He is thus clearly inserting himself into the exclusively feminine stage of the funeral in which the corpse is prepared before the *prothesis*. Hector's *prothesis* then occurs after the body has been brought back to Troy.

Additional support for the feminine—and specifically maternal—nature of Achilles' handling of Hector's body is provided by vase paintings. A fifth-century Attic white-ground

⁴⁷⁶ Just as he did when he took the place of the chief female mourner at Patroclus' funeral, cradling Patroclus' head in his hands. See Chapter 3.

⁴⁷⁷ For Greek funerals, see Garland 1985: 21-37; Oakley 2003: 164-5.

lekythos (c. 460-450) from the Antikensammlung in Berlin shows a woman engaged in funeral preparations carrying the stiff body of a boy in her arms (fig. 1).⁴⁷⁸ Annika Backe-Dahmen and John Oakley both interpret this image as a grieving mother carrying the body of her dead son.⁴⁷⁹ Although this vase-painting dates to the Classical period, the continuity between funeral rites in Homer and Classical sources suggests that such a scene can help us to interpret Achilles' carrying of Hector's body in the *Iliad* as similarly maternal. Achilles seems to be referring to just such an image of maternal care when he tells Lycaon that his mother "will not place him on a bier" (21.124). Although an ordinary woman could not so easily lift the body of a full-grown man like Hector or Lycaon by herself unaided, Achilles seems here to be evoking an essential, timeless conception of the relationship between mother and son wherein the son remains forever first and foremost his mother's child, able to be lifted in her arms, regardless of his actual age or size.

An interesting visual resonance with the Berlin lekythos is found in the so-called "Memnon Pietà" in the Louvre, the famous red-figure image (c. 490-480 BCE) of the goddess Eos lifting her dead son Memnon in her arms after he has been killed by Achilles (fig. 2).⁴⁸⁰ She holds him exactly as the Berlin mother holds her child, with her left arm under his back and her right arm curled over him, suggesting that the Louvre image may be tapping into an existing iconography of mothers holding the bodies of their dead sons. Similar images of Eos and

⁴⁷⁸ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F 2447. See Oakley 2003: 164. For images, see appendix.

⁴⁷⁹ Oakley 2003: 162; Backe-Dahmen 2008: 134-5.

⁴⁸⁰ Paris, Louvre, G 115; *LIMC*, *Eos* §324.

Memnon in a nearly identical pose are also found on other black- and red-figure vases from the early fifth-century BCE.⁴⁸¹

When Achilles lifts Hector's body in his arms and places him on his bier, he is thus explicitly taking on a maternal role, personally providing to his dead enemy the maternal care that he had previously denied him access to. This action stands in sharp contrast to his behavior in *Iliad* 16, when he refused to protect the Achaean army and Patroclus. In *Iliad* 24, Achilles has gone from refusing to provide maternal protection to his own "children" to playing the role of a mother for his greatest enemy. It is perhaps in reaction to, or in atonement for, Achilles' previous failure as a maternal figure that he now embraces the maternal role to such a dramatic extent. Since it is too late for him to be the maternal protector that Patroclus needed at the crucial moment, he now provides maternal care to someone else who needs it. Hector is the man who killed Patroclus, but his corpse has nevertheless been left in an "orphaned" state by Achilles' refusal to return it to his parents. Moreover, Hector's mother Hecuba is not only not present, she attempted to prevent Priam from retrieving Hector's body at the beginning of *Iliad* 24 because she thought Achilles would kill him as well (24.201-15). She has at this point in the poem effectively given up on attempting to fulfill her maternal duties to Hector's corpse because she believes Achilles to be incapable of mercy, further emphasizing how Hector is functionally orphaned because of Achilles' past violent actions.⁴⁸² By becoming a substitute mother for Hector, Achilles is repairing a breach in maternal care that he himself is responsible for causing,

⁴⁸¹ *LIMC* "Eos" § 318 and 322. See also *LIMC* "Eos" § 317-326.

⁴⁸² I would like to thank Justin Vorhis for pointing this out to me.

an undertaking that could perhaps be seen as a form of compensation for his failure to provide maternal care to Patroclus in *Iliad* 16.

In *Iliad* 24, as in *Iliad* 16, we see Achilles' maternal-protective drive reemerge when he works to set aside or suppress his rage. As I discussed in Chapter 3, Achilles agrees to let go of his rage against the Achaeans in *Iliad* 16, saying, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἑάσομεν· οὐδ' ἄρα πῶς ἦν / ἀσπερχές κεχολῶσθαι ἐνὶ φρεσίν ("But we will allow these things to be over and done with, nor was it in my heart to be angry unceasingly," 16.60-61). In doing so, he is able to allow his protective impulses to reassert themselves, as is shown by his prayer asking Zeus to allow Patroclus to save the Greeks (16.236-48). Nevertheless, he is hindered from fully readopting his protective role by his pride and desire for *kleos* and *timē*, which prevent him from reentering the battle.⁴⁸³

Similarly, in Book 24, Achilles works to let go of his rage when he is commanded to by the gods.⁴⁸⁴ When Thetis tells him that Zeus desires him to accept ransom for Hector's body, Achilles replies, "Let it be so; whoever brings the ransom may carry away the corpse, if the Olympian commands it with an urgent spirit" (τῆδ' εἶη· ὅς ἄποινα φέροι καὶ νεκρὸν ἄγοιτο, / εἰ δὴ πρόφρονι θυμῷ Ὀλύμπιος αὐτὸς ἀνώγει, 24.139-40). Likewise, at 24.560-70, Achilles tells Priam not to provoke him (μηκέτι νῦν μ' ἐρέθιζε, 24.560), lest he kill him and "transgress the commands of Zeus" (Διὸς δ' ἀλίτωμαι ἐφετμάς, 24.570). Zeus' command, conveyed through Thetis, motivates Achilles to suppress the rage that he has been violently enacting upon Hector's corpse.⁴⁸⁵ Then Priam's supplication evokes pity in Achilles, giving him further reason to behave

⁴⁸³ See Chapter 3.

⁴⁸⁴ Cf. Schein 1984: 158; King 1987: 41-43. See also Kim 2000 on Achilles' motivations for pitying Priam.

⁴⁸⁵ King 1987: 43.

gently rather than violently.⁴⁸⁶ With the rage no longer consuming him, Achilles' maternal identification is allowed to reassert itself, as it did in *Iliad* 16. In this way he goes from abusing Hector's body at the beginning of Book 24 (24.14-21) to taking the lead in preparing Hector's body for burial in place of Hector's absent mother.

An important way in which Achilles models feminine behavior in *Iliad* 24 is in his lack of concern for honor and glory. Whereas before in the *Iliad* he was constantly ruminating about his own *kleos* and *timē*, in *Iliad* 24 he is instead primarily focused on human suffering, and in particular on the suffering that has resulted from his own presence at Troy. The absence of the themes of honor and glory from Achilles' speeches in *Iliad* 24 is particularly striking because earlier in the *Iliad* his awareness of his mortality made him particularly concerned with the *kleos* and *timē* that he would win as a reward for an early death. For example, in *Iliad* 1 he says in his prayer to Thetis, μήτηρ ἐπεὶ μ' ἔτεκέξ γε μινυνθάδιόν περ ἔόντα, / τιμὴν πέρ μοι ὄφελλεν Ὀλύμπιος ἐγγυαλίξαι, "Mother, since you bore me to be short-lived, / the Olympian should have put *timē* into my hands" (1.352-53).⁴⁸⁷ He believes that *timē* would not only be an acceptable compensation for a short life, but that he is *owed* it as his right.

Similarly, in *Iliad* 9 we learn in the famous passage about the "choice of Achilles" that Thetis told Achilles at some point in the past that if he came to Troy he would die young but win eternal *kleos* (9.410-16):

μήτηρ γάρ τέ μέ φησι θεὰ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα
διχθαδίας κῆρας φερέμεν θανάτοιο τέλος δέ.
εἰ μὲν κ' αὖθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι,
ᾧλετο μὲν μοι νόστος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται·
εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἵκωμι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. Kim 2000.

⁴⁸⁷ Kirk reads this passage as a reference to the prophecy of Thetis that Achilles relays in *Il.* 9.410-16 (see below) (Kirk 1985: 88).

ᾠλετό μοι κλέος ἐσθλόν, ἐπὶ δηρὸν δέ μοι αἰὼν
ἔσσεται, οὐδέ κέ μ' ᾠκα τέλος θανάτοιο κιχείη.

For my mother, the goddess Thetis of the silver feet,
Says that I bear twofold fates towards the end of death.
If I remain here and fight around the city of the Trojans,
My homecoming is lost to me, but my *kleos* will be unwithering.
But if go homeward to my dear fatherland,
My good glory is lost to me, but I will have long
Life, and the end of death will not come upon me swiftly.

Here Achilles indicates that in the past he was willing to die young in exchange for eternal *kleos*, just as Sarpedon says he is willing to do at *Il.* 12.323-25.⁴⁸⁸ This past choice is raised in the context of the Embassy scene in *Iliad* 9, in which Achilles struggles to decide whether to remain at Troy or go home, actively questioning whether or not the values of *kleos* and *timē* are worth dying for.⁴⁸⁹ He never resolves this dilemma, since the death of Patroclus intervenes and death at Troy becomes inevitable if he wishes to seek revenge against Hector. At this point in the poem Achilles is still concerned with receiving *kleos* as compensation for being killed in battle. If he is fated to die, he wants glory in exchange: ὡς καὶ ἐγὼν, εἰ δὴ μοι ὁμοίη μοῖρα τέτυκται, / κείσομ' ἐπεὶ κε θάνω· νῦν δὲ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀροίμην, “Thus also I will lie when I die, if a like fate has been wrought for me, but now let me win good *kleos*!” (18.120-21).

In fact, out of the books of the *Iliad* in which Achilles engages in direct speech (1, 9, 11, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24), he displays a marked preoccupation with *kleos* and/or *timē* (and related words such as *kudos* and *geras*) in all except Book 24. He uses the words *timē*, *timaō*, *geras*, and *kudos* in direct speech more than any other individual character, and ties with

⁴⁸⁸ See Chapter 3.

⁴⁸⁹ At 9.400-9 Achilles says that no material compensation is worth his life.

Hector for the most uses of the word *kleos*.⁴⁹⁰ In Book 1, Achilles references *timē* three times (1.159, 1.353, 1.356) and *geras* five times (1.123, 1.161, 1.163, 1.167, 1.356).⁴⁹¹ In Book 9 he is found by the embassy singing the *klea andrōn* (9.189) and mentions *kleos* twice in direct speech (9.413, 9.415), as well as words relating to *timē* five times (*timē* 9.319, 9.608, 9.616, *timaō* 9.608, *atimētos* 9.648) and *geras* four times (9.334, 9.344, 9.367, 9.422). In Book 11 Achilles does not use words for glory and honor in direct speech, but he speaks of desiring the Achaeans to come supplicate him (11.608-9), a clear reference to his concern for Agamemnon's insult to his *timē* in Book 1. Then in Book 16 Achilles mentions *kudos* three times (16.84, 16.88, 16.241), *timē* three times (16.84, 16.237, 16.59), and *geras* twice (16.54, 16.56).

Achilles' references to *timē*, *kleos*, *kudos*, and *geras* are most frequent in Books 1, 9, and 16, but similar uses of these words continue to pepper his direct speech in Books 18-23. In Book

⁴⁹⁰ Although if we count Hector's uses of the adverbs ἀκλειῶς (22.304) and ἐὺκλειῶς (22.110), he moves into the top spot with 6 total references to *kleos*, compared to Achilles' four. However, Achilles' singing of the *klea andrōn* in *Iliad* 9 (9.189) displays his general preoccupation with *kleos*. Achilles uses the word *timē* 7 times out of 25 total uses in the *Iliad*, the verb *timaō* 4 times out of 23 total uses, *kudos* 7 times out of 69 total uses, *geras* 13 times out of 27 total uses, and *kleos* 4 times out of 29 total uses. Speakers who reference *timē*: Achilles (1.159, 1.353, 9.319, 9.608, 9.616, 16.84, 20.181), Agamemnon (3.286, 3.288, 3.459), Phoenix (9.498, 9.514, 9.605), Menelaus (17.92, 17.251), Nestor (1.278, 23.649), Thetis (1.510), Odysseus (2.197), Sthenelus (4.410), Narrator (5.552), Glaucus (6.193), Poseidon (15.189), Hera (24.57), Zeus (24.66). Speakers who use the verb *timaō*: Achilles (9.608, 16.237, 20.426, 24.533), Narrator (2.4, 11.46, 15.612, 16.460), Agamemnon (1.175, 9.155), Chryses (1.454), Thetis (1.505), Hera (1.559), Athena (8.372), Diomedes (9.38), Odysseus (9.297), Sarpedon (12.310), Zeus (15.77), Patroclus (16.271), Menelaus (17.99), Hector (22.235), Nestor (23.649), Antilochus (23.788). Speakers who reference *kudos*: Narrator (3.373, 4.145, 5.906, 8.51, 8.216, 11.79, 11.81, 11.300, 12.174, 12.255, 12.407, 12.473, 13.303, 13.676, 15.327, 15.595, 15.596, 15.602, 15.644, 16.730, 17.287, 17.321, 18.165, 18.465, 20.502, 21.543, 21.596, 22.207, 23.400), Achilles (1.405, 16.84, 16.88, 16.241, 19.204, 22.18, 22.393), Hector (8.176, 10.307, 15.491, 18.294), Agamemnon (8.237, 9.673, 10.87, 14.42), Nestor (1.279, 8.141, 10.544), Athena (4.95, 5.33, 22.217), Diomedes (4.415, 5.260), The Achaeans (7.205, 17.419), Odysseus (9.303, 10.555), Menelaus (17.251, 17.566), Zeus (17.453, 24.110), Aeneas (5.225), Idomeneus (11.511), Hera (14.358), Poseidon (14.365), Xanthus the horse (9.414), Agenor (21.570), Priam (22.57), Hecuba (22.435), Antilochus (23.406). Speakers who reference *geras*: Achilles (1.123, 1.161, 1.163, 1.167, 1.356, 9.334, 9.344, 9.367, 9.422, 16.54, 16.56, 20.182, 23.9), Agamemnon (1.118, 1.120, 1.133, 1.135, 1.138, 1.185, 19.89), Zeus (4.49, 16.675, 24.70), Nestor (1.276, 4.323, 9.111), Thetis (1.507, 18.444), Thersites (2.237, 2.240), Hera (16.457). Speakers who use the word *kleos*: Narrator (2.486, 5.3, 9.189, 11.21, 11.227, 13.364, 17.131), Achilles (9.413, 9.415, 18.121, 23.280), Hector (6.446, 7.91, 8.192, 17.232), Agamemnon (4.197, 5.532), Odysseus (2.325), Talthibius (4.207), Aeneas (5.172), Diomedes (5.273), Poseidon (7.451), Zeus (7.458), Phoenix (9.524), Nestor (10.212), Ajax (15.564), Euphorbus (17.16), Glaucus (17.143), Andromache (22.514).

⁴⁹¹ He also refers to the *kudos* of Briareus (1.405), but this is not directly relevant to his own situation.

18, as noted above, Achilles declares that *now* he will win *kleos* (18.121), and in Book 19 he refers to the *kudos* bestowed on Hector by Zeus (19.204). In Book 20, he describes hypothetical *timē* and *geras* that he will prevent Aeneas from winning and refers to Patroclus as “honored” (*tetimenon*, 20.426). Also in Book 20, the narrator describes Achilles as ἔετο κῦδος ἀρέσθαι, “straining to win *kudos*” (20.502). Similarly, in Book 21, the narrator says that Achilles is μενέαινε δὲ κῦδος ἀρέσθαι, “raging to win *kudos*” (21.543). In Book 22, Achilles refers to his own *kudos* twice (22.18, 22.393), and the narrator describes his concern that one of the Achaeans will take his *kudos* from him if they hit Hector with a spear (22.207). Then in Book 23, Achilles describes mourning as a *geras* for Patroclus (23.9) and refers to Patroclus’ *kleos* (23.280).

In *Iliad* 24, however, although Achilles speaks extensively about death and suffering, he does not speak of *kleos* even once.⁴⁹² *Timē* is mentioned only in the context of the unfortunate wanderer in the story of the two jars of Zeus who is “honored by neither gods nor mortals” (οὔτε θεοῖσι τετιμένος οὔτε βροτοῖσιν, 24.533).⁴⁹³ This lack of references to honor and glory suggests that Achilles no longer takes comfort in the knowledge of his own future fame. As I have shown, Achilles’ death is very much on his mind during Book 24, but his *kleos* no longer seems to be a concern to him. For example, when Thetis reminds Achilles that he does not have long to live (24.128-132), Achilles does not attempt to comfort either her or himself with the *kleos* he has been promised in exchange for death as he did in *Iliad* 18 (18.121). Nor does he seem to be

⁴⁹² Zanker 1994: 80 argues that Achilles’ special awareness of the significance of death has almost totally undermined his drive to win *timē* and *kleos*.

⁴⁹³ Zanker argues that this image of the dishonored man emphasizes Achilles’ disillusionment with *timē* in *Iliad* 24: “And the man to whom Zeus grants only evil fortune will lose his material wealth so that he will suffer degradation—honored neither by gods nor men—and the lot of a vagrant (531-33). The image of the jars thus develops the theme of the fragility of *timē* enunciated in Achilles’ great speech in the Embassy and entertains no idea of compensation for heroic or more generally human action” (1994: 123).

concerned with his own *timē*. Donna Wilson has argued that Achilles' acceptance of the ransom (*apoina*) for Hector's body represents his reintegration into the *timē*-based system of heroic values.⁴⁹⁴ The concept of *apoina* is closely tied to *timē*,⁴⁹⁵ and Wilson contends that the *apoina* in *Iliad* 24 gains the release of the body by representing the *timē* that Achilles has won.⁴⁹⁶ And yet, as Postlethwaite points out, Achilles seems singularly uninterested in the gifts Priam brings:

It is instructive to compare Priam's emphasis on the size of the ransom he brings, 'beyond number' (24.502), and on the joy which he claims the ransom will give Akhilleus (24.556), with Akhilleus' own reaction to it. To the two speeches of Priam Akhilleus makes two lengthy replies (24.517-51 and 24.560-70); in neither of these two replies does Akhilleus so much as mention the ransom on offer. ... Akhilleus similarly pays no attention to the gifts when the moment comes to unyoke the mules and to unload the ransom from Priam's wagon, but leaves the task to his companions Automedon and Alkimos (24.575); yet by contrast he himself supervises the ritual of washing, anointing, and clothing the corpse of Hektor, and he it is who finally places it upon the wagon.⁴⁹⁷

Postlethwaite concludes: "Throughout the scene Akhilleus appears anxious to downplay the role of Priam's gifts in his decision to return Hektor's body for burial."⁴⁹⁸

Achilles does not display any interest in how his decision to ransom Hector's body will influence his *timē* or *kleos*. This attitude stands in sharp contrast to that of the gods, who at the beginning of *Iliad* 24 are very concerned about issues of honor and glory in relation to what should be done about Hector. Zeus tells Thetis that he refuses to acquiesce to the other gods and let Hermes steal the corpse because he wants to bestow *kudos* on Achilles (24.109-11):⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁴ Wilson 2002: 133.

⁴⁹⁵ Wilson 2002: 16-38.

⁴⁹⁶ Wilson 2002: 129.

⁴⁹⁷ Postlethwaite 1998: 96.

⁴⁹⁸ Postlethwaite 1998: 97.

⁴⁹⁹ Richardson argues that *kudos* here refers to the glory Achilles will receive from Priam's ransom (1993: 288).

κλέψαι δ' ὀτρύνουσιν ἐϋσκοπον ἀργεῖφόντην·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε κῦδος Ἀχιλλῆϊ προτιάπτω
αἰδῶ καὶ φιλότητα τεῆν μετόπισθε φυλάσσων.

They are urging the clear-sighted slayer of Argus to steal the body;
But I am bestowing this *kudos* on Achilles,
Guarding your reverence and love in the future.

Hera is angry at the idea that Hector and Achilles will be granted the same *timē*, since Hector is the child of a mortal mother while Achilles is the son of a goddess (24.56-59). Zeus assures Hera that the *timē* awarded to each will not be the same,⁵⁰⁰ but declares that the gods have an obligation to Hector because of the *timē* he gave them through offerings (24.65-70). We might expect Achilles to be similarly concerned with whether accepting the ransom will increase or diminish his *timē* and *kudos/kleos*, but when Achilles agrees to release Hector, he simply says that he will let the corpse be taken away by the man who brings the ransom, since Zeus wills it (24.139-140). The only point at which he seems concerned with the *apoina*, and indeed the only other instance in which he mentions it in the poem, is when he attempts to justify his decision to release Hector's body to Patroclus (24.592-95):

μή μοι Πάτροκλε σκυδμαινέμεν, αἶ κε πύθηναι
εἰν Ἄϊδός περ ἐὼν ὅτι Ἕκτορα δῖον ἔλυσα
πατρὶ φίλῳ, ἐπεὶ οὗ μοι ἀεικέα δῶκεν ἄποινα.
σοὶ δ' αὖ ἐγὼ καὶ τῶνδ' ἀποδάσσομαι ὅσσ' ἐπέουκεν.

Don't be angry with me, Patroclus, if you learn,
Although you are in the house of Hades, that I ransomed shining Hector
To his dear father, since he gave me a ransom (*apoina*) that was not unseemly.
But I will give you a share of it, as much as is fitting.

If Achilles is concerned with anyone's *timē* in this passage, it is Patroclus', since he emphasizes the ransom's benefit to Patroclus rather than to himself. The ransom is not meant to console

⁵⁰⁰ Richardson suggests that the special honor Achilles will receive will come in the form of Priam's gifts (1993: 284).

Achilles by granting *timē* to Patroclus, however, but to propitiate Patroclus' potentially angry shade.⁵⁰¹ Although he had previously made references to Patroclus' honor and glory, particularly with regard to Patroclus' funeral rites in *Iliad* 23 (23.9, 23.280), honoring Patroclus with an ostentatious cremation and funeral games does not alleviate Achilles' grief. At the beginning of *Iliad* 24, Achilles remains distraught, weeping and unable to sleep (24.3-5). He is described as "longing for the courage and might of Patroclus" (Πατρόκλου ποθέων ἀνδροτήτά τε καὶ μένος, 24.6). Far from providing comfort, recollection of Patroclus' martial prowess only causes Achilles further pain.

What then can we make of Achilles' lack of engagement with themes of *timē* and *kleos* in the final book of the *Iliad*? Achilles seems to feel in *Iliad* 24 that the *timē* and *kleos* of the dead do not alleviate the grief of those left behind, just as they are not sufficient to alleviate his own grief for Patroclus or the knowledge of his own coming death.⁵⁰² In the *Iliad*, this refusal to find consolation in *kleos* is shared only by female characters such as Andromache, who says that she wishes Hector had died in his bed, indicating that she would have preferred him to be near her in his last moments rather than dying gloriously (24.743-45).

The idea that a person does not receive consolation from hearing of their own *kleos* is echoed in the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus weeps while listening to Demodocus' song about the Trojan horse (*Od.* 8.521-31):

ταῦτ' ἄρ' αἰδὸς ἄειδε περικλυτός· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
 τήκετο, δάκρυ δ' ἔδευεν ὑπὸ βλεφάροισι παρειάς.
 ὣς δὲ γυνὴ κλαίῃσι φίλον πόσιν ἀμφιπεσοῦσα,

⁵⁰¹ Richardson reads 24.592-95 as one of the few passages in the *Iliad* "where we glimpse the idea that the living could fear the continuing anger of the dead, or that the dead might require any form of offerings after the actual burial was completed" (1993: 338). He interprets Achilles' promise of gifts to Patroclus as an attempt to ward off *miasma*.

⁵⁰² See Pucci 1998 on how Achilles experiences the role of one mourning the glorious death of a warrior through his grief for Patroclus.

ὄς τε εἴς πρόσθεν πόλιος λαῶν τε πέσησιν,
ἄστει καὶ τεκέεσσιν ἀμύνων νηλεὲς ἦμαρ·
ἢ μὲν τὸν θνήσκοντα καὶ ἀσπαίροντα ἰδοῦσα
ἀμφ' αὐτῷ χυμένη λίγα κωκύει· οἱ δέ τ' ὄπισθε
κόπτοντες δούρεσσι μετάφρενον ἠδὲ καὶ ὄμους
εἴρερον εἰσανάγουσι, πόνον τ' ἐχέμεν καὶ οἰζύν·
τῆς δ' ἐλεεινοτάτῳ ἄχει φθινύθουσι παρειαί·
ὦς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐλεεινὸν ὑπ' ὀφρύσι δάκρυον εἴβεν.

The famous bard sang these things. But Odysseus
Melted, and he drenched his cheeks under his eyelids with tears.
As a woman weeps, falling upon and embracing her dear husband,
Who fell before his city and his people,
Warding off the pitiless day from his city and his children;
Having beheld him dying and gasping
She embraces him and laments piercingly. And behind her, men
Strike her with their spears on the middle of her back and her shoulders,
And they lead her away into slavery to have toil and lamentation.
And her cheeks waste away with most pitiable grief.
Thus Odysseus shed pitiable tears beneath his brows.

Odysseus, upon hearing Demodocus sing about his role in engineering the fall of Troy through the ruse of the Trojan horse, is struck with an intense grief like that suffered by the victims of this martial feat, the Trojan women whose husbands were killed by the Greeks and who were led away into slavery.⁵⁰³ In other words, hearing about his own *kleos* makes Odysseus suffer pain similar to that inflicted by him in the process of winning it. As Zachary Biles has shown, the *Odyssey* suggests that hearing one's own *kleos* recounted is not necessarily a pleasant event.⁵⁰⁴ However, Odysseus himself does not seem to be aware of this phenomenon until he himself experiences it, as is shown by his attempt to (unsuccessfully) comfort Achilles in the underworld by reminding him of his heroic status (*Od.* 11.482-6). The *Odyssey* thus shows characters

⁵⁰³ Foley 1978 suggests that the purpose of this and other “reverse-sex similes” in the *Odyssey* is to reinforce dominant gender roles and social order through reversal followed by resolution.

⁵⁰⁴ See Segal 1996; Biles 2003.

developing a more nuanced awareness of the emotional effects of hearing one's own poetic *kleos* than most male characters in the *Iliad* seem to perceive.

Achilles' speech to Priam in *Iliad* 24 can also be said to align with the attitudes of female lament in that it emphasizes the negative effects that the death of the lamented warrior causes to those he leaves behind.⁵⁰⁵ For example, in her lament for Hector in *Iliad* 22 Andromache describes her sorrow at having been left a widow (22.477-84) and the miserable life that their son Astyanax will lead now that he has been orphaned: if he survives the fall of Troy, he will lose his lands and possessions (22.489) and will have to beg for scraps from his father's former companions (22.492-501). Similarly, in her lament at Hector's funeral in *Iliad* 24 Andromache reiterates the pain and suffering that Hector's death has caused his family (24.725-45):

ἄνερ ἀπ' αἰῶνος νέος ὄλλεο, κὰδ δέ με χήρην
λείπεις ἐν μεγάροισι· πάϊς δ' ἔτι νήπιος αὐτῶς
ὄν τέκομεν σύ τ' ἐγὼ τε δυσάμμοροι, οὐδέ μιν οἴω
ἦβην ἴξεσθαι· πρὶν γὰρ πόλις ἦδε κατ' ἄκρης
πέρσεται· ἦ γὰρ ὄλωλας ἐπίσκοπος, ὅς τέ μιν αὐτὴν
ῥύσκει, ἔχες δ' ἀλόχους κεδνὰς καὶ νήπια τέκνα,
αἱ δὴ τοι τάχα νηυσὶν ὀχήσονται γλαφυρῆσι,
καὶ μὲν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆσι· σὺ δ' αὖ τέκος ἢ ἐμοὶ αὐτῇ
ἔψαι, ἔνθά κεν ἔργα ἀεικέα ἐργάζοιο
ἀθλεύων πρὸ ἄνακτος ἀμειλίχου, ἢ τις Ἀχαιῶν
ρίψει χειρὸς ἐλὼν ἀπὸ πύργου λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον
χωόμενος, ᾧ δὴ πού ἀδελφεὸν ἔκτανεν Ἴκτωρ
ἢ πατέρ' ἠὲ καὶ υἱόν, ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλοὶ Ἀχαιῶν
Ἴκτωρος ἐν παλάμῃσιν ὀδᾶξ ἔλον ἄσπετον οὐδᾶς.
οὐ γὰρ μείλιχος ἔσκε πατήρ τεὸς ἐν δαῖ λυγρῇ·
τὸ καὶ μιν λαοὶ μὲν ὀδύρονται κατὰ ἄστρῳ,
ἀρητὸν δὲ τοκεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκας
Ἴκτωρ· ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα λελείπεται ἄλγεα λυγρὰ.
οὐ γὰρ μοι θνήσκων λεχέων ἐκ χειρᾶς ὄρεξας,
οὐδέ τί μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν ἔπος, οὐδέ κεν αἰεὶ
μεμνήμην νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέματα δάκρυ χέουσα.

Husband, you perished young from life, and you left me

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. Holst-Warhaft 1992 and Alexiou 2002 [1974] on how this element of Homeric lament is also present in the traditional laments of Modern Greek women.

A widow in your halls. And the boy is still only a baby
 Whom we bore, you and I, both ill-fated, nor do I think
 He will reach manhood. For before then this city will be laid
 Waste from top to bottom. For you, its guardian, have perished, who
 Protected it, and you kept safe its noble wives and young children,
 Who swiftly will be borne in the hollow ships,
 And I among them. And you, child, will either follow me
 And toil over shameful tasks there, suffering
 On behalf of an ungentle king, or one of the Achaeans will
 Seize your hand and throw you from the tower to baneful destruction,
 Angry because Hector killed his brother
 Or his father or his son, since a great many of the Achaeans
 Bit the vast earth with their teeth at the hands of Hector.
 For your father was not gentle in destructive battle.
 Therefore the people lament him throughout the city,
 And you, Hector, have made accursed lamentation and grief for your parents,
 But for me especially baneful sorrows have been left,
 For you did not stretch out your hands to me from your bed while you were dying,
 Nor did you speak some wise word to me, which I might
 Remember always, shedding tears night and day.

Hector's death has created "accursed lamentation and grief" (ἀρητὸν... γόον καὶ πένθος) for Hecuba and Priam (24.741) and "baneful sorrows" (ἄλγεα λυγρά) for Andromache (24.742). Andromache lists the destructive consequences that will result from Hector's absence: the city will be sacked (24.728-8), and the woman and children will be sold into slavery, including Andromache herself (24.732-3). Moreover, Astyanax will either be doomed to a life of servitude or will be killed before he can reach manhood. Andromache explicitly links Astyanax's probable death with Hector's prowess in war: it is likely that one of the Achaeans will seek revenge on Astyanax for a relative's death at Hector's hands because Hector killed many men in battle (24.735-40). In this way, she stresses that the very actions that will bring Hector glory have caused heightened suffering for his family.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. Murnaghan 1999.

Other women in the *Iliad* also emphasize the personal suffering caused by the deaths of the men they lament.⁵⁰⁷ For example, in her lament at Hector’s funeral Helen describes how Hector used to come to her defense when his relatives were cruel to her, but she says that now that he is dead there is no one left in Troy who will treat her kindly: οὐ γάρ τις μοι ἔτ’ ἄλλος ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εὐρείῃ / ἥπιος οὐδὲ φίλος, πάντες δέ με πεφρίκασιν, “For there is no other person in broad Troy who is gentle or friendly to me, but all shudder at me” (24.774-5). Without Hector, Helen will be vulnerable to social isolation and verbal abuse. Similarly, Briseis mentions in her lament for Patroclus that Patroclus said he would make her the wife of Achilles (19.227-300):

μ’ ἔφασκες Ἀχιλλῆος θείοιο
κουριδίην ἄλοχον θήσειν, ἄξειν τ’ ἐνὶ νηυσὶν
ἐς Φθίην, δαίσειν δὲ γάμον μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσι.
τὼ σ’ ἄμοτον κλαίω τεθνηότα μείλιχον αἰεὶ.

You said that you would make me
The wedded wife of godlike Achilles, and that you would lead me in a ship
To Phthia and make a wedding feast among the Myrmidons.
Therefore I weep for you continually now that you, always kind, are dead.

With Patroclus’ death, Briseis has lost an advocate, just as Helen did with Hector. Now that Patroclus is gone, there is no one to ensure that the promised marriage with Achilles will take place. Instead, Briseis will remain in the social status of a slave.⁵⁰⁸

As Holst-Warhaft has argued, the emphasis in these laments on the suffering caused by the warrior’s glorious death in battle serves as a critique of martial *kleos*.⁵⁰⁹ However, it is

⁵⁰⁷ See Seremetakis 1991 on how lamenting women use pain as social currency.

⁵⁰⁸ Briseis’ need for an advocate is illustrated by Achilles’ comment that he wishes Artemis had killed Briseis with an arrow rather than allow her to become a cause of strife among the Greeks (19.56-62). Despite his declaration at 9.342 that he “loves and cares for her” (φιλέει καὶ κήδεται), she is clearly disposable to him. For more on Briseis’ lament, see Skinner 1982; Dué 2002; Tsagalis 2004: 82-87, 139-143.

⁵⁰⁹ Holst-Warhaft 1992; Murnaghan 1999.

possible to read Andromache's lament for Hector at *Il.* 24.725-45 as an implicit rebuke of Hector's own pursuit of glory in particular. In *Iliad* 6, Andromache urges Hector not to fight in the frontlines out of pity for her and Astyanax (6.407-9). She advises him to direct his troops to defend the wall rather than going into battle himself (6.431-39). As I discussed in Chapter 3, she is asking him to prioritize the defense of the city and his relationship to her and Astyanax over the pursuit of his own personal *kleos*.⁵¹⁰ Hector, however, refuses her request, insisting that he must fight among the first and win *kleos* (24.444-46).

In this context, Andromache's emphasis in her lament at Hector's funeral on what she, Astyanax, and the Trojan people will suffer now that Hector has died can be seen as a reproach to Hector, a reminder that these things will come to pass because he ignored her advice and chose his own *kleos* over the well-being of his family. Andromache's insistence that she suffers *μάλιστα*, "especially" (24.742), because Hector died in battle rather than in his bed is significant. On a basic level, this statement can be seen as an example of how female characters in the *Iliad* tend to be hostile to male *kleos*.⁵¹¹ However, it can also be seen as a specific reference to the conflict that Hector's pursuit of *kleos* and desire for a glorious death created in Andromache's and Hector's relationship. Hector's death in battle causes grief to Andromache "especially" because the fact that he died in battle is a reminder of his disregard for both her advice and her pleas in *Iliad* 6. This martial death becomes a sign of the inability of the two of them to enter into

⁵¹⁰ Chapter 3. Cf. Arthur 1981; Zanker 1994: 55.

⁵¹¹ For the theme of female hostility to male warrior *kleos*, see Chapter 1.

the state of *homophrosynē* that Odysseus at *Od.* 6.181-2 says is a key ingredient in a successful marriage.⁵¹²

Achilles' first *consolatio* to Priam is similar to the laments quoted above in that it lists the misfortunes endured by specific individuals. The theme of the speech is the inevitability of suffering for mortals, illustrated by the parable of the two jars: two jars stand on the threshold of Zeus, one filled with good things and the other with bad. Zeus gives each mortal a mix of gifts from both jars, or from the bad jar only, but no mortal receives gifts only from the good jar (24.527-33). Achilles then adduces two examples to demonstrate the truth of this statement, Peleus and Priam (24.534-48):

ὥς μὲν καὶ Πηληϊῆ θεοὶ δόσαν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα
ἐκ γενετῆς· πάντας γὰρ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο
ὄλβω τε πλούτῳ τε, ἄνασσε δὲ Μυρμιδόνεσσι,
καὶ οἱ θνητῶ ἐόντι θεὰν ποίησαν ἄκοιτιν.
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ καὶ τῷ θῆκε θεὸς κακόν, ὅττι οἱ οὐ τι
παίδων ἐν μεγάροισι γονὴ γένετο κρειόντων,
ἀλλ' ἓνα παῖδα τέκεν παναώριον· οὐδέ νυ τόν γε
γηράσκοντα κομίζω, ἐπεὶ μάλα τηλόθι πάτρης
ἦμαι ἐνὶ Τροίῃ, σέ τε κήδων ἠδὲ σὰ τέκνα.
καὶ σὲ γέρον τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἀκούομεν ὄλβιον εἶναι·
ὄσσον Λέσβος ἄνω Μάκαρος ἔδος ἐντὸς ἐέργει
καὶ Φρυγίη καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος ἀπείρων,
τῶν σε γέρον πλούτῳ τε καὶ υἰάσι φασὶ κεκάσθαι.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τοι πῆμα τόδ' ἦγαγον Οὐρανίωνες
αἰεὶ τοι περὶ ἄστῳ μάχαι τ' ἀνδροκτασίαι τε.

Thus the gods gave Peleus good things
From his birth, for he excelled among all men
In prosperity and wealth, and he ruled the Myrmidons,
And although he was mortal, they gave him a goddess as a wife.
But upon him a god also set evil, because for him
No offspring of princely sons was born in his halls,
But he begot one son doomed to an untimely end. Nor do I now
Care for him as he grows old, since very far from my homeland

⁵¹² οὐ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ γε κρεῖσσον καὶ ἄρειον, / ἢ ὄθ' ὁμοφρονέοντε νοήμασιν οἶκον ἔχητον / ἀνὴρ ἠδὲ γυνή· “For nothing is stronger and better than when a man and wife with *homophrosynē* in their thoughts have a household” (6.181-2).

I sit in Troy, causing pain to you and your children.
And you, old man, we hear that before you were prosperous.
However far Lesbos, the seat of Macar, encloses from above,
And Phrygia from below, and the boundless Hellespont,
They say that you, old man, surpassed these lands in wealth and in sons.
But since the heavenly gods brought this disaster to you,
Always around your city are battles and the slayings of men.

Both Peleus and Priam serve as examples of men who were once fortunate but who have now come to grief, demonstrating the truth of Achilles' statement that no mortal can live without suffering. Significantly, the misfortunes that Achilles describes are in both cases the result of Achilles' own actions. Peleus suffers because he has one son who will die young and who does not care for him in his old age because he is fighting in a foreign country. Both Achilles' impending death and his absence from Phthia are a result of his decision to come to Troy in pursuit of the *kleos aphthiton* promised by Thetis, an instance in which he put his desire for glory above the needs of his father, just as Hector put his desire for glory above the needs of his family and city.

Priam's misfortunes can also be largely attributed to Achilles, the man who has "killed so many of his sons" (οἱ πολέας κτάνον υἱάς, 24.479). Achilles links Priam's sorrow closely with Peleus' by emphasizing that he himself is the cause of both.⁵¹³ He does not care for his aged father because, as he says, "very far from my fatherland I sit in Troy, causing pain to you and your children" (ἐπεὶ μάλα τηλόθι πάτρης / ἤμῃ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ, σέ τε κήδων ἠδὲ σὰ τέκνα, 24.541-2). Both men have lost sons because of Achilles' desire to die for *kleos aphthiton*. It is also significant that Achilles describes his activities at Troy, the activities that keep him away from his father, in terms of the pain he has caused (σέ τε κήδων ἠδὲ σὰ τέκνα, 24.542) rather than in terms of his martial exploits. Even to say that he had killed Priam's sons would have subtly

⁵¹³ Cf. MacLeod 1982: 134.

evoked Achilles' *kleos*, since killing men in battle is one way to win martial glory.⁵¹⁴ The change in Achilles' perception of his own actions is particularly evident when we compare 24.541-42 with Achilles' similar statement about Peleus at 19.323-5:

ὅς που νῦν Φθίηφι τέρεν κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβει
χῆτεϊ τοιοῦδ' υἱός· ὃ δ' ἄλλοδαπῶ ἐνὶ δῆμῳ
εἵνεκα ῥιγεδανῆς Ἑλένης Τρωσὶν πολεμίζω·

[Peleus,] who now I suppose in Phthia sheds a soft tear
From lack of such a son, who in a foreign land
Makes war on the Trojans for the sake of chilling Helen.

Just as at 24.541-42, Achilles at 19.323-5 contrasts Peleus' longing for him with his own presence at Troy. However, Achilles' description of himself at 19.324-5 stresses his own martial actions: the phrase Τρωσὶν πολεμίζω (19.325) evokes his heroic role as champion of the Greeks. Yet Achilles' description of himself at 24.541-42 is much less heroic. The verb κήδω, meaning "trouble" or "distress," does not suggest martial feats in the same way that πολεμίζω does.⁵¹⁵ Rather, the way in which Achilles is causing suffering to Priam and his children is left unspecified, emphasizing not Achilles' heroic actions but those actions' human cost.

There is a similar contrast between 24.541-42 and Achilles' statement at 18.121-5 that he will win glory and make Trojan women weep:

νῦν δὲ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀροίμην,
καὶ τινα Τρωϊάδων καὶ Δαρδανίδων βαθυκόλπων
ἀμφοτέρησιν χερσὶ παρειάων ἀπαλάων
δάκρυ' ὁμορξάμενην ἀδινὸν στοναχῆσαι ἐφείην,
γνοῖεν δ' ὡς δὴ δηρὸν ἐγὼ πολέμοιο πέπαυμαι·

But now let me win good *kleos*,
And let me make one of the Trojan women and deep-bosomed Dardanian women
Wipe the tears from her soft cheeks with
Both hands and groan ceaselessly,

⁵¹⁴ Cf. Sarpedon's speech at *Il.* 12. 326-28.

⁵¹⁵ For κήδω in the *Iliad*, see Lynn-George 1996.

And let them know that I have ceased from war for a long time.

In this passage, Achilles clearly demonstrates an awareness of the pain he will cause by winning *kleos* and seems to relish it, measuring his own prowess by the sorrow he will be able to create.⁵¹⁶ At 24.541-42, however, he remains conscious of the suffering brought about by his actions, but no longer celebrates this pain as a cause of *kleos*. Rather he links it to the pain he has caused his own father, suggesting an implicit regret for both outcomes.⁵¹⁷

Achilles' speech of the two jars at 24.517-51 can thus be seen as a kind of inverted version of Andromache's lament for Hector at 24.725-45. While Andromache speaks of the pain Hector has caused her and her child by fighting and dying in the war, Achilles speaks of the pain that his own participation in the war and anticipated death will cause others. In the same way that lamenting women downplay the *kleos* of fallen warriors and emphasize the pain caused by their deaths, Achilles omits mention of his own *kleos* and instead speaks of the negative consequences of his martial actions. And as Andromache's lament for Hector can be read as a subtle rebuke of Hector's choice of his own pursuit of *kleos* over his relationship to her and Astyanax, Achilles' speech can be read as a self-rebuke expressing sorrow for the outcome of his decisions. MacLeod writes, "If in 18 [Achilles] could overcome the sense that his life was wasted by going out to fight and kill, here he sees it as wasted because he is only fighting and killing."⁵¹⁸

Achilles' speech of the two jars differs from the perspective of female lament, however, in that he seems to express sadness not only for the pain he has brought his family, but also for

⁵¹⁶ Cf. Pucci 1998 on how 18.121-5 shows the relationship between women's tears and male *kleos*.

⁵¹⁷ Zanker 1994: 62 argues that we can read this passage as an expression of guilt on Achilles' part. Given the social and legal obligations that Ancient Greeks were under to take care of their parents, I do not see how Achilles can speak of his neglect of his father without implicit self-reproach. See Reinhold 1976: 25 for poetic dicta and laws from the sixth century onwards compelling Greeks to honor and care for their parents.

⁵¹⁸ MacLeod 1982: 27.

the suffering he has caused his enemies. Indeed, in *Iliad* 24 Achilles repeatedly elides distinctions between friends and enemies, as is shown by the equivalence he draws between Priam and Peleus and the emotional connection he forges with Priam on the basis of their shared suffering.⁵¹⁹ Schein writes of this connection:

Here Achilles is sharing with Priam in a common humanity beyond death, or rather, in a humanity conditioned by their mortality and mutual understanding of “the way the gods have spun for wretched mortals / to live in sorrow, while they themselves are free from cares” (24.525-26).

This eliding of distinctions is already visible in *Iliad* 21 when Achilles calls Lycaon *philos*, “friend,” before killing him (21.106). With the new clarity of vision he has gained from Patroclus’ death, Achilles’ consciousness of human mortality causes him to see all men as *philoï*, united by a common fate that transcends categories of Greek and Trojan, friend and enemy:

He does not speak sarcastically when he addresses Lykaon as “friend” (*philos*, 21.106). Rather, he invites the Trojan youth to join him in the only solidarity and shared humanity that mean anything to him, the solidarity of their shared mortality, the solidarity of death. In effect he says, “You appeal to me as a suppliant, as one with whom you have broken bread, to show you mercy. I shall do what I can for you, I shall show you the only mercy I know, I shall treat you, *philos*, as I treat myself: I shall kill you.” In Achilles’ vision, human solidarity and deadly hatred have been fused in a will toward death for Hektor and all the Trojans and for himself.⁵²⁰

But whereas in *Iliad* 21 Achilles kills without compunction because death is inevitable, In *Iliad* 24, he turns away from the “deadly hatred” he felt in earlier books (24.139-40, 24.560-70). As a result, his consciousness of death now leads him towards compassion and affective rapport with his fellow human beings, regardless of their political relationship to him.

⁵¹⁹ See Zanker 1994: 129 on how Achilles’ “magnanimity” towards Priam exceeds previous mercy he has shown towards enemies such as Eetion.

⁵²⁰ Schein 1984: 148-9. For similar interpretations of the Lycaon passage, see also Whitman 1958: 160; King 1987: 17; Richardson 1993: 62.

In this slippage of distinctions between friends and enemies, Achilles resembles Helen, who by virtue of her precarious position has an emotional stake in both the Greek and Trojan sides of the war.⁵²¹ Significantly, this position of emotional involvement with both sides of the conflict is characteristic of other female characters in the *Iliad* as well. Briseis, for example, seems to have bonded with her Greek captors while continuing to mourn for her dead family. She even equates her sorrow at Patroclus' death with her sorrow at the loss of her husband and brothers (*Il.* 19.287-94):

Πάτροκλέ μοι δειλῆ πλεῖστον κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ
ζωὸν μὲν σε ἔλειπον ἐγὼ κλισίηθεν ἰοῦσα,
νῦν δέ σε τεθνηῶτα κιχάνομαι ὄρχαμε λαῶν
ἄψ ἄνιοῦσ' ὥς μοι δέχεται κακὸν ἐκ κακοῦ αἰεὶ.
ἄνδρα μὲν ᾧ ἔδοσάν με πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
εἶδον πρὸ πτόλιος δεδαῖγμένον ὄξεϊ χαλκῷ,
τρεις τε κασιγνήτους, τοὺς μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ,
κηδείους, οἳ πάντες ὀλέθριον ἦμαρ ἐπέσπον.

Patroclus, most pleasing to the heart of wretched me,
I left you living when I went from the huts,
But now I find you dead, marshaller of the people,
When I come back. Thus for me evil succeeds evil always.
I saw my husband to whom my father and lady mother gave me
Hewn with sharp bronze before the city,
And my three beloved brothers, whom one mother bore,
Who all faced the day of destruction.

Briseis characterizes Patroclus' death as yet another evil in a succession of evils that befell her when her city was sacked and her husband and brothers were killed, indicating that she came to care for him as she cared for them. Achilles' other captive women also mourn for Patroclus. In *Iliad* 19, the narrator says that the women mourn for Patroclus as a "pretext" (πρόφασιν), but that each woman mourns for her own sorrows (ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες / Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν,

⁵²¹ For Helen's sympathies for both sides of the conflict, see Chapter 2.

σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κήδε' ἐκάστη, 19.301-2). However, when the news of Patroclus' death is first announced by Antilochus in *Iliad* 18, the grief expressed by the women seems genuine and spontaneous (*Il.* 18.28-31):

δμοφαὶ δ' ἄς Ἀχιλεὺς ληΐσσατο Πάτροκλός τε
θυμὸν ἀκηχέμεναι μεγάλ' ἴαχον, ἐκ δὲ θύραζε
ἔδραμον ἀμφ' Ἀχιλῆα δαΐφρονα, χερσὶ δὲ πᾶσαι
στήθεα πεπλήγοντο, λύθεν δ' ὑπὸ γυῖα ἐκάστης.

The slave-women whom Achilles and Patroclus had taken as booty
Grieved in their hearts and cried out loudly,
And they ran outside around skilled Achilles, and all struck
Their breasts with their hands, and the limbs of each were loosened beneath her.

Here the narrator describes the emotional state of the women as “grieving” (ἀκηχέμεναι), and the description of their limbs loosening beneath them (λύθεν δ' ὑπὸ γυῖα ἐκάστης) indicates a physical reaction of distress at hearing of Patroclus' death. Like Briseis, then, Achilles' other captive women seem to have bonded emotionally with Patroclus while continuing to grieve for “their own sorrows” (σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν κήδε', 19.302), which presumably also involve the sacking of their cities and the deaths of loved ones.⁵²² It is a feminine position to be caught between two sides of a war, owing affection to both. Achilles' blurring of boundaries between friends and enemies can therefore be described as feminine.

Like Helen, Achilles reflects upon how his own *kleos* is bound up with suffering. As I discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, Helen, in her own words, regards her *kleos* as an evil fate from Zeus (*Il.* 6.356-58) and closely associates her own future fame with the pain that has resulted from the Trojan war.⁵²³ This association is in turn tied to Helen's repeated self-blame and wishes

⁵²² See Seremetakis 1991: 108-9 on how during the *kláma*, or communal mourning that precedes the funeral and burial, Maniot female relatives of the deceased will invite other mourners to lament for their own dead as well. This has the effect of drawing mourners into a community of shared grief that includes the living and the dead.

⁵²³ See Chapter 1 and Chapter 2.

that she had died before coming to Troy.⁵²⁴ In Chapter 1, I argued that Helen regards her *kleos* as an evil fate because it is a destructive *kleos*, in contrast to the *kleos* that women in Archaic epic typically derive from generative activities. In this way, Achilles' own self-rebuke in the context of the negative consequences that his own death and subsequent *kleos* will have both on his friends and his enemies likens him to Helen and can perhaps be read as a further way in which he exhibits a feminine perspective in *Iliad* 24.

In Chapter 2, I discussed Helen's and Achilles' statuses as metapoetic characters. The ways in which Achilles' speeches in the *Iliad* employ diction and compositional techniques associated with the poem's narrator have been well-documented by Richard Martin.⁵²⁵ I will conclude this chapter with an examination of how certain themes and motifs of lament that appear in the speech of female characters such as Helen and are prominent in Achilles' speeches to Priam in *Iliad* 24 are also found in the speech of the narrator throughout the poem, particularly in the "short obituaries" that the narrator uses to describe the deaths of warriors in battle. In this way, I will further explore the "feminine" aspect of the *Iliad*'s poetics that I proposed at the end of Chapter 2 while shedding light on what Achilles' use of the discourse of lament in *Iliad* 24 means for the *Iliad*'s overall evaluation of the value placed on *kleos* by Iliadic society.

Three elements of female lament that are found both in Achilles' speeches in *Iliad* 24 and in the narrator's descriptions of dead and dying warriors are the motif of dying far from home, the emphasis on the grief of the loved ones left behind, and the stress placed on the untimely

⁵²⁴ See Chapter 2.

⁵²⁵ Martin 1989.

nature of the warriors' deaths.⁵²⁶ For example, we see all three of these elements in the obituary for the Thracian Hippothous, who is killed by Ajax over Patroclus' body (17.300-303):⁵²⁷

ὁ δ' ἄγχ' αὐτοῖο πέσε πρηνῆς ἐπὶ νεκρῷ
τῆλ' ἀπὸ Λαρίσης ἐριβόλακος, οὐδὲ τοκεῦσι
θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε, μινυθᾶδιος δέ οἱ αἰὼν
ἔπλεθ' ὑπ' Αἴαντος μεγαθύμου δουρὶ δαμέντι.

And he fell near him on his face upon the corpse,
Far from deep-soiled Larisa, nor did he repay
His dear parents for their rearing of him, but his life was short,
And he was brought low beneath the spear of great-hearted Ajax.

The narrator stresses that Hippothous died far from his homeland of Larisa, that his life was short, and that he caused pain to his parents with his death, since he will no longer be able to care for them in their old age as they cared for him when he was younger.

Christos Tsagalis has noted how an element of deixis used to highlight the separation between the lamenter and the lamented is a prominent feature of laments in the *Iliad*.⁵²⁸ He describes how this theme of separation in death is applied both to the Greeks and the Trojans:

Space is an important dimension in the verbalization of a personal lament, since it offers the speaker the opportunity to develop certain themes linking the distance between a warrior's native land with the place he meets his death. This, given the Iliadic plot, should apply more to the Greeks who die away from home, and not to the Trojans who perish in their native land. But, as we will see, separation may also acquire another scope when it refers to the Trojans: that of separation from dear ones and a past life of happiness experienced by the deceased before the beginning of the war.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁶ For a typology of the traditional elements of lament, see Tsagalis 2004. For a discussion of which of these elements appear in the narrator's obituaries, see Tsagalis 2004: 189. Cf. Scodel 1992.

⁵²⁷ Cf. Griffin 1980: 108.

⁵²⁸ Tsagalis 2004: 75-105.

⁵²⁹ Tsagalis 2004: 75.

A classic example of the motif of the warrior's death far from home is found in Thetis' lament for Achilles in *Iliad* 18, when she speaks of how she will never receive him home to his father's house (18.55-60).⁵³⁰ Thetis will never welcome Achilles home again because he is fated to die in Troy, as Achilles himself knows. Achilles' keen awareness of his separation from his home is expressed in his first *consolatio* to Priam when he says that he does not care for his aged father because "very far from my fatherland I sit here in Troy" (μάλα τηλόθι πάτρης / ἦμαι ἐνὶ Τροίῃ, 24.541-2). The narrator too employs the motif of the death far from home to increase pathos, as in his description of the dead Protesilaus' ship in *Iliad* 15: ἦ Πρωτεσίλαον ἔνεικεν / ἐς Τροίην, οὐδ' αὖτις ἀπήγαγε πατρίδα γαῖαν, "It bore Protesilaus / to Troy, but it did not bring him back again to his fatherland" (15.705-706).

The theme of premature death is another element of lament that is adopted by both Achilles and the narrator.⁵³¹ In her lament in *Iliad* 24, Andromache stresses that Hector died before his time, saying, ἄνερ ἀπ' αἰῶνος νέος ὄλεο, "Husband, you perished young from life" (24.725).⁵³² Achilles also emphasizes that he will die young, calling himself παναώριον, "doomed to an untimely death" (24.540). Youth is a trait that the narrator highlights in obituaries to emphasize the tragic nature of the death being described, as in the death of Hippothous above (17.300-303), or in the death of Simoeisus, whose premature death is recounted with the same

⁵³⁰ For how Thetis' lament is similar to laments for Hector by Hecuba and Andromache, see Edwards 1991: 151.

⁵³¹ For this motif in the narrator's short obituaries, see Griffin 1980: 108; Tsagalis 2004: 185. For this theme in lament, see Tsagalis 2004: 103-108.

⁵³² MacLeod points out that each of the formal laments in *Iliad* 24 begin with the speaker naming Hector's relationship to themselves, as with Andromache's ἄνερ (1982: 150). This detail emphasizes what each speaker has lost with Hector's death.

formulaic lines about not being able to repay his parents for their care of him (4.477-79=17.301-303).⁵³³

As in lament, the pain of heroes' parents and wives is frequently emphasized in obituaries.⁵³⁴ Sometimes the suffering that the hero's death will cause these loved ones is made explicit, as in the obituary of the sons of Phaenops when they are killed by Diomedes (5.152-58).⁵³⁵ The fate of Phaenops as described in this obituary closely mirrors the fate of Peleus in Achilles' speech in *Iliad* 24: he loses his only offspring in the war and grows old alone without heirs. As a result, Phaenops experiences γόον καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ, "lamentation and baneful cares" (5.156). This phrase also resonates with Andromache's statement in her lament for Hector in *Iliad* 24 that his death has left "lamentation and sorrow" (γόον καὶ πένθος, 24.741) for his parents and "painful cares" (ἄλγεα λυγρὰ, 24.742) for her. In a similar war, the narrator describes the grief of Protesilaus' wife after he is killed at the beginning of the war (2.698-702).⁵³⁶

Sometimes the suffering that will be experienced by loved ones is not explicitly stated by the narrator but is heavily implied by extended portraits of a hero's family beyond the simple patronymic needed for identification. By describing the parents and wives of dead heroes to the audience, the narrator prompts listeners to imagine what the consequences of the heroes' death will be for these relatives. For example, before Iphidamas is killed by Agamemnon in *Iliad* 11

⁵³³ See also the death of Polydorus at 20.407-12. For the emotional and tragic tone evoked by the mention of the warriors' parents and short life, see Kirk 1985: 389.

⁵³⁴ For the motif of "bereaved parents," see Griffin 1980: 123-128. For the motif of the "young husband slain," see Griffin 1980: 131-134.

⁵³⁵ "The note of pathos is strongly sounded once again, with another old father as key figure" (Kirk 1990: 74).

⁵³⁶ Kirk 1985: 231 remarks on the emotional tone of this passage.

we are told not only of his parentage, but that he was raised by his grandfather and that he is newly married (11.221-245):

Ἴφιδάμας Ἀντηνορίδης ἤϋς τε μέγας τε
ὃς τράφη ἐν Θρήκη ἐριβόλακι μητέρι μήλων·
Κισσηὺς τὸν γ' ἔθρεψε δόμοις ἐνι τυτθὸν ἐόντα
μητροπάτωρ, ὃς τίκτε Θεανῶ καλλιπάρηον·
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἤβης ἐρικυδέος ἵκετο μέτρον,
αὐτοῦ μιν κατέρυκε, δίδου δ' ὃ γε θυγατέρα ἦν·
γῆμας δ' ἐκ θαλάμοιο μετὰ κλέος ἵκετ' Ἀχαιῶν
σὺν δυοκαίδεκα νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, αἳ οἱ ἔποντο.
τὰς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐν Περκώτῃ λίπε νῆας εἵσας,
αὐτὰρ ὁ πεζὸς ἐὼν ἐς Ἴλιον εἰληλούθει·
ὃς ῥα τότε Ἀτρεΐδεω Ἀγαμέμνωνος ἀντίον ἦλθεν.
οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες,
Ἀτρεΐδης μὲν ἄμαρτε, παρὰ δέ οἱ ἐτράπετ' ἔγχος,
Ἴφιδάμας δὲ κατὰ ζώνην θώρηκος ἔνερθε
νύξ', ἐπὶ δ' αὐτὸς ἔρεισε βαρεῖη χειρὶ πιθήσας·
οὐδ' ἔτορε ζωστήρα παναίολον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρὶν
ἀργύρω ἀντομένη μόλιβος ὡς ἐτράπετ' αἰχμῆ.
καὶ τό γε χειρὶ λαβὼν εὐρὺ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
ἔλκ' ἐπὶ οἱ μεμαῶς ὡς τε λῖς, ἐκ δ' ἄρα χειρὸς
σπάσσατο· τὸν δ' ἄορι πλῆξ' αὐχένα, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα.
ὡς δὲ μὲν αὐθι πεσὼν κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον
οἰκτρὸς ἀπὸ μνηστῆς ἀλόχου, ἀστοῖσιν ἀρήγων,
κουριδίης, ἧς οὐ τι χάριν ἶδε, πολλὰ δ' ἔδωκε·
πρῶθ' ἑκατὸν βοῦς δῶκεν, ἔπειτα δὲ χίλι' ὑπέστη
αἶγας ὁμοῦ καὶ οἷς, τὰ οἱ ἄσπετα ποιμαίνοντο.

Iphidamas the son of Antenor, brave and huge,
Who grew up in deep-soiled Thrace, mother of sheepflocks.
Cisseus had raised him in his house when he was small,
His mother's father, who begot Theano of the fair cheeks.
But when he had arrived at the measure of glorious youth,
Cisseus detained him there and gave him his daughter.
Married, he went from the bridal chamber in pursuit of *kleos* from the Achaeans
With twelve curved ships that followed him.
Then he left these balanced vessels in Percote
And he came on foot to Ilium.
He now came face-to-face with Atreus' son Agamemnon.
When they had come upon each other and were close together,
The son of Atreus missed, and his spear was turned past him.
And Iphidamas stabbed the belt below his
Corselet, and he leaned on it, trusting in his strong hand.
He did not pierce the many-colored belt, but far sooner

The spear point, meeting the silver, was turned like lead.
And seizing it with his hand, wide-ruling Agamemnon
Dragged it to him raging like a lion, and wrenched it out of his
Hand. He struck him in the neck with his sword and loosed his limbs.
Thus he fell there and slept a bronze sleep,
Pitiable, aiding his countrymen, far from his wooed and
Wedded wife, from whom he had known no delight, and he gave many things for her.
First he gave a hundred oxen, then he promised a thousand,
Goats and sheep together, which were herded for him without limit.

To identify Iphidamas for his audience, the narrator need only have said that he was the son of Antenor, and perhaps that his mother's father was Cisseus. Instead he includes the detail that Cisseus raised him from a small boy and gave him his daughter in marriage, a marriage which Iphidamas paid a large bride-price for and had not yet been able to enjoy because he departed for Troy. The bond between Cisseus and Iphidamas is superfluous to placing Iphidamas in a genealogy, but it does serve to suggest that Iphidamas' death will cause pain to those surviving him: the description of the relationship between grandfather and grandson leads the audience to surmise that Cisseus will grieve to hear of Iphidamas' death. Similarly, devoting six lines of this passage to Iphidamas' recent marriage prompts listeners to imagine the wife left at home who will never see her husband again.

Like a lament, Iphidamas' obituary stresses the negative consequences that have resulted from his quest for glory in war. He left his home in Thrace in pursuit of *kleos* (μετὰ κλέος ἵκετ' Ἀχαιῶν, 11.227), but his death in battle is described as οἰκτρός, "pitiable" (11.242).⁵³⁷ This is not because Iphidamas did not acquit himself well in the fight. He is not killed while running away or while trying to supplicate his killer for mercy.⁵³⁸ Unlike the many unlucky warriors who are

⁵³⁷ Hainsworth describes this passage as "a rare 'empathetic' note...an intrusion of the poet into his narrative that is more characteristic of Vergil" (1993: 251).

⁵³⁸ For example, Leitus kills Phylacus while he is running away at 6.6.35-36. For warriors killed in the midst of supplication, see 6.45-65; 11.131-147; 21.71-119.

killed by their opponents with a single stroke,⁵³⁹ Iphidamas evades Agamemnon's spear cast and gets in a thrust of his own before Agamemnon kills him.⁵⁴⁰ We are given no reason to believe that he dies because he is an unworthy warrior. The narrator describes him as ἠϋς τε μέγας τε, “brave and huge” (11.221), and we can surmise from the reference to his “strong hand” (11.235) that he is a powerful fighter. Later in *Iliad* 11, Odysseus says that the way to “win distinction in battle” (ἀριστεύησι μάχῃ ἔνι, 11.409) is for a man “to stand his ground strongly, whether he is struck or he strikes another” (ἑστάμεναι κρατερῶς, ἢ τ' ἔβλητ' ἢ τ' ἔβαλ' ἄλλον, 11.410).⁵⁴¹ Iphidamas has certainly fulfilled this dictum in his attack on Agamemnon, and thus we might expect that he had achieved a successful glorious death. Nevertheless, in his evaluation of Iphidamas' end the narrator chooses to emphasize not his bravery and glory but his misfortune in dying young soon after his marriage, far from his wife and family. His death is portrayed as an unfortunate fate both for him and the ones who love him, just as Achilles seems to characterize his own death in *Iliad* 24.

It is extremely common for obituaries to contain details about warriors' families that seem designed to highlight their emotional connection to the dead man and the loss they will experience. For example, the description of the death of Pedaeus son of Antenor includes the detail that, although he was illegitimate, he was nursed by Theano, Antenor's wife, “with close

⁵³⁹ See for example Oileus killed by Agamemnon at 5.93-98. For a typology of typical patterns that play out in battle scenes, see Fenik 1968.

⁵⁴⁰ Hainsworth describes this as a typical minor duel of the formula A misses B, B strikes A ineffectively, A kills B (1993: 250). Cf. Fenik 1968: 6-7.

⁵⁴¹ Compare Poseidon's exhortation to the Greeks at 13.116, Hector's words to Andromache at 6.441-6, and Sarpedon's speech to Glaucus at 12.322-28.

care” (πύκα, 5.70) “like her own children” (ἴσα φίλοισι τέκεσσι, 5.71).⁵⁴² We are told that Polyidus and Abas are the sons of the dream interpreter Eurydamas, but that as they left for battle he did not interpret their dreams (5.148-150). Merops of Percote was a prophet and tried to prevent his sons from going to the war, but they would not listen to him (11.328-32).⁵⁴³ Imbrius was married to Priam’s daughter Medesicaste (13.173) and Priam “honored him like his own children” (ὁ δέ μιν τίεν ἴσα τέκεσσι, 13.176). Othryoneus was newly come to the war and had sought the hand of Priam’s daughter Cassandra in marriage, to which Priam assented (13.363-69). Alcatous was the son-in-law of Anchises, the husband of his most beloved daughter Hippodameia, who surpassed all of the other girls in the Troad in “beauty, works, and wits” (κάλλει καὶ ἔργοισιν ἰδὲ φρεσί, 13.432). Harpalion was killed in front of his father, who follows his corpse weeping as it is born away (13.643-59). Ilioneus was the only child his mother bore to his father (14.492). These extra details included in obituaries shed light on heroes’ relationships with their fathers, mothers, foster-mothers, fathers-in-law, wives, and brides-to-be, underscoring the value that they had to their loved ones. They thus serve to bring the grief that these loved ones will suffer into the forefront of the audience’s minds as they listen to the narration of the heroes’ deaths.⁵⁴⁴

When interpreting the emphasis on the grief of fallen warriors’ families in obituaries spoken by the narrator, it is important to take into account that references to such grief carry

⁵⁴² Describing the juxtaposition of this information with the brutal manner of Pedaeus’ death, Kirk says “The contrast is unmistakable between this harsh pseudo-realism and the pathetic implications of Theano’s care” (1990: 61).

⁵⁴³ Cf. Hainsworth 1993: 262: “Seers and priests are popular as fathers of the slain, their disregarded warnings, or failures to give warnings, being a ready source of pathos.”

⁵⁴⁴ Griffin has suggested that even in the shortest obituaries that are composed only of a warrior’s name and his patronymic, these themes of grief and loss are latent (Griffin 1980: 113).

different ideological valences depending on the context in which they are spoken. When bereaved mothers and widowed wives voice their pain in lament, their accentuation of their own suffering serves to undercut the *kleos* of the warrior they mourn. However, warriors vaunting on the battlefield will also frequently make reference to the suffering they will cause to their dead opponents' families as a way of advertising their own status and valor, as we saw with Achilles in *Iliad* 18 (18.121-5).⁵⁴⁵ For example, Menelaus boasts that his slain foe Hyperenor will now never go home “to gladden his dear wife and cherished parents” (οὐδέ ἔ φημι πόδεσσί γε οἴσι κίοντα / εὐφρῆναι ἄλοχόν τε φίλην κεδνούς τε τοκῆας, 17.27-28).⁵⁴⁶

Other elements that are used in both lament and obituaries appear in warriors' battlefield taunts, such the motifs of dying young or dying far from home. Menelaus declares that Hyperenor did not “have joy of his youth” (ἧς ἥβης ἀπόνηθ', 17.25) because he killed him, and Achilles boasts about how he has slain Iphition far from his native land (20.389-392).⁵⁴⁷

κεῖσαι Ὀτρυντεΐδη πάντων ἐκπαγλότατ' ἀνδρῶν·
 ἐνθάδε τοι θάνατος, γενεὴ δέ τοι ἐστ' ἐπὶ λίμνῃ
 Γυγαίῃ, ὅθι τοι τέμενος πατρῴϊόν ἐστιν
 Ὑλλῶ ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντι καὶ Ἑρμῶ δινήεντι.

Lie there, son of Otryntes, most violent of men!
 Your death is here, but your birthplace is by the Gygaean
 lake, where your ancestral domain is,
 By fish-filled Hyllus and whirling Hermus.

⁵⁴⁵ Cf. Pucci 2008.

⁵⁴⁶ Similarly, Diomedes describes the sorrow that the family of a man killed by him will experience (11.393-95): τοῦ δὲ γυναικὸς μὲν τ' ἀμφίδρυφοὶ εἰσι παρειαί, “The cheeks of his wife are torn, and his children are orphans.” We may compare Diomedes in *Iliad* 6 telling Glaucus “unhappy are the parents whose sons come against my might” (δυστήνων δέ τε παῖδες ἐμῶ μένει ἀντιώσιν, 6.127).

⁵⁴⁷ Edwards notes that this motif that is often used by the poet to increase pathos is here used in a battlefield taunt (1991: 333).

These passages are part of a pattern in the *Iliad* in which warriors emphasize the pathos and suffering associated with their enemies' deaths in order to display their prowess and increase their own honor and glory on the battlefield. Thus, we see the same motifs deployed in two different contexts with radically different meanings: lament uses the suffering that results from death in war to undercut the value of martial *kleos*, while battlefield taunts deploy the same suffering to increase martial *kleos*.

The way in which suffering is being used to comment upon *kleos* is therefore often only discernable from the speaker's attitudes and intentions in the context of the speech. Andromache, for example, is clearly opposed to the idea of winning *kleos* through a glorious death, since she says she wishes Hector had died in his bed (24.743-45).⁵⁴⁸ It is also instructive to examine Dione's prediction that Diomedes' family will suffer when he is killed by a superior warrior (5.405-15):

σοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀνήκε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·
 νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὸ οἶδε κατὰ φρένα Τυδέος υἱὸς
 ὅττι μάλ' οὐ δηναῖος ὅς ἀθανάτοισι μάχεται,
 οὐδέ τί μιν παῖδες ποτὶ γούνασι παππάζουσιν
 ἐλθόντ' ἐκ πολέμοιο καὶ αἰνῆς δηϊοτήτος.
 τῶ νῦν Τυδεΐδης, εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερός ἐστι,
 φραζέσθω μὴ τίς οἱ ἀμείνων σεῖο μάχεται,
 μὴ δὴν Αἰγιάλεια περίφρων Ἀδρηστίνη
 ἐξ ὕπνου γοόωσα φίλους οἰκῆας ἐγείρη
 κουρίδιον ποθέουσα πόσιν τὸν ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν
 ἰφθίμη ἄλοχος Διομήδεος ἵπποδάμοιο.

The goddess grey-eyed Athena sent this man against you.
 He is a fool, nor does the son of Tydeus know this in his mind,
 That the man who fights with the immortals is not at all long-lived,
 Nor do his children by his knees call him father
 When he comes back from the war and terrible battle-strife.
 Therefore now the son of Tydeus, even though he is very mighty,
 Should take care lest someone better than you fight with him,
 Lest Aegialeia, wise child of Adrastus,

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. Murnaghan 1999.

Lamenting should rouse her dear household companions from sleep,
Longing for her wedded husband, the best of the Achaeans,
She the strong wife of Diomedes breaker of horses.

Here the motif of the suffering of Diomedes' family is clearly not being deployed in an attempt to increase the *kleos* of any warrior. Dione is hostile to Diomedes and uses the image of the lamenting Aegialeia to highlight the ways in which Diomedes has transgressed against the gods. She imagines his future death as a punishment rather than as a way for him to attain lasting fame.⁵⁴⁹ In the same way, the sufferings of Aegialeia and Diomedes' children in this passage do not increase the *kleos* of Diomedes' slayer, since no name is mentioned. Instead, Aegialeia's mourning is conceived of purely as a way to emphasize Diomedes' own grim fate.

And yet warriors sometimes envision the sufferings of their own families as a source of *kleos* for themselves, as when Hector imagines Andromache weeping in slavery after his own death (6.459-63).⁵⁵⁰ Hector feels pain at the thought of Andromache's grief for him (6.450-54), but he still cannot help picturing his mourning wife as a kind of *sēma* for himself, a way to remind people of his fame after he is dead.⁵⁵¹ For him, Andromache's pain is inextricably bound up with his prowess: she experiences grief (ἄλγος, 6.462) because of the "lack of *such a man*" as himself (χῆτει τοιοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς, 6.463).

We may compare the way in which Achilles speaks of his own death in his laments for Patroclus in *Iliad* 18-23. Here Achilles frequently makes use of motifs that we see in other

⁵⁴⁹ We may contrast Dione's comment with the way Hector pictures his own death as a glorious way to enter into the poetic tradition at 22.304-5.

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. Introduction.

⁵⁵¹ Cf. Scodel 1992: 59; Graziosi and Haubold 2010: 209.

laments, such as death far from home and the affect that this will have on his parents. For example, he says to the dead Patroclus in *Iliad* 18 (18.329-32):⁵⁵²

ἄμφω γὰρ πέπρωται ὁμοίην γαῖαν ἐρεῦσαι
αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμὲ νοστήσαντα
δέξεται ἐν μεγάροισι γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεὺς
οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ γαῖα καθέξει.

For it is fated that both of us redden the same soil
Here in Troy, since my father the horseman Peleus
Will never receive me come home again in his halls
Nor Thetis my mother, but here the earth will hold me fast.

As I have discussed above, Achilles is still concerned with honor and glory in Books 18-23 and mentions his impending death in tandem with his desire to win *kleos* (cf. 18.129-21). His laments in Books 18-23 thus do not follow the pattern found in female laments of emphasizing suffering *rather* than *kleos*—in 18-23 Achilles emphasizes suffering *and* glory, as Hector does in *Iliad* 6.⁵⁵³ It is only in *Iliad* 24 that his concern for glory drops away, leaving the emphasis on suffering.

Given the complex ways in which motifs associated with of the suffering of a dead warrior's loved ones and the pathos of the warrior's death are deployed in the *Iliad*, how then are we to interpret their appearance in the obituaries spoken by the narrator? Do they serve to undermine the value of the warrior's glorious death, as in lament, or to increase the *kleos* of the warrior's killer, or even the warrior himself? A number of obituaries, such as the one for Iphidamas, seem to closely mirror the discourse of female lament in that they downplay the dead warrior's *kleos* and play up the associated suffering. We see here a marked contrast with

⁵⁵² See also 18.86-93; 19.328-33; 19.420-22; 23.144-51.

⁵⁵³ Murnaghan 1999: 203 describes these laments as examples of “male lament, which turns the speaker back toward an affirmation of *kleos* and epic purposes.”

Hector's speech to Andromache or Achilles' laments in Books 18-23, where *kleos* is mentioned prominently alongside suffering. Furthermore, unlike battlefield taunts, the tone of the obituaries is sympathetic to the dying warriors and their families.⁵⁵⁴

However, as Murnaghan has pointed out, the fact that suffering and *kleos* are so closely linked in the *Iliad* makes it impossible to mention one without in some way calling to mind the other.⁵⁵⁵ Thus Andromache's lament for Hector, despite its prominent disavowal of the value of glorious death, cannot help subtly enhancing both the *kleos* of Hector and of Achilles his killer. The fact that Andromache clearly does not intend this consequence cannot suppress the ways in which her lament resonates with other overarching aspects of the Iliadic narrative. Similarly, the narrator's obituaries for dead warriors cannot help but subtly increase the *kleos* of the warriors and their slayers, even if they are written so as to align with the ways in which lament problematizes the pursuit of *kleos* through a glorious death. Nevertheless, the reverse is also true. The suffering of enemies increases martial *kleos*, but heroes cannot vaunt over their fallen foes without reminding the audience that the price of their *kleos* is the pain of others, thus subtly casting doubt on *kleos*' value. In this way, the discourse of lament and the discourse of martial *kleos* in the *Iliad* are simultaneously opposed to each other and inextricably bound together, each incapable of existing without subtly feeding into the other.

Schein has written that the *Iliad* portrays both the delight of war, the *charmē* or "joy of battle," and the human cost of war. He argues that we must take into account the "nobility and glory of the slayers along with the humanity and pathos of the slain."⁵⁵⁶ Both of these qualities

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. Griffin 1980: 103-43, especially 139-42.

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. Murnaghan 1999: 217, "A hero's achievement is measured in the suffering that it causes, in the grief that it inspires."

⁵⁵⁶ Schein 1984: 83-84.

are found in the Iliadic narrator's accounts of martial death, glory and pathos both at once. However, it is important to note that the obituaries for the dead and their associated pathos are qualities not of Homeric epic in generally, but of the *Iliad* specifically. As Griffin points out, obituaries are not a feature of battle scenes in the *Odyssey*:

It is no accident that in the *Odyssey*, whose intentions and whose conception of significance are so different, there are no such obituary notices. The Suitors, destroyed by Odysseus, are never presented in such a light; they are morally bad, as characters in the *Iliad* are not.⁵⁵⁷

We may say, then, that the *Iliad* goes out of its way to emphasize the pathos of death and the suffering of the deceased and their families in a way that is not required by the epic genre. The discourse of lament is not a prominent feature of Odyssean battle scenes, so we may conclude that it has been included in the narration of Iliadic battles in order to make a deliberate point about the way in which suffering and martial *kleos* are intertwined.

Here we may return to the argument I made in Chapter 2: that the situation of Helen in the *Iliad* mirrors the situation of the poets of the epic tradition, in that the identity and existence of both are bound up with martial *kleos* and thus with the destruction of human life. Now I suggest that the prominent place given to the discourse of lament in the narrator's description of warriors' deaths is an example of how the *Iliad* can be said to have a "Hellenic poetics," a poetics that emphasizes the ways in which the ideals of heroic death perpetuated by the epic tradition lead to suffering and loss, just as Helen laments the suffering that her continuing survival has caused. In this way we can speak of a feminine-coded quality present in the speech of the narrator and shared by Achilles that coexists with the masculine emphasis on the joy of battle.

⁵⁵⁷ Griffin 1980: 139.

Achilles' engagement with the themes of female lament in *Iliad* 24 is significant because for the greatest warrior of the poem to disregard the worth of the martial *kleos* he has won undermines the entire system of values upon which the heroic enterprise is based. Iliadic warriors accept, even relish, that their pursuit of martial *kleos* will cause suffering to their enemies. They accept, as Hector does, that their pursuit of *kleos* will cause suffering to their own loved ones and see this as a natural and inevitable part of being a warrior. Achilles in *Iliad* 24, however, has won *kleos aphthiton*, and yet does not dwell on his future fame when confronted with his coming death, as Hector does (22.304-5), or as he himself did earlier in the poem. Instead his focus is wholly on the suffering that he has caused both to his family and to his enemies, not as a source of pride, but as something that causes him pain. Like Helen, he no longer sees his fate as a subject of heroic song as a fortunate outcome.

Achilles' attitude towards his own *kleos* at the end of the poem provides an opening in the deadlock between female lament and martial *kleos* that exists in the *Iliad*. Through the figure of Achilles, the poem shows that the pursuit of *kleos* is harmful not only to a hero's loved ones and community, as I discussed in Chapter 3, but also to the hero himself. Furthermore, Achilles' disillusionment with *kleos* in *Iliad* 24 suggests that all of the suffering associated with it was essentially worthless—not pain made meaningful by glory as Hector envisioned, but pain that was of no benefit to anyone. Achilles' engagement with and adoption of the perspectives of lament subverts the idea of *kleos* as a compensation for martial death that is articulated by Hector, Sarpedon, and others, and that motivates heroes to fight. In this way, the poem implies that the only true beneficiary of the hero's *kleos* is the poet, whose own fame will grow along

with that of the hero he sings.⁵⁵⁸ The final book of the *Iliad* suggests that the poetic tradition that promulgates the flawed values of heroic society is complicit in the dysfunction and destruction that result from them.

⁵⁵⁸ Cf. *PMG* 282 and Watkins 1995: 70. See also Chapter 2 and Griffin 1980: 102: “The hero dies, not so much for his own glory, not even so much for his friends, as for the glory of song, which explains to a spellbound audience the greatness and fragility of the life of man.”

CHAPTER 5

A Crisis of *Kleos*: Masculinity and the Rise of the *Polis*

In this dissertation, I have argued that the *Iliad* sets up an opposition between the feminine imperative to create and preserve life and the masculine imperative to win *kleos* in war.⁵⁵⁹ I suggest that the poem has done this in order to expose how the hegemonic masculinity of the *Iliad* negatively impacts the well-being of family and community.⁵⁶⁰ This opposition can be seen to play out in the interactions between male and female characters in the epic, as well as in the ways in which warriors construct their own gendered identities both on and off the battlefield.⁵⁶¹ In this final chapter, I argue that the tensions between conflicting aspects of warrior masculinity that I have identified in the *Iliad* are also present in the archaeological record of Greece at the end of the Early Iron Age. By adducing evidence from material culture as well as historical sources, I contend that my analysis of the interplay between gender and *kleos* in the *Iliad* reflects changes that were occurring in Greek culture around the time of the poem's composition. The purpose of this chapter is not to advance new archaeological or historical arguments, but to show how existing archaeological and historical data support my reading of the *Iliad* as critical of the system of warrior values that it depicts.

In adhering to the hegemonic warrior masculinity of the *Iliad*, men must strictly separate themselves from the feminine sphere and prioritize the pursuit of *kleos* above other

⁵⁵⁹ See Chapter 1.

⁵⁶⁰ For hegemonic masculinity, see the Introduction.

⁵⁶¹ See Chapter 3.

responsibilities.⁵⁶² In Chapter 3, I argued that this hegemonic masculinity was in tension with an alternative form of warrior masculinity—one that incorporated into itself a particular kind of maternal femininity concerned with protection. In this chapter, I argue that the conflict between these forms of masculinity in the *Iliad* reflects a reevaluation of the role of warriors and the conception of warfare that took place in Greek society during the second half of the eighth century BCE. I use grave goods, vase paintings, and sanctuary dedications to trace the evolution of warrior masculinity during the transition from the Early Iron Age to the Archaic period. I demonstrate that the hegemonic masculinity of the *Iliad* is reflected in Early Iron Age burial practices and Late Geometric art, but that this form of masculinity disappears from graves between the late eighth and early seventh centuries—at the same time as the archaeological record begins to show evidence of the transition to a more community-oriented *polis*-society in a number of city states. During this same period, weapons began to be deposited in sanctuaries rather than in graves. These changes suggest that the warrior’s role had been reconceived and was now primarily associated with the defense of the community rather than with the individual pursuit of glory. This shift in the construction of the warrior in the archaeological record reflects the portrayal of warriors in contemporary literary sources such as the poetry of Tyrtaeus. Both literary and archaeological evidence shows that by the mid-seventh century, the hegemonic masculinity of the *Iliad* had been replaced by a new form of hegemonic warrior masculinity that emphasized the defense of city and comrades rather than individual glory.

Connell has theorized that hegemonic masculinity is vulnerable to “crisis tendencies,” meaning that when cultural change results in a system of masculinity that can no longer justify its hegemony, a disruption and transformation of gender configurations will occur, leading to the

⁵⁶² See the Introduction and Chapter 3.

emergence of a new system of hegemonic masculinity.⁵⁶³ The transition from the hegemonic masculinity of the *Iliad* to that of the Archaic and Classical periods coincides with the rise of the *polis*, which in and of itself constitutes a change significant enough to influence gendered configurations of practice. However, I suggest that the reevaluation of the warrior's role that took place at the end of the Early Iron Age also coincided with an increase in destructive warfare that threatened the safety and stability of nascent *poleis*. The increased threat that warfare posed to settled communities caused Greek society to reassess the value of a paradigm of hegemonic masculinity that placed a warrior's own *kleos* above the safety of his city. This reassessment led in turn to the rise of a new paradigm of hegemonic masculinity of which the "maternal warrior" of the *Iliad* is a precursor—a warrior masculinity that emphasized a man's ability to fight as part of a larger formation in defense of his community. In this way, I suggest that my analysis of the relationship between gender and *kleos* in the *Iliad* reflects the social and political tensions of contemporary Greek society.

It must be acknowledged that this proposed historicist reading of the epic poses several challenges. First, the exact date and circumstances of the composition of the *Iliad* are debated. Scholars now universally agree that the Homeric epics are the product of an oral tradition and that they bear many of the hallmarks of oral composition.⁵⁶⁴ However, since oral poems are in effect recomposed as a new song every time they are performed, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* could not have been fixed as the texts we know until they were written down.⁵⁶⁵ Various scholars have dated the fixation of "our" texts of the epics to any time from c. 750 BCE, when the Greek

⁵⁶³ Connell 1995: 84.

⁵⁶⁴ Kirk 1985: 1.

⁵⁶⁵ Janko 1998: 1.

alphabet was first coming into widespread use, to c. 550 BCE, when the so-called “Peisistratid recension” of the texts is said to have been generated at the Panathenaea in Athens, to the Hellenistic period, when scholarly editions of the Homeric poems were produced by the librarians at Alexandria. The most traditional dating places Homer in the second half of the eighth century BCE, mainly out of the widespread belief that he must predate the earliest lyric poets of the seventh century.⁵⁶⁶ This date is defended by Richard Janko, who locates the composition of the *Iliad* c. 750-725 BCE based on a statistical analysis of archaic linguistic forms in Homer, Hesiod, and the Homeric Hymns.⁵⁶⁷ Others such as Cedric Whitman and Wolfgang Schadewalt have argued for an eight-century date because they view the *Iliad* as having a “geometric” structure that reflects the aesthetics of visual art during that time period.⁵⁶⁸ A seventh-century date is championed by M.L. West, who argues that scenes in vase paintings that are unequivocally based on the *Iliad* do not appear until the final quarter of the seventh century, and that there are a number of aspects of the text of the *Iliad* that would be anachronistic

⁵⁶⁶ There is no agreement as to how the poems came to be written down. Janko (1982; 1998) favors the idea that the poems represent dictation of oral performance (cf. Lord 2000 [1960]), as does Nagy (1981; 2001), although at a later date. West (2011) argues that the poems are the work of an oral poet who learned to write and recorded his own work. A number of scholars have argued that due to our utter lack of knowledge about his life, Homer should date to before the first known historical poets of c. 650 BCE, about whom a number of biographical details were known. “A date before 700 BCE would more easily fit with the legendary status of this author” (Van Wees 1999: 3). Cf. Morris 1986. It has also been argued that Homer must predate the seventh century poets because there is evidence in their work of Homeric quotations and echoes (Kirk 1985: 4), but as Van Wees points out, this may only be the result of shared formulaic language in the poetic tradition (Van Wees 1999: 5).

⁵⁶⁷ Janko 1982. Janko’s analysis has shown that the *Iliad* has the highest number of archaic forms of extant Archaic Greek epic, followed by the *Odyssey* with slightly fewer, with a larger gap between Homeric epic and the work of Hesiod, which Janko dates to the early 7th century. The linguistic chronology seems sound. However, Janko’s dates are guesses based on the assumption of a constant rate of linguistic change, which cannot be proved. “We do not know how long it might have taken for, say, long forms of the dative plural to decline from 85.4 per cent to 85.2 percent in frequency, as they do between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Perhaps differences as marginal as this cannot be translated into any span of time at all. Even if the length of the intervals has been guessed correctly, a conversion into absolute dates requires a fixed point for at least one of the poems” (Van Wees 1999: 4).

⁵⁶⁸ Whitman 1958: 87-101, 249-84; Schadewaldt 1965: 87-129. Cf. Schein 1984: 49, 169.

in the eighth century.⁵⁶⁹ Finally, Gregory Nagy characterizes the Homeric poems as constantly evolving “multiforms” that were not written down until the Peisistratid recension in the mid-sixth century and which did not reach their present form until the Hellenistic period.⁵⁷⁰

A point against Nagy’s model of gradual text fixation is that no convincing anachronisms from the sixth century or later have been identified in the poems.⁵⁷¹ By its nature, oral poetry tends to include details that reflect the contemporary society of its performer, even when the song that is being performed is set in a previous era. For example, Albert Lord describes how Avdo Međedović used twentieth-century military terms in a song set in the sixteenth century:

Even in a song of olden times new words have crept in. Avdo Međedović uses terms that he must have picked up when he was in the army. In Parry Text 12389, the action of which, at least in Avdo's imagination, is placed in the days of Sulejman the Magnificent, we find *Moja braćo, moje dve kolege*, ‘My brothers, my two colleagues’ (line 415), *O kolega, Fetibegoviću*, ‘O my colleague, Fetibegović’ (line 2376), *Ja sam na to riskirao glavu*, ‘It is for that that I risked my life’ (line 1570), *A na njima careva niforma*, ‘They were wearing imperial uniforms’ (line 4085), and *Sve soldata, sve pograničara*, ‘All soldiers, all men of the border’ (line 6794). One can thus observe that the Yugoslav tradition was still very much alive in 1935 and still receptive to new ideas and new formulas.⁵⁷²

Homeric epic does not contain details of this kind that necessitate a post-eighth century date.⁵⁷³

Furthermore, we might expect more overt references to Athens in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* if the

⁵⁶⁹ West 2011: 16-20. These include the mention of the wealth of Egyptian Thebes at *Il.* 9.381-4, which until the ascension of the 25th dynasty in 715 had not been a prominent city for 650 years, shields with a Gorgon device like Agamemnon’s at 11.36ff., which are not attested until 670 BCE, and the mention of Delphi as a center of great wealth at *Il.* 9.404ff., which would not have been the case in the eighth century. *Contra* these arguments see Fox 2008: 360-4.

⁵⁷⁰ Nagy 1981; 2001. For a recent defense of Nagy’s model, see González 2015.

⁵⁷¹ Morris 1986: 92.

⁵⁷² Lord 2000 [1960]: 48.

⁵⁷³ The reference to Ajax stationing his ships from Salamis with the Athenian contingent in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.557-58) could be cited as one example, since Salamis did not come under Athenian control until approximately 600 BCE. However, Apthorp presents a strong case for 2.588 being an interpolation (Apthorp 1980: 165-175; cf. González 2015: 148-49). Another passage that modern scholars have marked as anachronistic is *Od.* 11.602-5, in

texts of these poems as we know them were first written down at the order of an Athenian tyrant.⁵⁷⁴ In fact, the absence of any mention of tyrants supports a date before 650 BCE, after which tyranny dominated the political landscape of the Archaic period.⁵⁷⁵ In addition, Hans Van Wees argues that material culture in Homer (dress, furniture, personal ornamentation, domestic decoration, housing) corresponds with what we see in the archaeological record from the late eighth century down to the middle of the seventh century. After this period, the material culture of Greece changed significantly, but this change is not reflected in Homeric epic.⁵⁷⁶ Based on these arguments, the best date for the composition of the poems is sometime between 750 BCE and 650 BCE, and it is this period on which I chiefly focus in my analysis of the historical and archaeological record.⁵⁷⁷ I also, however, include a survey of relevant events from 650-550 BCE in order to provide a complete picture of what the possible historical context of the poems may have looked like.

which Odysseus is said to see only the *eidōlon* (image) of Heracles in the underworld, since Heracles himself lives among the immortals. Some scholars believe that Heracles was not yet worshipped as a god in the eighth century (cf. Cassio 2002: 116). González, however, argues that the divinity of Heracles dates to a much earlier period and has Near Eastern antecedents (2015: 154).

⁵⁷⁴ Van Wees 1992: 25-60; 1999: 8. On the Salamis interpolation, see note 16 above.

⁵⁷⁵ Fox 2008: 362. However, see Cooke 1995 for an argument that the *Odyssey* reflects the political and social concerns of the sixth-century Athenian *polis*.

⁵⁷⁶ Van Wees 1999: 16.

⁵⁷⁷ González 2015, following Nagy, has presented a robust argument against text-fixation for Homeric epic in the Archaic period. He cites, for example, the difficulty of obtaining enough papyrus or parchment to record a poem the length of the *Iliad* in the eighth century BCE and the improbability of such a written recording being given greater authority than bardic performances in what was essentially still an oral culture (71-80). Yet if he is correct that the *Iliad* was transmitted through oral tradition until the fifth century (173-218), we must note how unusually conservative this tradition was, in that the social and political changes that took place after 650 BCE have not affected our text of the poem. Since the material culture and social organization of the eighth and early seventh centuries are preserved in our versions of the Homeric poems, I consider it reasonable to assume that the *Iliad* reflects the social and political concerns of this time period as well.

The second difficulty with a historicist reading of Homer is that all of the historical sources that deal with the early Archaic period were written centuries later, and the details that they provide cannot be relied upon.⁵⁷⁸ Taking this fact into account, I argue that by viewing the historical record along with the archaeological record, we may arrive at a more accurate view of events in the eighth and seventh centuries than what could be gained by simply viewing the archaeological record alone. In this chapter, I will examine both the archaeological record and the historical record for information about warriors and warfare during the early Archaic period. When the archaeological and historical records are in agreement, I will assume that the historical record contains at least some element of truth.

I begin my analysis with an exploration of what Early Iron Age burial practices can tell us about gender and the social role of warriors. Archaeological evidence from graves lends credence to the idea that the hegemonic masculinity of the *Iliad*, a warrior masculinity strictly separated from the feminine sphere, was also hegemonic in the societies of Early Iron Age Greece. While grave goods cannot be read as a straightforward “biography” of the deceased person or their individual motivations, patterns of burial practice can shed light on the ideologies and cultural values of the society that produced them.⁵⁷⁹ As Ian Morris argues, something of the “ideal social structure” is captured in funerary rites and can enter the archaeological record through their material manifestations.⁵⁸⁰ In this way, the presentation of masculinity in Early Iron Age graves can tell us a good deal about masculinity in Early Iron Age Greek societies.

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. Burkert 1995 on the problems of using historical sources to date events in the Homeric poems or the *floruit* of Homer himself.

⁵⁷⁹ Härke 1990; Treherne 1995.

⁵⁸⁰ Morris 1987: 32.

Beginning in the Protogeometric period, a sharp distinction emerges between grave goods for male and female burials in multiple parts of Greece. The best evidence for gendered patterns of grave goods during this time comes from Attica and the Argolid, where the most extensive excavations of Early Iron Age graves have occurred and where there has been an effort to identify skeletal remains by biological sex.⁵⁸¹ In Protogeometric Athens, weapons are found only in male graves, while handmade pottery, spindle whorls, and pins are found only in female graves. The practice of male “warrior burial” with armor and weapons is found in the *Iliad*, as when Andromache’s father Eetion is burned with his ἔντεσι δαιδαλέοισιν, his “cunningly wrought war-gear” (*Il.* 6.18).⁵⁸² Fibulae also appear almost exclusively in female graves in Protogeometric Attica, with only one example found in an obviously male grave in the Kerameikos.⁵⁸³ These burial customs contrast strikingly with Sub-Mycenaean graves in Attica, where such gender distinctions are not observed.⁵⁸⁴ Also in Protogeometric Attica we see the beginnings of the practice of differentiating male and female graves by amphora shape. The cremated remains of men are typically buried in neck-handled amphorae and the remains of women in belly-handled amphorae. Adult and child graves at this time are also distinguished by vessel form. There are a number of exceptions to this rule early on in this period, but by the end of PG the association of men with neck-handled amphorae and women with belly-handled amphorae has been firmly established.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸¹ Snodgrass writes that the Argolid is one of the few areas of Greece that offers a body of grave evidence comparable with Attica (1971: 151; cf. Whitley 1996: 217) and that the skeletal remains of the Early Iron Age have been studied in “adequate detail” for only two sites, Attica and the Argolid (1971: 184). Cf. Foley 1988: 34-36.

⁵⁸² For more on the similarities between Homeric and Early Iron Age funerals, see below.

⁵⁸³ Lemos 2002: 155.

⁵⁸⁴ Whitley 1991b: 96; Lemos 2002: 155.

⁵⁸⁵ Whitley 1991b: 111.

This practice continues on into the ninth century, during which the gendered distinctions with regard to amphora shape are more uniform than in PG, with no men buried in belly-handled amphorae and only one woman buried in a neck-handled amphora.⁵⁸⁶ Distinctions in other gendered grave goods also continue to be observed during the ninth century in Attica, with weapons and gold diadems appearing only in male graves, and bronze fibulae, gold rings, iron pins with gold leaf, and bronze pins appearing only in female graves.⁵⁸⁷ Child graves almost disappear during this period as well.⁵⁸⁸ Ian Morris has suggested that the low number of child graves indicates that children were not considered worthy of formal burial, unlike adult male warriors.⁵⁸⁹

Although John Papadopoulos recently argued that too much has been made of the gendered distinctions in amphora shape, since exceptions exist and a number of skeletons in either neck-handled or belly-handled amphorae were unable to be definitively sexed,⁵⁹⁰ the distinction in other grave goods remains, even when looking only at skeletons whose sex has been confirmed. Fibulae, dress pins, and finger rings are only associated with confirmed adult female tombs and some child graves, while iron swords, spearheads, arrowheads, snaffle bits and the iron omega-shaped staple/loop are only found in the tombs of adult males.⁵⁹¹ In the archaeological record of Early Iron Age Attica, therefore, we see a sharp distinction between the

⁵⁸⁶ Whitley 1991b: 132.

⁵⁸⁷ Whitley 1991b: 132.

⁵⁸⁸ Whitley 1991b: 116.

⁵⁸⁹ Morris 1987.

⁵⁹⁰ Papadopoulos 2017: 668-69.

⁵⁹¹ Papadopoulos 2017: 677-78. Papadopoulos argues that knives, which are sometimes found in female graves, should be seen as domestic implements, not weapons (Douzougli and Papadopoulos 2010: 43-45).

graves of adult men and the graves of women and children. Significantly, we see that the graves of adult men are marked out by the presence of weapons, suggesting that warrior identity is associated with adult masculinity. This evidence is in line with the normative system of gender in Homeric society, in which the male warrior must constantly strive to distinguish himself from and hold himself superior to women and children.⁵⁹²

Graves in Early Iron Age Argos show a similar gendered distinction in grave goods, although the items that mark male and female graves are not necessarily the same as in Attica. Male graves do not contain weapons in the PG Argolid, with the exception of one spectacular weapon burial at Tiryns. Pins are found exclusively in female graves during this period, however.⁵⁹³ During the ninth century, weapons begin to be associated with the skeletons of adult men, while golden spirals are found only in female graves.⁵⁹⁴ The method of interment also differs to some degree for male and female burials. In the Geometric Argolid, cist graves are reserved almost entirely for adult men, while women and children tend to be buried in pit graves.⁵⁹⁵ Furthermore, there are many more adult male graves than adult female graves or child graves during this period.⁵⁹⁶ James Whitley suggests that this predominance of adult male graves indicates that adult men in the Geometric Argolid were marked out as a special class particularly worthy of formal burial, in contrast with adult women and children.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹² Cf. Ransom 2011.

⁵⁹³ Lemos 2002: 158-159.

⁵⁹⁴ Courbin 1974: 119, 132-133. For weapons associated with male skeletons, see Whitley 1996: 218.

⁵⁹⁵ Courbin 1974: 102-107. Cf. Foley 1988: 34ff.

⁵⁹⁶ Courbin 1974: 102; Hägg 1974: 136, table 33.

⁵⁹⁷ Whitley 1991b: 190; 1996: 217.

Most other areas of Greece have seen significantly fewer excavations of Early Iron Age graves than Attica and the Argolid, and in many cases skeletons from these areas either have not or cannot be adequately sexed using the techniques of physical anthropology. Based upon the available evidence, however, other Early Iron Age sites in Greece show similar patterns of separating grave goods based on gender. At Atalanti in East Lokris, for example, men are buried with weapons and women with dress ornaments and jewelry.⁵⁹⁸ In the necropolises at Vergina, male graves are marked by weapons, while high-status female graves are marked by gold hair spirals, bronze amulets, necklaces and bracelets, diadems, tutuli, rings, fibulae and pins.⁵⁹⁹ Similarly, at Lefkandi, although many skeletons have deteriorated and cannot be sexed, there also appears to be a gendered pattern in the distribution of grave goods, wherein men are buried with weapons and women are buried with gold earrings, gilt pins, and spirals.⁶⁰⁰ Additionally, child graves at Lefkandi are marked as distinct by the deposition of “trinkets,” low-value exotic items with possible talismanic meaning.⁶⁰¹ Almost all Greek Protogeometric settlements feature weapon burials in some form or another, which Irene Lemos suggests shows that the inhabitants of these settlements assigned the status of warrior to exceptional male members of the community.⁶⁰² There is evidence, then, that the association of masculinity with warrior identity that we see in the *Iliad* was widespread throughout Greece. The strict separation of adult

⁵⁹⁸ Lemos 2002: 164.

⁵⁹⁹ Bräuning and Kilian-Dirlmeier 2013: 57–60.

⁶⁰⁰ Lemos 2002: 165. There is, however, one instance of earrings appearing in an otherwise classically “male” grave, and an instance of a single scale of bronze armor in an “artificially female” grave (Papadopoulos 2017: 668). Lemos 2007: 275 argues that there is enough osteological evidence surviving from Lefkandi to confidently speak of “male” and “female” graves.

⁶⁰¹ Arrington 2015.

⁶⁰² Lemos 2002: 197; 2007.

masculinity from the spheres of women and children that we see at play in Iliadic society also seems to be reflected in the designation of some grave goods as exclusively masculine and others as exclusively feminine or reserved for children.

Whitley has argued that Early Iron Age societies did not conceive of gender as a masculine/feminine binary but rather as an adult male/child spectrum with adult women somewhere in the middle. He argues that women should not be seen as a distinct category because there is no universal marker for adult female graves in Early Iron Age Greece comparable to weapons as markers for adult male graves.⁶⁰³ However, even if there is no universal marker for adult female graves, different regions each have their own way of marking female graves as distinct from male graves, as Whitley acknowledges.⁶⁰⁴ I suggest that this evidence indicates that Early Iron Age Greek societies were concerned with distinguishing adult males both from women and from children, just as warriors in the *Iliad* define their masculinity in opposition to the identities of “woman” and “child.”⁶⁰⁵

The Iliadic ideology of dying in battle in exchange for *kleos* is also arguably reflected in Early Iron Age burial practices. In different parts of Greece as early as the eleventh century we begin to see weapon burials of adult men that are characterized by what Whitley calls “the ostentatious destruction of bodies and objects during the funerary ceremony.”⁶⁰⁶ Men are cremated along with their weapons and sometimes other offerings such as tripods or exotic artifacts from the Bronze Age or the Near East, often called “heirlooms” or “antiques” by

⁶⁰³ Whitley 1996: 219-20.

⁶⁰⁴ Whitley 1996: 219.

⁶⁰⁵ See Chapter 3.

⁶⁰⁶ Whitley 2002: 226. Whitley adduces evidence from Knossos, Athens, and Lefkandi.

archaeologists.⁶⁰⁷ Weapons interred with the deceased are also frequently “killed,” meaning that they are ritually damaged, often by being bent into a semi-circle around the neck of the amphora in which the dead man is buried.⁶⁰⁸

As many scholars have noted, these practices are strikingly similar to the funerals of Patroclus and Hector in the *Iliad*, in which warriors are also cremated along with weapons and offerings.⁶⁰⁹ A select number of spectacular Early Iron Age warrior burials seem to echo other elements of Homeric funerals as well, such as the sacrifice of sheep, cattle, horses, and dogs (*Il.* 23.166-74), human sacrifice (*Il.* 23.175-7), quenching the funeral pyre with wine (*Il.* 23.250-1; 24.790-2), placing the cremated bones in rich metal vessels and wrapping them with cloth (*Il.* 23.252-5; 24.795-6), and building a tumulus over the burial (*Il.* 23.255-7; 24.797-801).

The man buried beneath the Middle Protogeometric building at the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi had such a funeral.⁶¹⁰ He was cremated on a pyre upon which animals were also sacrificed and cremated, judging by the bone of a dog identified in the remains of the pyre. The man’s bones were collected and placed in a bronze amphora, which was interred with iron weapons and the inhumed body of a woman in one of two burial shafts dug into the rock.⁶¹¹ The woman was buried with a number of gold ornaments, including a Babylonian pendant dating to around 2000 BCE. In the other burial shaft, the skeletons of four horses were found piled atop each other in a position suggesting that they were sacrificed *in situ* and thrown into the shaft

⁶⁰⁷ For “heirlooms” see Whitley 2002: 224-6.

⁶⁰⁸ Whitley 2002.

⁶⁰⁹ Bérard 1970: 71; Antonaccio 1995; Whitley 2002: 227.

⁶¹⁰ Cf. Popham et al. 1993 for a full description of the site.

⁶¹¹ The bronze amphora was of Cypriot origin and dated to no later than 1050 BCE, 100 years before the funeral took place (Lemos 2002: 167).

from above.⁶¹² After the funeral, the building appears to have been deliberately partially dismantled and buried under a tumulus.⁶¹³

There is some indication that the woman might also have been sacrificed.⁶¹⁴ The evidence seems to show that the burial shaft was not cleared and refilled after a first burial, suggesting that the burials of the warrior and the woman were made simultaneously.⁶¹⁵ Furthermore, a knife was discovered alongside her head and her hands and feet were crossed, indicating that they might have been bound. Lemos suggests that she may have been killed *in situ* to accompany the warrior in death like the horses, and that the ceremonial knife was then placed next to her head.⁶¹⁶ However, this reading of the evidence has been contested.⁶¹⁷ Carla Antonaccio argues that since the inhumed woman was given significantly more valuable and more numerous grave goods than the man she was buried with (or than any other individual buried at Lefkandi), she may actually be the primary occupant of the grave and a high-status person in her own right.⁶¹⁸ Stefanos Gimatzidis has suggested that the pattern of rich female burials found in Athens and other more northerly parts of Greece in the Early Iron Age should be seen as evidence for the existence of

⁶¹² Lemos 2002: 167.

⁶¹³ Lemos 2002: 167. Similar tumulus burials have been found at other Early Iron Age sites such as Thermon and Oropos (Antonaccio 2006: 389).

⁶¹⁴ Catling 1995: 126; Ruiz-Gálvez 2007.

⁶¹⁵ Although this is contested by Antonaccio 2002: 32.

⁶¹⁶ Lemos 2002: 167.

⁶¹⁷ See Antonaccio 2002; Harrell 2014.

⁶¹⁸ Antonaccio 2002: 32. Cf. Harrell 2014: 101. Harrell argues that the horse-sacrifice was intended to honor the woman because she was buried closer to the horses than the man. She proposes that the knife found next to the woman was used to sacrifice the horses. Antonaccio also suggests that the woman was the intended beneficiary of the horse-sacrifice, citing evidence that women were associated with horses in Iron Age Greece (Antonaccio 2002: 33).

“big women,” the female equivalents of the “big men” who are usually assumed to have held power in Early Iron Age communities.⁶¹⁹ These women would have gained their social standing not just from their male relatives, but from their own resources and abilities. It is possible that the woman in the Lefkandi tumulus could have been one such “big woman.”⁶²⁰ Antonaccio proposes that, if the tumulus burial was intended to honor the woman, the man accompanying her may have predeceased her and been stored as cremated remains until she died.⁶²¹ She cites the burial of Achilles and Patroclus as a Homeric parallel for this hypothesis, wherein Patroclus died and was cremated first and Achilles was eventually buried in the same grave (*Il.* 23.81-92. *Od.* 24.76-77).⁶²²

Hector Catling has found a similar parallel to the burial of Achilles and Patroclus in a cluster of Subminoan graves (c. 1050 BCE) from the Zapher Papoura cemetery at Knossos. As in other parts of Early Iron Age Greece, male graves in this cemetery are marked out by weapon burials.⁶²³ In Tomb 201 at Zapher Papoura, the ashes of an adult man were found mingled together with those of an adult woman, and perhaps a child as well. The ashes of another woman

⁶¹⁹ Gimatzidis 2017. “Big Man” is an anthropological term referring to a highly influential individual in a tribe. It was popularized by Marshall Sahlins in his work on Melanesia and Polynesia (1963). Whitley 1991a suggested the applicability of the “big man” model to Early Iron Age Greece.

⁶²⁰ Gimatzidis writes that she could not have been a big woman because she was sacrificed (2007: 213). However, if we accept Antonaccio’s argument that she was not sacrificed, she certainly seems to fit Gimatzidis’ criteria for a big woman.

⁶²¹ Antonaccio 2002: 33.

⁶²² Antonaccio 22: 33. A closer Homeric parallel might actually be Achilles and Antilochus, who were buried in the same grave but in separate urns (*Od.* 24.78), whereas Achilles and Patroclus actually had their ashes mingled together in the same urn.

⁶²³ Catling 1995: 130.

were found in Tomb 200, which Catling argues forms part of a single complex with Tombs 201 and 202. He explains the evidence as follows:

We may suppose...that the primary death was the male and that in the course of the ceremonial that followed his death and culminated in the burning of his body and subsequent committal of his ashes to the tomb, two women and, perhaps, a child died and their bodies were burnt simultaneously. I would, further, argue that the body of one of the women, and the child if it really existed, were burnt on the same pyre as the male, their ashes subsequently taken up and committed together, without any attempt at separation. I suppose the body of the second woman was burnt on a different pyre, her ashes taken up and committed at the same time as the others, but in a separate receptacle. I explain the empty "cave," Tomb 202, by suggesting that the complex was prepared before the cremation rite was performed, when it was known that three adults would be burned, but not that the ashes of two of them would be inextricably confused.⁶²⁴

This scenario would seem to indicate human sacrifice taking place as part of a man's funeral, as Lemos and others have suggested occurred with the female inhumation in the Lefkandi tumulus.⁶²⁵

Less ambiguous evidence of human sacrifice as part of a "Homeric" funeral on Crete has been found in the Orphi Petra cemetery at Eleutherna. Pyre LL/90-91, which dates to the late eighth century, represents a typical warrior burial for a man who was about 30 years old. In the northwest corner of the pyre, the headless body of another man was discovered contorted into an unusual position and lacking grave goods. This second man has been taken to be a human sacrifice like the Trojan prisoners slaughtered by Achilles on Patroclus' funeral pyre (*Il.* 23.175-7).⁶²⁶

⁶²⁴ Catlin 1995: 125-26.

⁶²⁵ However, I suggest that it is equally possible that the individuals in Tombs 200 and 201 all died at separate times but were nevertheless interred together, as with Achilles, Patroclus, and Antilochus (*Od.* 24. 76-78). The mingled ashes in Tomb 201 could have come from a man and woman who died at different times and were mingled after both had been cremated, as in the case of Achilles and Patroclus.

⁶²⁶ Stampolidis 1996: 149-200.

Similar traces of Homeric funerals have been found in the eighth-century royal tombs at Salamis on Cyprus.⁶²⁷ Every royal burial has at least two horse skeletons in the dromos of the tomb along with the impressions of the chariot pole to which they had been attached, and the bones of sheep and cattle were found in two tombs. An inhumed male skeleton from Tomb 2 that was discovered with its hands tightly bound together may have been a human sacrifice. Evidence for a possible quenching of a pyre with wine is found in Tomb 1, where the pyre deposit was covered with a thin layer of brown mud, above which were six unburnt and unbroken vessels that had evidently been used to put out the fire. Also in Tomb 1, the cremated remains were placed in a bronze cauldron with traces of cloth found on its inner face. A large tumulus was built over Tomb 3.

The Euboean colonists at Pithecussae also quenched funeral pyres with wine and built tumuli over the remains of the deceased. Here the evidence for quenching the pyres is even stronger than in the Salamis tombs. In many burials, the only unburnt vessel is an oenochoe placed atop the cremated remains.⁶²⁸ The weapon burials in the late eighth-century *heroōn* at Eretria on Euboea also show similarities to Homeric funerals. The weapons of the deceased were burned on the pyre with the corpse, and the cremated remains were wrapped in cloth and placed in bronze cauldrons.⁶²⁹ Bérard has hypothesized that the *heroōn* was the burial place of aristocratic chiefs who were concerned with immortalizing their own glory on the field of battle just as the Homeric heroes were.⁶³⁰ J.N. Coldstream suggests that the burials at Salamis, Eretria,

⁶²⁷ Coldstream 2003: 331-3; Rupp 1988; Blackwell 2010.

⁶²⁸ Coldstream 2003: 332.

⁶²⁹ Bérard 1970: 28-32.

⁶³⁰ Bérard 1970: 71.

and Pithecussae, all of which date to the end of the Geometric period, were inspired by the *Iliad*, with eighth-century Greek warriors consciously modeling themselves on the heroes of the past. The burial at Lefkandi, however, dates from the tenth century, and Tombs 200-202 at Zapher Papoura are from the eleventh century, suggesting that Iliadic funerals mirrored existing practices. Regardless of whether the epic tradition took its inspiration from real-life funerals or the other way around, there is a clearly demonstrated similarity between the practices of epic and the practices of Early Iron Age Greece over a period of several centuries.

Whitley associates the destruction of the warrior's body and offerings in Early Iron Age funerals with Iliadic warrior ideology. In analyzing the differences between Bronze Age and Iron Age "warrior burials," he suggests that during the Early Iron Age a profound change took place with regard to the "masculine ideal" of Greek society. During this time, being a "man" became symbolically synonymous with being a warrior: "In the Bronze Age, a 'warrior' formed part of a range of male identities. In this new order, however, warriors are obliged to die, or at least be buried — literally and metaphorically — in a blaze of glory."⁶³¹ The burial of men as warriors, rather than as some other social role, indicates the importance of the warrior identity in its social context. Whitley argues that the narrative of warrior identity expressed by these grave goods dovetails neatly with the conception of warrior identity in the *Iliad*:

New identities are brought about in a variety of ways. Ritual action and burials are important, but hardly more so than tales or stories. Indeed, it is difficult to see how a certain kind of burial could have been effective unless it formed part of a wider 'poetics of manhood'. The paradigmatic story of what it is to be, live and die a warrior is of course the *Iliad*. It is, I think, no coincidence that this narrative closes with the burial of the indirect (Patroclus) and the direct (Hector) victims of Achilles' wrath. Their burials are similar because their status in the narrative — hero-victims — is similar. There is no attempt by Homer to differentiate them, in death, by race or ethnic background. Their burials are ostentatious and destructive, a fitting end to a meditation

⁶³¹ Whitley 2002: 227.

on ‘the hero’ ... There is then a homology between the narrative structure of the *Iliad* and the narrative being created (and brought to a close) in the funerals of ‘warriors’, a homology reinforced by the closure of the cultural biography of the objects. It is this convergence of personal and material narratives that serves to create a new cultural ideal: the warrior as ‘hero.’⁶³²

The ostentatious destruction of the warrior’s remains can thus be shown to go hand in hand with the *Iliad*’s emphasis on how objects and human beings can enter the poetic tradition only after they have been destroyed in the physical world, as with the clothes that Andromache says she will burn to be a *kleos* for Hector (*Il.* 22.510-14).⁶³³ The funerary rituals associated with Early Iron Age warrior burials down to the eighth century indicate the real-world relevance of the heroic ideals of Iliadic society. In interrogating those ideals, then, the *Iliad* is directly engaging with the values and social order of Early Iron Age Greece.

From the eleventh to the eighth centuries, Early Iron Age burial practices suggest a similarity between the construction of masculinity in the *Iliad* and the construction of masculinity in Early Iron Age Greek society. At the end of the Geometric Period, however, there is a shift in the archaeological record that indicates a similar shift in social practice. This change is particularly evident in Attica. From the Protogeometric period to the middle of the eighth century, there was, as has been noted above, a sharp distinction in the grave goods deposited with male and female burials, with male burials receiving weapons and female burials receiving fibulae, pins, and other dress ornaments. In the second half of the eighth century, however, this gendered distinction in grave goods largely disappeared, and metal artifacts ceased to play a significant role in the realization of social identities at death.⁶³⁴ At the same time, there was a

⁶³² Whitley 2002: 227.

⁶³³ See Chapter 1.

⁶³⁴ Whitley 1991b: 183. After the second quarter of the eighth century, the “warrior grave” and the “rich female grave” disappear from the archaeological record (Whitley 1996; Alexandridou 2016: 350). The “maiden grave” as

sharp uptick in child burials, and the number of overall burials in Attic cemeteries rose.⁶³⁵

Alexandra Alexandridou suggests that the primary social distinction reflected in Attic burial practices in the second half of the eighth century is one of age, rather than status or gender, in contrast to the emphasis on gender and social roles seen from the Protogeometric period to the first half of the eighth century.⁶³⁶

Ian Morris has argued that this shift in Attic burial practices in the mid-eighth century BCE was the result of a fundamental change in the social order that was brought about by class conflict.⁶³⁷ Whitley and Morris suggest that during the Early Iron Age, Attica was ruled by an aristocracy, and that members of this privileged class determined who had access to formal burial. Morris attributes the changes in burial practices in the second half of the eighth century, namely the increase in the number of burials and the end of grave goods as markers of specific social identities, to the overthrow of the aristocracy and the institution of a new *polis* society. In such a society, the citizens become synonymous with the state. The city is viewed as a *koinonia*, a group united in a single aim, and the community rather than the aristocratic leaders is considered to be the source of authority.⁶³⁸ Whitley views the sudden widening of the class of

described by Langdon does continue in the second half of the eighth century BCE (Langdon 2008: 139-42). Alexandridou suggests that the maiden grave persists because of the concern in the second half of the eighth century with marking sub-adult status through burial practices (Alexandridou 2016: 355). The maiden grave thus represents a form of femininity that is marked as specifically different from masculinity. During this period, however, there is no form of masculinity that is marked as specifically different from femininity in grave assemblages in the way that the identity of “warrior” was earlier in the EIA.

⁶³⁵ Whitley 1991b: 170.

⁶³⁶ Alexandridou 2016. Arrington 2015 argues that this primary distinction between adult and child graves already exists in the Early Iron Age burials at Lefkandi. However, as discussed above, gender is also marked in the Lefkandi burials.

⁶³⁷ Morris 1987: 177.

⁶³⁸ Morris 1987: 3.

people allowed formal burial and the new lack of distinction between adult graves as reflections of the principle of *isonomia*, wherein all citizens of the *polis* are regarded as being equal to each other in status.⁶³⁹ It is significant, I suggest, that we see the rise of the *polis* coinciding with the end of both weapon burials and the strict distinctions between male and female graves. These circumstances suggest that there may be a link between the *polis* and changes in the construction of masculinity.⁶⁴⁰

At the same time, there is a change in the depictions of martial activity in Attic vase painting. Athenian art in the early LGI period (760-750 BCE) is characterized by a profusion of funeral and battle images.⁶⁴¹ These scenes primarily appear on funerary vessels and depict the *prothesis*, or “laying out” of the corpse, on one side of the vessel with land and sea battles or processions of chariots and warriors on the other side.⁶⁴² There is debate over whether these images are meant to depict contemporary battle scenes or stories of the heroic past, perhaps even of Homeric epics.⁶⁴³ Nevertheless, regardless of whether the Geometric vases portray

⁶³⁹ Whitley 1991: 180.

⁶⁴⁰ Certain scholars have expressed their skepticism with regard to Morris’ equation of formal burial with “citizenship” (cf. Garland 1989; D’Onofrio and D’Agostino 1993; Patterson 2006). However, the rise in the number of people allowed formal burial in the second half of the eighth century does point to a new social ideal of greater equality, and the correspondence of the disappearance of weapon burials with this phenomenon is suggestive.

⁶⁴¹ Rombos assigns the following dates to phases of the Late Geometric period: LGIa: c. 760-750, LGIb: c. 750-735, LGIIa: c. 735-720, LGIIb: c. 720-700 (Rombos 1988: 22).

⁶⁴² Rombos 1988: 77ff; Coldstream 2003: 88ff.

⁶⁴³ Snodgrass has argued that the chariots in these scenes are meant to evoke heroic funeral games of the kind depicted in Homer, which he concedes may have taken place for eighth-century elites, but he argues that chariot races and processions at funerals were unlikely to be a common event. He suggests that when chariots appear on funerary vases, they therefore represent either “a bygone era” or “unreal social aspiration” (Snodgrass 1980a: 74). He also argues that the so-called “Dipylon shields” common in Geometric art are based on shields found in Mycenaean art, and that they too are meant to evoke the heroic past (Snodgrass 1980a: 75). Since a large number of the warriors in Geometric battle scenes carry Dipylon shields, this might suggest that the images are meant to portray epic poetry. However, this idea is not universally accepted, and Coldstream speculates that some of the scenes may depict battles in which the deceased actually fought (Coldstream 2008: 350). For an overview of the objections to the idea that the Dipylon shields are meant to be Mycenaean, see Snodgrass 1980b: 53-54. Ahlberg argues against the Dipylon shield representing the Mycenaean “figure-eight” shield on stylistic and archaeological

contemporary or epic battles, they do attest to a strong interest in heroic images of fighting and funerals like those we see in the *Iliad*. These images suggest that the martial ethos of epic poetry may have been important to elite ideology. Ian Morris has argued that the spread of epic poetry, the popularity of heroic scenes on vases, and the increased interest in hero cult in the mid-eighth century are all results of the aristocratic *basileis*' attempts to justify and maintain their authority in a changing political and social world by evoking their heroic ancestors.⁶⁴⁴

However, images of battles in Attic vase paintings suddenly disappear almost entirely around 750 BCE—the same time that we see a radical shift in Athenian burial practices.⁶⁴⁵ While funerary images with processions of warriors and chariots continue into Attic LGII, only one example each of land and sea fight images have been found in the LGII period, dwindling to only one land fight in Early Proto-Attic, as opposed to 14 land fights and 8 sea fights found in LGI pottery.⁶⁴⁶ Langdon has argued that the emphasis placed on the martial scenes of LGIa vase painting has obscured larger trends in society that emerge from a more holistic view of Geometric art. She points out that early depictions of battle scenes are followed by an explosion of diverse imagery that engages with the changes of the later eighth century:

Representations of funerals, horses, and chariots, battles on land and sea constitute only the initial wave of artistic revival. Integral to the elitist renaissance paradigm, these themes overshadow other emergent imagery that grapples with sweeping changes in the later 700s: a world of open seas, exotic encounters, growing cities, shifting social and physical boundaries, new paths beaten out to countryside shrines. Repeated images of dancers, couples, children, religious rituals, athletic and musical contests, and the fantastic and the monstrous all address the needs of communities in

grounds and suggests that the battles depicted on LGI funerary vessels are real-life battles from the time of the *floruit* of the deceased, which would be approximately MGII (Ahlberg 1971: 66-69).

⁶⁴⁴ Morris 1986: 128-9.

⁶⁴⁵ Ahlberg 1971: 67.

⁶⁴⁶ Rombos 1998: 35.

transformation. If there is a danger of oversophisticating the eighth century, there is a more serious risk of selling it short. The rich, renewed energies of its art suggest the enthusiasm of a newly discovered social technology.⁶⁴⁷

Attic vase painting in the second half of the eighth century is characterized by a concern for emerging social institutions and peaceful communal activity rather than with warfare and heroic death. These images of growth, generation, and community life can be compared to the “city of peace” on the shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.490-508), which is contrasted with the nightmarish “city of war.”⁶⁴⁸ The shield of Achilles could thus be said to represent the duality of artistic subjects in Late Geometric art.

It is significant that the changes in burial practice and the changes in vase painting occur at approximately the same time in Attica and seem to display a similar ideological shift. In the realm of vase painting, the emphasis on martial imagery is supplanted by community-oriented imagery, and with respect to burial practices, individual masculine warrior identity is supplanted by *polis*-centric *isonomia*. These developments suggest a change in the way that the community as a whole viewed warfare and warrior identity, a change which appears to have coincided with the rise of the *polis*.

Other regions of Greece do not necessarily mirror the patterns of behavior observed in Attica during the eighth century. In Argos and Knossos, for example, the number of weapon burials rose throughout the eighth century rather than ceasing around 750 BCE.⁶⁴⁹ However, at around 700 BCE in the Argolid, the weapon burials in cist graves that had made up the majority of Argive burials in the eighth century suddenly ceased. Instead, all adults began to be interred in

⁶⁴⁷ Langdon 2008: 292.

⁶⁴⁸ In the city of peace, the poet describes marriages and festivals, agriculture, dancing, and a public arbitration.

⁶⁴⁹ Whitley 1991b: 189.

circular pithoi, and almost all graves were devoid of grave goods.⁶⁵⁰ Was this change due to an ideological shift like the one that can be identified in the archaeological record of Attica? Does the sudden uniformity and plainness of adult burials signify a similar shift towards *polis*-centric *isonomia*? Argos was still ruled by a king in the seventh century, so it is unlikely that the change in burial practices was caused by an overthrow of the elite aristocracy like the one Morris suggests occurred in Athens. The change does seem to suggest some shift in ideology, however, and it is striking that in both Athens and Argos the characteristic Early Iron Age masculine “warrior burial” was superseded by more uniform burial practices that placed less emphasis on one’s gender and individual social role. This shift away from a strict separation of masculinity and femininity in grave goods mirrors how the *Iliad* shows the beginnings of a new kind of masculinity that incorporated into itself qualities that had previously been considered feminine, such as maternal protection. I suggest that the change in burial practices in the eighth century reflects a similar disruption of previous patterns of hegemonic masculinity. Evidence that Late Geometric masculinity, like the masculinity of the *Iliad*, was evolving towards a more communal paradigm is found in the practice of weapon dedications that began to emerge as the deposition of weapons in graves fell out of favor.

In nearly all regions of Greece, weapon burials vanished after the late eighth or early seventh century, and there was a decline in grave goods in general.⁶⁵¹ This decline corresponded with the rise of dedications at cult centers and sanctuaries, such as Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia,

⁶⁵⁰ Foley 1988: 47-48.

⁶⁵¹ The late eighth/early seventh century *heroon* at Chalcis represents one of the last examples of ostentatious weapon burial (see above).

Kalapodi, and the temple of Aphaea on Aegina.⁶⁵² For example, at Olympia the practice of dedicating weapons began in the last third of the eighth century.⁶⁵³ The sanctuary at Kalapodi also began to see dedications of helmets, greaves, lances, and swords in the LGIIa period.⁶⁵⁴ During the sixth and seventh centuries, dedications of weapons at Kalapodi vastly outnumbered dedications of other votive objects such as jewelry.⁶⁵⁵ At Isthmia, weapons began to be dedicated at the end of the eighth century, although they had already ceased to be used as grave goods in the Corinthia during the MGII period.⁶⁵⁶ Weapon-dedications at Isthmia then rose exponentially in the seventh and sixth centuries.⁶⁵⁷ The dedications of miniature armor and weapons at the temple of Apollo at Bassae, which begin in the late eighth or early seventh century BCE, are part of a similar pattern.⁶⁵⁸

Weapons dedicated at sanctuaries were often booty taken in armed conflicts. It was common practice for the victorious city-state to dedicate the arms of their defeated enemies with an inscription labeling them as such. Usually, the whole *polis* appears in these inscriptions as the dedicator of the booty.⁶⁵⁹ Individuals could also dedicate their own armor after a victory, as

⁶⁵² de Polignac 1995: 46; Osborne 2009 [1996]: 86-87; Snodgrass 2006: 250.

⁶⁵³ Frielinghaus 2011: 88. The majority of dedications are from between the last third of the eighth century and the middle of the fifth. Only a few weapons have been found at Olympia dating from before this time, and these were buried in individual graves.

⁶⁵⁴ Felsch 2007: 357-551. Two LGI lances have also been found (E1497 and E444).

⁶⁵⁵ Felsch 2007: 554.

⁶⁵⁶ Morgan 1999: 406.

⁶⁵⁷ Jackson 1992: 141.

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. Snodgrass 1974: 196-201; Voyatzis 1990: 39; 1999: 137-138; Cooper 1996: 71.

⁶⁵⁹ Frielinghaus 2011: 123-124. The cities which dedicated *tropaia* at Olympia are Athens, Orchomenos, Thebes, Tanagra, Argos, Kleonae, Sikyon, Sparta, Messene, Psophis, Apollonia, Tarentum, Hippo, Zankle, Rhegion, Messene (in Magna Graecia), and Syracuse. Plutarch tells us that the Spartans did not dedicate the weapons of their defeated enemies because they thought that the gods would be insulted to receive the weapons of cowards (Plut.

Miltiades did with his helmet after the battle of Marathon.⁶⁶⁰ However, such individual dedications are rare and may have been part of larger civic dedications.⁶⁶¹ There are also a number of dedicated weapons that do not come with inscriptions, making it unclear whether they are booty taken in war, the individual weapons of the dedicator, or weapons that were commissioned specifically for the purpose of dedication.⁶⁶²

The change from depositing weapons in graves to dedicating them in sanctuaries suggests a shift in how Greek society viewed weapons and warfare. That warfare was now conceived of as an activity undertaken jointly for the benefit of the community was indicated by the practice of cities acting as the primary dedicators of booty rather than individuals. Even individual dedications during this period reveal a more community-oriented mindset. Robin Osborne points out that dedications are a more communal form of display than grave goods, because although dedications can be made by individuals, cult is by its nature a communal activity.⁶⁶³ Anthony Snodgrass and François de Polignac associate the switch from depositing weapons in graves to dedicating them in sanctuaries with the rise of *polis* ideology in the eighth century.⁶⁶⁴ As de Polignac points out, sanctuaries were often located on the edges of settlements and had an important role in delimiting the boundaries of emerging *poleis*:

Mor. 224), so it is possible that dedications from Sparta or individual Spartans should be seen as consisting of Spartan weapons, not captured booty. However, it is unclear if Plutarch is a reliable source in this respect, given his historical distance from the period in question.

⁶⁶⁰ Olympia Museum B2600.

⁶⁶¹ Barringer 2010: 169.

⁶⁶² Frielinghaus 2011: 123.

⁶⁶³ Osborne 2009 [1996]: 94.

⁶⁶⁴ de Polignac 1995: 60; Snodgrass 2006: 250.

Religious sites, like the land itself, were the objects of a process of appropriation crowned by the building of a sanctuary that designated the frontier the group claimed for its territory in the face of its neighbor-adversaries. The religious site was an *agalma*, a sacred emblem of the extension of one people's power, and when two peoples fought over it, it resembled the tripod to which both Apollo and Herakles laid claim.⁶⁶⁵

Sanctuaries were in this way important symbols both of communal identity and of the community's shared defense of their common territory. The dedication and display of weapons in sanctuaries associated these weapons, and by extension warrior identity, with communal identity and communal defense. Weapons were no longer attached solely to the individual, as they were in the context of burial, but to the shared communal space of the sanctuary. This change hints that society now primarily considered the purpose of weapons—and of warriors—to be the defense of the community rather than individual glory.

A number of social and political developments in the later eighth century likely played a role in contributing to this shift, and it is unlikely that the appearance of a new paradigm of hegemonic masculinity can be attributed to any one factor. One element partly responsible for this change could be population expansion in the eighth century. The archaeological record shows a rise in the number of settlements during this time,⁶⁶⁶ and Snodgrass has suggested that this population expansion occurred because the Greeks were largely pastoral during the Early Iron Age, but shifted to agriculture at the end of the Geometric period.⁶⁶⁷ De Polignac argues that this change would have led to increased competition over the finite resource of arable land,

⁶⁶⁵ de Polignac 1995: 60.

⁶⁶⁶ Whitley 1991b: 57. Morris has argued that the dramatic increase in the number of burials in Attica in the second half of the eighth century is not the result of a proportionately similar population explosion as Snodgrass has suggested, but rather of a change in the social structure (Morris 1987). However, the expansion of settlements suggests that some amount of population increase did occur.

⁶⁶⁷ Snodgrass 1971: 380; 1980a: 37-40.

which would in turn have encouraged armed conflict between settlements.⁶⁶⁸ Communities would have had to band together and work in cooperation to defend their shared territories in a way that had not been necessary in the centuries since the fall of the Mycenaean palaces.⁶⁶⁹

This theory of a shift from pastoralism to agriculture at the end of the Geometric period is by no means universally accepted.⁶⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the expansion of already-existing populations of farmers could still have created greater demand for arable land and led to conflict between settlements, as well as greater emphasis on community identity. It does seem clear that the Greeks were beginning to show greater concern for delineating the boundaries of their communities during the early Archaic period, as is shown by the sudden appearance of walls and fortifications around settlements.⁶⁷¹

Such walls are completely absent from the Protogeometric archaeological record, and extremely rare during the Geometric period. No Early Iron Age fortifications have been found dating to before the mid-9th century BCE, and on the Greek mainland there is almost no evidence of fortifications before the seventh century BCE, with the exception of the late eighth-century walls at Asine in the Argolid.⁶⁷² For the mid-ninth century, we have only three sites: Old Smyrna

⁶⁶⁸ de Polignac 1995: 49.

⁶⁶⁹ de Polignac 1995: 48-50.

⁶⁷⁰ Whitley suggests that there is insufficient evidence to support Snodgrass' hypothesis (1991b: 43), while Lemos states that the archaeological data does not support the theory that the Protogeometric Greeks were semi-nomadic pastoralists (2002: 1).

⁶⁷¹ Morris 1987: 192.

⁶⁷² Snodgrass 1971: 298; Coldstream 2003: 296. There are Dark Age hilltop sites in Crete that seem to have been built in inaccessible locations for the purpose of defense, but they are isolated to Crete and are not found in the rest of Greece (Snodgrass 1971: 298). For a more recent overview of these sites, see Wallace 2010: 54-68 for a general discussion of citadel sites and change in settlement patterns, including alternative explanations other than need for defense for why people may have relocated to higher ground after the end of the Bronze Age, including a shift to a pastoral lifestyle, better water sources for agriculture, and climate change.

in Ionia, Zagora on Andros, and Vathy Limenari on Donoussa.⁶⁷³ Sarah Morris, however, has contended that the walls of Smyrna should not properly be classed as fortifications, and that they “suggest landscape engineering rather than defensive measures and should be compared to Anatolian and Near Eastern terracing.”⁶⁷⁴ The Ionian city of Melia and the city of Iasos in Caria both had fortifications by c. 800 BCE.⁶⁷⁵ Snodgrass has suggested that these 9th century walls in Ionia and the islands may have been built as a defense against pirates, especially since nothing like them is seen on the mainland at this point.⁶⁷⁶ By the end of the eighth century there are eight more settlements with fortifications: Agios Andreas on Siphnos, Asine in the Argolid, Emporio on Chios, Hypsele on Andros, Minoa on Amorgos, Old Paphos on Cyprus, Phaistos on Crete, and Salamis on Cyprus.⁶⁷⁷ By 600 BCE there are 33 attested walled settlements, by the end of the sixth century, there are 58, and by 480 BCE there are 75.⁶⁷⁸ The Archaic period is thus marked by an increasing trend of marking the boundaries of *poleis* with walls, perhaps as a result of increased communal sentiment and territorialism. Most scholars assume that fear of attack was the main reason for the construction of walls.⁶⁷⁹ Josho Brouwers agrees that military concerns were a motivation for cities that built fortifications, but he also suggests that peer-polity

⁶⁷³ At Zagora and Vathy Limenari, we see only single walls built to cut off a peninsula from the rest of the island. The walls of Smyrna were much more substantial, encircling the entire city (Frederiksen 2011: 196, 199; 2017: 186, 189).

⁶⁷⁴ Morris 1985: 177.

⁶⁷⁵ Frederiksen 2011: 201.

⁶⁷⁶ Snodgrass 1980a: 32.

⁶⁷⁷ Frederiksen 2011: 201.

⁶⁷⁸ Frederiksen 2011: 108. Frederiksen 2017 counts 14 “positively identified” walls from the seventh century.

⁶⁷⁹ Snodgrass 1980a: 32-33; Rawlings 2007: 128.

interaction and status rivalry may have been a factor.⁶⁸⁰ Walls thus may have served as a way both to defend territory and to assert group identity in the face of rival *poleis*.

The rise of hoplites as the quintessential fighting force of the Greek *polis* is also traditionally associated with an “agrarian revolution” occurring in the eighth century, when a new class of “middling” farmers is assumed to have banded together to overthrow the aristocracy.⁶⁸¹ This revolution is thought to have led to a change in military tactics, wherein the warfare of the Early Iron Age, consisting of skirmishes between small groups of aristocrats, was replaced by the hoplite phalanx in which warriors from different social classes had to integrate themselves into a fighting body.⁶⁸² There is by no means a consensus, however, about whether or not such a “hoplite revolution” actually occurred, or, if it occurred, when it took place. Victor Davis Hanson champions the traditional narrative of the rise of the hoplites, in which an agrarian revolution in the eighth century BCE led to a sudden change in both military tactics and social organization, creating the new “citizen farmer” as a political force to be reckoned with.⁶⁸³ Van Wees, in contrast, argues that the eighth century date is too early, and that the agrarian revolution and subsequent emergence of the hoplite phalanx did not occur until the sixth century.⁶⁸⁴ Lin Foxhall, for her part, finds no archaeological evidence of an “agrarian revolution” in either the eighth or the sixth century. Snodgrass suggests that there was no sudden “revolution” but a gradual change from Early Iron Age warfare to hoplite tactics beginning at the end of the eighth

⁶⁸⁰ Brouwers 2013.

⁶⁸¹ For the rise of the “middling” social class in the Archaic period, see Morris 1987; Kurke 1999.

⁶⁸² Morris 1987: 196; de Polignac 1995: 48.

⁶⁸³ Hanson 1989; 1995.

⁶⁸⁴ Van Wees 2013: 222-255.

century and progressing through the seventh century.⁶⁸⁵ Joachim Latacz argues that there was no hoplite revolution at all because hoplite tactics already existed in the eighth century, as can be demonstrated in the accounts of massed formations of soldiers in the *Iliad*.⁶⁸⁶ Therefore, while it is tempting to associate the changes in burial practices and sanctuary dedications in the second half of the eighth century with the advent of the hoplite phalanx, the difficulty of pinning down the origin of hoplite warfare to a particular century makes a direct link between these phenomena hard to prove. It might be more accurate to say that both are part of a trend wherein warfare was—either suddenly or gradually—redefined as an activity whose emphasis was primarily communal rather than individual.

Evidence for this change can be found in the difference between the portrayal of the individual warrior in the *Iliad* and in the work of the seventh century poet Tyrtaeus, whose poetry has traditionally been interpreted as defining heroic *aretē* in terms of a warrior's service to the *polis*, in contrast to the greater individualism of Homeric heroes.⁶⁸⁷ Tyrtaeus places emphasis on the duty of men to fight together as a unit and show concern for each other's survival (fr. 11.11-14):⁶⁸⁸

οἱ μὲν γὰρ τολμῶσι παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες
ἔς τ' αὐτοσχεδίην καὶ προμάχους ἰέναι,
παυρότεροι θνήσκουσι, σαοῦσι δὲ λαὸν ὀπίσω·
τρεσσάντων δ' ἀνδρῶν πᾶσ' ἀπόλωλ' ἀρετή.

For those who dare to remain beside one another
And go towards hand-to-hand combat and the front ranks,

⁶⁸⁵ Snodgrass 2013: 85-94.

⁶⁸⁶ Latacz 1977. A Late Mycenaean vase from Mycenae that depicts a group of soldiers may point to hoplite-style warfare even at this early date (Athens National Museum 1426; cf. Jarva 2013: 396).

⁶⁸⁷ Cf. Adkins 1960; Jaeger 1966: 103; Snell 1969; 1982: 172; Murray 1993; Raaflaub 1993. For criticism of this interpretation, see Fowler 1987: 105-6 and Irwin 2005b.

⁶⁸⁸ Numbers for Tyrtaeus fragments come from Gerber's 1999 Loeb edition.

They die in fewer numbers, and they save the host behind them.
But when men flee, all *aretē* is lost.

Individual excellence depends on how well a warrior fulfills this function of fighting as part of a larger group (fr. 12.13-24):

ἦδ' ἀρετή, τόδ' ἄεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστον
κάλλιστόν τε φέρειν γίνεται ἀνδρὶ νέῳ.
ξυνὸν δ' ἐσθλὸν τοῦτο πόλῃ τε παντί τε δήμῳ,
ὅστις ἀνὴρ διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένη
νωλεμέως, αἰσχροῦς δὲ φυγῆς ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθεται,
ψυχὴν καὶ θυμὸν τλήμονα παρθέμενος,
θαρσύνη δ' ἔπεσιν τὸν πλησίον ἄνδρα παρεστώς·
οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίνεται ἐν πολέμῳ.
αἶψα δὲ δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν ἔτρεψε φάλαγγας
τρηχείας, σπουδῆ δ' ἔσχεθε κῦμα μάχης.
αὐτὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσὼν φίλον ὤλεσε θυμὸν,
ἅστυ τε καὶ λαοὺς καὶ πατέρ' εὐκλείσας

This is *aretē*, this is the best prize among men
And the most beautiful for a young man to win.
This is a common good for the city and all the people,
Whenever a man remains planted firmly among the front ranks
Unceasingly, and forgets entirely shameful flight,
Risking his life and his steadfast spirit,
And standing by the man next to him cheers him with words,
This man is good in war.
Straightaway he routes the bristling ranks of hostile
Men, and he holds the tide of battle with his zeal.
And he falls in the front ranks and loses his life,
Giving *kleos* to his city and the people and his father.

The ideal warrior in this passage is praised for the way he benefits his people and city (15, 24), as well as for his ability to hold the battle line and encourage his fellow soldiers (19).

As Elizabeth Irwin points out, these “Tyrtæan” sentiments are not absent from the *Iliad*.

In Chapter 3, I discussed how Ajax seems to envision the possibility of winning *kleos* through communal endeavor when he says (15.561-64):

ὦ φίλοι ἀνέρες ἔστε, καὶ αἰδῶ θέσθ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ,
ἀλλήλους τ' αἰδεῖσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας.
αἰδομένων δ' ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σοοὶ ἢ ἐπέφανται·

φευγόντων δ' οὐτ' ἄρ κλέος ὄρνυται οὔτε τις ἀλκή.

Friends, be men, and put shame in your spirit,
And show regard for each other in the strong encounters.
When men show regard for each other, more are safe than are slain.
But when they flee, there is no *kleos* nor any might.

Similarly, Hector exhorts the Trojans to fight together and die for their fatherland (*patra*) at 15.494-97:

ἀλλὰ μάχεσθ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἀολλέες· ὅς δέ κεν ὑμέων
βλήμενος ἢ τυπεὶς θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἐπίσπῃ
τεθνάτω· οὔ οἱ ἀεικὲς ἀμυνομένῳ περὶ πάτρης
τεθνάμεν·

Fight all together by the ships! And whoever of you
Follows death and fate, having been hit by a missile or struck by a sword,
Let him die. It is not shameful for a man to die protecting his
Fatherland.

On the basis of such similarities, Irwin has argued that there is not a significant difference between the martial ideology of Homeric epic and that of Tyrtaean elegy, since both contain references to communal endeavor in the context of war and a warrior's duty to his homeland.⁶⁸⁹ As I have discussed, Homeric epic does show concern a warrior's responsibility to defend his city and comrades.⁶⁹⁰ However, the major distinction between Homer and Tyrtaeus is that in Tyrtaeus there is no tension between individual glory and communal benefit. Whereas in Homer the greatest *kleos* is won by warriors such as Hector and Achilles who prioritize their own fame over the well-being of comrades, family, and city, in Tyrtaeus the greatest glory imaginable is won fighting on behalf of comrades, family and city.

⁶⁸⁹ Irwin 2005b: 17-34.

⁶⁹⁰ See Chapter 3.

The difference between the warrior ethos of the *Iliad* and that of Tyrtaeus is thrown into sharp relief by the intertextual relationship between Tyrtaeus 10.15-30 and *Iliad* 22.71-76.

Tyrtaeus describes how it is much better for a young man to die in battle than an old man (10.15-30):

ὦ νέοι, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθε παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντες,
μηδὲ φυγῆς αἰσχυρῆς ἄρχετε μηδὲ φόβου,
ἀλλὰ μέγαν ποιεῖσθε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἐν φρεσὶ θυμόν,
μηδὲ φιλοψυχεῖτ' ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενοι·
τοὺς δὲ παλαιότερους, ὧν οὐκέτι γούνατ' ἐλαφρά,
μὴ καταλείποντες φεύγετε, τοὺς γεραιούς.
αἰσχυρὸν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο, μετὰ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
κεῖσθαι πρόσθε νέων ἄνδρα παλαιότερον,
ἤδη λευκὸν ἔχοντα κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον,
θυμὸν ἀποπνεῖοντ' ἄλκιμον ἐν κονίῃ,
αἵματόεντ' αἰδοῖα φίλαις ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα—αἰσχυρὰ
τά γ' ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νεμεσητὸν ἰδεῖν—καὶ
χρὸα γυμνωθέντα· νέοισι δὲ πάντ' ἐπέοικεν,
ὄφρ' ἐρατῆς ἥβης ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχη,
ἀνδράσι μὲν θηητὸς ἰδεῖν, ἐρατὸς δὲ γυναιξὶ
ζωὸς ἐών, καλὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών.
ἀλλὰ τις εὖ διαβάς μενέτω ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισι
στηριχθεὶς ἐπὶ γῆς, χεῖλος ὀδοῦσι δακῶν.

Young men, come, stand fast beside each other and fight,
And don't begin shameful flight or panic,
But make the spirit in your breast great and strong,
And don't love your own life when you are fighting with men.
Do not flee and leave behind aged old men,
Whose limbs are no longer light.
For this is shameful, when an older man lies having fallen
In the front ranks in front of the young men,
Having a head already white and a grey beard,
Breathing out his mighty spirit in the dust,
Holding in his hands his bloody genitals—these things
Are shameful to the eyes and bring indignation to behold—
And his body naked. But everything is seemly for a young man,
While he has the shining flower of lovely youth,
Wondrous for men to behold and causing desire in women
While he is alive, and beautiful when he has fallen in the front ranks.

The image of the old man's defiled grey hair and bloody genitals contrasted with the beautiful body of a slain young man resonates closely with Priam's speech to Hector in *Iliad* 22, when he begs Hector to think of the pathetic sight of Priam being eaten by dogs after he has been killed by the Greeks (22.64-71):

νέω δέ τε πάντ' ἐπέοικεν
ἄρηϊ κταμένω δεδαϊγμένω ὄξει χαλκῷ
κεῖσθαι· πάντα δὲ καλὰ θανόντι περ ὅττι φανήη·
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολιόν τε κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον
αἰδῶ τ' αἰσχύνωσι κύνες κταμένοιο γέροντος,
τοῦτο δὴ οἴκτιστον πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.

Everything is seemly for a young man
When he has been killed in war and lies having been cut
By sharp bronze, and everything for him is beautiful, whatever is visible.
But when dogs defile the grey head and grey beard
And the genitals of an old man who has been killed,
This is the most pitiable thing for wretched mortals.

Both passages contrast the death of the young man with the shameful sight of the slain old man, but their meanings in context are very different. Tyrtaeus urges young men to fight so that old men will not be shamefully killed in battle. The young warrior is encouraged to be willing to sacrifice his life (μηδὲ φιλοψυχεῖτ', 10.18) so that he may protect others. We may compare the passage in the same fragment in which Tyrtaeus exhorts the Spartan warriors: θυμῷ γῆς πέρι τῆσδε μαχώμεθα καὶ περὶ παίδων / θνήσκωμεν ψυχέων μηκέτι φειδόμενοι, "Let us fight with spirit for this land and let us die for our children, no longer sparing our lives" (10.13-14).

Hector, in contrast, is urged *not* to fight, since it is his death in battle that will result in Priam's pitiful death at the hands of the Greeks. He fights not to protect, but to win *kleos*, as he himself says: μὴ μὰν ἀσπουδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην, / ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι, "May I not die without a struggle and without *kleos*, but having done some great deed for those yet to come to hear of" (22.304-5). Whereas the warriors in Tyrtaeus are urged to fight

in order to prevent harm coming to their land, their children, and aged old men, Hector is willing to let harm come to his family and city because he is unwilling to forgo the *kleos* he can win from a glorious death in battle.⁶⁹¹

The tension between communal good and individual glory that we see in the *Iliad* has in Tyrtaeus been replaced by an emphasis on the warrior's duty to fight for the community. The warrior has been redefined as first and foremost a defender of his city and its inhabitants, and it is through these activities that warriors now win praise. Two centuries later, a similar sentiment is expressed in the Periclean funeral oration in Thucydides: κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγήρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον, "Giving their lives in common they took individually praise which never grows old" (2.43.1-2). Scholars do not agree as to whether the poems of Tyrtaeus depict a fully developed hoplite phalanx or a transitional stage between "Homeric" combat and hoplite warfare.⁶⁹² Nevertheless, it is clear that Tyrtaeus describes a warrior ethos fundamentally different from the one to which the majority of Iliadic heroes subscribe.

One possible reason for why the warrior's role was redefined as part of the transition from the Early Iron Age to the Archaic period is that beginning in the eighth century, warfare became more destructive to communities and settled populations than it had been during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods. Early Iron Age battles are generally considered by scholars to have been less destructive than conflicts in both the Mycenaean period that preceded it and the Archaic period that followed it.⁶⁹³ The lack of fortifications during the Early Iron Age

⁶⁹¹ Cf. Chapter 1, Chapter 3.

⁶⁹² Kagan and Viggiano 2013: 12-13.

⁶⁹³ Snodgrass 1971: 297-8; Morris 1987: 196; de Polignac 1995: 50; Lemos 2002: 191.

perhaps indicates that there was not a pressing need to defend settlements during this time.⁶⁹⁴

That there was warfare of some sort from the eleventh through the ninth centuries is implied by the number of weapon burials that have been discovered from this period, but this warfare may not have involved attacks on settlements or civilian populations. A change in this pattern during the eighth century is suggested by the sudden rise in fortifications beginning in the Late Geometric period and continuing on through the Archaic period.

Frederiksen argues that the walls that we see around settlements on the mainland in the seventh century were built for conflicts between Greeks, rather than to ward off non-Greek invaders or raiders. The walls were not wide at the socle and did not have towers, so they would have been insufficient defense against a large-scale attack or a sustained siege. This “small-scale” warfare, in contrast to the larger campaigns waged by the Lydians and other non-Greeks during this time, is characteristic of the force that Greek cities would have been able to bring to bear against each other.⁶⁹⁵ The dimensions of the walls thus provide additional evidence for the idea that conflicts between Greek city-states became more frequent or more destructive at the beginning of the Archaic period, leading settlements to construct walls to protect themselves from their neighbors.

That settlements suddenly became more vulnerable to armed attack in the eighth century is also hinted at by the sharp rise in the destruction of settlements in the archaeological record at this time. From the middle of Late Helladic III on, there are scarcely any traces of the violent destructions of settlements in the archaeological record until the eighth century.⁶⁹⁶ Two

⁶⁹⁴ Cf. Morris 1987: 192. However, Frederiksen argues that more Early Iron Age walls might be discovered in further excavations (Frederiksen 2011: 108).

⁶⁹⁵ Frederiksen 2017: 90-91.

⁶⁹⁶ Snodgrass 1971: 297-8; Lemos 2002: 191.

exceptions date from the ninth century: a house at Argos that was apparently destroyed around the beginning of the ninth century BCE, and the settlement at Lefkandi on Euboea, which experienced a destruction by fire c. 825 BCE, after which the population declined considerably.⁶⁹⁷ The excavators are unsure if the city suffered an attack by enemies, however, since they have found no archaeological evidence of foreign encroachment, and the city of Chalcis, the traditional enemy of Lefkandi (if Lefkandi is indeed Old Eretria or part of Eretrian territory), had not yet risen to power in the 9th century. Instead they posit that the city may have fallen to internal civil strife brought on by wealth gained in the overseas pottery trade.⁶⁹⁸

In the eighth century, the number of destructions began to climb steadily. The city of Smyrna experienced a destruction c. 750 BCE, possibly due to the seizure of the formerly Aeolic town by the Ionians.⁶⁹⁹ The city of Asine was destroyed c. 710 BCE, supposedly for its involvement in the First Messenian War, and its inhabitants were forced to relocate (Paus. 4.14.3).⁷⁰⁰ Around 700 BCE, the settlement at Lefkandi was destroyed by fire again, possibly in the Lelantine War, after which it was abandoned and never re-inhabited.⁷⁰¹ At around this time, the city of Melia is said by Vitruvius to have been destroyed by the other Ionians because of the arrogance of its people (Vitr. 4.1). The last evidence of habitation at the site dates to around 700

⁶⁹⁷ For the house at Asine, see Courbin 1966: 161-2n1.

⁶⁹⁸ Popham and Sackett 1980: 364.

⁶⁹⁹ Coldstream 2003: 244; 250.

⁷⁰⁰ Coldstream 2003: 143. 710 BCE is Coldstream's date, based on pottery contemporary with the destruction layer. Other scholars have tended to date the destruction earlier, to c. 725 BCE, based on Pausanias' dates for the First Messenian War (cf. Hammond 1982).

⁷⁰¹ Popham and Sackett 1980: 369.

BCE.⁷⁰² Coldstream suggests that the scarcity of remains attests to the thoroughness with which it was destroyed. An inscription from Priene dates the destruction to sometime before the Cimmerian raids of the mid-seventh century.⁷⁰³ Also around the turn of the eighth century, Smyrna experienced another destruction, along with Miletus, both of which Coldstream dates to 700-675 BCE based on pottery contemporary with the destruction layers.⁷⁰⁴ Coldstream suggests that these destructions may have been the work of Gyges of Lydia, who, Herodotus tells us, attacked both Smyrna and Miletus (Hdt. 1.14).⁷⁰⁵ This evidence would put the destructions after c. 680 BCE, since most scholars now agree that this was the date of Gyges' ascension, as opposed to Herodotus' date of 716 BCE.⁷⁰⁶

From 750-675 BCE, then, we see six cities with evidence of destruction in their archaeological record, a dramatic increase from the previous century. Nevertheless, we must be careful not to place too much weight on this evidence, since it is possible that more destructions of settlements from the eleventh through the ninth centuries will be discovered in the future. It is important to keep in mind that very few Early Iron Age settlements have been excavated at this point, since many of these settlements are located under the remains of later occupations.⁷⁰⁷

⁷⁰² Coldstream 2003: 75.

⁷⁰³ Coldstream 2003: 76; *Inschriften von Priene* no. 37. Although there are some important new candidates for the site of Melia (cf. Lohmann 2005; Herda 2006).

⁷⁰⁴ Coldstream 2003: 244, 250.

⁷⁰⁵ Snodgrass, however, suggests that this destruction of Smyrna may have been the work of an earthquake (Snodgrass 1971: 353n2).

⁷⁰⁶ Cook 1982: 197.

⁷⁰⁷ Lemos 2002: 135.

However, there is other evidence to suggest that warfare during the eighth century became more destructive than it had been during the tenth and ninth centuries.

Mass warrior burials can be used as evidence for the occurrence of violent armed conflicts. The most dramatic example comes from the Late Geometric *polyandrion* on Paros, in which 160 Geometric vases containing the burnt bones of young men have been discovered in two separate graves.⁷⁰⁸ The deaths of such a large number of young men at the same time suggest that they may have died in battle, with the excavator positing the Lelantine War as the cause.⁷⁰⁹ Others have argued that the presumed warriors may have died in a more local conflict between Paros and Naxos.⁷¹⁰ Either way, this mass grave seems to be a clear indication of a bloody armed conflict much larger than anything we have mortuary evidence for earlier in the Iron Age.

Of particular interest with regard to the Paros *polyandrion* are two vases decorated with what appear to be narrative scenes. The first depicts a battle with warriors in chariots and on horseback. The second shows a dead warrior on the belly of the vase, a fight between two warriors over the corpse on the shoulder of the vase, and a *prothesis* (the laying-out of the corpse with mourners) on the neck of the vase. Photini Zaphiropoulou has argued that this second vase depicts three successive events related to the death in battle of the young man interred in the vase.⁷¹¹

⁷⁰⁸ Zaphiropoulou 2006: 271.

⁷⁰⁹ Zaphiropoulou 2006: 277.

⁷¹⁰ Morris 2014: 2.

⁷¹¹ Zaphiropoulou 2006: 275. Bernhard Schmaltz has argued that we in fact see a “correction” on the neck of this vase that was added after the vase was painted but before it was fired in order to “customize” the vase for the deceased (Schmaltz 2010). This further suggests that the image on the vase relates to a real conflict in which the deceased took part.

This argument has implications for the relationship of Geometric vase painting to real eighth-century armed conflicts, perhaps lending credence to the idea that LG Athenian battle scenes depict real battles. But even if LG vase paintings portray conflicts from the heroic past, they can still be used as evidence for changes in the way Athenian society conceptualized warfare. Gudrun Ahlberg points out that Late Geometric battle scenes tend to focus on the final stage of battle, the slaughter of the enemies, as is clear from the images of wounded and falling warriors and corpses. Middle Geometric battle scenes, on the other hand, do not depict warriors slaying each other, and the fighting seems to be of a “bloodless character.”⁷¹² This new focus on the deadly consequences of battle may indicate that either warfare actually became more destructive in the LG period or that it came to be conceived of as being more destructive than it had previously.⁷¹³ The focus on the violence of war rather than on idealized images of warriors may reflect some of the same unease with the destructive aspects of warfare that we see in the *Iliad*.

The historical record can also be used to give us information about a possible increase in destructive warfare at the end of the Early Iron Age, although with certain caveats. Historians record two wars occurring in the late eighth century, the First Messenian War and the Lelantine War, that, according to extant texts, involved multiple city states and were larger than all other conflicts since the end of the Trojan War.⁷¹⁴ As has already been seen, it is sometimes possible to link the evidence of violence in the archaeological record with wars that are reported to have occurred in the historical record. We must be cautious with such historical evidence, since most

⁷¹² Ahlberg 1971: 52-53.

⁷¹³ One should perhaps not make too much out of the differences between MG and LG battle scenes, however, given the dearth of extant MG figural imagery.

⁷¹⁴ Cf. Thuc. 1.15.

of our sources were written centuries after the events they describe. Furthermore, we know of no chronicle kept in a Greek city-state before the fifth century CE. Even the logographers and genealogists, such as Hecataeus of Miletus, who can be seen as proto-historians, do not begin to appear until the end of the sixth century.⁷¹⁵ Although any historical account of events in the eighth or seventh century must therefore be treated with a healthy dose of suspicion, when historical accounts are supported by archaeological evidence, it is possible to weigh the two sources of information against each other to gain a clearer picture of the wars between city-states that occurred in the early Archaic period.

The first war of the Archaic period that we hear of in the historical record is the First Messenian War, in which Sparta conquered Messenia and reduced its citizens to the status of helots. Spartan aggression in Messenia was said to have begun in the reign of king Teleclus (c. 750 BCE), who conquered the plain of Makaria around the head of the Messenian Gulf (Str. 360). In the First Messenian War, the Spartans then conquered the rest of Messenia after a twenty-year struggle (Str. 279). Pausanias dates the beginning of the First Messenian War to the second year of the ninth Olympiad, or 743 BCE (4.11.1). He dates the end of the war, the final storming of the Messenian stronghold of Ithome, to the first year of the fourteenth Olympiad, or 724 BCE (4.13.7). According to him, the war eventually involved most of the Peloponnese. The Corinthians allied with Sparta, while all of the Arcadians and some contingents from Argos and Sicyon came to the aid of the Messenians (Paus. 4.11.1). Hammond sees support for Pausanias' dates in the list of Olympic victors. The last Messenian victor was in 736 BCE, while the first

⁷¹⁵ Jeffrey 1976: 34. See also Burkert 1995.

Spartan victor was in 716 BCE, which Hammond believes corresponds well to a war from 743-24 BCE.⁷¹⁶

Coldstream, however, is inclined to date the war slightly later based on archaeological evidence. It is in this war, Pausanias tells us, that the city of Asine was destroyed, supposedly on the grounds that the Asineans had helped the Spartans invade the Argolid (Paus. 4.14.3). Since the destruction layer at Asine can be dated to c. 710 BCE based on pottery deposits, Coldstream suggests that the dates for the war should be adjusted to correspond with this event. Keeping the 20-year length for the war reported by Tyrtaeus, Coldstream accordingly dates the First Messenian War to 730-710 BCE.⁷¹⁷

If we trust the historical record, a *terminus ante quem* for the war is given by the founding of the colony of Taras in Magna Graecia, which various historians tell us was founded by the illegitimate sons of Spartan women whose husbands had been off fighting in the war.⁷¹⁸ Pottery from Taras dates the founding of the colony to c. 710 CE,⁷¹⁹ which, as Coldstream points out, corresponds well with Eusebius' date of 706 BCE.⁷²⁰ Therefore, the archaeological evidence seems to agree in adjusting Pausanias' dates later by about 15 years. These dates, however, still depend on the historical record insofar as they assume that the destruction of Asine and the founding of Taras, events which certainly occurred, were connected to the First Messenian War in the way that the historians tell us. Nevertheless, the fact that these two events can be dated to

⁷¹⁶ Hammond 1982: 324. The Spartans could not have attended the Olympic games before conquering Messenia, since to get to Olympia they would have had to go through northern Messenia or Arcadia (Jeffrey 1976: 130n2).

⁷¹⁷ Coldstream 2003: 143.

⁷¹⁸ Antiochus of Syracuse *FGH* 555 F 13; *FGH* 70 F 216; Diod. Sic. 8.21.

⁷¹⁹ Jeffrey 130n2.

⁷²⁰ Coldstream 2003: 143.

roughly the same time by means independent of the historical record suggests that there may be a connection between them, and the historical record offers a possibility for what this connection might be.

There is also a limited amount of further archaeological evidence for a disruption of some kind occurring in Messenia at this time. At Mila near Malthi, a cult with dedications of figurines came to an end c. 725 BCE, although at some other areas, such as in a large tomb at Karpophora, there was continuity from Geometric to Classical times.⁷²¹ Coldstream also notes widespread hero-cult activity in Mycenaean tombs in Messenia in the second half of the eighth century, more so in this region than in any other in Greece. He posits that the stress placed on the Messenians by the Spartan encroachment led them to appeal to their local heroes and ancestors for help.⁷²²

The second war that was said to have been fought at the beginning of the Archaic period was the Lelantine War, an armed conflict between Chalcis and Eretria on the island of Euboea. The two cities fought for control of the fertile Lelantine Plain which lay between them. At the center of this plain stood Lefkandi, which may have been the Old Eretria of the Bronze Age.⁷²³ The details of the war are murky, but Thucydides tells us that this was the first war since the Trojan War that involved multiple Greek city states fighting as allies on both sides (Thuc. 1.15).⁷²⁴ Herodotus writes that Samos supported Chalcis and Miletus supported Eretria (5.99.1). Plutarch says that the Thessalians sent cavalry to aid Chalcis, and that the Chalcidian colonists in Thrace also sent aid to their mother city (*Mor.* 760-1).

⁷²¹ Hammond 1982: 333.

⁷²² Coldstream 2003: 143.

⁷²³ Boardman 1982: 763.

⁷²⁴ This might contradict Pausanias' claim that the First Messenian War involved most of the city states of the Peloponnese.

The end of the eighth century is the most likely period for the start of the conflict, although there is evidence that it dragged on or periodically flared up well into the seventh century. Hostilities may have begun as early as 735 BCE with the removal of the Eretrians from Pithecussae and their expulsion from Corcyra by the Corinthians.⁷²⁵ However, we see Eretria and Chalcis participating jointly in their overseas trading post at Al Mina in the Levant down to about 700 BCE, after which Euboean involvement in the site ends. This date may mark the true start of the conflict,⁷²⁶ and it is also the approximate date of the final destruction of Lefkandi, which very likely occurred as part of this war. Further evidence for a serious rupture of friendly relations between Chalcis and Eretria is seen in the fact that pottery styles current in Lefkandi just before its destruction and in Eretria just after the final destruction and desertion of Lefkandi have not been found in Chalcis.⁷²⁷

That the war continued into the seventh century is suggested by a fragment of Archilochus that seems to describe this conflict (West fr. 3):

Οὐ τοι πόλλ' ἐπὶ τόξα τανύσσεται οὐδὲ θαμειαί
σφενδόνας, εὖ' ἂν δὴ μᾶλλον Ἄρης συνάγη
ἐν πεδίῳ· ξιφέων δὲ πολύστονον ἔσσεται ἔργον
ταύτης γὰρ κείνοι δάιμογές εἰσι μάχης
δεσπότης Εὐβοίης δουρικλυτοί ...

Not many bows will be drawn,
Nor will slingshots be frequent,
Whenever Ares will lead together the battle on the plain;
But the much-sighing work will be of swords,
For the warlike masters of Euboea are experienced in this type of battle.

⁷²⁵ Boardman 1982: 761.

⁷²⁶ Parker 1997: 92.

⁷²⁷ Boardman 1982: 762. Boardman points out, however, that since Chalcis has only been superficially explored, this evidence is not conclusive.

Strabo tells us that during the Lelantine War, Chalcis and Eretria, because they had been on friendly terms prior to the war, made a pact not to use slings or bows and arrows (Str. 10.1.11-12):⁷²⁸

τὸ μὲν οὖν πλέον ὁμολόγουν ἀλλήλαις αἱ πόλεις αὗται, περὶ δὲ Ληλάντων διενεχθεῖσαι οὐδ' οὕτω τελέως ἐπαύσαντο, ὥστε τῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ αὐθάδειαν δρᾶν ἕκαστα, ἀλλὰ συνέθεντο, ἐφ' οἷς συστήσονται τὸν ἀγῶνα. δημοῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ Ἀμαρυνθίῳ στήλῃ τις, φράζουσα μὴ χρῆσθαι τηλεβόλοις.

For the most part these cities were in harmony with each other, and when they disagreed concerning the Lelantine Plain they did not so completely break off relations as to do each thing in the war according to their own desires, but they agreed on which conditions they were going to do battle. And a certain stele in Amarynthium shows this, saying that they didn't use long-distance missiles.

This pact seems to be what is alluded to in this Archilochus poem. Victor Parker dates this fragment of Archilochus no earlier than the middle of the seventh century BCE, due to Archilochus' mention in his other extant fragments of Gyges and of a solar eclipse. By calculating the solar eclipses that would have been visible to Archilochus and that would have overlapped in time with Gyges, Parker arrives at a date in the mid-600s BCE.⁷²⁹ This would seem to mean that the war was still continuing 50 years after it began c. 700 BCE, although, as Parker points out, it seems more likely that we are looking at a case of intermittent conflicts flaring up and petering out over a long period of time rather than a period of sustained conflict.⁷³⁰

This theory of intermittent conflict is supported by archaeological evidence in the form of weapon burials and hero cult at Eretria. From 715-690 BCE, seven cremated adults (along with nine inhumed children) were buried immediately to the east of where the West Gate of Eretria

⁷²⁸ But see Plut. *Mor.* 293a, which says that Methone was founded by Eretrians in the late eighth c. BCE who had failed to establish a colony on Corcyra and had then been repulsed from Eretria by sling-bullets.

⁷²⁹ Parker 1997: 58-80.

⁷³⁰ Parker 1997: 92.

would later be built.⁷³¹ Many of the deceased were buried with weapons, and it has been postulated that these were “war heroes” in the conflict between Chalcis and Eretria.⁷³² One of the earliest graves has been ascribed to a “prince” or “leader.”⁷³³ A little later in the 7th c. around 680 BCE a fortification wall was built around the city, and a triangular structure was built on top of the graves. The site became a *heroōn*, a place of hero-cult, and votive offerings and sacrifices were presented to the dead. The fortifications suggest armed conflict, and Parker argues that in constructing the *heroōn*, the Eretrians were seeking the help of the dead warriors in a renewal of the conflict with Chalcis.⁷³⁴

As is mentioned above, an extremely interesting feature of these “warrior burials” in the *heroōn* at Eretria is that they appear to share many characteristics with the funerals of heroes in Homer, suggesting a link between the burial practices and epic poetry. Bérard theorizes that these burial practices indicate that the heroes of the Lelantine war were concerned with eternalizing the glory won in battle, much as the Homeric heroes were:

*Les tombes érétriennes donnent l'image d'une société princière en arms à laquelle la guerre lélantine sert de cadre précis. En outre, le monument, qui demeure quelque peu énigmatique, témoigne de la puissance d'une oligarchie soucieuse d'éterniser sa gloire acquise sur le champ de bataille et de s'imposer à la communauté par des solennités qui débouchaient sur l'héroïsation de leurs chefs de file.*⁷³⁵

⁷³¹ Ainian 1987: 14.

⁷³² Parker 1997: 91.

⁷³³ Ainian 1987: 14.

⁷³⁴ Parker 1997: 91.

⁷³⁵ Bérard 1970: 71.

The Eretrian *heroōn*, then, may give us a direct link between Homeric ideology and a real-world conflict fought between multiple city-states around the turn of the eighth century BCE.⁷³⁶ We know from “Nestor’s Cup” that Euboeans were familiar with hexameter poetry. This was a clay drinking cup (*kotyle*) found in a burial of a young boy from c. 720 BCE in Pithecussae on Ischia off the coast of Italy, a colony settled by Euboean Greeks from Chalcis and Eretria. The cup itself is from Rhodes and dates to c. 740-730 BCE. On it is an inscription partially in dactylic hexameter, written in Euboean script.⁷³⁷ There is also some possibility that the dead heroes of the Lelantine War were celebrated with funeral games like the epic funeral games of Patroclus in the *Iliad*. Plutarch mentions a prominent citizen of Chalcis named Amphidamas who died fighting in the Lelantine war and says that this was the same Amphidamas in whose funeral games Hesiod names himself as competing in *Works and Days*.⁷³⁸

If we continue on into the seventh century and down into the Archaic period, both the historical and archaeological record give us more evidence of armed conflict and destruction. In the mid-seventh century, perhaps after the Spartans were defeated by the Argives at Hysiae in 669/668, the Messenians revolted from Sparta, resulting in a war that again lasted for many years.⁷³⁹ Much of the evidence for this war comes from the elegies of Tyrtaeus, which were supposedly composed to strengthen the Spartan’s flagging morale and to stave off *stasis* by insisting on the proper maintenance of the social order (Arist. *Pol.* 1306b-07a). The dating for the war is somewhat unclear. Plutarch says that it lasted until 600 BCE (*Mor.* 194b). The end of

⁷³⁶ As discussed above, the shift away from this type of warrior ideology was already underway throughout most of Greece by the end of the eighth century, but Eretria seems to be a little behind the times.

⁷³⁷ Fox 2008: 148.

⁷³⁸ Plut. *Mor.* 153f–54a; Hes. *Op.* 654-56.

⁷³⁹ Jeffrey 1976: 117.

this war marked the final subjugation of the Messenian people by Sparta, and from this point on they lived in a state of semi-slavery until they were liberated by the Thebans in the fourth century.

Herodotus tells us that Arisbe on Lesbos was also destroyed in the seventh century, and that its people were enslaved by neighboring Methymna (Hdt. 1.151.2), while Pausanias reports that Nauplia was destroyed by the Argives (Paus. 4.24.4). At the end of the seventh century, sometime before 600 BCE, Smyrna was destroyed again by the Lydian king Alyattes, as is well attested in the archaeological record.⁷⁴⁰ Also c. 600 BCE the city of Cirrha was destroyed in the First Sacred War, and reduced to a μηλόβοτος, a “place grazed by sheep.”⁷⁴¹ Continuing on into the sixth century, Pellene and Donoussa were destroyed c. 570.⁷⁴² This takes us down to the mid-sixth century, which virtually all scholars agree is the latest date by which some version of the texts of our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had to have been written down.⁷⁴³

Along with the destruction of cities, another disturbing outcome of warfare that we see occurring in the Archaic period is the enslavement of entire populations, with the most famous example being Sparta’s conquest of Messenia in the second half of the eighth century. Similar events also occurred in other areas of Greece. In addition to the enslavement of the people of Arisbe mentioned above, Argos and Sicyon probably also enslaved fellow Greeks. The enslaved *gymnētes* (“naked ones”) of Argos were likely the inhabitants of the surrounding territories,

⁷⁴⁰ Morris 1985: 117.

⁷⁴¹ Isoc. 14.31; cf. Aeschin. 2.115; Plut. *Sol.* 11.

⁷⁴² Theopomp. Hist. *FGH* 115 F 176, 311; Paus. 7.26.2, 6. Cf. Van Wees 2004: 124.

⁷⁴³ Although Nagy insists that the text was not yet “fixed” but that it continued to evolve as a multiform though a *koine* of related texts until the Hellenistic period (Nagy 2001).

including Cynouria, conquered c. 700-550 BCE,⁷⁴⁴ while the “sheepskin-coat-wearers” (*katōnokophoroi*) of Sicyon were probably the inhabitants of nearby Pellene and Donoussa, enslaved c. 600-550 BCE.⁷⁴⁵

In examining the archaeological data, we have seen evidence of significant changes in how Late Geometric and Early Archaic Greeks viewed warfare and the role of warriors. Burial practices from the Early Iron Age suggest that the construction of hegemonic masculinity in Greece during this time matched the hegemonic masculinity that we see in the *Iliad*. This was a warrior masculinity that separated adult warrior men from women and children as a privileged class and that identified the pursuit of *kleos apthiton* as the warrior male’s primary goal. In the eighth century, patterns of burial shifted, and warrior graves disappeared completely around the end of the Geometric period. The disappearance of the Iliadic paradigm of hegemonic masculinity from the archaeological record coincides with the rise of the *polis* and with the emergence of a new form of hegemonic masculinity that redefined the warrior as first and foremost a defender of his community rather than as a seeker of individual glory. This new warrior ethos is seen in the practice of dedicating weapons at sanctuaries and in literary sources such as the poems of Tyrtaeus. This evidence suggests that the tension that I have identified in the *Iliad* between the normative warrior masculinity that privileges the pursuit of *kleos* over other aspects of the warrior’s role and a new form of warrior masculinity that is primarily concerned with protection and defensive fighting was a tension that was playing out in Greek societies at the end of the Early Iron Age.

⁷⁴⁴ Hdt. 6.83; Arist. *Pol.* 1303a6-8; *FGH* 310 F 6.

⁷⁴⁵ Theopomp. *Hist.* *FGH* 115 F 176, 311; Paus. 7.26.2, 6. Cf. Van Wees 2004: 30.

This shift in how Greek societies viewed the warrior's role may have occurred because of an increase in destructive warfare in the eighth century, an increase that perhaps resulted from rising population levels and a demand for farmland. As communal identity became more important to the Greeks with the rise of the *polis* and the safety and stability of communities began to come under greater threat, a warrior ethos that caused a man to place his own *kleos* over the safety of his family and city as Hector does in the *Iliad* could have come to be seen as detrimental to the welfare of the community. The *Iliad*'s critique of its own normative warrior masculinity can thus be said to reflect the social and political concerns of Late Geometric and Archaic Greeks as they struggled to adapt to a rapidly changing world.

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have argued that the *Iliad* uses feminine perspectives on *kleos* to critique the system of hegemonic masculinity that it has received from the poetic tradition. Women in the *Iliad* express a negative view of male warrior *kleos* because the ideology that valorizes the acquisition of *kleos* through death in battle is fundamentally opposed to the female task of creating and preserving life. The poem harnesses feminine perspectives and voices to highlight the problems inherent in the system of masculine warrior values that pits a warrior's desire for individual *kleos* against his duty to protect his city and comrades. I have suggested that this critique of the masculine pursuit of *kleos* in the *Iliad* is the result of hegemonic masculinity in Early Iron Age Greece reaching a crisis point at which it could no longer justify its supremacy because its emphasis on the acquisition of martial glory was threatening the safety and stability of the emerging *polis*.

I have, I hope, provided a convincing refutation of the idea that the *Iliad* is a particularly “virile” or “masculine” text. In concluding this dissertation, I will go one step further and end my analysis of the poem with a discussion of how we should characterize the gender of the voice that speaks to us in the *Iliad*—that amorphous entity called “Homer,” who variously serves as a signifier for the *Iliad*'s narrator, its putative poet, and the entire poetic tradition that stands behind it. In my introduction, I characterized the *Iliad*'s use of female voices and perspectives as an example of a male author (or poetic tradition) adopting a feminine position in order to criticize the hegemonic masculinity of his own society. Throughout this dissertation, I have consistently referred to “the poet,” “the narrator,” and “Homer” with male pronouns. In doing so,

I have followed the example of almost every scholar who has written about the *Iliad*.⁷⁴⁶

Nevertheless, I remain unsatisfied with the default assumption that the *Iliad* is the product of male authorship. When the current state of the Homeric question is such that we cannot assert anything about the circumstances of the *Iliad*'s composition without controversy, why are we so certain that it should be considered unequivocally and entirely the creation of men?

We don't know who "Homer" is, but we are sure that he is male. But what do we really mean by "Homer," anyway? If we speak of "Homer" as the legendary poet to whom the Ancient Greeks attributed the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and whose life is related in a number of ancient biographies, we may rest assured that this individual is unambiguously masculine. And yet this is not the sense in which scholars most frequently refer to Homer in their discussions of Homeric poetry. Instead, the poet's name is often employed as a kind of short-hand for the thorny problem of Homeric authorship. Frequently we will see "Homer" used to refer to the unknown person or persons who were responsible for the *Iliad*'s production, even in the work of academics who profess agnosticism on the Homeric question. For example, John Foley clarifies what he means by "Homer" in his book *Homer's Traditional Art* in the following way:

First, Homer is here understood only secondarily as "an author," presumably the latest and finest practitioner of ancient Greek epic. While it is indisputable that an individual (or individuals) personally and idiosyncratically molded the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that survive to us, I will be maintaining that "Homer" most essentially designates the poetic tradition as a long-term, ongoing phenomenon that comprises many individuals.⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴⁶ To my knowledge, the only scholar who has argued for female authorship of the *Iliad* is Andrew Dalby in *Rediscovering Homer* (2006).

⁷⁴⁷ Foley 1999: xi.

Even authors who eschew use of the name “Homer” in their work will often refer to “the poet,” a generic entity who is always male, as we see in Jonathan Ready’s book *Character, Narrator, and Simile in the Iliad*:

When the poet has his characters speak similes, he is using similes as a mechanism of verbal competition. In subsequent chapters, I expand on this idea by looking at how in the *Iliad* the poet makes his heroes compete both with other characters and with the narrator over simile.⁷⁴⁸

Here Ready distinguishes the “poet,” the consciousness outside the text that is responsible for the poem’s composition, from the “narrator,” a voice that speaks within the text.⁷⁴⁹ Like “the poet,” the narrator is usually assumed to be male. Even Irene de Jong, who astutely points out that the narrator is not explicitly gendered in the *Iliad*, consistently refers to him with male pronouns: “Although the external NF1 is not a character partaking of the action, has no name and no body (and strictly speaking no sex!) he is not fully devoid of personality.”⁷⁵⁰

The assumption that the *Iliad* is a product of masculine authorship is also prominent in discussions of gender in the ancient world and Homeric epic itself. In an article on feminist criticism and Classical texts, Barbara Gold refers to the Homeric poems as a “master narrative,” a “male-authored text that has received, transmitted, and influenced the traditional male-centered system of representation.”⁷⁵¹ Sheila Murnaghan argues that Penelope in the *Odyssey* cannot be said to have agency because she is not a real women but a character in a work created by a male

⁷⁴⁸ Ready 2011: 86.

⁷⁴⁹ For the distinction between “poet” and “narrator,” see de Jong 1987: 29-30.

⁷⁵⁰ de Jong 1987: 45.

⁷⁵¹ Gold 1993: 84.

poet.⁷⁵² Ruby Blondell suggests a less antagonistic relationship between the Homeric poet and his female characters, but still refers to him as male.⁷⁵³

The assumption of male authorship for the Homeric poems has not been total. In the late nineteenth century, amateur critic Samuel Butler notoriously argued that the *Odyssey* was written by a young, unmarried woman who lived in Sicily between 1050 and 1000 BCE.⁷⁵⁴ However, his book *The Authoress of the Odyssey* has serious methodological problems and has experienced near-universal ridicule from scholars since its publication.⁷⁵⁵ Butler's arguments for female authorship are largely based on nineteenth-century gender roles and essentialist views about the differences between men and women. For example, he suggests that the description of the maids cleaning up the blood at *Od.* 22.437-43 has been included in the poem because "the first thing a woman would have thought of after the suitors had been killed was the dining room carpet."⁷⁵⁶ He also contends that "the instinctive house-wifely thrift of the writer" is demonstrated by the mention of the food and wine that is spilled when the suitors upset the tables at which they had been sitting.⁷⁵⁷ When confronted with arguments such as these, it is extremely difficult for the twenty-first century reader to take Butler seriously.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵² Murnaghan 1994.

⁷⁵³ See Blondell 2010: 19, "This female perspective stands in tension with the objectifying strategies of the epic's male characters. Yet it seems to receive the endorsement of *the poet himself*" (emphasis mine).

⁷⁵⁴ Butler 1897: 2-3.

⁷⁵⁵ See Clayton 2004: 1-20 and Ebbott 2005 for a summary of the reception of Butler's ideas.

⁷⁵⁶ Butler 1897: 118.

⁷⁵⁷ Butler 1897: 154.

⁷⁵⁸ See Ebbott 2005 on the question of whether Butler may in fact be joking, as some have suggested.

And yet scholars in the twenty-first century have made similarly essentialist statements when discussing the question of gender and Homeric authorship. In response to Andrew Dalby's 2006 book *Rediscovering Homer*, which argues for female authorship of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Anthony Snodgrass said that a woman could have written the *Odyssey* because it is about "a world at peace in general terms, with domesticity, fidelity...endurance and determination rather than aggression," but that "the idea of a woman writing the *Iliad* and not being bored out of her mind by the endless fighting and killings is a bit more far-fetched."⁷⁵⁹

As Mary Ebbott points out, such suppositions are based on restrictive ideas about masculinity and femininity and hinder critical appraisal of the text.⁷⁶⁰ It is a fallacy to assume that a critic can deduce an author's gender based upon the contents of their work, however tempting it may be to try.⁷⁶¹ Ebbott herself is attracted to the idea of a genderless Homer, but sees this as an anachronistic imposition of her own desires upon the text:

As I read these several studies of the *Odyssey*, I found myself desiring a genderless Homer—wouldn't that be easier? It is all too safe and easy to ignore gender in Homeric studies even today, so I could continue on with a subconscious but wrongheaded notion of a genderless Homer, but instead I hope to capitalize on that realization with a greater awareness and articulation of my own gender assumptions.⁷⁶²

Ebbott rejects the comfort of a genderless Homer because such an idea is "wrongheaded," an example of her "own gender assumptions." And yet, doesn't any attempt to assign a gender to Homer also represent an "assumption"?

⁷⁵⁹ Quoted in Alberge 2006.

⁷⁶⁰ Ebbott 2005: 20.

⁷⁶¹ It is a subset of the biographical fallacy, wherein a critic assumes that works of art can be interpreted as reflections of the lives of their creators (cf. Winslow 1995: 7).

⁷⁶² Ebbott 2005: 21.

On the one hand, it seems undeniable that the *Iliad* is most likely the product of a male poet or poets. The poets depicted in the Homeric poems such as Demodocus and Phemius are all male, and, as I have discussed in Chapter 2, women in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are prohibited from engaging in authoritative speech in almost all contexts. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* thus do not seem to envision the possibility of their own composition by a woman. On the other hand, we do have Sappho as an example of a female poet of the Archaic period, and she did compose poems on the theme of the Trojan War (L-P 16, 44). Sappho 44, a fragmentary poem about the marriage of Hector and Andromache, is composed in dactylic pentameter, a meter which, as Gregory Nagy has shown, is cognate with the formulaic structure of Homeric dactylic hexameter.⁷⁶³ Nagy suggests that the Homeric poems and Sappho have inherited formulae from a common epic tradition. Granted, Sappho is later than Homer and writing with different meters in a different dialect, and thus cannot be said to be part of an “Iliadic tradition.” But her existence and her engagement with epic material suggest that there could plausibly have been another female poet earlier in time, perhaps living in Ionia, who composed in Ionic hexameters and who could have had an influence on the poetic tradition that came to be our *Iliad*. That we have never heard of her should not be a concern to us, since we have inherited from the Greeks no knowledge of poetry before Homer.⁷⁶⁴

Or if we reject the Sappho parallel as too speculative, what about the Delian maidens in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*? These are a chorus of young women who “sing a song remembering the men and women of old” (μνησάμεναι ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν / ὕμνον ἀείδουσιν, 160-61) after they have first sung hymns to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto (158-

⁷⁶³ Nagy 1974: 118-39.

⁷⁶⁴ Cf. Kirk 1985: 4; Van Wees 1999: 3.

59). In this way, their poetry seems to closely mirror that of the putative “Homer” who narrates the *Homeric Hymns*, in that they sing hymns as *prooemia* to longer performances of poems with epic themes.⁷⁶⁵ That they seem to have agency over what they sing is suggested by Homer’s request that they sing his praises to travelers who come to Delos in the future (166-73). However, several scholars have suggested that by asking the Delian maidens to remember him in the future (ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθεν / μνήσασθ’, 166-67), Homer is actually asking them to remember his song and perform it to future audiences.⁷⁶⁶ If this is the case, the Delian maidens would not be poets in their own right as Homer is, but female performers reenacting the work of a male poet. Nevertheless, to perform the work of another poet in an oral tradition is in effect to recompose the song anew. Thus, by performing Homer’s song, the Delian maidens become part of the Homeric tradition. In a way, they too become “Homer.”

As tantalizing as such speculation about “female Homers” may be, the fact remains that the existence of women composing and performing Homeric epic cannot be proven. However, we do not actually need these women if we are to challenge the idea of a male Homer. We can say with absolute certainty that the poetic tradition of the *Iliad* is indebted to female composers and performers because of the extensive integration of the discourse of lament into the poem. Margaret Alexiou, Gail Holst-Warhaft, and Nadia Seremetakis have shown that the laments of the *Iliad* draw upon a female oral tradition of lament that remained remarkably consistent from

⁷⁶⁵ For the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* as a *prooemium*, see Thuc. 3.104.2-4. See also how various Homeric hymns end with the phrase “But I will remember you and another song” (αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ’ αἰοιδῆς, *HH* 2.495=3.546=4.58=6.21 etc.), or with the phrase “beginning from you I will change to another song” (σεῦ δ’ ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον, *HH* 5.293).

⁷⁶⁶ Stehle 1997: 184; Nagy 2013. Peponi 2009 writes, “The Delian Maidens’ chorus is positioned between audience and bard” (40).

the first millennium BCE to the twentieth century.⁷⁶⁷ Female composers and performers of lament during the Early Iron Age are thus among the poets who played a part in shaping our *Iliad*.⁷⁶⁸ Sheila Murnaghan has argued that the female voices in the *Iliad* have been coopted to serve male ends.⁷⁶⁹ But if, as I have argued, the ideology of female lament is not only prominent in the *Iliad* but dominant, can we not conceive of the poem as amplifying the voices of women rather than silencing them? When the poet of the *Iliad* speaks, whose voice do we hear?

Similar questions can be raised about the narrator, our Homer inside the text. If the narrator has no name and no body, on what basis do we assign gender to “him”? De Jong has shown that at no point in the *Iliad* does the narrator use gendered language to refer to “himself.”⁷⁷⁰ If we abandon the position that “the poet” must be male by default, it allows us to formulate a more complex picture of the narrator’s gender. I have argued that the narrator exhibits qualities which the *Iliad* itself associates with female characters, such as showing sympathy for both sides of the conflict and emphasizing the suffering that the deaths of heroes will cause to their loved ones.⁷⁷¹ In the obituaries of dead warriors, the narrator seems much more concerned with this suffering than with the *kleos* that the warriors have won, just like the lamenting women of the *Iliad*, while at other points in the poem, the narrator displays a more masculine concern for battlefield glory.⁷⁷² Is the narrator then a male voice with feminine

⁷⁶⁷ Alexiou 2002 [1974]; Seremetakis 1991; Holst-Warhaft 1992.

⁷⁶⁸ Cf. Richard Martin: “The theme and diction of lament appear to have shaped the *Iliad* and can even be found embedded in the name of Achilles, “grief of the fighting-men” (Martin 1989: 86).

⁷⁶⁹ Murnaghan 1999.

⁷⁷⁰ de Jong 1987: 45n10.

⁷⁷¹ See Chapter 4.

⁷⁷² See Chapter 4.

characteristics? A female voice with masculine characteristics? Perhaps “genderless” may not be too far off the mark as a descriptor for the *Iliad*’s narrator, a bodiless entity whose voice is definitively neither male nor female.

For many scholars, the idea of the *Iliad* as a “feminine” text seems counterintuitive, even ridiculous. But I suggest that to view the *Iliad* as a “masculine” text is equally inaccurate. The *Iliad*, like Homer, cannot be made to fit neatly into a gender binary. Like its author, it resists categorization. As *Iliad* scholarship moves forward, a willingness on the part of readers to critically interrogate our notions of the *Iliad*’s “maleness” may produce new and surprising results.

APPENDIX



Figure 1: Mother Holding Dead Son, Attic White-Ground Lekythos, c. 460-450 BCE

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung, F 2447

Photo Credit: ANTIKENSAMMLUNG, STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU BERLIN
-PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ-
Photographer Johannes Laurentius



Figure 2: Eos and Memnon, Attic Red-Figure Cup, c. 490-480 BCE

Louvre Museum
Department of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Antiquities, G 115

Photo Credit: Wikimedia Commons

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adkins, A.W.H. 1960. *Merit and Responsibility: A Study in Greek Values*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- _____. 1969. "Euchomai, Euchōlē, and Euchos in Homer." *CQ* 19: 20-33.
- Ahl, Frederick. 1984. "The Art of Safe Criticism in Greece and Rome." *AJP* 105: 174-208.
- Ahlberg, Gudrun. 1971. *Fighting on Land and Sea in Greek Geometric Art*. Stockholm: Svenska institutet i Athen.
- Ainian, A.M. 1987. "Geometric Eretria." *AK* 30: 3-24.
- Alberge, Dalya. 2006, July 1. "Scholar Takes Homer on New Odyssey—into Womanhood." *The Times* (London). Retrieved from www.thetimes.co.uk.
- Alden, Maureen. 2000. *Homer Beside Himself: Para-Narrative in the Iliad*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Alexandridou, Alexandra. 2016. "Funerary Variability in Late Eighth-Century B.C.E. Attica (Late Geometric II)." *AJA* 120: 333-60.
- Alexiou, M. 2002 [1974]. *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Amory, Ann. 1963. "The Reunion of Penelope and Odysseus." In *Essays on the "Odyssey"*, ed. Charles H. Taylor Jr., 100-21. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Antonaccio, Carla. 1995. *An Archaeology of Ancestors: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- _____. 2002. "Warriors, Traders, and Ancestors: The 'Heroes' of Lefkandi." In *Images of Ancestors*, ed. J. Munk Høtje, 13-42. Oxford: Aarhus University Press.
- _____. 2006. "Religion, *Basileis* and Heroes." In *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, ed. Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Irene Lemos, 381-96. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Apthorp, M.J. 1980. *The Manuscript Evidence for Interpolation in Homer*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Arrington, Nathan. 2015. "Talismanic Practices at Lefkandi: Trinkets, Burials and Belief in the Early Iron Age." *The Cambridge Classical Journal* 62: 1-30.

- Arthur, Marylin. 1981. "The Divided World of Iliad VI." In *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, ed. Helene Foley, 19-44. London; New York: Routledge.
- _____. 1982. "Cultural Strategies in Hesiod's *Theogony*." *Arethusa* 15: 63-82.
- Asquith, Helen. 2005. "From Genealogy to *Catalogue*: The Hellenistic Adaptation of the Hesiodic Catalogue Form." In *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Constructions and Reconstructions*, ed. Richard Hunter, 266-86. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Backe-Dahmen, Annika. 2008. *Die Welt der Kinder in der Antika*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Bakker, E.J. 2002. "*Khrónos, Kléos*, and Ideology from Herodotus to Homer." In *Epea Pteroenta: Beiträge zur Homerforschung. Festschrift für Wolfgang Kullman zum 75 Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Reichel and Antonios Rengakos, 11-30. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Baltes, Matthias. 1983. "Zur Eigenart und Funktion von Gleichnissen im 16. Buch der Ilias." *A&A* 29: 36-48.
- Barber, Elizabeth. 1994. *Women's Work: The First 20,000 Years*. New York: Norton.
- Barringer, Judith M. 2010. "Zeus at Olympia." In *Gods of Ancient Greece*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Andrew Erskine, 155-77. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Beck, William. 2011. "Kleos," in *The Homer Encyclopedia, Vol 2*, ed. Margalit Finkelberg, 442-43. Chichester, West Sussex; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Becker, Andrew Sprague. 1992. "Review of *The Power of Thetis*." *BMCR* 3.3.16.
- Bérard, Claude. 1970. *L'héroôn à la porte de l'ouest*. Zürich: J. Stemmlé & Co.
- Bergren, Ann. 1979. "Helen's Web: Time and Tableau in the Iliad." *Helios* 7: 19-34.
- _____. 1983. "Language and the Female in Early Greek Thought." *Arethusa* 16: 69-95.
- _____. 2008. *Weaving Truth: Essays on Language and the Female in Greek Thought*. Cambridge, MA: The Center for Hellenic Studies.
- Biles, Zachary. 2003. "Perils of Song in Homer's *Odyssey*." *Phoenix* 57: 191-208.
- Blackwell, Nicholas. 2010. "Mortuary Variability at Salamis (Cyprus): Relationships Between and Within the Royal Necropolis and the Cellarka Cemetery." *JMA* 23: 143-67.
- Blondell, Ruby. 2010. "'Bitch That I Am': Self-Blame and Self-Assertion in the *Iliad*." *TAPA* 140: 1-32.

- Boardman, John. 1982. "The Islands." In *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume 3, Part 1: The Prehistory of the Balkans, the Middle East and the Aegean World, Tenth to Eighth Centuries BC*, ed. John Boardman et al., 754-78. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bowra, C.M. 1930. *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bozzone, Chiara. 2015. "Towards an Ecology of Indo-European Poetry: Weaving and the Lamentation of the Dead." 27th Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, 23 October, 2015. Los Angeles, CA.
- Bräuning, Andrea and Kilian-Dirlmeier, Imma. 2013. *Die eisenzeitlichen Grabhügel von Vergina. Die Ausgrabungen von Photis Petsas 1960–1961*. Mainz: Schnell & Steiner.
- Brouwers, Josho. 2013, February 21. "Fear and Fortifications in Early Greece." *Ancient Warfare Magazine*. Retrieved from www.karwansaraypublishers.com.
- Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, Samuel. 1897. *The Authoress of the Odyssey*. London: Longmans, Green.
- Buchan, Mark. 2012. *Perfidy and Passion*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Burkert, Walter. 1995. "Lydia Between East and West or How to Date the Trojan War: A Study in Herodotus." In *The Ages of Homer*, ed. Jane Carter and Sarah Morris, 139-48. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Cairns, Douglas. 1993. *Aidōs: The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Cassio, A.C. 2002. "Early Editions of the Greek Epics and Homeric Textual Criticism in the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C." In *Omero tremila anni dopo*, ed. Franco Montanari, 105-36. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.
- Catling, Hector. 1995. "Heroes Returned? Subminoan Burials from Crete." In *The Ages of Homer*, ed. Jane Carter and Sarah Morris, 123-36. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Chantraine, Pierre. 1968. *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque*. Paris: Éditions Klincksieck.
- Χρηστάκης, Γεώργιος and Στεφανάκης, Κ.Γ. 2000. Επαρχία Βιάννου, 1940-1945: το ολοκαύτωμα του 1943. Συλλαγός Βιαννιτών Ηρακλείου.
- Cixous, Hélène. 1976. "The Laugh of the Medusa." *Signs* 1: 875-93.

- Claridge, Laura and Langland, Elizabeth. 1990. *Out of Bounds: Male Writers and Gender(ed) Criticism*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Clarke, W.M. 1978. "Achilles and Patroclus in Love." *Hermes* 106: 381-96.
- Claus, David. 1975. "Aidos in the Language of Achilles." *TAPA* 105: 13-28.
- Clay, Jenny Strauss. 2003. *Hesiod's Cosmos*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clayton, Barbara. 2004. *Penelopean Poetics: Reweaving the Feminine in Homer's Odyssey*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Cohen, I.M. 1986. "The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women and the Megalai Ehoiai." *Phoenix* 40: 127-42.
- _____. 1990. "Traditional Language and the Women in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women." *SCI* 10: 12-27.
- Coldstream, J.N. 2003. *Geometric Greece: 900-700 BC*. London; New York: Routledge.
- _____. 2008. *Greek Geometric Pottery: A Survey of Ten Local Styles (Revised Second Edition)*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
- Cook, J.M. 1982. "The Eastern Greeks." In *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume 3, Part 3: The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries BC, Second Edition*, ed. John Boardman and N.G.L. Hammond, 196-221. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cooke, Irwin. 1995. *The Odyssey in Athens: Myths of Cultural Origins*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Cooper, F.A. 1996. *The Temple of Apollo Bassitas*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Connell, R.W. 1995. *Masculinities*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Cornwall, Andrea and Lindisfarne, Nancy. 1994. *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies*. London: Routledge.
- Courbin, Paul. 1966. *La ceramique géométrique de l'Argolide*. Paris: Editions de Boccard.
- _____. 1974. *Tombes géométriques d'Argos, I. (1952-1958)*. Paris: J. Vrin.
- Crielaard, J. P. 2003. "The Cultural Biography of Material Goods in Homer's Epics." *Gaia* 7: 49-62.

- Dalby, Andrew. 2006. *Rediscovering Homer: Inside the Origins of the Epic*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.
- D'Alessio, Giovan Battista. 2005. "The *Megalai Ehoiai*: A Survey of the Fragments." In *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Constructions and Reconstructions*, ed. Richard Hunter, 176-216. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DeBloois, Nanci Ann. 1997. "Rape, Marriage, or Death?: Perspectives in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter." *PQ* 76: 245-62.
- De Jong, Irene. 1987. *Narrators and Focalizers: The Presentation of the Story in the Iliad*. Amsterdam: B.R. Grüner Publishing Co.
- _____. 2006. "The Homeric Narrator and His Own *Kleos*." *Mnemosyne* 2: 188-207.
- Demand, Nancy. 1994. *Birth, Death, and Motherhood in Classical Greece*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- De Polignac, François. 1995. *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*. Trans. Janet Lloyd. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dickins, Guy. 2014. *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dodds, E.R. 1951. *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Doherty, Lillian. 1995. *Siren Songs: Gender, Audiences, and Narrators in the Odyssey*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- _____. 2006. "Putting the Women back into the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women." In *Laughing at Medusa: Classical Myth and Feminist Thought*, ed. Miriam Leonard and Vanda Zajko, 297-325. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- D'Onofrio, A.M., and D'Agostino, B. 1993. "Review of *Burial and Ancient Society: The Rise of the Greek City-State*, by I. Morris." *Gnomon* 65: 41-51.
- Doolittle, Hilda. 1972. *Hermetic Definition*. New York: New Directions Publishing.
- DuBois, Page. 1988. *Sowing the Body: Psychoanalysis and Ancient Representations of Women*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Du , Casey. 2002. *Homeric Variations on a Lament by Briseis*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- _____. 2006. *The Captive Woman's Lament in Greek Tragedy*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

- Dué, Casey and Ebbott, Mary. 2012. "Mothers-in-Arms: Soldiers' Emotional Bonds and Homeric Similes." *War, Literature & the Arts* 24: 1-17.
- Dougherty, Carol. 2001. *The Raft of Odysseus: The Ethnographic Imagination of Homer's Odyssey*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Douzougli, A. and Papadopoulos, John. 2010. "A Molossian Cemetery and Settlement in Epirus." *JDAI* 125: 1-86.
- Easterling, P. E. 1991. "Men's Kleos and Women's Goos: Female Voices in the Iliad." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 9: 145-51.
- Ebbott, Mary. 2005. "Butler's Authoress of the *Odyssey*: Gendered Readings of Homer, Then and Now." *Classics@* 3.
- Edwards, A. T. 1985. *Achilles in the Odyssey: Ideologies of Heroism in the Homeric Epic*. Königstein: Hain.
- _____. 1991. *The Iliad: A Commentary: Volume V: Books 17-20*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Elmer, David. 2010. "Kita and Kosmos: The Poetics of Ornamentation in Bosniac and Homeric Epic." *Journal of American Folklore* 123: 276-303.
- Erbse, Hartmut. (ed.). 1969. *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem, Vol. 1*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.
- _____. 1975. *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem, Vol 4*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.
- Fantuzzi, Marco. 2012. *Achilles in Love*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Felson, Nancy. 2002. "Threpretra and Invincible Hands: The Father-Son Relationship in *Iliad* 24." *Arethusa* 35: 35-50.
- Felson, Nancy and Slatkin, Laura. 2004. "Gender and Homeric Epic." In *The Cambridge Companion to Homer*, ed. Robert Fowler, 91-116. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Felsch, Rainer C.S., ed. 2007. *Kalapodi II. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im Heiligtum der Artemis und des Apollon von Hyampolis in der antiken Phokis*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern.
- Fenik, Bernard. 1968. *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH.

- Ferrari, Gloria. 1990. "Figures of Speech: The Picture of *Aidos*." *Métis* 5: 185-204.
- Finkelberg, Margalit. 1986. "Is KLEOS APHTHITON a Homeric Formula?" *CQ* 36: 1-5.
- Finley, Moses. 1954. *The World of Odysseus*. New York: Viking Press.
- Fisher, Berenice. and Tronto, Joan. 1990. "Toward a Feminist Theory of Caring." In *Circles of Care: Work and Identity in Women's Lives*, ed. E.K. Abel and M.K. Nelson, 35-62. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Floyd, Edwin D. 1980. "Kleos Aphthiton: An Indo-European Perspective on Early Greek Poetry." *Glotta* 58: 133-57.
- Foley, Anne. 1988. *The Argolid 800-600 B.C.: An Archaeological Survey*. Göteborg: P. Åström.
- Foley, Helene. 1978. "'Reverse Similes' and Sex Roles in the *Odyssey*." *Arethusa* 11: 7-26.
- _____. 1993. *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- _____. 2001. *Female Acts in Greek Tragedy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Foley, John Miles. 1998. "Individual Poet and Epic Tradition: The Legendary Singer." *Arethusa* 31: 149-78.
- _____. 1999. *Homer's Traditional Art*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Ford, Andrew. 1992. *Homer: The Poetry of the Past*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Fowler, Robert. 1987. *The Nature of Early Greek Lyric: Three Preliminary Studies*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- _____. 1998. "Genealogical Thinking, Hesiod's *Catalogue*, and the Creation of the Hellenes." *PCPS* 44: 1-19.
- Fox, Robin Lane. 2008. *Travelling Heroes in the Epic Age of Homer*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Fränkel, Hermann. 1962. *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*. Munich: C.H. Beck.
- _____. 1977 [1921]. *Die homerischen Gleichnisse*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Frederiksen, Rune. 2011. *Greek City Walls of the Archaic Period, 900-480 BCE*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- _____. 2017. "Fortifications in the Seventh Century. Where and Why?" In *Interpreting the Seventh Century BC: Tradition and Innovation*, ed. Xenia Charalambidou and Catherine Morgan, 186-92. Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology.
- Friedrich, Paul and Redfield, James. 1978. "Speech as Personality Symbol: The Case of Achilles." *Language* 54: 263-88.
- Frielinghaus, Heide. 2011. *Die Helme von Olympia: ein Beitrag zu Waffenweihungen in griechischen Heiligtümern*. Berlin; New York: De Gruyter.
- Gaca, Kathy. 2008. "Reinterpreting the Homeric Simile of 'Iliad' 16.7-11: The Girl and Her Mother in Ancient Greek Warfare." *AJP* 129: 145-71.
- Gair, Christopher and Georganta, Constantina. 2012. "Greece and the Beat Generation: The Case of Lefteris Poullos." In *The Transnational Beat Generation*, ed. Nancy Grace and Jenny Skerl, 219-30. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Galloway, Stephen. 2015, March 16. "Clint Eastwood Describes His Near-Death Experience, Says 'American Sniper' is Anti-War." *The Hollywood Reporter*. Retrieved from www.hollywoodreporter.com.
- Gantz, Timothy. 1996. *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Garland, Robert. 1985. *The Greek Way of Death*. London: Duckworth.
- Gates, H.P. 1971. *The Kinship Terminology of Homeric Greek*. Bloomington: Waverly Press.
- Gerber, Douglas, ed. 1999. *Greek Elegiac Poetry from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BCE*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gill, Christopher. 1984. *Personality in Greek Epic, Tragedy, and Philosophy: The Self in Dialogue*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gimatizidis, Stefanos. 2017. "Big Women and the Gender Conflict in the Early Iron Age: A View from Greece and its Northern Periphery." In *Frauen an der Macht*, ed. Christin Keller and Katja Winger, 207-26. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt GmbH.
- Gold, Barbara. 1993. "Finding the Female in Roman Poetry." In *Feminist Theory and the Classics*, ed. Nancy Rabinowitz and Amy Richlin, 75-101. New York; London: Routledge.
- Goldhill, Simon. 1991. *The Poet's Voice: Essays on Poetics and Greek Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- González, José. 2015. *The Epic Rhapsode and His Craft: Homeric Performance in a Diachronic Perspective*. Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies.
- Gordon, Robert. 2015, February 8. "American Sniper's Sinister Philosophy: Pro-War Propaganda Wrapped in Moral Truth." *Salon*. Retrieved from www.salon.com.
- Graziosi, Barbara. 2002. *Inventing Homer: The Early Reception of Epic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Graziosi, Barbara and Haubold, Johannes, eds. 2010. *Homer. Iliad, Book VI. Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Greindl, Max. 1938. *Kleos, kudos, euchos, timē, phatis, doxa: eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung epischen und lyrischen Sprachgebrauches*. W. Lengericher Handelsdruckerei: Munich.
- Grethlein, Jonas. 2008. "Memory and Material Objects in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*." *JHS* 128: 27–51.
- Griffin, Jasper. 1977. "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer." *JHS* 97: 39-53.
- _____. 1980. *Homer on Life and Death*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hägg, Robin. 1974. *Die Gräber der Argolis in submykenischer, protogeometrischer und geometrischer Zeit*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.
- Hainsworth, Bryan. 1993. *The Iliad: A Commentary: Volume III: Books 9-12*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Halperin, David. 1990. *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Hammond, N.G.L. 1982. "The Peloponnese." In *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume 3, Part 1: The Prehistory of the Balkans, the Middle East and the Aegean World, Tenth to Eighth Centuries BC*, ed. John Boardman et al., 696-744. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hanson, Victor Davis. 1989. *The Western Way of War*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- _____. 1995. *The Other Greeks*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Härke, Heinrich. 1990. "Warrior Graves? The Background of the Anglo-Saxon Weapon Burial Ritual." *P&P* 126: 22-43.
- Harrell, Kate. 2014. "Man/Woman, Warrior/Maiden: The Lefkandi Toumba Female Burial Reconsidered." In *AΘYPMATA: Critical Essays on the Archaeology of the Eastern*

- Mediterranean in Honour of E. Susan Sherratt*, ed. Yannis Galanakis, Toby Wilkinson, and John Bennet, 99-104. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Harsh, Philip. 1950. "Penelope and Odysseus in *Odyssey XIX*." *AJP* 71: 1-21.
- Haubold, Johannes. 2000. *Homer's People: Epic Poetry and Social Formation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heath, John. 2005. *The Talking Greeks: Speech, Animals, and the Other in Homer, Aeschylus, and Plato*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Helleman, Wendy. 1995. "Homer's Penelope: A Tale of Feminine ἀρετή." *EMC* 39: 227-50.
- Herda, Alexander. 2006. "Panionion-Melia, Mykalessos-Mykale, Perseus und Medusa." *IstMitt* 56: 43-102.
- Hirschberger, Martina. 2004. *Gynaikōn Katalogos und Megalai Ehoiai*. Munich; Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter.
- Holmes, Brooke. 2007. "The Iliad's Economy of Pain." *TAPA* 137: 45-84.
- Holst-Warhaft, Gail. 1992. *Dangerous Voices: Women's Laments and Greek Literature*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Irwin, Elizabeth. 2005a. "Gods Among Men? The Social and Political Dynamics of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*." In *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Constructions and Reconstructions*, ed. Richard Hunter, 35-84. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 2005b. *Solon and Early Greek Poetry: The Politics of Exhortation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jackson, Alastar H. 1992. "Arms and Armour at the Panhellenic Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia." In *Proceedings of an International Symposium on the Olympic Games (September, 1988)*, ed. William Coulson and Helmut Kyrieleis, 141-44. Athens: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen.
- Jaeger, Werner. 1966. *Five Essays*. Montreal: M. Casalini.
- Janko, Richard. 1982. *Homer, Hesiod, and the Hymns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1998. "The Homeric Poems as Oral Dictated Texts." *CQ* 48: 1-13.
- Jarva, Eero. 2013. "Arms and Armor: Part I Arming Greeks for Battle." In *The Oxford Handbook of Warfare in the Classical World*, ed. Brian Campbell and Lawrence Tritle, 395-418. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Jeffery, L.H. 1976. *Archaic Greece: The City States c. 700-500 B.C.* New York: Saint Martin's Press.
- Johansen, Friis K. 1967. *The Iliad in Early Greek Art.* Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
- Johnston, Sarah Iles. 2013. "'Initiation' in Myth, 'Initiation' in Practice: The Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* and its Performative Context." In *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives*, ed. David Dodd and Christopher Faraone, 155-80. New York: Routledge.
- Joplin, Patricia Klindienst. 1991. "The Voice of the Shuttle Is Ours." In *Rape and Representation*, ed. Lynn A. Higgins and Brenda R. Silver, 35-66. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kagan, Donald and Viggiano, Gregory. 2013. *Men of Bronze.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kakridis, Johannes. 1949. *Homeric Researches.* Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup.
- _____. 1971. *Homer Revisited.* Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup.
- Karanika, Andromache. 2001. "Memories of Poetic Discourse in Athena's Cult Practice." In *Athena in the Classical World*, ed. Susan Deacy and Alexandra Villing, 277-91. Leiden; Boston; Koln: Brill.
- _____. 2014. *Voices at Work: Women, Performance, and Labor in Ancient Greece.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Katz, Marilyn. 1991. *Penelope's Renown: Meaning and Indeterminacy in the Odyssey.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kennedy, George. 1986. "Helen's Web Unraveled." *Arethusa* 19: 5-14.
- Kim, Jinyo. 2000. *The Pity of Achilles: Oral Style and the Unity of the Iliad.* Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- King, Katherine. 1987. *Achilles: Paradigms of the War Hero from Homer through to the Middle Ages.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kirk, G.S. 1985. *The Iliad: A Commentary: Volume I: Books 1-4.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1990. *The Iliad: A Commentary: Volume II: Books 5-8.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Kumpf, Michael. 1984. *Four Indices of the Homeric Hapax Legomena*. Hildesheim; New York: G. Olms.
- Kurke, Leslie. 1999. *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Langdon, Susan. 2008. *Art and Identity in Dark Age Greece: 1100-700 BCE*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Larson, Jennifer. 2002. "Corinna and the Daughters of Asopus." *SyllClass* 13: 47-62.
- Latacz, Joachim. 1977. *Kampfparänase, Kampfdarstellung und Kampfwirklichkeit in der Ilias, bei Kallinos und Tyrtaios*. Munich: Zetemata.
- Lattimore, Richmond. 1951. *The Iliad of Homer*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ledbetter, Grace. 1993. "Achilles' Self-Address: *Iliad* 16.7-19." *AJP* 114: 481-91.
- Lemos, Irene S. 2002. *The Protogeometric Aegean: The Archaeology of the Late Eleventh and Tenth Centuries BC*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 2007. "...ἐπεὶ πόρε μύρια ἔδνα..." (*Iliad* 22,472): Homeric Reflections in Early Iron Age Elite Burials." In *Keimelion: Elitenbildung und elitärer Konsum von der mykenischen Palastzeit bis zur homerischen Epoche*, ed. Eva Alram-Stern and Georg Nightingale, 275-84. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Lesky, Albin. 1961. *Göttliche und menschliche Motivation im homerischen Epos*. Heidelberg: C. Winter.
- _____. 1966. *A History of Greek Literature*. London: Gerald Duckworth and Company, Ltd.
- Lloyd-Jones, Hugh. 1971. *The Justice of Zeus*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lobel, Edgar. 1930. "Corinna." *Hermes* 65: 356-65.
- Lohmann, Dieter. 1970. *Die Komposition der Reden in der Ilias*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Lohmann, Hans. 2005. "Melia, das Panionion und der Kult des Poseidon Helikonios." In *Neue Forschungen zu Ionien*, ed. Elmar Schwertheim and Engelbert Winter, 57-91. Bonn: Habelt.
- Lonsdale, Steven. 1990. *Creatures of Speech: Lion, Herding, and Hunting Similes in the Iliad*. Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner.
- Loroux, Nicole. 1995. *The Experiences of Tiresias: The Greek Man and the Feminine*. Translated by Paula Wissing. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Lord, Albert Bates. 1953. "Homer's Originality: Oral Dictated Texts." *TAPA* 84: 124-34.
- _____. 1990. *The Singer Resumes the Tale*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- _____. 2000 [1960]. *The Singer of Tales*. Cambridge, MA; London: Cambridge University Press.
- Lovatt, Helen. 2013. *The Epic Gaze: Vision, Gender and Narrative in Ancient Epic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lynn-George, Michael. 1987. *Epos: Word, Narrative, and the Iliad*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International.
- _____. 1993 "Aspects of the Epic Vocabulary of Vulnerability," *ColbyQ* 29: 197-221.
- _____. 1996. "Structures of Care in the *Iliad*." *CQ* 46: 1-26.
- Lyons, Deborah. 1997. *Gender and Immortality: Heroines in Ancient Greek Myth and Cult*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- MacLeod, C.W. 1982. *Homer: Iliad: Book XXIV*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, Richard. 1989. *The Language of Heroes: Speech and Performance in the Iliad*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- _____. 2001. "Just Like a Woman: Enigmas of the Lyric Voice." In *Making Silence Speak*, ed. André Lardinois and Laura McClure, 55-74. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- _____. 2003. "Telemachus and the Last Hero-Song." *ColbyQ* 29: 222-40.
- McInerney, Jeremy. 2010. *Cows and Culture in the World of the Ancient Greeks*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mills, Sophie. 2000. "Achilles, Patroclus and Parental Care in Some Homeric Similes." *G&R* 47: 3-18.
- Monsacré, Hélène. 1984. *Les larmes d'Achille. Le héros, la femme et la souffrance dans la poésie d'Homère*. Paris: A. Michel.
- Morgan, Catherine. 1999. *Isthmia, Excavations by the University of Chicago under the Auspices of the American School of Classical Studies, Vol. VIII: The Late Bronze Age Settlement and Early Iron Age Sanctuary*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Morgan, Gareth. 1960. *Cretan Poetry: Sources and Inspiration*. Herakleion: A.G. Kalokairinos.

- Morris, Ian. 1986. "The Use and Abuse of Homer," *CA* 5: 81-138
- _____. 1987. *Burial and Ancient Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morris, Sarah. 1985. "Book Review: *Alt-Smyrna I: Wohnschichten und Athenatempel* by Ekrem Akurgal." *AJA* 89: 177-78.
- _____. 2014. "Artists in Motion: Proto-attic and Related Pottery of the Seventh Century BC." In *Egrapsen kai Epoiesen. Studies in Greek Pottery and Iconography in Honour of Professor Michalis Tiverios*, ed. Panos Valavanis and Eleni Manakidou, 1-9. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press.
- Most, Glenn, ed. 2007. *Hesiod: The Shield, Catalogue of Women, Other Fragments*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Moulton, Carroll. 1977. *Similes in the Homeric Poems*. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Mueller, Melissa. 2010. "Helen's Hands: Weaving for *Kleos* in the *Odyssey*." *Helios* 37: 1-21.
- Muellner, L.C. 1976. *The Meaning of Homeric EUCHOMAI Through its Formulae*. Innsbruck: Inst. f. Sprachwissenschaft d. Univ. Innsbruck.
- Murnaghan, Sheila. 1986. "Penelope's *Agnoia*: Knowledge, Power, and Gender in the *Odyssey*." *Helios* 13: 103-15.
- _____. 1992. "Maternity and Mortality in Homeric Poetry." *CA* 11: 242-64.
- _____. 1994. "Reading Penelope." In *Epic and Epoch: Essays on the Interpretation and History of a Genre*, ed. Steven Oberhelman, 76-96. Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press.
- _____. 1999. "The Poetics of Loss in Greek Epic." In *Epic Traditions in the Contemporary World*, ed. Margaret Beissinger, Jane Tylus, and Susanne Wofford, 203-20. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Murray, Oswyn. 1993. *Early Greece*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Nagler, Michael. 1996. "Dread Goddess Revisited." In *Reading the Odyssey*, ed. Seth Schein, 141-61. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Nagy, Gregory. 1974. *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- _____. 1979. *The Best of the Achaeans*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- _____. 1981. "An Evolutionary Model for Text Fixation." In *Oral Traditional Literature: A Festschrift for Albert Bates Lord*, ed. John Miles Foley, 390-93. Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers, Inc.
- _____. 1996. *Poetry as Performance: Homer and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1997. "The Shield of Achilles: Ends of the Iliad and Beginnings of the Polis." In *New Light on a Dark Age: Exploring the Culture of Geometric Greece*, ed. Susan Langdon, 194-208. Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press.
- _____. 2001. "Homeric Poetry and Problems of Multiformality: The 'Panathenaic Bottleneck'." *CP* 96: 109-19.
- _____. 2013. "The Delian Maidens and the Relevance to Choral Mimesis in Classical Drama." In *Choral Mediations in Greek Tragedy*, ed. Renaud Gagné and Marianne Gover Hopman, 227-56. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Oakley, John. 2003. "Death and the Child." In *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*, ed. Jenifer Neils et al., 163-94. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Obeidallah, Dean. 2015, January 27. "'American Sniper': A Powerful Anti-War Film." *CNN*. Retrieved from www.cnn.com.
- O'Gorman, Ellen. 2006. "A Woman's History of Warfare." In *Laughing at Medusa: Classical Myth and Feminist Thought*, ed. Miriam Leonard and Vanda Zajko, 189-207. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ormand, Kirk. 2014. *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women and Archaic Greece*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ortner, Sherry. 1974. "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" *Feminist Studies* 1: 5-31.
- Osborne, Robin. 2005. "Ordering Women in Hesiod's Catalogue." In *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Constructions and Reconstructions*, ed. Richard Hunter, 5-24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 2009 [1996]. *Greece in the Making, 1200-479 BC*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Pache, Corinne. 2004. *Baby and Child Heroes in Ancient Greece*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Page, Denys. 1953. *Corinna*. London: Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

- Papadopoulos, John. 2017. "Burial Customs and Funerary Rites." In *The Early Iron Age: The Cemeteries (Agora XXXVI)*, ed. John Papadopoulos and Evelyn Smithson, 575-688. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Parker, Victor. 1997. *Untersuchungen zum Lelantischen Krieg und verwandten Problemen der frühgriechischen Geschichte*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Parry, Adam. 1956. "The Language of Achilles." *TAPA* 87: 1-7.
- Parry, Milman. 1971. *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Patterson, Cynthia. 2006. "'Citizen Cemeteries' in Classical Athens?" *CQ* 56: 48-56.
- Peponi, Anastasia-Erasmia. 2009. "Choreia and Aesthetics in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*: The Performance of the Delian Maidens (Lines 156-64)." *CA* 28: 39-70.
- Perkell, Christine. 2008. "Reading the Laments of *Iliad* 24." In *Lament: Studies in the Ancient Mediterranean and Beyond*, ed. Ann Suter, 93-117. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Plant, I.M. 2004. *Women Writers of Ancient Greece and Rome: An Anthology*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Popham, M.R. and Sackett, L.H. 1980. *Lefkandi I: The Iron Age*. Oxford: Alden Press.
- Popham, M.R., Calligas, P.G. and Sackett, L.H. 1993. *Lefkandi II. Part 2. The Protogeometric Building at Toumba. The Excavation, Architecture and Finds*. Oxford: Alden Press.
- Porter, James. 2011. "Making and Unmaking: The Achaean Wall and the Limits of Fictionality in Homeric Criticism." *TAPA* 141: 1-36.
- Porter, David. 2010. "The Simile at 'Iliad' 16.7-11 Once Again Multiple Meanings." *CW* 10: 447-54.
- Postlethwaite, Norman. 1998. "Akhilleus and Agamemnon: Generalized Reciprocity." In *Reciprocity in Ancient Greece*, ed. Christopher Gill, Norman Postlethwaite, and Richard Seaford, 93-104. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pratt, Louise. 1995. "The Seal of Theognis, Writing, and Oral Poetry." *AJP* 116: 171-84.
- _____. 2007. "The Parental Ethos of the *Iliad*." *Hesperia Supplements* 41: 25-40.
- Προμπονά, Ιωάννου. 1974. *Η Μυκηναϊκή εορτή θρονοεγκτήρια*. Athens: Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών.
- Pucci, Pietro. 1993. "Antiphonal Lament Between Achilles and Briseis," *ColbyQ* 29: 253-72.

- _____. 1998. *The Song of the Sirens: Essays on Homer*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Purves, Alex. 2010. *Space and Time in Ancient Greek Narrative*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Raaflaub, Kurt. 1993. "Homer to Solon: The Rise of the *Polis*." In *The Ancient Greek City-State*, ed. M. H. Hansen, 41-105. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ransom, Christopher. 2011. "Aspects of Effeminacy and Masculinity in the Iliad." *Antichthon* 45: 35-57.
- Rawlings, Louis. 2007. *The Ancient Greeks at War*. Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press.
- Ready, Jonathan. 2011. *Character, Narrator, and Simile in the Iliad*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Redfield, James. 1975. *Nature and Culture in the Iliad*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rehm, Rush. 1994. *Marriage to Death: The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Reinhold, Meyer. 1976. "The Generation Gap in Antiquity." In *The Conflict of Generations in Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. Stephen Bertman, 15-54. Amsterdam: B.R. Gruener.
- Reynolds, Dwight. 1995. *Heroic Poets, Poetic Heroes: The Ethnography of Performance in an Arabic Oral Epic Tradition*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Richardson, Nicholas. 1993. *The Iliad: A Commentary: Volume VI: Books 21-24*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Risch, Ernst. 1987. "Die älteste Zeugnisse für κλέος ἄφθιτον." *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung* 100: 3-11.
- Rissman, Leah. 1983. *Love as War: Homeric Allusion in the Poetry of Sappho*. Königstein: Hain.
- Rohde, Erwin. 1925. *Psyche: The Cult of Souls and the Belief in Immortality among the Greeks*. Trans. W.B. Hillis. London: Routledge.
- Rombos, Theodora. 1988. *The Iconography of Attic Late Geometric II Pottery*. Kungälv: Goterna.
- Rosen, Ralph. 1990. "Poetry and Sailing in Hesiod's *Works and Days*." *CA* 9: 99-113.
- Rosenmeyer, P.A. 1997. "Her Master's Voice: Sappho's Dialogue with Homer." *MD* 39: 123-49.

- Ruiz-Gálvez, Marisa. 2007. "Loyal Wives or just Concubines?" In *Interpreting Household Practices: Reflections on the Social and Cultural Roles of Maintenance Activities*, ed. Paloma Marcén et al., 21–24. Barcelona: Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Rupp, David. 1988. "The 'Royal Tombs' at Salamis (Cyprus): Ideological Messages of Power and Authority." *JMA* 1: 111-39.
- Rutherford, Ian. 2000. "Formulas, Voice, and Death in *Ehoie*-poetry, the Hesiodic *Gunaikon Katalogos*, and the Odysseian *Nekuia*." In *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society*, ed. Mary Depew and Dirk Obbink, 81-96. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- _____. 2005. "Mestra at Athens: Hesiod fr. 43 and the Poetics of Panhellenism." In *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Constructions and Reconstructions*, ed. Richard Hunter, 99-117. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 2011. "The *Catalogue of Women* within the Greek epic Tradition: Allusion, Intertextuality and Traditional Referentiality." In *Relative Chronology in Early Greek Epic Poetry*, ed. Øivind Andersen and Dag T. T. Haug, 152-67. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rutherford, Richard. 1996. *Homer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sahlins, Marshall. 1963. "Poor Man, Rich Man, Big Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5: 285-303.
- Seaford, Richard. 1987. "The Tragic Wedding." *JHS* 107: 106-30.
- Schadewaldt, Wolfgang. 1965. *Von Homers Welt und Werk*. Leipzig: K. F. Koehler Verlag.
- Scheid, John and Jesper Svenbro. 1996 [1994]. *The Craft of Zeus: Myths of Weaving and Fabric*. Trans. Carol Volk. Philadelphia: Penn State Press.
- Schein, Seth. 1984. *The Mortal Hero: An Introduction to Homer's Iliad*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- _____. 1995. "Female Representations and Interpreting the *Odyssey*." In *The Distaff Side*, ed. Beth Cohen, 17-27. New York: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 2016. *Homeric Epic and Its Reception: Interpretive Essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schmaltz, Bernhard. 2010. "Aktualisierte Denkmäler in Paros." *AM* 125: 173-96.

- Scodel, Ruth. 1992. "Inscription, Absence and Memory: Epic and Early Epitaph." *SIFC* 10: 57-76.
- _____. 2008. *Epic Facework: Self-Presentation and Social Interaction in Homer*. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales.
- _____. 2012. "Hesiod and the Epic Cycle." In *Homeric Contexts: Neoanalysis and the Interpretation of Oral Poetry*, ed. Franco Montanari, Antonios Rengakos, and Christos Tsagalis, 501-16. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter.
- Scott, Mary. 1980. "Aidos and Nemesis in the Works of Homer, and Their Relevance to Social or Cooperative Values." *AClass* 23: 13-35.
- Scott, William. 2009. *The Artistry of the Homeric Simile*. Hanover, NH; London: University Press of New England.
- Scully, Stephen. 1984. "The Language of Achilles." *TAPA* 114: 11-27.
- Segal, Charles. 1996. "Kleos and Its Ironies in the *Odyssey*." In *Reading the Odyssey*, ed. Seth Schein, 201-22. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Seremetakis, Nadia. 1991. *The Last Word: Women, Death, and Divination in Inner Mani*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Skinner, Marilyn. 1982. "Briseis, the Trojan Women, and Erinna." *CW* 75: 265-69.
- _____. 1983. "Corinna of Tanagra and Her Audience." *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 2: 9-20.
- Slatkin, Laura. 1991. *The Power of Thetis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Snell, Bruno. 1969. *Tyrtaios und die Sprache des Epos*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Snodgrass, Anthony. 1965. "The Hoplite Reform and History," *JHS* 85: 110-22.
- _____. 1971. *The Dark Age of Greece*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- _____. 1974. "Cretans in Arkadia." In *Antichita Cretesi: Studi in Onore di Doro Levi II*, ed. Giovanni Rizza, 196-201. Catania: Università di Catania Istituto di Archeologia.
- _____. 1980a. *Archaic Greece: The Age of Experiment*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd.
- _____. 1980b. "Towards the Interpretation of Geometric Figure Scenes." *AM* 95: 51-58.
- _____. 2006. *Archaeology and the Emergence of Greece*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

- _____. 2013. "Setting the Frame Chronologically." In *Men of Bronze*, ed. Donald Kagan and Gregory Viggiano, 85-94. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Snyder, Jane. 1981. "The Web of Song: Weaving Imagery in Homer and the Lyric Poets." *CJ* 76: 193-96.
- Stampolidis, Nicholas. 1996. *Eleutherna III.3 Reprisals. Contribution to the Study of the Customs of the Geometric-Archaic Period in Greece*. Rethymnon: University of Crete.
- Stehle, Eva. 1997. *Performance and Gender in Ancient Greece: Nondramatic Poetry in Its Setting*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stein, Charles. 2013. *Beyond the Generation of Leaves: The Imagery of Trees and Human Life in Homer*. Doctoral Dissertation. UCLA.
- Steiner, George. 1996. *Homer in English*. London: Penguin Books.
- Stewart, Andrew. 1998. "Nuggets: Mining the Texts Again." *AJA* 102: 271-82.
- Stieber, Mary. 2004. *The Poetics of Appearance in the Attic Korai*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Strasburger, Gisela. 1954. *Die kleinen Kämpfer der Ilias*. Doctoral Dissertation. Frankfurt-am-Main.
- Suzuki, Mihoko. 1989. *Metamorphoses of Helen: Authority, Difference, and the Epic*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Svenbro, Jesper. 1993 [1988]. *Phrasikleia: An Anthropology of Reading in Ancient Greece*. Trans. Janet Lloyd. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Thalmann, William. 1984. *Conventions of Form and Thought in Early Greek Epic Poetry*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Thornton, Agatha. 1984. *Homer's Iliad: Its Composition and the Motif of Supplication*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Torrance, Isabelle. 2013. *Metapoetry in Euripides*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Treherne, Paul. 1995. "The Warrior's Beauty: The Masculine Body and Self-Identity in Bronze-Age Europe." *Journal of the European Association of Archaeologists* 3: 105-44.
- Tsagalidis, Christos. 2004. *Epic Grief: Personal Laments in Homer's Iliad*. Berlin; New York: De Gruyter.

- Van Nortwick, Thomas. 2001. "Like a Woman: Hector and the Boundaries of Masculinity," *Arethusa* 34: 221-35
- Van Wees, Hans. 1992. *Status Warriors: War, Violence and Society in Homer and History*. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben.
- _____. 1999. "Homer and Early Greece." In *Homer: Critical Assessments, Volume II*, ed. Irene de Jong, 1-32. London; New York: Routledge.
- _____. 2004. *Greek Warfare: Myths and Realities*. London: Duckworth.
- _____. 2013. "Farmers and Hoplites: Models of Historical Development." In *Men of Bronze*, ed. Donald Kagan and Gregory Viggiano, 222-55. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Vermeule, Emily. 1979. *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Vernant, J.P. 1974. *Mythe et Société en Grèce ancienne*. Paris: François Maspero.
- _____. 1982. "La belle mort et le cadaver outrage." In *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, ed. Gherardo Gnoli and Jean-Pierre Vernant, 45-76. Cambridge; Paris: Cambridge University Press and Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.
- _____. 2011. "Semblances of Pandora: Imitation and Identity." Trans. Froma Zeitlin. *Critical Inquiry* 37: 404-18.
- Voyatzis, M.E. 1990. *The Early Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and Other Archaic Sanctuaries in Arkadia*. Goteborg: P. Åströms.
- _____. 1999. "The Role of Temple Building in Consolidating Arkadian Communities." In *Defining Ancient Arkadia: Symposium, April 1-4, 1998*, ed. T.H. Nielsen and James Roy, 130-68. Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters.
- Wallace, Saro. 2010. *Ancient Crete: From Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives, Twelfth to Fifth Centuries BC*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Watkins, Calvert. 1995. *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- West, M. L. 1985. *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women: Its Nature, Structure, and Origins*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.
- _____. 1990. "Dating Corinna." *CQ* 40: 553-57.
- _____. 2003. *Greek Epic Fragments: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

- _____. 2011. *The Making of the Iliad*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, Bernard. 1993. *Shame and Necessity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wilson, Donna. 2002. *Ransom, Revenge, and Heroic Identity in the Iliad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Winkler, Jack. 1990. *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece*. New York: Routledge.
- Winslow, Donald. 1995. *Life-Writing: A Glossary of Terms in Biography, Autobiography, and Related Forms*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Whitley, James. 1991a. "Social Diversity in Dark Age Greece." *ABSA* 86: 341-65.
- _____. 1991b. *Style and Society in Dark Age Greece: The Changing Face of a Pre-Literate Society, 1100-700 BC*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 1996. "Gender and Hierarchy in Early Athens: The Strange Case of the Disappearance of the Rich Female Grave." *Métis* 11: 209-32.
- _____. 2002. "Objects with Attitude: Biographical Facts and Fallacies in the Study of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Warrior Graves." *CArchJ* 12: 217-32.
- Whitman, Cedric. 1958. *Homer and the Heroic Tradition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wofford, Susanne. 1992. *The Choice of Achilles: The Ideology of Figure in the Epic*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Wohl, Victoria. 1993. "Standing by the Stathmos: The Creation of Sexual Ideology in the *Odyssey*." *Arethusa* 26: 19-50.
- Worman, Nancy. 1997. "The Body as Argument: Helen in Four Greek Texts." *CA* 16: 151-203.
- _____. 2002. *The Cast of Character: Style in Greek Literature*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Zanker, Graham. 1994. *The Heart of Achilles: Characterization and Personal Ethics in the Iliad*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Zaphiropoulou, Photini N. 2006. "Geometric Battle Scenes on Vases from Paros." In *Pictorial Pursuits: Figurative Painting on Mycenaean and Geometric Pottery*, ed. Eva Rystedt and Berit Wells, 271-77. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.