



THE
DELTA
TRADITION

ILIADIC FAIRY TALES

WARD BLONDÉ

The Narrative Delta Tradition

Short Description

The narrative Delta tradition is the fourth of five Homeric traditions that Ward Blondé discovered in the *Iliad*. The result is attractive fairy tales that were set aside by other oral traditions but come to life in this book.

Summary

This book about the narrative Delta tradition has a dual target audience: first, the layman who likes to read unique fairy tales that – according to the theory in this book – stem from Central and Eastern European warrior clans from the Bronze Age. For them, there are the anger of Achilles, the abduction of Helen, and the compassion of Achilles, stripped of the overloaded presence of Greek oral traditions. Second, the scientist who wants to distinguish the narrative Delta tradition from other oral traditions in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by means of 158 Delta characteristics. The scientist and the interested layman also learn how Odysseus has grown over the centuries from a herald – the Bronze Age diplomat – to the cunning hero who endures the most dangerous adventures on his return journey to Ithaka.

Like the European Beta tradition, the narrative Delta tradition stems from a society of clans fighting each other to the death on the battlefield. They burn their dead, place the remains in urns, and cast burial mounds above them. Their strongholds are surrounded by ramparts of wood and earth and a ditch. All this points in the direction of proto-Celtic Europe of the Bronze Age, in which the funeral customs of the Urnfield culture merge with those of the Tumulus culture. Chariots and horses sacrificed on the funeral pyre point in the direction of the nomads in Eastern Europe, Russia, and Central Asia.

The Narrative Delta Tradition Iliadic Fairy Tales

Ward Blondé

First edition: May 2021

All passages from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in this book use the translations of Richmond Lattimore.

Ward Blondé

The Narrative Delta Tradition: Iliadic Fairy Tales

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Quotes about Earlier Books in the Homeric Traditions Series

William F. Hansen, Professor Emeritus of Classical Studies and Folklore at Indiana University, Bloomington, USA:

I read your argument with interest. The “king story” that you reconstruct is not, to my knowledge, attested anywhere in oral tradition. (November 2019)

Haris Koutelakis, PhD in Archaeology and History, Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece:

I just finished my book about the *Odyssey* after many, many years. Of course, in that, I have made some citations to your books. But now I must read your new one! (November 2019)

Emmanuel Pantos, Homeric friend:

It’s an excellently organised text. Well done. Looking forward to your Gamma, Delta, and Epsilon efforts. (November 2019)

Nissim Tsuk-Ran, PhD in Comparative Literature and Homeric Poetry, Bar Ilan University, Israel:

Thank you very much for this vital information for my research. Your Alpha tradition up to the Epsilon tradition is very new and unknown to me and very interesting. (August 2020)

Nicholas Nikoloudis, Doctor in Cultural and European History:

I am not an expert in Archaeology or Homeric Studies, but I find your methodology very interesting. I believe it can make significant contributions toward a better understanding of the anthropological and cultural substratum of the remote European past. (October 2020)

Louise Jensby, Master’s degree and teacher in History and Classical studies at Aarhus University, Denmark, on the Mykenaian king story:

I really like your thoughts and conclusions and find your arguments convincing. Well written and easy to follow. (October 2020)

Johan Weststeijn, an expert in oral traditions and researcher in the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands:

I am also reading the rest of your books now. Interesting! (October 2020)

Lorne Hill, Emeritus in History with Ancient Greek History as a hobby, History Department, University of Toronto, Canada, on the European Beta tradition:

You are to be congratulated for tackling such a thorny topic. Your thesis deserves detailed discussion by experts. (May 2021)

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About the Author

Ward Blondé has been fascinated by the Homeric Question since he was twelve. He studied Latin–mathematics and Greek for one year at Sint–Lodewijks college in Lokeren. Because of his talent for mathematics and logic, he became a civil engineer in physics and a doctor in the applied biological sciences. He worked as a post-doc in Graz, Trondheim, and Amsterdam, but currently works as a bioinformatician in Belgium (Ghent region). In his spare time, he has been studying Schwarz’s translation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* since 1993.

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Introduction

This book about the narrative Delta tradition is suitable for two audiences: first, for the layman or laywoman who would like to read unique war fairy tales from the European Bronze Age but is not necessarily interested in a scientific study. They can browse *The Anger of Achilles* (p.43–p.67), *The Abduction of Helen* (p.74–p.105), and *The Compassion of Achilles* (p.114–p.136).¹ It can also be useful to first look at the figure on p.17 as an example of a defensive rampart around which the fights in the fairy tales often revolve.

The second target group consists of scientists interested in the *Iliad* and/or the *Odyssey*. They are initiated in the oral characteristics and passages of the narrative Delta tradition, in the discussions of the reconstructed fairy tales, and in the oral past of the character Odysseus.

This book is the fourth in the series Homeric Traditions. This series consists of five Greek oral traditions that can be discovered in the *Iliad*, based on so-called oral characteristics.² The first three books in the series are *The Mykenaian Alpha Tradition: On the Origin of Greek Stories* (Blondé 2018), *The European Beta Tradition: On the Origin of the Iliad* (Blondé 2019), and *The Aeolian Gamma Tradition: On the Origin of Roman Stories* (Blondé 2020). The last book in the series, which will be published after this fourth volume, will be *The Ionian Epsilon tradition: Homer's finishing touch*. The five oral traditions are named according to their presumed origins, except for the narrative Delta tradition. In this book, the following issues are proven:

1. The *Iliad* hides a separate oral tradition, with its own oral characteristics, passages, and fairy tales: the narrative Delta tradition.
2. The narrative Delta tradition is a variant of the European Beta tradition that renders the war stories in fairy-tale form.

¹The many footnotes are mainly intended for the second target group: the scientist.

²See the “Terminology” section on p. 8.

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3. Like the European Beta tradition, the narrative Delta tradition dates to the non-Greek European Bronze Age.
 4. Of the five oral traditions, the narrative Delta tradition has had the strongest influence on the architecture of the *Iliad*.
 5. The character Odysseus has evolved from a herald in the narrative Delta tradition to the cunning hero in the *Odyssey* during the evolutions of the oral traditions on Greek soil.

The entire Homeric Traditions project aims to make a revolutionary contribution to the Homeric Question, based on a thorough knowledge of a translation³ of the *Iliad* and the clustering of oral characteristics in oral traditions, story types, stories, type scenes, and roles. This does not alter the fact that much can be supplemented by scientists with a good knowledge of the Homeric artificial language or more knowledge of particular regions and periods within the vast area that the five oral traditions are likely to cover.

Reading Guide

We can now begin researching the narrative Delta tradition. The scientific background is given in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 identifies the passages and oral characteristics of the narrative Delta tradition. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 contain reconstructed fairy tales about the anger of Achilles, the abduction of Helen, and the compassion of Achilles. An analysis of the narrative Delta tradition based on annotated passages follows in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 describes how the character Odysseus has grown from the role of herald in the narrative Delta tradition to a versatile character in the *Odyssey*. Finally, in Chapter 8, the conclusions follow.

³This fits well with the hypothesis that oral traditions and their oral characteristics were constantly translated and thus extended across languages and dialects.

Chapter 1

Scientific Background

In this chapter, the necessary terminology for oral traditions is given first. Then follows a section in which a brief explanation is presented of which positions Homeric scholars have taken in the past. We can distinguish four schools of thought: the Analysts, the Unitarians, the Oralists, and the Neo-analysts. Subsequently, a case is made for using translations more often, in addition to the text in the original language, in the study of ancient oral traditions. Two sections follow with background knowledge on the European Beta tradition (Blondé 2019), which is closely related to the narrative Delta tradition. Finally, the three remaining oral traditions in the Homeric Traditions series are elucidated: the Mykenaian Alpha tradition, the Aeolian Gamma tradition, and the Ionian Epsilon tradition.

Terminology

Before moving on to scientific theories, it may be helpful to clarify some terms about oral traditions first. An *oral tradition* is a tradition in which bards or singers, especially in illiterate communities, hand down stories through the ages. They often use a verse form or *meter*, such as the *dactylic hexameter*, in which the words must fit. In the dactylic hexameter, words are classified into syllables that are short or long, and these syllables must fit into six (*hexa* in Greek) so-called *feet*. A dactylic hexameter *foot* is either long–long (a spondee) or long–short–short (a dactyl).

Bards master this system to such an extent that they can *improvise* oral texts in it. They do this by memorizing much smaller building blocks than an hour-long oral text. Such building blocks consist, for example, of fixed

combinations of *epitheta* (adjectives) and nouns: Hektor of the shining helm, the swift-footed Achilles, the elaborate chariot, and so on. These fixed combinations then fit into a part of the verse's meter.

Another example of a building block is the *type scene*. This is a scene in a story that occurs regularly, such as the dawn of a new day, the preparation of a meal, or the welcoming of a guest.¹ The scene then acquires a typical structure, as a grip for the bards, and often repeats complete verses literally. This allows long *passages* (parts of text) to take shape.

Another example of a building block is the *Homeric simile*. These are comparisons made in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* between events in the story and certain categories, such as animals or crafts. An example of a very brief Homeric simile is “*Achilleus bounded to the door of the house like a lion.*”²

A *story type* includes a plan for a story of which there are several examples. The Greek hero story is a story type. The stories about Herakles and Perseus are concrete examples of this story type. Oral traditions, story types, stories, and type scenes are examples of an *oral scope*.

Oral scopes in the Homeric Traditions series are distinguished via *oral characteristics*. These are mostly conceptual elements, such as “king,” “chariot,” or “wine.” However, they can also involve a relationship with other oral scopes, or *oral techniques*, such as making digressions or using Homeric similes. This is because oral characteristics that characterize a certain oral scope occur in tighter clusters than oral characteristics from a different oral scope. The tightness of a cluster of oral characteristics is determined by two dimensions: first, how closely the characteristics occur in the text, and second, for conceptual characteristics, how closely related they are in meaning (for example, “cauldron” and “fire” are closely related).

Thus, oral scopes can be discovered by clustering oral characteristics that occur in the same passages and that are related because of their meaning. For the Homeric Traditions series, it concerns twenty-five oral scopes, characterized by about a thousand oral characteristics.³

The version of the *Iliad* that has been handed down to us via writing is sometimes called *our Iliad*. This is opposed to *the Iliad*, which often refers to the *Iliad* in the *Iliad* tradition that came before the fixation of *our Iliad*.

¹See Edwards (1992) for more examples of type scenes in the *Iliad*.

²*Iliad* XXIV 573.

³See p. 24-40 and the appendix “Overview of All Oral Characteristics (Alpha–Delta).”

The Homeric Question: From Analysts to Neoanalysts

The Analysts^{4,5,6} start from the basic assumption that the *Iliad* has several authors who have worked consecutively on the same text. Those authors would then have systematically expanded or edited a core, or an *Ur-Iliad*. This basic assumption fits well with the conclusion that the *Iliad* is a patchwork quilt of passages that differ in form and style. There are digressions, meetings of the gods, battle passages, Homeric similes, passages that recur literally, and passages that – apparently – can easily be removed without harming the whole of the *Iliad*. As shown in this series of Homeric Traditions, this state mainly results from a multitude of oral scopes that have influenced the *Iliad* tradition.

The Unitarians^{7,8} have always maintained that the *Iliad* is the work of a master author who has exquisitely combined the material handed down to him into a whole. They point to the great unity of the *Iliad* and to all kinds of details that show that the passages challenged by the Analysts still belong in their precise place.

The Oralists⁹ emphasize the fact that the *Iliad*, with its many fixed formulas, repetitions, and type scenes, is an oral text instead of one composed through writing. According to Lord's theory, a single bard recited the entire *Iliad* at a slow pace to someone who put it in writing. Yet oralism is much more than a fixation theory. It explains many aspects of the texts and therefore has been a decisive step forward in our knowledge of the oldest Greek literature.

The Neoanalysts¹⁰ have explored the question of how the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* fit into the Trojan Cycle¹¹ (as far as it is preserved) and even in

⁴Wilamowitz's (1916) ideas culminated after more than a century of analytic literature.

⁵Van Thiel (1982, 1988) argues that an early *Iliad* and an early *Odyssey* were composed by several bards, while a late *Iliad* and a late *Odyssey* were completed by the same bard.

⁶West (2011) adheres to a theory in which a single master bard has expanded and edited a text in successive stages based on orally transmitted texts.

⁷Unlike many Unitarians who try to demonstrate unity by claiming that only one author could be such a genius, Willcock (1990) tries to defend unity in a reasoned manner.

⁸Meier (2018) studies chapters II to VII of the *Iliad* in detail and concludes that, despite the apparent interruptions, the *Iliad* is a unity.

⁹Lord (1960, 1991) continued the work of Milman Parry (1930), who explored the poems of contemporary Serbo-Croat bards. This ultimately gave a unique insight into the origin of the Homeric works and the field of Oralism in general.

¹⁰Burgess (2001); Montanari (2012) *Homeric Contexts: Neoanalysis and the Interpretation of Oral Poetry*. This is a book with contemporary contributions on Neoanalysis.

¹¹Evelyn-White (1995); West (2013) *A Commentary on the Lost Troy Epics*.

other written sources, such as Hesiodic works.¹² They conclude that the *Iliad* assumes the stories of the Trojan Cycle as a known background and that passages from the Trojan Cycle are recycled in the *Iliad*. Although the Trojan Cycle did not take a fixed form until later than the *Iliad*, *our Iliad*, the fixed version of the *Iliad* delivered to us, is still younger than the Trojan Cycle. This theory is compatible with that presented in the Homeric Traditions series, in which both the *Iliad* and the Trojan Cycle are much older than their fixed forms. Yet, it seems that the *Iliad* has often claimed the main characters in type scenes and patterns throughout an *Iliad* tradition that may date back centuries. The Trojan Cycle is mostly a product of the Aeolian Gamma tradition.

The theory about the origin of the *Iliad* in the Homeric Traditions series tries to reconcile the best of these existing theories. Perhaps it can be called *Multi-oralistic*, because of the multiple oral traditions and because Oralism provides the most fruitful insights. For example, in this book, it will be shown that chapters VI and X of the *Iliad* have a multi-layered past, in which the Ionian Epsilon tradition is always the youngest layer.

The situation for the *Odyssey* is different and may need to be approached from an Analytical perspective,¹³ especially for the final stages of fixation. Nevertheless, the Multi-oralistic approach provides a multifaceted insight into the older phases of the *Odyssey*. It provides the description of the king story,¹⁴ the telestory,¹⁵ and the type scene of the brave scout (see Chapter 7), which are at the basis of the *Odyssey*.

On the Translatability of Oral Characteristics

The big names in Homeric research have mainly been experts who have examined the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in their original language. That extra knowledge is, without a doubt, an important advantage. For example, the Oralists were able to discover that the hexameter system to which the verses comply had been in use since the Mykenaian time and must have also gone through an Aeolian phase during the Greek Dark Ages. Moreover, in a translation, one is at the mercy of the translator's accuracy. For example, the three names used for the Greeks, namely, Achaians, Danaans, and Argives,

¹²Evelyn-White (1920).

¹³Heubeck (1990).

¹⁴Blondé (2018), p. 23-49.

¹⁵Blondé (2020), p. 49-54.

are simply translated as “Greeks” by some translators. Moreover, the double names characters usually have, such as their father’s name and their own name, are sometimes reduced to one’s own name, which is easier to remember.

Nonetheless, there are probably certain drawbacks to the study of the *Iliad* in Homeric Greek. First, the study of a dead language takes a great deal of time. In addition, there is a risk that a foreign, dead language will delay reading too much to look up oral characteristics quickly, so one automatically tends to pay attention to linguistic details rather than meaningful content. However, the main drawback is that the linguistic aspects of Homer are the least valuable regarding the study of an oral tradition. It is precisely the translatable characteristics of the stories in which the public was interested and which the bards relayed in the contemporary dialect of their own region. Although the strict hexameter system passed down certain ancient linguistic features, the language is much younger than the translatable oral characteristics of an oral tradition. Indeed, it is precisely those translatable oral characteristics that are so meaningful and therefore of great importance to historians and archaeologists.

That translatable oral characteristics easily go back a millennium and effortlessly break through language barriers is well demonstrated by the reindeer of Santa Claus. Just like the white horse of Santa Claus (Sinterklaas) in Belgium and the Netherlands, these animals go back to Sleipnir, the eight-legged horse of the god Odin in Nordic mythology, more than a thousand years ago. Many other oral characteristics of Europe’s end-of-year stories go back that far in time and are widespread across the continent. This includes, for example, the black-and-white contrast and the terrifying bogeymen and monsters. However, if we were to write down those end-of-year stories and songs at any given time, we would find that the language is at most a few decades old and confined to a particular language or dialect.

Likewise it is with the fixation of the *Iliad* tradition in the Ionian Epsilon tradition. While the translatable oral characteristics extend over centuries and a wide area, the language-specific characteristics only draw a small circle around the coordinates of the textual fixation. Therefore, it seems advisable that Homeric scholars also learn the language of Homeric oral scopes and their associated oral characteristics. Both the scopes and the characteristics have been organized in the appendix “Overview of All Oral Characteristics (Alpha–Delta)” for this reason. However, it may be fruitful for a scholar to focus on just one or a few of the oral scopes.

The European Beta Tradition: A Related Tradition

The narrative Delta tradition is closely related to the European Beta tradition. Both traditions assume the same setting of two hostile camps waging war on the battlefield and threatening each other's fortified towns. However, for the European Beta tradition, the raw battle passages are at the heart of the narrative, while the narrative Delta tradition focuses on what happens before and after battle. These are the ten main oral characteristics of the European Beta tradition:¹⁶

- B1. The battle scene
- B2. Gruesome injuries
- B3. Chariots
- B4. Progressive type scenes
- B5. Thematic type scenes
- B6. The intervention of the gods of war
- B7. Duels
- B8. The clan system
- B9. Combat psychology
- B10. Beta-specific fixed formulas

As shown in B4 and B5,¹⁷ the oral characteristics of the European Beta tradition also include several type scenes. These are oral scopes that, in turn, consist of a collection of oral characteristics. They are the following:¹⁸

- B39. Setting up the army before the fight
- B40. The warrior in need and the helper
- B41. The warrior who blames his companion
- B42. The cowardly archer
- B43. The withheld honor gift
- B44. The resentful warrior

¹⁶Blondé (2019), p. 70-72.

¹⁷All the codes of oral characteristics from this book and the previous books, together with their short descriptions, are presented in the appendix "Overview of All Oral Characteristics (Alpha-Delta)."

¹⁸Blondé (2019), p. 79-80.

B45. Fame for the father

The type scenes can be further classified into thematic type scenes and progressive type scenes.¹⁹ The oral characteristics B40 to B45 are thematic type scenes that can be used in different places in the poem. B39, setting up the army before the fight, is a progressive type scene tied to a particular place in the poem. Yet, this type scene has become so important that it is used in several places in the poem, often with distorted logic. Other examples of progressive type scenes are the first houses that start to burn, the death of the main hero, and the funeral ceremony.

In the *Iliad*, the European Beta tradition and the narrative Delta tradition complement each other, making it difficult to discern what the battle scenes in the narrative Delta tradition sounded like. This is because oral characteristics are used that are difficult to distinguish from those of the European Beta tradition. Perhaps the narrative Delta tradition could not even do without the European Beta tradition, and amidst the Delta fairy tales, bards regularly switched to combat passages in the European Beta tradition. Conversely, the narrative Delta tradition seems to have largely taken over the description of warrior life outside the battlefield, at least in our *Iliad*.

Some oral characteristics are shared by both traditions. The rampart and the ditch (B24=D9) and the burial mounds (B30=D30) are examples of this. The funeral ceremony (D37) seems to have been completely taken over by the narrative Delta tradition. Some shared oral characteristics have a completely different emphasis. For example, horses and wagons²⁰ are part of the narrative Delta tradition, but the warriors fight in the rare Delta passages on the battlefield usually on foot, while the chariot almost never disappears in the European Beta tradition. If spear and sword are mentioned together, it is probably the narrative Delta tradition, while gruesome wounds are more part of the European Beta tradition.

The non-Greek European Origins of the Narrative Delta Tradition

Since the European Beta tradition and the narrative Delta tradition are so closely linked, they almost certainly stem from the same geographic location. In the book on the European Beta tradition, it has been argued that this

¹⁹Blondé (2019), p. 11.

²⁰ιππηλαστος.

location is Central Europe, or at least non-Greek Europe.²¹ The purpose of this section is to show that both the European Beta tradition and the narrative Delta tradition probably stem from non-Greek Europe and that they are compatible in describing their society of origin.

An important reason to look at Central Europe is that the burial customs there correspond to those in the *Iliad*, namely, a fusion of the customs of the Urnfield peoples and the Tumulus peoples, as in the Riegsee region.²² Despite the similarities between the burial customs in the *Iliad* and Central European burial customs, there were hero cults in the Greek Dark Ages, some of which have clear parallels with the descriptions in the *Iliad*.²³ Possibly these were imitations²⁴ of the oral and cultural tradition received by the Greeks from Central Europe,²⁵ rather than the *Iliad* reflecting purely Greek hero cults. After all, many of the hero cults revere Homeric heroes. In addition, the Greeks integrated the tombs from the Mykenaian period with the hero cults so that there are almost no cults that correspond well with the *Iliad*. A mutual influence between the Homeric funeral passages and the Greek hero cults seems plausible. Nonetheless, this does not detract from the remarkable agreement between the *Iliad* and Central European funeral customs. See also oral characteristic D30 on p. 33 for a more detailed description of Homeric funeral passages.

The reason for also designating Eastern Europe and perhaps even Russia as a region of origin is the use of chariots and the sacrifice of horses on the funeral pyre of Patroklos. Horses were very important to the Eurasian nomads²⁶ who roamed that region. Chariots were used in the Asian steppe as early as 2000 BC, and they spread systematically westward over the following millennium. Around 1600 BC, they were already used in Greece, but not yet in Central Europe. A presence of chariots around 1200 BC in Central Europe may therefore be too late to form a basis for an oral tradition in which chariots are so central.

²¹Blondé (2019), p. 46-49.

²²De Laet (1967) p. 126-158; Falkenstein (2012) describes the shift from burial mounds to urnfields in southern Central Europe; Smith (1957) points out that the combination of urns with burial mounds can also be found regularly after the transition to urnfields. See also p. 33.

²³Hägg (1999).

²⁴According to Coldstream (1976), the cults follow from the Homeric epics, while Antonaccio (1995) argues the opposite.

²⁵See Blondé (2019; p. 133-139) for the theory that a Central European, ideology-based empire dominated Greece during the Greek Dark Ages.

²⁶See also Erlikh (2019) for the description of a pre-Scythian warrior grave.

Probably the most important indication of a non-Greek European origin is the fact that the battle at the Greek rampart of earth and wood surrounded by a ditch²⁷ is traditional.²⁸ The rampart, the ditch, and the positioning of chariots before the ditch²⁹ are part of the European Beta type scene of setting up the army before the fight.³⁰ They are central to the battles during several chapters of the *Iliad*. Simultaneously, the Greek rampart in the *Iliad* corresponds well with the defensive ramparts in Central Europe (see Figure 1). The Greek strongholds, however, were stone and not slant but vertical, which precludes earthen ramparts with a ditch around it. That burial mounds³¹ and the rampart of earth and wood³² belong to the same oral tradition is most clearly demonstrated by the following passage:

*But when the dawn was not yet, but still the pallor of night's edge, a chosen body of the Achaians formed by the pyre; and they gathered together and piled one single mound all above it indiscriminately from the plain, and built a fort on it with towered ramparts, to be a defense for themselves and their vessels; and they built within these walls gates strongly fitted that there might be a way through them for the driving of horses.*³³

See also oral characteristic D9 on p. 27 for a more detailed description of the Homeric ramparts. Since the rampart and ditch are unmistakably part of the European Beta tradition, we must conclude from the above passage that the same is probably true for burial mounds. Yet the above passage, in which the rampart and ditch are constructed, clearly belongs to the narrative Delta tradition. It is, in fact, part of a much longer passage of the narrative Delta tradition.³⁴ This longer passage will be partially analyzed later (see p. 154). That the burial mounds also belong to the narrative Delta tradition is evident from many other passages in which the burial mounds have the

²⁷De Laet (1967; p. 137): "In Switzerland, some villages were located on top of a hill. Access to it was blocked by a ditch and by a rampart of earth and stone, reinforced with a horizontal wooden beam construction. A typical example of this is the Wittnauer Horn."

²⁸Blondé (2019; p. 86-91).

²⁹This indicates that a nomadic origin can at most be a partial solution.

³⁰See B39, Ba7, Ba10, and Ba20 in the appendix "Overview of All Oral Characteristics (Alpha-Delta)."

³¹See B30 and D30 in the appendix "Overview of All Oral Characteristics (Alpha-Delta)."

³²See B24 and D9 in the appendix "Overview of All Oral Characteristics (Alpha-Delta)."

³³*Iliad* VII 433-439.

³⁴*Iliad* VII 273-441.

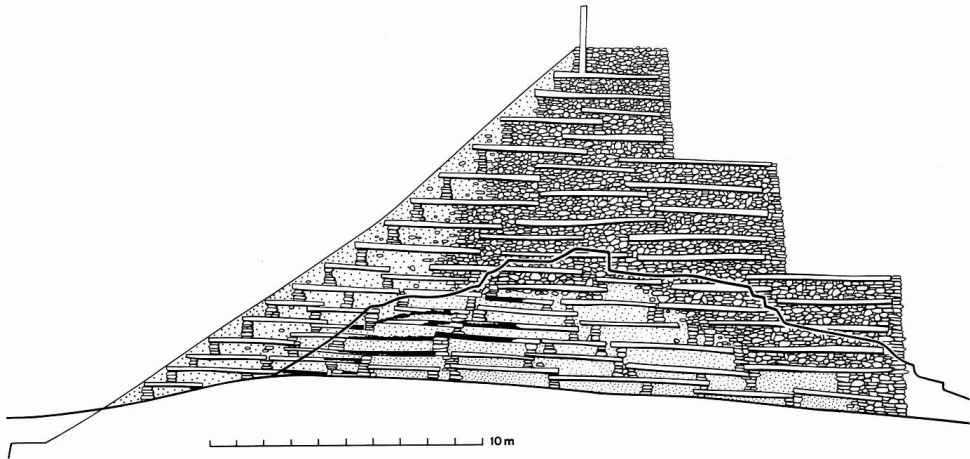


Figure 1: Reconstructed cross-section of the defensive rampart of the Wittnauer Horn (Drack 1968, p. 109). The Wittnauer Horn was a defensible hilltop village in the hilly canton of Aargau in Northern Switzerland (Bersu 1945; Drack 1968; Berger 1996). The village had several occupation periods (second millennium BC to AD eighth century). To the left of the rampart, not shown, is a ditch, which reconciles this section with the rampart and ditch of the Greeks in the *Iliad*. The stones present may explain why the beams of the Greek towers creaked under the throw of the stones (*Iliad* XII 36-37) and why the stones fell to the ground “as dense as snowflakes” (*Iliad* XII 154-161; *Iliad* XII 278-289). Apart from the wooden parapet on top, the *Iliad* also mentions wooden defensive towers.

function of a landscape element or in which they are part of a Delta passage about a funeral. An example of the latter is the passage with which the *Iliad* concludes:

Nine days they spent bringing in an endless supply of timber. But when the tenth dawn had shone forth with her light upon mortals, they carried out bold Hektor, weeping, and set the body aloft a towering pyre for burning. And set fire to it. But when the young dawn showed again with her rosy fingers, the people gathered around the pyre of illustrious Hektor. But when all were gathered to one place and assembled together, first with gleaming wine they put out the pyre that was burning, all where the fury of the fire still was in force, and thereafter the brothers and companions of Hektor gathered the white bones up, mourning, as the tears swelled and ran down their cheeks. Then they laid what they had gathered up in a golden casket and wrapped this about

*with soft robes of purple, and presently put it away in the hollow of the grave, and over it piled huge stones laid close together. Lightly and quickly they piled up the grave-barrow, and on all sides were set watchmen for fear the strong-greaved Achaians might too soon set upon them. They piled up the grave-barrow and went away, and thereafter assembled in a fair gathering and held a glorious feast within the house of Priam, king under God's hand. Such was their burial of Hektor, breaker of horses.*³⁵

Besides the oral characteristics related to funeral customs, we find in this passage a lavish meal (D5), the alternation of day and night (D17), sentries (D20), wine (D21), fire and firewood (D26), and tears, weeping, and lamentation (D46). All these oral characteristics belong to the narrative Delta tradition.

The method of fighting is also an argument for a non-Greek European origin. However, just as the practice of raising burial mounds has been more accurately recorded by the narrative Delta tradition, the manner of fighting is better illuminated by the European Beta tradition.³⁶ The manner of fighting is, however, sufficiently present in the narrative Delta passages to establish that this aspect also most likely corresponds with the European Beta tradition. For example, there is talk of horses and chariots in the narrative Delta tradition, and of swords, spears, and bows and arrows.

The narrative Delta tradition also accommodates themes of the European Beta tradition, such as the gifts of honor to Achilles, his anger, and the many themes in *Iliad* VI (see p. 158). The narrative Delta tradition provides no additional evidence of a Central European origin regarding combat, beyond the material already discussed for the European Beta tradition. For this, it is important to point out the close connection between the European Beta tradition and the narrative Delta tradition.

We can conclude that both the narrative Delta tradition and the European Beta tradition probably originated from non-Greek Europe based on the earthen rampart and ditch, the burial customs, the manner of fighting, and the close connection between both traditions. The other oral traditions are discussed in the next section.

³⁵*Iliad* XXIV 783-804.

³⁶Blondé (2019), p. 15-25 and p. 46-47.

Homeric Traditions: From Alpha to Epsilon

In addition to the European Beta tradition and the narrative Delta tradition, the Mykenaian Alpha tradition, the Aeolian Gamma tradition, and the Ionian Epsilon tradition also belong to the Homeric Traditions series.

The Mykenaian Alpha Tradition

Of the five Homeric traditions, the Mykenaian Alpha tradition is probably the oldest. It may go back to the early Mykenaian period, when Mykenaian society had not yet evolved into a bureaucratic system in which the mutual balance of power was precisely determined. In any case, the Mykenaian Alpha society resembles that of the mafia, with the destruction of cities and a violent transfer of power occurring frequently. This is evident from the main oral characteristics of the Mykenaian Alpha tradition (A1-A10):³⁷ wars on cities, bloody feuds within the family, kings, the brave hero, the change of power, the cycle of misery, the revenge on the return, the special education, fatal women, and failed marriages.

Two story types stem from the Mykenaian Alpha tradition: the king story type and the hero story type. The king story type shows itself in four concrete stories: the battle for Ithaka in the *Odyssey*, the betrayal of Agamemnon in Mykenai, the *Seven Against Thebes*, and the war for Troy. This story type is about the king of a city who is deceived during his long absence. Traitors take over. This leads to a siege of the city by the king and his faithful. In the end, the traitors lose.

The hero story type can be found in as many stories as there are Greek heroes. This story type concerns a hero who receives a special education during a difficult childhood. When the hero grows up, he commits great deeds in another kingdom and marries the king's daughter. Nonetheless, the hero ends up unhappy.

The Mykenaian Alpha tradition can mainly be found in the many digressions of the *Iliad*. In this way, we can attribute ten percent of the *Iliad* to the Mykenaian Alpha tradition. We also find it in the many proper names of persons and places. Although the Catalogue of Ships in *Iliad* II descends as a whole from a type scene in the European Beta tradition, it does contain much of the Mykenaian Alpha tradition.

³⁷See the appendix "Overview of All Oral Characteristics (Alpha–Delta)."

In the many short digressions about the fighters who die on the battlefield, we find all five oral traditions, often mixed but not in equal measure. That is, twenty-nine slain fighters are described according to the Mykenaian Alpha tradition. By comparison, for the European Beta to the Ionian Epsilon traditions, there are nineteen, seventeen, four, and four described victims, respectively.³⁸

The Aeolian Gamma Tradition

The Aeolian Gamma tradition appears to be a more modern variant of the Mykenaian Alpha tradition, which is also strongly mixed with the European Beta tradition. It probably originated in the Aeolian region around Troy after the Greeks colonized that region in the Dark Ages. It can mainly be recognized by a series of proper names of people, cities, regions, rivers, gods, horses, and ancestors. Among these are Achilleus, Diomedes, Herakles, and Aineias for the people; Troy and Dardanos for the cities; Xanthos and Skamandros for the rivers; Apollo and Poseidon for the gods; Xanthos for the horses; and Tros and Dardanos for the ancestors. The many meetings of the gods in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* probably also stem from the Aeolian Gamma tradition. Important oral characteristics for recognizing the Aeolian Gamma tradition include rivers, the name “Xanthos,” mutilated corpses, nymphs and gods as one’s mother or father, and composite monsters. Shipping also appears to have penetrated a Greek oral tradition only at this juncture, as this Aeolian Gamma characteristic does not seem to cluster with oral characteristics in the Mykenaian Alpha tradition, the European Beta tradition, or the narrative Delta tradition. For example, the many ships in the Catalogue of Ships were once chariots.³⁹

The Aeolian Gamma tradition probably originated in the Aeolian region around Troy but spread through the many colonizations of the Greeks in Great Greece (*Magna Graecia*). Its spread seems to coincide with that of the cult surrounding the mother goddess Cybele, one of the oral characteristics of the Aeolian Gamma tradition not found in the *Iliad*. In any case, the Aeolian

³⁸Due to the admixture, the digressions are not mutually exclusively attributed to an oral tradition. The four descriptions of the fallen according to the narrative Delta tradition are the following: *Iliad* X 314-317 (Dolon), *Iliad* XI 104-113 (Isos and Antiphos), *Iliad* XI 122-125 (Peisandros and Hippolochos), and *Iliad* XXI 34-46 (Lykaon). Objects are sometimes also given a digression, respectively two (*Iliad* II 101-108: a scepter and *Iliad* X 261-270: Meriones’s helmet with boar teeth), zero, one (*Iliad* XV 530-532: Meges’s shield), zero, and three (Meriones’s helmet with boar teeth, Meges’s shield, and *Iliad* XVI 143-144: Achilleus’s spear).

³⁹Blondé (2019), p. 92.

Gamma tradition appears to be the origin of Roman mythology, as recorded in Virgil's *Aeneid*,⁴⁰ among others.

The Ionian Epsilon Tradition

Finally, the Ionian Epsilon tradition has excellently combined and immortalized the four other oral traditions in its system of hexameters, epithets, and Homeric similes.

There is no unanimity about how far the hexameters go back in time.⁴¹ In any case, the Ionian Epsilon society is far from that of the Mykenaian Alpha tradition. Guest friendship is central to it. This means that distant acquaintances on a tour are generously received and provided with many expensive gifts. However, less-distant guests are always welcomed friendly and with etiquette rules too.

The most striking oral characteristic of the Ionian Epsilon tradition is its luxurious materialism: Everything is beautiful, precious, shiny, smooth, and sweetly scented. Other typical oral characteristics are song and dance, the poetic style with many descriptive clauses and double epithets, Muses, the lyre, games, emotional scenes, olives, and slaves. The entire Ionian Epsilon tradition is described in detail in a subsequent book.

This concludes the scientific background. In the next chapter, we explore the essence of the narrative Delta tradition.

⁴⁰Fitzgerald (1983), Virgil, *Aeneid*.

⁴¹Dickinson (1986), Berg (2000).

Chapter 2

The Delta Tradition: Passages and Oral Characteristics

In this chapter, the narrative Delta tradition is presented, as have the preceding books in the Homeric Traditions series. We get to the heart of the matter by listing both the Delta passages and the general Delta characteristics. The oral characteristics of the individual fairy tales and the main type scene of the narrative Delta tradition, that of the brave scout, will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Analyzing passages by providing them with references to oral characteristics only takes place after the discussions of the fairy tales, because the latter have their own lists of oral characteristics. In this way, it is possible to refer to all oral characteristics.

The Delta Passages in the *Iliad* (and the *Odyssey*)

As with previous oral traditions, the Mykenaian Alpha tradition, the European Beta tradition, and the Aeolian Gamma tradition, it should be mentioned that the narrative Delta passages are never purely Delta.¹ In any case, the Ionian Epsilon tradition is always present.² Yet many Delta passages are often very pure. This is especially true of the dialogue between the characters. The passages in the *Iliad* in which the narrative Delta tradition can be found are the following:

¹See the section “The Purest Delta passages” in Chapter 6 for extracts of some of the most pure Delta passages. ²In addition, many key Delta passages will be “overwritten” with the oral scopes of certain roles/bards during the fixation of the *Iliad*. This will be explained in the book about the Ionian Epsilon tradition.

I 1 - 187	Kalchas points out to Agamemnon the offense of the priest Chryses
I 223 - 248	Achilleus insults Agamemnon and swears with the scepter in hand
I 274 - 418	The execution of Agamemnon's threat and Achilleus's plans
I 431 - 478	The Greeks sacrifice to Zeus and have a feast
II 19 - 156	Agamemnon tests the army
II 173 - 446	Nestor and Agamemnon prepare the army for battle
II 788 - 818	The Trojans see the Greek army and arm themselves
III 1 - 183	The armies prepare a binding agreement
III 191 - 229	Helen and Priam on the ramparts of Troy
III 245 - 380	The agreement between the armies is sworn to with solemn rituals
III 448 - 461	Menelaos seeks Paris, and Agamemnon claims victory
IV 146 - 219	Heralds and a physician are busy on the battlefield
VI 37 - 101	Helenos says that Hektor must have sacrifices made in Troy
VI 237 - 529	Hektor meets his relatives on the ramparts
VII 44 - 122	Hektor proposes a duel, with Zeus as witness
VII 159 - 243	The Greeks choose Aias as Hektor's opponent
VII 273 - 441	Both camps negotiate about Helen
VII 464 - 482	The Greeks prepare a meal and go to sleep
VIII 53 - 77	The Greeks and the Trojans go to war in the morning
VIII 130 - 197	Hektor mocks Diomedes on the battlefield
VIII 213 - 252	Zeus sends an eagle to assist the Greeks
VIII 485 - IX 123	The armies prepare a meal and hold a council of war
IX 162 - 181	Nestor divides tasks in a council of war
IX 224 - 265	Odysseus tries to persuade Achilleus to go to battle
IX 344 - 387	Achilleus persists in his anger
IX 410 - 446	Achilleus's two destinies and Phoinix's answer
IX 485 - 501	Phoinix on Achilleus's upbringing and pride
IX 515 - 523	Phoinix says that Achilleus must give up his anger
IX 600 - 713	The emissaries return empty-handed
X 1 - 579	Dolon, Odysseus, and Diomedes go on a spy tour
XI 84 - 142	A Beta scene with background in the Delta tales
XI 761 - 847	Nestor asks Patroklos to persuade Achilleus

XII 196 - 264	Zeus gives signs to Hektor and Poulydamas
XIII 723 - XIV 134	The Trojans regroup, and the Greeks hold a council
XVI 1 - 129	Patroklos may fight with Achilleus's armor
XVIII 233 - 355	Hektor and Poulydamas discuss in a council of war
XIX 134 - 339	Odysseus and Achilleus each play their role
XXI 520 - XXIII 64	Achilleus kills Hektor, and the Trojans wail
XXIII 1 - 64	Achilleus reluctantly eats, does not wash, and goes to sleep
XXIII 108 - 139	The Greeks prepare for the burning of Patroklos
XXIII 153 - 198	The Greeks prepare a meal and build a funeral pyre
XXIII 216 - 258	Achilleus burns Patroklos
XXIV 1 - 22	Achilleus cannot sleep
XXIV 122 - 804	Priam buys Hektor's corpse with a ransom

In the *Odyssey*, we also find a Delta passage about the death of Achilleus:

Od. XXIV 36 - 84 Achilleus dies on the battlefield and is buried

Besides that passage in *Odyssey* XXIV, we find many passages in the *Odyssey* that have the characteristics of the type scene of the brave scout. Yet, those passages have evolved a great deal within the Ionian Epsilon tradition. They are discussed in Chapter 7.

The Oral Characteristics of the Delta Tradition: D1 to D51

Many oral characteristics can already be distilled from the short descriptions of the narrative Delta passages. The passages describe actions off the battlefield, such as eating a meal, making an offering to Zeus, or gathering in a council of war. The following is a list of all the general oral characteristics, which could be fitted into any Delta fairy tale by the Delta bards:³

D1 The diversification from the fight

Although the stories of the narrative Delta tradition revolve, just like the European Beta tradition, around battle on the battlefield, the narrative Delta tradition specializes in bringing variety to the many combat

³The Delta bards are those who have recited in the narrative Delta tradition through the ages.

passages. The variety of the battle lies in the many dialogues, the councils, the meals, the sacrifices, and the scenes within the ramparts. Just before the battle, the fighters have to arm themselves. Just after the battle, the horses are detached from the chariots, and the fighters wash themselves. During the combat passages themselves, more variety is brought with themes, motifs, and zooming in on the main characters.

When Hektor appears during the battle within the ramparts of Troy, Hekabe, Hektor's mother, asks: "*Why then child, have you come here and left behind the bold battle?*"^{4,5}

D2 Councils of war

In the councils of war,⁶ it is the most significant warriors who take the lead. They operate through words instead of deeds. The clan leader has the right to make decisions. Age is very important; the oldest fighters are the most respected. In the narrative Delta tradition, there are many mentions of such a council of war, some extensive and some casual.⁷

D3 Dialogues

Direct speech is an important tool for the bards of the narrative Delta tradition. The dialogues also appear to have been preserved much better in lore. They often have a typical structure inspired by the idea that the words are pronounced within a formal council, even if they are not. The following list of rhetorical techniques can be found in the narrative Delta tradition:

- Listen to my wise advice; I will say what seems best to me.
- The almighty Zeus has proclaimed to me that . . .
- I want to fight you and your folly.
- I don't like what you say there.
- Surely you can think of something else better than this.
- If you really proclaim this in earnest, the gods themselves took away your mind.
- You accuse an innocent man.
- Go ahead of us now, as your heart tells you. Do not delay any longer.

⁴*Iliad* VI 253-254. ⁵Examples: *Iliad* VI 253-254, *Iliad* VII 274-282, and *Iliad* XVIII 241-246.

⁶αγορα, ομηγερησ. ⁷Examples: *Iliad* II 788-789, *Iliad* VII 382-383, and *Iliad* XVIII 246-255.

- Come on; let's do what I recommend.
- Shut up.

After the speech, action follows. The speaker is cheered on, or there is a long silence. This provides the bard with a simple tool to summarize the story and give it a new turn.⁸

D4 **Oppositions**

The Delta bard often thinks inside the box by using conceptual oppositions: day–night, friend–enemy, battle–peace, young–old, rampart–battlefield, word–deed. A warrior is cowardly or brave; a proposition, wise or foolish. Either a combatant excels at war or at the council. Such inside-the-box thinking makes it easy for the bard to improvise a story without having to think too much. Moreover, this makes it easier for the audience to follow the story.⁹

D5 **Meals with much meat and wine**

The meal¹⁰ is a very important social activity for the fighters. Roasted meat¹¹ and wine¹² cannot be missing. The most important fighters are given a place of honor. The Delta bard takes every opportunity to integrate the meal into the story.¹³

D6 **The repetition of the same oral characteristic**

Another technique that makes it easier for the Delta bards to improvise their story is the repetition of the same oral characteristic. For example, when Achilles heats water to wash Patroklos's corpse, the Delta characteristics "fire"¹⁴ and "water"¹⁵ are used three times in succession and "cauldron," twice.^{16,17}

D7 **The cooperation with the European Beta tradition**

The European Beta tradition and the narrative Delta tradition do not seem able to do without each other conveying a story with the quality of the *Iliad*. The European Beta tradition delivers combat acts on the battlefield, while the narrative Delta tradition mainly shapes the events before and after the battle. Probably the European Beta tradition and the

⁸Examples: *Iliad* II 333-336, *Iliad* VII 398-399, and *Iliad* VIII 492-542. ⁹Examples: council–war: *Iliad* I 258, young–old: *Iliad* II 789, and battle–rest: *Iliad* XIX 221-237. ¹⁰*δορπον, δακτηη*. ¹¹*κρεας*. ¹²*ουνος*. ¹³Examples: *Iliad* VIII 502-503, *Iliad* IX 70-71, and *Iliad* XVIII 245. ¹⁴D26: fire and firewood. ¹⁵D38: boilers, bathtubs, and water for washing. ¹⁶*Iliad* XVIII 344-348. ¹⁷Examples: food and preparing food: *Iliad* VII 314-323, night: *Iliad* VIII 500-502, and keeping silent: *Iliad* IX 29-30.

narrative Delta tradition were often combined in the same narratives in their region of origin and during the Dark Ages in Greece. Nonetheless, both traditions were probably individually capable of telling a complete story. The reconstructed fairy tales provide proof of this as far as the narrative Delta tradition is concerned.¹⁸

D8 The type scene of the brave scout

The narrative Delta tradition works with many type scenes, such as the meal, the councils, the actions immediately after the battle, the sacrifice, and so on. A type scene that has almost become a story unto itself is the brave scout. A scout or a small group of scouts is sent into enemy territory to carry out a dangerous mission. Yet the scout always succeeds. This type scene can be recognized by thirty-four oral characteristics, which are discussed in Chapter 7. It is via this type scene that Odysseus has evolved from herald to cunning hero.¹⁹

D9 Ramparts, a ditch, gates, towers, and the battlefield

The ramparts,²⁰ ditches,²¹ gates,²² and towers²³ built by the Greeks around their ships are central to the stories of the narrative Delta tradition.²⁴ The Delta bards do not discuss the stone walls of Troy in detail,²⁵ but the ramparts of earth and wood around the Greek camp all the more (see Figure 1 on p. 17). Before it is a ditch with bridges over it at the gates. In pure Delta fairy tales, the situation is identical to the enemy's camp (the Trojans). The ramparts play an important role in different types of passages. Their function as a defense against violence is decisive. Within the ramparts are the women, the children, and the elderly. The battlefield can be safely overlooked from the ramparts. The ramparts and gates are guarded by sentries, and if the battle chances turn in the plain, it is important to flee within the ramparts as quickly as possible. Several emotional passages take place on the ramparts. The opposite of the rampart is the plain,²⁶ which often means "battlefield."²⁷

¹⁸Examples: the duel of Paris-Menelaos: *Iliad* III 351-356, Paris-Diomedes: *Iliad* XI 369-372, and becoming unarmed: *Iliad* XXI 161-168. ¹⁹Examples: Odysseus and Menelaos: *Iliad* III 199-224, Dolon, Odysseus, and Diomedes: *Iliad* X 1-579, and Priam and Idaeos: *Iliad* XXIV 1-804. ²⁰εἰλαρ, *τελχος*. ²¹ταφρος. ²²πυλη. ²³πυργος. ²⁴O'Driscoll (2017, p. 77) argues that ramparts around settlements in the European Bronze Age had a multi-layered function: to defend against violence, promote social cohesion, and radiate status. ²⁵In *Iliad* XXII 3, there is talk of "battlements" (επαλξίς). ²⁶πεδιον. ²⁷Examples: Greek rampart, gates, and ditch: *Iliad* VII 337-343, besieged Greek tower: *Iliad* XII 332, and Trojan ramparts: *Iliad* VIII 517-519 and *Iliad* XXI 606-611.

D10 (Mentioning) “words” or “war”

War²⁸ is a task for adult men. The older men, women, and children stay within the town’s ramparts. The work of the war is opposed to the work of the council, where it is not about actions but about words²⁹ of wisdom. The latter is more the job of older men. Both mentioning the words “word(s)” and “war,” and the presence of the concepts themselves, are narrative Delta characteristics.³⁰

D11 Oaths and treaties

The oaths³¹ and treaties³² betray much about the society in which we must place the rival camps of the narrative Delta tradition.³³ They involve much ceremony, animals are sacrificed, and wine poured out for Zeus. If both camps are present, Zeus is the witness. Otherwise, it is the delegate heralds. There is no written testimony. The oaths and treaties are sacred.^{34,35}

D12 Themes and motifs

In the *Iliad*, we can distinguish several separate fairy tales of the narrative Delta tradition, thanks to the themes and the motifs. Major themes are the anger of Achilles, the dishonesty of the Trojans, and the compassion of Achilles. Examples of motifs are becoming unarmed, the inviolability of Achilles, Aias as protector of the Greeks, and landscape elements such as trees or burial mounds. The many themes and motifs are discussed separately later for the different fairy tales.³⁶

D13 The somewhat austere materialism

While materialism in the Ionian Epsilon tradition is lavish – everything is beautiful, artfully crafted, unique, exotic, and so on – the materialism of the narrative Delta tradition is more austere. Boilers and bathtubs are often mentioned, and they probably served partially to store bronze in historical Delta society. The most expensive pieces are the bullion armor, the clan leader’s golden scepter, and the goblets for pouring wine for Zeus. The fighters also own “horses and chariots,” but they are not described in detail. They also are used much less often than in the European Beta tradition. Yet the austere materialism of the narrative Delta

²⁸ μάχη, μάχομαι, falling short in the war: ἀπ(τ)όλεμος. ²⁹ μῦθος. ³⁰ Examples: *Iliad* I 258, *Iliad* II 342, *Iliad* VI 522, and *Iliad* IX 35. ³¹ ὀρκιον. ³² σὺνθεσια. ³³ See also Kitts (2005) *Sanctified violence in Homeric society: Oath-making rituals and narratives in the Iliad*. ³⁴ πιστος. ³⁵ Examples: duel: *Iliad* III 267-310, truce: *Iliad* VII 411-412, and oath: *Iliad* XIX 249-268. ³⁶ Examples: the dishonesty of Paris: *Iliad* VII 347-362, the anger of Achilles: *Iliad* IX 314-317, and becoming disarmed: *Iliad* XXI 162-179.

tradition is not easy to demonstrate, as the Ionian Epsilon tradition has often replaced the Delta passages with more lavish descriptions.³⁷

D14 **Heralds**

Besides the fighters, the heralds³⁸ are the favorite characters of the Delta bard. They play a major role in the war scene. The heralds, “dear to Zeus,” are official envoys who can safely enter and leave the hostile camp. They are the messengers of Zeus and of the people. With the scepter, they enforce respect everywhere. The herald is the instrument of the council of war, and he is often sent to friend or foe with the promise of gifts. Taking care of the ceremonies for making a sacred oath is also within the competence of the herald.³⁹ In addition, he is the jack of all trades who also executes minor assignments.⁴⁰

D15 **The symmetry between the two enemy camps**

In the narrative Delta world, the camps of the Greeks⁴¹ and the Trojans have the same structure. They both have their walled stronghold under the leadership of the clan leader: Agamemnon for the Greeks and Priam for the Trojans. In addition to this identical situation, the Delta bard sometimes simplifies the story by making the actions of the Greeks and the Trojans symmetrical. The same wording can then be used. Examples are collecting the dead or preparing a meal.⁴²

D16 **Gifts and valuables**

Gifts⁴³ and valuables⁴⁴ serve to reconcile friend and foe.^{45,46} They can be given to the enemy so they would be lenient in surrender, as a propitiation gift for murder, or as ransom. Within their own camp, they serve to persuade warriors to carry out dangerous military assignments or as a bribe to take a particular position during a meeting. When the town is under siege, treasures must sometimes be collected within the central shrine. This can have several reasons: extra security, an offering to the gods, or to have them ready to reconcile the enemy.⁴⁷

³⁷Examples: *Iliad* XVI 221-231, *Iliad* XVIII 344-353, and *Iliad* XXIV 228-233. ³⁸κηρυξ. ³⁹See also Kitts (2005), p. 116-119. ⁴⁰Examples: sacrifice: *Iliad* III 245-248, stopping a duel: *Iliad* VII 273-277, and bringing a message: *Iliad* IX 170. ⁴¹The “Greeks” are commonly referred to in Homeric works as Achaians (*Αχαιοί*), Argives (*Αργεῖοι*), or Danaans (*Δαναοί*). Hellenes (*Ἕλληνες*) and Panhellenes (*Πανέλληνες*) are used exactly once. ⁴²Examples: *Iliad* VII 417-432, *Iliad* VIII 502-503/IX 65-66, and *Iliad* XVIII 241-244. ⁴³δωρον. ⁴⁴κτήμα. ⁴⁵ἀρεσκω. ⁴⁶According to Wilson (2002), the heroes in the *Iliad* distinguish between *apoina* (ransom) and *poinë* (reparations or revenge). ⁴⁷Examples: Paris to the Greeks: *Iliad* VII 363-364, Agamemnon to Achilles: *Iliad* IX 120-123, and Paris to Antimachos: *Iliad* XI 123-125.

D17 The alternation of day and night

From the moment the story is told in the narrative Delta tradition, the passage of time advances quickly.⁴⁸ Soon, the bard makes the night⁴⁹ fall or the darkness⁵⁰ settle in so the fight is stopped. There is again room for meals, councils of war, and a new evaluation of the military situation. In addition, the morning⁵¹ and the midday⁵² are often emphasized. Sometimes, the fighters express the wish or prediction that the enemy will be defeated the same day.⁵³

D18 Odysseus, Idaios, and Odios as heralds

A very curious observation is that Odysseus has the role of a herald in the narrative Delta tradition. It is he who is sent as an emissary for the most important messages. Moreover, there are two heralds who have similar names: Idaios and Odios. An evolutionary sketch of the character Odysseus, from the herald in the narrative Delta tradition to the cunning hero in the *Odyssey*, follows in Chapter 7.⁵⁴

D19 Nestor, Hektor, and Achilles as captains

In the narrative Delta tradition, the old Nestor of the Mykenaian Alpha tradition has the role of the oldest and most significant leader in the council of war.⁵⁵ He makes the war plans and distributes the tasks. Agamemnon hails him as the greatest hero, but as befits fairy tales, it is the young antihero Diomedes who makes Nestor's actions fade. With the Trojans, it is Hektor⁵⁶ who has the role of Nestor, and for the Greeks in the compassion fairy tale, it is Achilles.⁵⁷

D20 Sentries

Setting up sentries⁵⁸ is closely related to the protective function of the town ramparts. The sentries have to warn of any attack by the enemy army. Good sentries are characterized by being always vigilant⁵⁹ and not falling asleep.⁶⁰ Moreover, it is almost always youths who follow the orders of the leaders of the council of war. Antilochos, Thrasymedes, and Meriones are typical examples of such youths. Although the

⁴⁸De Jong and Nünlist (2007) analyze the use of time in the *Iliad* and other literature from ancient Greece. ⁴⁹νυξ. ⁵⁰κνεφας. ⁵¹εωθεν, ηως, πρωι δ' υπηριοι. ⁵²Ηελιος μεσον ουρανον.

⁵³Examples: *Iliad* VII 279-282, *Iliad* VIII 500-503, and *Iliad* XVIII 239-245. ⁵⁴Examples: Odysseus: *Iliad* I 430-431, Idaios: *Iliad* VII 381-387, and Odysseus and Odios: *Iliad* IX 169-170. ⁵⁵According to Frame (2009), Nestor has parallels with Nasatya, one of the Vedic twins. ⁵⁶See also Kozak (2016) for a characterization of Hektor. ⁵⁷Examples: Nestor: *Iliad* II 433-441, Hektor: *Iliad* VIII 489-497, and Nestor: *Iliad* IX 52-67. ⁵⁸φυλαξ, φυλακευς, φυλακτηρ, σκοπος. ⁵⁹φυλασσω. ⁶⁰υπνος.

idea in the fairy tales is that the youths are still too young for battle, we often see Antilochos, Thrasymedes, and Meriones at work in our *Iliad* in the heat of battle, as a result of other oral traditions.^{61,62}

D21 Wine

It may seem like a minor detail, but wine⁶³ is a good indicator of the narrative Delta tradition. It is not only mentioned in combination with meals, but also to be shed during ceremonies or to extinguish the stake after a cremation.^{64,65}

D22 The safe return within the ramparts

For the Delta bard, the battle scene consists of two zones: a safe zone within the ramparts and an unsafe one outside. A very recognizable element is the joy that the characters show when a warrior returns from a dangerous situation. Or the great concern when a warrior ventures into the unsafe battlefield. Related to this is interrogating warriors about the fate of other warriors on the battlefield.⁶⁶

D23 Young antiheroes

The heroes who have long proven themselves in the past are not always the real heroes in these war fairy tales. These are often the youngest and most inexperienced on the battlefield who, in the eyes of the clan leader, have no prestige. When it really comes down to it, they turn out to be the bravest and save the army from destruction. The main antihero is undoubtedly Diomedes, although we can also find Odysseus, Antilochos, Menelaos, and Patroklos in this role. It is the popular duos of the European Beta tradition and the Aeolian Gamma tradition that have been given this beautiful role.⁶⁷

⁶¹Yet this explains why Thrasymedes and Antilochos were still ignorant of the death of Patroklos in *Iliad* XVII (377-383). ⁶²Examples: Trojan boys and old men: *Iliad* VIII 517-519, hundreds of Greek youths: *Iliad* IX 66-88, and Greek sentries: *Iliad* X 180-193. ⁶³*οἶνος*. ⁶⁴See also Papakonstantinou (2009) for the drinking habits of the Homeric world. Kourakou-Dragona (2015) has compiled a book with twenty essays on wine in ancient Greece. What has been translated as “wine” (*οἶνος*) to a Greek audience may also have been beer or mead in the case of Central European origin. See also Nelson (2005) for the drinking habits among barbarians. From *Iliad* IX 489-491 it appears that children also drink this wine. The Homeric gods consumed the honey aliments nectar (drink) and ambrosia (food). ⁶⁵Examples: with an oath: *Iliad* III 269-270, to be shed: *Iliad* VI 258-261, and with the meal: *Iliad* IX 71. ⁶⁶Examples: Andromache to Hektor: *Iliad* VI 431, Poulydamas to Hektor: *Iliad* XVIII 254-256, and fleeing within Troy: *Iliad* XXI 608-611. ⁶⁷Examples: Diomedes: *Iliad* IX 53-59, Odysseus and Diomedes: *Iliad* XIV 95-112, and Menelaos and Antilochos: *Iliad* XVII 684-686.

D24 Zeus and sometimes Athene or Apollo

The warriors mainly fear one god, who we find in the *Iliad* with the name “Zeus,” although Athene and Apollo sometimes also assume that role of Zeus.⁶⁸ When praying to Zeus, they raise their hands to heaven. Zeus is the god of thunder and lightning and is present near the battlefield. He is also sometimes referred to as “Zeus, who decides the war of men.” Zeus tells those men who determine the events of the battle whether he favors them through all kinds of signs. The blessing of Zeus is used and abused by these men as an excuse to attack or to give up.⁶⁹

D25 Agamemnon and Priam as clan leaders

The godfathers leading the clan are Agamemnon⁷⁰ for the Greeks and Priam for the Trojans. Agamemnon does not have so much of a role as a warrior in the pure narrative Delta tradition, a role he does have in the European Beta tradition. He has become a dramatic character who suffers greatly from the heavy responsibility that rests on his shoulders. He fails in all his efforts to turn the war around for the better and eventually becomes distraught and indecisive. Fortunately, there are the antiheroes Diomedes and Odysseus, who show how it should be done.⁷¹

D26 Fire and firewood

The Delta bard does not hesitate to light a fire⁷² in his stories when he sees the possibility: at night by the sentries, to roast the meat for a meal, to burn the dead, or to heat the water for washing. What is very striking is that he always mentions that firewood⁷³ must be collected first.⁷⁴

D27 Wiles and deceit

The dark side of the oaths and treaties is that someone can break their word through cunning⁷⁵ or cheating.⁷⁶ Sometimes, it seems that in the narrative Delta society anything can happen in a war, such as killing a negotiator, cunningly invading the enemy camp, or violating a truce. It is especially the Trojans in the story of the abduction of Helen who keep breaking their word.⁷⁷

⁶⁸According to Pucci (2018), Zeus is the divine keystone who determines the actions of the people.

⁶⁹Examples: prayer to Zeus: *Iliad* III 298, prayer to Athene: *Iliad* X 274-291, and Zeus as a witness: *Iliad* XIX 258. ⁷⁰Porter (2019) *Agamemnon, the pathetic despot: reading characterization in Homer*.

⁷¹Examples: Agamemnon: *Iliad* I 225-231, Priam and Agamemnon: *Iliad* III 261-267, and Agamemnon: *Iliad* VIII 218-233. ⁷²*πυρ, πυρα, πυρη*. ⁷³*ξυλον, υλη*. ⁷⁴Examples: artificial usage: *Iliad* II 338-342, campfires: *Iliad* VIII 560-563, and fire and wood under a kettle: *Iliad* XVIII 344-348.

⁷⁵*πολυμητις*. ⁷⁶*ψευδω*. ⁷⁷Examples: Pandaros: *Iliad* IV 112-115, cunning Odysseus: *Iliad* X 382-384, and Antimachos: *Iliad* XI 123-125.

D28 **Machaon, the physician who nurses the wounded Greeks**

In the story of Achilleus's anger, as well as in the story of Helen's abduction, the wounded play an important role in the plot. Machaon is the physician⁷⁸ of the Greeks, who takes care of the wounded. Although Machaon himself is wounded in our *Iliad* and led away by Nestor, the reverse was probably once the case.⁷⁹

D29 **Women, children, young men, and old men**

Similar to the bard striving for a change of day and night, he also strives for a change in age and gender. The women,⁸⁰ children,⁸¹ and elderly⁸² do not take part in the battle and thus remain safe within the town ramparts. They can play a role as a sentry in passages that take place on or within the ramparts or as an object of protection. Because the Delta bard is forced to fit his stories into an asymmetrical story, where the Greeks are far from home without women, he pays extra attention to the Trojan women.⁸³

D30 **Burial mounds, cremation, and urns**

Notably, the burning of corpses is also part of the narrative Delta tradition. After fighting, the battlefield is portrayed as a place strewn with blood and corpses. The corpses must be collected after the battle is over so the next of kin can take care of their funeral⁸⁴ and mourn at the cremation.⁸⁵ The corpses must be cleaned first. A funeral pyre⁸⁶ is created on which the hero's corpse is placed centrally, sometimes accompanied by sacrificed cattle, dogs, horses, and even humans⁸⁷ on the edge. After burning, the funeral pyre is extinguished with wine, and the bones⁸⁸ are collected and placed in an urn,⁸⁹ with a layer of fat⁹⁰ around it. The urn is placed in a quarry,⁹¹ above which a burial mound⁹² is raised. To this end, a circle or foundation of stones⁹³ is first placed to demarcate the burial mound. This is mostly in accordance with the funeral customs found in the Bronze Age in Central Europe. Horse sacrifice could be a practice of the Eurasian nomads, for whom cavalry and chariots played an important role.⁹⁴

⁷⁸ιατρος. ⁷⁹Examples: helping Menelaos: *Iliad* III 200-208, Machaon injured: *Iliad* XI 505-507, and drinking wine: *Iliad* XIV 1-6. ⁸⁰γυνη, θηλυς, χηρα. ⁸¹παις, νηπιαχος, πρωθηβης. ⁸²γερων, πολιοκροταφος. ⁸³Examples: Andromache and her child: *Iliad* VI 405-409, boys, old men, and women: *Iliad* VIII 518-520, and Hekabe's bare breasts: *Iliad* XXII 77-81. ⁸⁴ταφος. ⁸⁵καιω, κατακαιω. ⁸⁶πυρη, πυρκαια. ⁸⁷*Iliad* XXIII 166-175. ⁸⁸οστεον. ⁸⁹φιαλη, λαρναξ, θηκη. ⁹⁰δημος. ⁹¹καπετος. ⁹²τυμβος, σημα. ⁹³θεμεθλα. ⁹⁴Examples: burning the dead: *Iliad* VII 333-336, the burial mound of Ilos: *Iliad* XI 369-372, and Hektor's funeral: *Iliad* XXIV 784-804.

D31 To arm and the transition between rest and battle

The story of the Delta bard can be in two states: battle or rest. For the transition from one state to another, fighters always commit the same actions. When they go to battle, they must first eat, prepare the chariots, and put on their armor.⁹⁵ When they return from battle, they must unyoke the horses, wash themselves, and eat.⁹⁶

D32 To wash and to anoint

After battle, both live and dead fighters must be cleaned⁹⁷ of blood and dirt. For example, when Hektor goes inside the ramparts of the city during the battle to fetch Paris, he is ashamed to pour wine for Zeus because he is covered with blood and filth.⁹⁸ When Hektor dies, his wife Andromache is just putting a kettle of water on the fire so Hektor can wash.⁹⁹ After washing, the anointment¹⁰⁰ follows with olive oil¹⁰¹ or ointment.^{102,103}

D33 The enumeration of a group or a retinue

When the leaders have made a decision, such as setting up sentries, collecting gifts, assembling a council of war, or dissolving it, the Delta bard lists the individuals participating in that action, or he mentions that such a retinue has been chosen.¹⁰⁴

D34 Bird augurs, seers, and the priestly role

To receive the will of Zeus, warriors sometimes seek advice from bird wizards¹⁰⁵ or seers.¹⁰⁶ Kalchas for the Greeks and Helenos and Poulydamas for the Trojans can indicate the meaning of a bird flying overhead. A large eagle¹⁰⁷ from the right is certainly a good sign.¹⁰⁸ The communication between Zeus and humans also occurs with signs other than birds, such as lightning bolts.

Although the *Iliad* starts with the priest¹⁰⁹ Chryses, we often see that the main protagonists take up the role of priest:¹¹⁰ Agamemnon, Priam,

⁹⁵ζωννυμι, κορυσσω, κατα τευχε εδνυ, επι τευχεα δ' εσσευοντος. ⁹⁶Examples: the Trojans rush to arms: *Iliad* II 808, the Greeks put themselves in arms again: *Iliad* IV 222, and the Greeks and the Trojans arm themselves in the morning: *Iliad* VIII 54-56. ⁹⁷νιζω, αναψυχω, λουω. ⁹⁸*Iliad* VI 264-268. ⁹⁹*Iliad* XXII 442-445. ¹⁰⁰αλειφω. ¹⁰¹ελαιον. ¹⁰²αλειφαρ. ¹⁰³Examples: washing in the sea and in tubs, then anointing: *Iliad* X 572-577, washing and anointing Patroklos's corpse: *Iliad* XVIII 344-351, and Agenor wanting to wash his sweat in the river: *Iliad* XXI 560-561. ¹⁰⁴Examples: the candidates for a duel with Hektor: *Iliad* VII 762-769, sentries: *Iliad* IX 80-84, and envoys to Achilles: *Iliad* IX 167-170. ¹⁰⁵οιωνοπολος. ¹⁰⁶θεοπροπος. ¹⁰⁷See also D39. Johansson (2012) made a systematic study of the bird passages in the *Iliad* and concludes that the poet of the *Iliad* had a great knowledge of birds. ¹⁰⁸σημα, τερας. ¹⁰⁹αρητηρ, ευχετης. ¹¹⁰See also Dignas (2008).

Hektor, and Achilleus.¹¹¹ They are then the ones who sacrifice, pour wine, pray to Zeus, and interpret bird signs.¹¹²

D35 The sacrifice of cattle and wine

Cattle and wine are part of the meal, but they are also mentioned when there is an offering¹¹³ that must be made for a god. The wine is shed¹¹⁴ from a clean goblet specially intended for this purpose. The hair of cattle is sometimes cut when the sacrifice is made in a treaty or an oath. In that case, the one who pronounces the treaty holds up the hair of the cattle.^{115,116}

D36 The scepter

The scepter¹¹⁷ is a wooden staff covered with gold that is in the possession of the clan leaders. It is used in speeches to symbolize the authority of clan leaders. Accordingly, it is mainly the clan leaders and their heralds who wield the scepter. Nonetheless, the scepter is more generally used by someone who has something important to say.^{118,119}

D37 Mourning and funeral care

Taking care of and mourning¹²⁰ a dead person is a type scene of the narrative Delta tradition, closely related to the type scenes of the cremation, the burial of the bones in an urn, and the erection of a burial mound. The corpse is washed, anointed,¹²¹ and placed on a bed,¹²² possibly covered with a white pall.¹²³ The task of the women is to sit around the corpse, mourn it, and take the lead in lamentations.^{124,125}

D38 Boilers, bathtubs, and water for washing

Boilers¹²⁶ are mentioned in different ways, but in any case, they have the function of containing water¹²⁷ to be heated by means of firewood and a fire ignited under the boiler. The water is used to wash a warrior or a corpse. Agamemnon also promises cauldrons and bathtubs¹²⁸ as

¹¹¹Agamemnon: *Iliad* III 271-296; Priam: *Iliad* XXIV 302-321; Hektor: *Iliad* VI 263-275; Achilleus: *Iliad* XVI 220-249. ¹¹²Examples: Kalchas: *Iliad* II 322, Helenos: *Iliad* VI 75, and Poulydamas: *Iliad* XII 210-229. ¹¹³εκατομβη, θυος, ιερευω. ¹¹⁴σπενδω, λειβω. ¹¹⁵See also Kitts (2005).

¹¹⁶Examples: wine and lambs: *Iliad* III 269-273, wine, cloth, and cattle: *Iliad* VI 264-275, and a clean goblet: *Iliad* XVI 225-233. ¹¹⁷σκηπτρον. ¹¹⁸Combella (1948; p. 210); See also Unruh (2011). ¹¹⁹Examples: Agamemnon and Odysseus: *Iliad* II 185-186, heralds ending a duel: *Iliad* VII 276-277, and during an oath: *Iliad* X 321-322. ¹²⁰αναστεναχω, γοαω, θρηνηω, κλαιω,

στεναχω, στονοεις. ¹²¹αλειφω. ¹²²λεχος. ¹²³φαρος. ¹²⁴γοος, κλυθμος. ¹²⁵Examples: Achilleus taking care of Patroklos: *Iliad* XVIII 349-355, Briseis lamenting Patroklos: *Iliad* XIX 286-302, and the Trojans taking care of Hektor: *Iliad* XXIV 707-726. ¹²⁶τριπους. ¹²⁷υδωρ.

¹²⁸λεβης.

gifts for Achilles, if he joins the fight. Those kettles had not yet been hit by fire.^{129,130}

D39 Snakes, birds of prey, and lightning as divine signs

Mainly Zeus communicates with the warriors about his disposition, through snakes,¹³¹ birds,¹³² thunder,¹³³ and lightning.¹³⁴ Seers can interpret these signs,¹³⁵ but common fighters can also be impressed by such signs. For example, the Trojans shuddered when an eagle dropped a snake into the Trojan ranks. Poulydamas advised against Hektor attacking the Greek camp based on this sign.^{136,137}

D40 The joint applause of a proposal or a long silence

In councils or dialogues, a warrior's speech is often applauded loudly¹³⁸ by the listening crowd. That way, warriors who do not excel on the battlefield can still achieve fame in councils of war. Instead of cheering, there can also be a long silence.^{139,140}

D41 Poulydamas, Hektor's friend and counselor

Poulydamas, the son of Panthoös, is Hektor's friend and counselor. Both were born on the same night. While Hektor is an optimist, hungry for fame, Poulydamas is a pessimist who, based on both rational arguments and the signs of Zeus, always predicts disaster. As far as fairy tales are concerned, Poulydamas mainly plays a role in the compassion fairy tale. Yet there is also at least one narrative Delta dialogue with Poulydamas that probably does not belong to any of the three fairy tales¹⁴¹ or to several at once.¹⁴²

D42 Driving, (un)yoking, and feeding the horses

Although in the reconstructions of the three fairy tales¹⁴³ the chariots¹⁴⁴ have been left out, they still belong to the narrative Delta tradition. Very

¹²⁹Gerloff (1986) examines Class A kettles from the European Bronze Age, including those from the Urnfield communities. ¹³⁰Examples: gifts for Achilles: *Iliad* IX 122-123, for washing after a bath in the sea: *Iliad* X 576, water to wash a shedding goblet and hands: *Iliad* XVI 229, and warming water: *Iliad* XVIII 344-349. ¹³¹*δρακων*. ¹³²Eagle: *αετος*, chick: *νεοσσοσ*, sparrow: *στρουθος*. ¹³³*βρουταω, κτυπεω, κτυπος*. ¹³⁴*σελας, κεραυνος*. ¹³⁵See D34. ¹³⁶*Iliad* XII 200-229. ¹³⁷Examples: a snake eating sparrows: *Iliad* II 308-330, thunder: *Iliad* VIII 169-171, and an eagle with a deer: *Iliad* VIII 247-251. ¹³⁸*επιαχω, ιαχω*. ¹³⁹*ακew, ακη, σιωπαω, σιωπη*. ¹⁴⁰Examples: Odysseus's speech: *Iliad* II 333-335, Diomedes after a silence: *Iliad* VII 398-404, and Hektor's speech: *Iliad* XVIII 310-313. ¹⁴¹This is clarified in the book on the Ionian Epsilon tradition. ¹⁴²Examples: about the Greek rampart and ditch: *Iliad* XII 60-64, about an eagle with a snake: *Iliad* XII 210-216, and about Achilles's return: *Iliad* XVIII 250-258. ¹⁴³See chapters 3, 4, and 5. ¹⁴⁴Chariot: *αρμα, οχος*, driving horses: *ιππηλασιος*.

typical is the yoking or unyoking¹⁴⁵ and feeding¹⁴⁶ of the horses¹⁴⁷ after the battle, when the soldiers wash themselves and start their meal. In the European Beta tradition, the chariots are often described in more detail: the third reserve horse, the driving right behind the warrior who goes on foot, the setting up of the chariots at the ditch, and so on. In the narrative Delta tradition, it is usually limited to a brief mention of horses and wagons. Nevertheless, the boundary between the European Beta tradition and the narrative Delta tradition remains thin, and it is often difficult to determine which tradition is being used exactly. In any case, both traditions are compatible regarding the use of the chariot.^{148,149}

D43 Old versus young fighters

The narrative Delta tradition varies between warrior and non-warrior, and within the warrior group, it also varies between young and old. The young boys¹⁵⁰ are assigned tasks such as keeping watch. The old¹⁵¹ fighters are more respected than the young ones¹⁵² on the battlefield, but especially in the council of war. Conversely, this situation creates the role of the young antihero, who, despite his age, commits great deeds on the battlefield and is greeted with cheers at his interventions during the council. In Helen's fairy tale, we find Diomedes in that role.¹⁵³

D44 References to the Trojan Cycle

The stories that come before and after the *Iliad* in the Trojan cycle have also been influenced¹⁵⁴ by the three narrative Delta fairy tales. We learn this mainly through references in the Homeric Delta passages or through Delta passages that are similar to a passage in the Trojan cycle. We have the snake in Aulis (*Kypria*¹⁵⁵–*Iliad* II 299-308), the snake that bit Philoktetes (*Kypria*–*Iliad* II 721-725), the bluff at the meal in Lemnos (*Kypria*–*Iliad* VIII 229-234), the death of Ther-sites (*Aithiopsis*¹⁵⁶–*Iliad* II 211-277), the predicted death of Achilleus

¹⁴⁵ λυω. ¹⁴⁶ δειπνον. ¹⁴⁷ ιππος. ¹⁴⁸ Kuznetsov (2006) examines the origin of chariots in the region between Europe and the Ural Mountains, where they were put to use around 2000-1800 BC. Kristiansen (2018, p. 23) confirms that chariots appeared in Europe starting from the Urnfield period. ¹⁴⁹ Examples: feeding horses and checking chariots: *Iliad* II 383-384, the rampart and ditch: *Iliad* VII 339-342, taking care of Hektor's horses: *Iliad* VIII 184-191, and after returning to the camp: *Iliad* X 567-569. ¹⁵⁰ πρωθηβης. ¹⁵¹ γερω. ¹⁵² νεος. ¹⁵³ Examples: young and old together: *Iliad* II 789, too old for battle: *Iliad* III 149-151, and keeping watch: *Iliad* VIII 518-521. ¹⁵⁴ Burgess (2001) argues that the Trojan cycle has greater authority as a representative of the Greek tradition about the Trojan War than the *Iliad*. ¹⁵⁵ Evelyn-White (1995), *Kypria*. ¹⁵⁶ Evelyn-White (1995), *Aithiopsis*.

(*Aithiopsis–Iliad* XXII 358-360), the rescue of Achilles’s corpse by Aias (*Aithiopsis*–similar to *Iliad* XVII-XVIII), the aftermath of Achilles’s death (*Aithiopsis–Odyssey* XXIV 36-94), the Trojan Horse ruse devised by Odysseus (*Little Iliad*¹⁵⁷ and *Fall of Troy*¹⁵⁸–similar¹⁵⁹ to *Iliad* X), and the predicted fall of Troy (*Fall of Troy–Iliad* XXIV 727-729).¹⁶⁰

D45 Ransom

Ransom¹⁶¹ can be used to redeem living prisoners as well as to ransom a corpse so it can be burned by the next of kin. Thersites blames Agamemnon for taking the ransom from the many Trojans who are captured by the Greek warriors. In the prehistory of the compassion fairy tale, it is mainly Achilles who sells many prisoners¹⁶² or releases¹⁶³ them for ransom.¹⁶⁴

D46 Tears, weeping, and lamentation

The narrative Delta tradition also conveys the fierce emotions associated with the wars of life and death. The women are even expected to cry¹⁶⁵ and lament¹⁶⁶ near the corpse when a warrior has been killed. Among the men, tears¹⁶⁷ also well up, as with Agamemnon when the Greek camp is surrounded by the Trojans and with Patroklos when he comes to beg Achilles for help.¹⁶⁸

D47 Successfully invoking a god

Some people can make contact with the gods through prayer. Originally, it may have been mainly Zeus. Examples are the priest Chryses, who prays¹⁶⁹ to Apollo, Agamemnon, Menelaos, and all warriors, who pray to Zeus, just before the duel between Paris and Menelaos, and Priam before his journey to the Greek ship camp, who also prays to Zeus. Thetis, the mother of Achilles, who was probably an ordinary person in the original fairy-tale world, also has direct contact with Zeus.¹⁷⁰ Odysseus and Diomedes pray to Athene for a nighttime espionage mission in the Trojan camp. In all these cases, the gods hear¹⁷¹

¹⁵⁷Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*. ¹⁵⁸Evelyn-White (1995), *Fall of Troy*. ¹⁵⁹See Blondé (2020), p.

21. ¹⁶⁰Examples: the snake in Aulis: *Iliad* II 299-308, the meal in Lemnos: *Iliad* VIII 229-234, and the death of Achilles: *Iliad* XXII 358-360. ¹⁶¹ἀπουνα. ¹⁶²περαω. ¹⁶³λυσις. ¹⁶⁴Examples: Thersites about Agamemnon: *Iliad* II 229-231, Dolon’s plea: *Iliad* X 378-381, and for Hektor’s corpse: *Iliad* XXIV 228-237. ¹⁶⁵ἀμυσσω, χεω. ¹⁶⁶κλαιω, κωκυω, στεναχω. ¹⁶⁷δακρυον.

¹⁶⁸Examples: Andromache: *Iliad* VI 405-408, Agamemnon: *Iliad* IX 13-14, and Patroklos: *Iliad* XVI 2-3. ¹⁶⁹αῤαρομαι, ευχομαι. ¹⁷⁰*Iliad* I 498-528 and *Iliad* XXIV 103-106. ¹⁷¹κλυω.

the prayers and – although not always immediately – respond favorably to the person who prays.¹⁷²

D48 Blood and dirt

During the fight, the fighters inevitably become covered with blood¹⁷³ and dirt¹⁷⁴ that must be washed off after the battle, for both the living fighters and the dead.¹⁷⁵

D49 Ah me, why does my heart debate these things?

The narrative Delta formula “But why does the heart within me debate on these things?”¹⁷⁶ occurs five times in a monologue in the *Iliad*, three of which in the context of the compassion fairy tale, once in the anger fairy tale, and once in Helen’s fairy tale. “Ah me”¹⁷⁷ is four times the beginning of the monologue.¹⁷⁸

D50 Now would (persistence of A), if not (twist B)

The narrative Delta verses often use a fixed formula to emphasize a new twist: “Now would¹⁷⁹ (*an often exaggerated persistence of the preceding situation A*), if not¹⁸⁰ (*the new turn B*).” An example is the following verses: *And now and there in front of the gates they would have lamented all day till the sun went down and let fall their tears for Hektor, except that the old man spoke from the chariot to his people: “Give me way to get through with my mules.”*¹⁸¹ Yet, the continuation of the preceding situation A is not always exaggerated. Significantly, this formula often occurs in battle passages created in the narrative Delta tradition and is, thus, situated in the gray border zone with the European Beta tradition.¹⁸²

D51 So long as (A), so long (B), but when (A’), then (B’)

A formula that seems very similar to the previous one about the exaggerated persistence is that in which four situations are placed in a

¹⁷²Examples: Chryses: *Iliad* I 35-42, Agamemnon: *Iliad* III 275-302, Odysseus and Diomedes: *Iliad* X 274-295, and Priam: *Iliad* XXIV 306-321. ¹⁷³αιμα, αιματοεις. ¹⁷⁴λυθρον, βροτος.

¹⁷⁵Examples: Hektor’s hands on his tour of Troy: *Iliad* VI 268, collected corpses: *Iliad* VII 425, and Patroklos’s corpse: *Iliad* XVIII 345. ¹⁷⁶αλλα τι η μοι ταυτα φιλος διελεξατο θυμος. ¹⁷⁷ω μοι.

¹⁷⁸Examples: Odysseus to himself: *Iliad* XI 407, Menelaos to himself: *Iliad* XVII 97, Agenor to himself: *Iliad* XXI 562, Hektor to himself: *Iliad* XXII 122, and Achilles to the Greeks: *Iliad* XXII 385. ¹⁷⁹ενθα κε and/or και νυ κε. ¹⁸⁰ει μη. ¹⁸¹*Iliad* XXIV 713-716. ¹⁸²Other examples: the Trojans driven within Troy: *Iliad* VI 73-76, Hektor and Aias fight with the sword: *Iliad* VII 273-275, an attack on Nestor: *Iliad* VIII 90-91, the Trojans locked like lambs in a cage: *Iliad* VIII 130-132, the Greeks fleeing in the ships: *Iliad* XI 310-313, the Trojans driven away: *Iliad* XIII 723-725, Troy taken by Patroklos: *Iliad* XVI 698-700, Hektor achieving fame: *Iliad* XVIII 165-167, and Achilles slaying more Paions: *Iliad* XXI 211-213.

logical relationship: “As long as¹⁸³ (*old situation A*), so long¹⁸⁴ (*old situation B*), but¹⁸⁵ when¹⁸⁶ (*new turn A'*), then¹⁸⁷ (*new turn B'*).” An example is the following: *So long as it was early morning and the sacred daylight increasing, so long the thrown weapons of both took hold and men dropped under them. But when the sun god stood bestriding the middle heaven, then the father balanced his golden scales.*¹⁸⁸ This formula too is in the gray area between the European Beta tradition and the narrative Delta tradition.¹⁸⁹

These are the general oral characteristics of the narrative Delta tradition. They appear in multiple Delta passages in the three fairy tales in the following chapters – the anger of Achilles, the abduction of Helen, and the compassion of Achilles – and in the type scene of the brave scout. The next chapter is about the fairy tale of Achilles’s anger.

¹⁸³ οφρα. ¹⁸⁴ τοφρα. ¹⁸⁵ αυταρ. ¹⁸⁶ ημος. ¹⁸⁷ τοτε. ¹⁸⁸ *Iliad* VIII 66-69. ¹⁸⁹ Other examples: the Greeks break ranks: *Iliad* XI 84-90, Agamemnon must leave the battle: *Iliad* XI 264-268, Patroklos must urgently go to Achilles: *Iliad* XV 390-397, and the Greeks prevailing: *Iliad* XVI 777-780.

Chapter 3

The Anger of Achilleus

The other traditions from the Homeric Traditions series are usually strongly linked to all kinds of places, personal names, and many mythological facts. By including all this transmitted material, such stories can lose their appeal. The course of the plot, the themes, and the moral lessons are increasingly pushed into the background. Moreover, the many proper names and the many stories require greater foreknowledge of the listener, which poses particular problems for a younger audience.

The fairy tales we know today about Little Red Riding Hood and Cinderella are much simpler in design, with only a few main characters, a clear storyline, and a moral lesson. The stories we will discuss in this book are also fairy tales but with a slightly more complex set-up. They had a significant influence on the *Iliad* and, to some extent, on the stories of the Trojan cycle.

As with the other oral traditions, the narrative Delta tradition also has a series of oral characteristics (see Chapter 2). However, the main way to reveal this oral tradition is to retell the fairy tales themselves. The stories in this book are an attempt to restore distorted and overloaded narratives in the *Iliad* in all their simplicity. The oral characteristics of the narrative Delta tradition are the guiding principles for bringing out those hidden stories. Yet, with that method, we encounter gaps in the narrative, changed roles, and warped storylines. A good solution has always been sought for this as much as possible. Accordingly, the presented stories are reconstructions, not ready-made fairy tales about which the final word has been spoken. The original text of the *Iliad* has been kept as much as possible, with great attention paid to

its themes and motifs. Every part of the reconstructed fairy tales is referenced or justified in the footnotes.¹

The fairy tales are always about a community of fighters with a limited number of main characters – limited, at least, compared to, for example, the large numbers of fighters listed in the European Beta tradition. To follow the fairy tales in detail, about five to ten characters must be remembered.

The three fairy tales being reconstructed are thus partly made up, but also very important for the analysis of the *Iliad*. Many passages in the *Iliad* stem directly from these fairy tales. Some of these are also key passages in the *Iliad*, while many others are actually lost in the tangle of the *Iliad*'s narrative. For those who read the *Iliad*, Aias may be a rather dry character, a hero, like many others. There are even two Aiantes (the plural of Aias) in the *Iliad*, who often fight together. However, after the next fairy tale about the anger of Achilles, Aias's specific role should be immediately apparent. This role is not made up. It becomes clear by reassembling the correct fragments in the narration.

It will also immediately be noticeable that in the reconstructions “the Greeks” have been reduced from a people, which in the *Iliad* is called by three names, to the population of a walled² town or stronghold. This is completely inconsistent with the Greek stories of the war against Troy, in which the Greeks are moored by ship on the coast off Troy. Yet, this background fits wonderfully in the fairy tales. Why did the Greeks also build a rampart with gates and a ditch around their ship camp? What does it help the Trojans to set the Greek ships on fire? How does Aias manage to prevent that by jumping from ship to ship? All this becomes much more logical because of this finding: An important part of the *Iliad* stems from a model of two equal towns at war. The ships are actually houses.

Achilleus's anger is the main theme of the *Iliad*. Thus, the anger fairy tale contains much of the storyline also described in all the short content of the *Iliad*. The anger is also highlighted in a digression by Phoinix about the hero Meleager.³ In it, Meleager, who holds a grudge toward his mother, is also in conflict whether he should help his fellow townspeople. Based on the anger of those two heroes, Achilles and Meleager, the anger fairy tale can be reconstructed.

¹If no footnote is present at the end of a paragraph, the reference or justification is in a footnote in one of the following paragraphs. ²See Figure 1 on p. 17 for a cross section of a typical rampart in Central Europe. ³*Iliad* IX 524-599.

Fairy Tale 1: The Anger of Achilles (A Reconstruction)

Long, long ago, in a land far from here, in the midst of a vast forest and hill country, the Greeks lived. They lived in their stronghold, which was girded by a wall of earth and wood, with a ditch around it, led by their king Agamemnon. Many brave warriors had been trained by Phoinix, the war teacher, and by Nestor, Agamemnon's eldest son. Thus, the Greeks ruled the area, regularly fighting against hostile strongholds when disagreements arose over women or precious possessions.⁴

The Greeks' greatest enemies were the Trojans. Whenever Zeus started the war between the Greeks and the Trojans, all the Greek warriors risked their lives for each other, for their town, and for the Greek people who lived there. None of the fighters could be missed, as the tough Trojans were not easily chased away.⁵

Achilleus was the bravest of the Greek warriors.⁶ He was the son of Thetis, an old seer, who was once a concubine of Agamemnon. He was the same age as Patroklos, his closest friend, who had been adopted by Agamemnon as a bastard son at a young age. Together, they had been trained by Phoinix to be of service in the protection of the Greek stronghold. The other Greek fighters were also a close-knit group. They were Aias and Eurypylos, Nestor, Idomeneus, Machaon the physician, Odysseus the sacred herald, Teukros, Menelaos, Protesilaos, Antilochos and Thrasymedes, the youths set up as guards, and many others. They were all friends who did not abandon each other. They respected Zeus, the mighty thunder god; Agamemnon, their king; and Kalchas the priest.⁷

All, except Achilleus. He became increasingly annoyed with King Agamemnon. Whenever Achilleus collected a large spoil of war, he brought it to the stronghold of the Greeks and handed it over to Agamemnon. Agamemnon divided the spoils, but he kept some for himself. Achilleus was no longer satisfied with the gifts of honor he received. He wanted a bigger share in exchange for the brave deeds he committed on the battlefield.⁸

Again, the Greeks had won the battle with a neighboring stronghold, the town of Eëtion. Achilleus had risked his life in a duel, with the strongest of the enemy fighters. He won the duel and killed the hero, and then he de-

⁴*Iliad* I 163-167 and *Iliad* II 225-233: Agamemnon does not get everything, but more than the others, and without having to fight for it. ⁵Introductory reconstruction. ⁶*Iliad* II 768-769. ⁷Introductory reconstruction. Thetis is a sea goddess who married Peleus. Patroklos was raised with Achilleus by Peleus and Phoinix. Most of the remaining Greeks mentioned are kings who ruled several cities in Greece. ⁸Introductory reconstruction according to *Iliad* I 163-167.

feated anyone who still dared to resist. Agamemnon divided the spoils. He let Achilles choose first, whatever he desired, as a gift of honor.⁹ Achilles chose the most beautiful of the captured women, Briseis, the youngest daughter of Briseus, a priest of Zeus.¹⁰

Such was the situation on the eve of the day when Achilles was seized by endless anger, an anger that would kill many Greeks. How had that happened? Muse, tell me this story, and start at the beginning.¹¹

The day after the victory of the Greeks, Briseus¹² appeared at the town of the Greeks. He brought with him an immense ransom and held his holy priest staff in his hand. Antilochos, the watchman, brought him to Agamemnon, where the priest spoke to him, pleading, “Agamemnon, mighty king, may Zeus grant you to rule over the wider region. But ah, release my child, and accept this ransom. Have awe of Zeus, the mighty thunder god.”¹³ But this was not to Agamemnon’s liking. He spoke sternly, “Priest, leave our town and do not return, either now or later. You will not get your daughter back. She was given to Achilles as a gift of honor. She will grow old within the ramparts of this stronghold.”¹⁴

The old man got scared and returned to his house in silence. Alone, far from the Greek stronghold, he prayed to Zeus, “Hear me, Zeus, mighty thunder god. As certain as I have ever built a sacred altar for you, on which I have sacrificed many bulls and goats, fulfill this wish for me: Let the Greeks pay for my tears!”¹⁵ Zeus heard his plea and struck the Greeks with an infestation. The plague broke out in the stronghold of the Greeks.¹⁶ Many died and were burned at the stake. The plague lasted a full month when Agamemnon gathered all the Greeks. He spoke in the middle of the assembly. “Greeks, this cannot be any longer. Let us ask Kalchas, the seer, to explain to us the fierce wrath of Zeus. Perhaps he is offended by a vow or a sacrifice.”¹⁷

Kalchas rose and spoke for the welfare of all in mind. “King Agamemnon, you ask me to explain the anger of Zeus, the mighty thunder god. But listen and swear that you are willing to protect me with words and deeds. For I am conscious that I will anger a man who surpasses me far in strength and combativeness.”¹⁸

⁹Introductory reconstruction. There is no question of a duel. Achilles was not allowed to choose first.

¹⁰*Iliad* I 391-392: Briseis was given to Achilles by the army. ¹¹*Iliad* I 1-4. ¹²*Iliad* I 11: Chryses, father of Chryseis. ¹³*Iliad* I 17-21: Have awe of Zeus’s son Apollo. ¹⁴*Iliad* I 25-32: Chryseis will grow old in Agamemnon’s palace in Argos. ¹⁵*Iliad* I 33-42: Chryses prays to Apollo. ¹⁶*Iliad* I 61. ¹⁷*Iliad* I 59-67: Achilles gathers the soldiers and speaks. ¹⁸*Iliad* I 68-83: “might” instead of “strength and combativeness.”

Agamemnon spoke, “Be fearless, and do your oracle. I swear by Zeus that no one here in the town of the Greeks will lay his strong hand on you, not even Achilles, who boasts of being the strongest warrior.”¹⁹

Then the seer took heart and spoke, “Zeus is not angry because of a vow or an offering, but because his priest, Briseus, did not get his daughter back. No sooner will the plague disappear before the beautiful girl is returned to her father along with a bountiful sacrifice.”²⁰

When Kalchas kept silent and sat down, Achilles sprang up, furious with rage. He turned threateningly to Kalchas, scolding, “Prophet of doom! You can never predict something favorable. It is always dear to your heart to predict suffering. You never said or did anything good. Again, your oracle language teaches us that that’s why the Greeks die, because I don’t want to give up Briseis. Still, if I have to, I want to give her up. I, too, want an end to the suffering of the Greeks. But give me another gift immediately,²¹ that of Aias or Odysseus²² or that of King Agamemnon. It can’t be right that it is precisely I who remain unhonored.”²³

“Achilleus,” replied Agamemnon, “who is more greedy than you? How are the Greeks supposed to give you a gift of honor? The spoils are divided; no one knows common property here. Obey Zeus, and return the girl now. We will pay it back to you three or four times as soon as we have taken another spoil.”²⁴

Achilleus glared at him and spoke, “Oh, you impudent miser! How would one of the Greeks obey you any longer and go on a raid for your greater honor and glory? To please you, we risk our lives in battle. It takes us a lot of effort to collect booty and bring it here. But when it comes to dividing, we warriors get only a little; you keep the largest share for yourself. And now you also dare to rob me of my honor gift, which I brought here with my own hands. Ah, well, when I am no longer of any importance, I have no intention of amassing wealth and opulence for you here any longer.”

Agamemnon, the mighty king, spoke, “Do as you please. I do not beg you to fight for my sake. I have others here who will honor me. Yet, be sure of this: the girl, you will give up.”²⁵

Bitterly, Achilles replied, “You are a coward, and you rule over a bunch of cowards. To put yourself in armor and fight with the soldiers, you miss the courage. It is much easier to stay within the ramparts of the

¹⁹*Iliad* I 84-91: Achilles speaks. ²⁰*Iliad* I 92-100: Agamemnon’s girl Chryseis is targeted. ²¹*Iliad* I 101-118: Agamemnon is furious and speaks. ²²*Iliad* I 138. ²³*Iliad* I 119-120. ²⁴*Iliad* I 121-129: Achilles speaks to Agamemnon. ²⁵*Iliad* I 173-187.

stronghold and rob the bravest of their gifts of honor. Now, make your plans with the Greeks who still want to obey you. Most of the war is done by my hands.”²⁶ And thereupon he took the scepter of the Greeks and spoke, “By this scepter I, with Zeus as a witness, swear that once the day will come when you will beg for Achilles. Then in your desperation, you will not be able to help the Greeks, now that you have taken from me what you once gave me. You will tear your heart in the chest with regret that you have not honored the best of the Greeks.”²⁷ Then he threw the scepter to the ground and sat down again. Across from him, Agamemnon growled with rage.²⁸

Then Nestor, the most experienced warrior, sprang up and spoke, “Ah, how would our enemies rejoice if they knew of the strife between you. You who are the chief of the Greeks, one in the council; the other, on the battlefield. Listen to my suggestion, if it might bring a solution.”²⁹ Achilles, do not match your strength with the king. A king who bears the scepter and is praised by Zeus is more highly regarded. You, Agamemnon, however highly regarded, let go of your wrath against Achilles, the mighty bulwark in the fierce battle. Send Briseis back to her father, but give Achilles another girl in return.”³⁰ Agamemnon replied, “Nestor, you always speak wise words in the council, as you do now. But this man there wants to rule over all, even though there will be one who disobeys it. Zeus gives strength to his spear. Does that also entitle him to scold?”³¹

With these words, Agamemnon concluded the assembly. He got up and sent the Greeks away.³² Achilles went to his room, weeping for his own misfortune. He locked himself in and did not come out.

But Agamemnon did not forget his decision. He spoke to Odysseus, the sacred herald, “Go to Achilles’s room, and bring Briseis here. If he does not give her, I will come and fetch her myself with a greater retinue – all the worse for him.”³³

Odysseus passed through the town of the Greeks to the house of Achilles, afraid of the wrath of the grudging warrior. He entered the room and spoke. “Greetings, Achilles, brave warrior. Agamemnon, our mighty king, sent me here to fetch Briseis, with Zeus as a witness. If you do not give her, he will come and fetch her himself with a greater retinue – all the worse for you.”

²⁶*Iliad* I 223-232. ²⁷*Iliad* I 233-244. ²⁸*Iliad* I 245-247. ²⁹*Iliad* I 252-258. ³⁰*Iliad* I 275-284: Nestor asks Agamemnon only to let go of his wrath against Achilles. ³¹*Iliad* I 285-291. ³²*Iliad* I 304-305. ³³*Iliad* I 318-325: The heralds Talthymbios and Eurybates are given this task.

These words stabbed Achilles like a knife in the heart, but he restrained his anger and spoke with dignity. “Odysseus, acclaimed herald of the Greeks, you are not guilty for me. Complete your task, and take Briseis with you.”³⁴ After these words, Odysseus led the girl away.

Achilles wept as he was left alone in his room. His old mother, Thetis, heard his sobbing and went to visit him in his room. Seeing his tears, she sat down next to him and spoke softly. “Why are you crying, my child? What sorrow wounded your heart? Say it so we both know.”³⁵

With a deep sigh, Achilles replied, “Oh dear mother, do I have to tell you all this? We went to the rich town of Eëtion. We destroyed it and brought everything here. The army divided the spoils fairly, and I got Briseis, the beautiful daughter of the priest Briseus. But then Briseus came to the town of the Greeks to redeem his daughter. Agamemnon sent him away with harsh words. The old man returned in wrath, and Zeus answered the prayer of his beloved priest. He sent the plague to our town, causing us to die here one by one. Then Kalchas explained that I had to give up Briseis, my honorary gift. Agamemnon supported that decision, but he gave me no new gift of honor. I am left here empty-handed, dishonored, and of no importance. Now Odysseus brings Briseis back to her father. Mother, do your son a favor, and pray to Zeus that he punishes the Greeks by bringing war on this town.”³⁶

With pity, Thetis spoke, her eyes full of tears. “My poor child, for what purpose did I give birth to you as Agamemnon’s concubine, when he treats you like this, his very own son? Stay here now, and listen to my advice: When war breaks out and the Greeks are besieged by fierce enemies, do not join the fight but leave all Greeks to their own devices. I will pray to Zeus to bring war. Then all the Greeks will realize how foolish they were to treat you like that.”³⁷

Meanwhile, Odysseus brought Briseis back to her father, along with a sacrifice for Zeus. He handed the girl back into Briseus’s arms and spoke. “Briseus, King Agamemnon is sending me here to return your daughter and offer a holy sacrifice to Zeus. May the Greeks win the favor of the mighty thunder god, who brings them disasters now.”³⁸

Briseus joyfully enclosed his sweet child in his arms. Then they slaughtered the cattle, and Briseus prayed to Zeus. “Hear me, Almighty Zeus, god

³⁴*Iliad* I 334-336. ³⁵*Iliad* I 360-363: Thetis, a sea goddess, emerges from the waves. ³⁶*Iliad* I 364-395, *Iliad* I 407-410: Achilles tells Thetis that Agamemnon had to give up Chryseis and then took Briseis from Achilles as compensation. ³⁷*Iliad* I 413-422: Not Agamemnon, but Peleus, is the father of Achilles. Thetis plans to visit Zeus at Olympus. ³⁸*Iliad* I 440-445: Still Chryses instead of Briseus.

of thunder and lightning. You also answered my last prayer. You honored me and punished the people of the Greeks with the plague. Now fulfill this wish for me too: Let it be enough and ward off the deadly disease from the Greeks.”³⁹

Such was his prayer, and Zeus heard him. The Greeks were no longer afflicted by the plague. They celebrated with lots of meat and full cups of wine,⁴⁰ except Achilles, who kept grudging in his room.⁴¹ But not long were the Greeks spared from disaster, for in her sorrow Thetis prayed to Zeus.

Pleadingly, she raised her arms to heaven and spoke, “Father Zeus, hear the prayer that I utter: Bring glory to my son. He was offended by King Agamemnon, who took away his gift of honor. In your wisdom, Almighty Zeus, pay homage to my son, and bring war to this town, until the Greeks show him reverence and offer him rich compensation.”⁴²

Zeus also heard her plea and aroused the Trojans’ lust for war. The next day, they marched with a large army to the stronghold of the Greeks. Antilochos, the young watchman of the Greeks, noticed them in time and raised the alarm. All the Greeks immediately armed themselves, except Achilles. He remained resentful in his room, though his heart longed for fighting and acts of war. The Greek warriors lined up in front of the rampart and the ditch around the town, and with fearful hearts, they waited for the Trojans. They were afraid of defeat now that Achilles was not among them, but no one dared to show it.

When the Trojans were close, Hektor stepped forward.⁴³ He was the strongest and bravest of the Trojans, and even Achilles shrank from meeting him in battle.⁴⁴ Now he stepped into the midst and spoke, “Greeks, brave warriors, your decision was wise not to come to our stronghold during your raid, which must have returned you many beautiful women and precious possessions. Attacking an inferior enemy is one thing, but how do you defend the loot you gathered against a superior? We, Trojans, demand a fair share of all the possessions in your town. If you don’t bring them out voluntarily, we will take them by force and burn down your stronghold.”⁴⁵

Nestor answered, “Hektor, be glad we spared your stronghold on our tour. It would have gone bad for you. If you come here to fight, come on.

³⁹*Iliad* I 446-456: Chryses prays to Apollo instead of Zeus. ⁴⁰*Iliad* I 467-471. ⁴¹*Iliad* I 488-491.

⁴²*Iliad* I 495-510: Thetis asks Zeus on Olympos to give the victory to the Trojans. ⁴³Reconstruction. The Greeks and the Trojans had been at war for ten years when the anger of Achilles began. ⁴⁴*Iliad* VII 113-114. ⁴⁵Reconstruction.

We do not shy away from a fight. Many brave, youthful warriors are ready to give you a warm welcome.”⁴⁶

“You are always brave with words,” Hektor replied, “but who among you is also brave with deeds?”⁴⁷ If one of those brave warriors feels the desire to fight with me, let him then step forward now. I propose this – Zeus may be our witness: If he kills me, let him steal my weapons and bring them into the Greek town, but let him return my body in exchange for a great ransom so the Trojan men and women burn me honorably after my death. The remaining Trojans withdraw. If I kill him and Zeus gives me glory, I will steal his weapons, but will give back the corpse, that the Greeks may burn him honorably and put up a burial mound.⁴⁸ After that, you will pay a rich compensation from the loot you have assembled, or I will start a new duel with anyone who still has the desire to fight. If you do not surrender after that, we will fight here until we have witnessed the destruction of your town.” So Hektor spoke.⁴⁹ All Greeks grew numb, and for a long time, they remained silent. They were ashamed to refuse this proposal, but were afraid to accept it.⁵⁰

Eventually, Menelaos came forward, although he was still a young warrior and inexperienced in a duel to the death. Seemingly fearless, he put on his armor and lined up, ready for battle. This would have meant death for Menelaos had it not been for Nestor to take him by the hand. He led him back to the ranks of the Greeks⁵¹ and spoke, “You are foolish, Menelaos, and foolishness is not what suits you! Do not engage in a duel with a stronger hero, with Hektor, for whom even Achilles shrank back in battle. We will find another among the Greeks to fight against Hektor.”⁵²

Thus, he spoke to Menelaos, but to the rest of the Greeks, he raged with bitter reproaches. “Greeks, cowards, why are you dawdling now that Hektor has made this proposal? Is none of you so full of pugnacity, then, that he immediately steps forward of his own accord? Oh, if Achilles were still fighting in our midst, Hektor would soon have found his opponent. But you do not intend to fight against Hektor.”⁵³

And immediately he set up a dozen warriors in a circle. He chose Aias and Eurypylos, Idomeneus, and his friend Meriones, Teukros, the archer, Protesilaos, and the brave Thoas, Philoktetes, and also Odysseus, the sacred

⁴⁶Reconstruction. ⁴⁷Reconstruction. ⁴⁸*Iliad* VII 73-86. ⁴⁹Reconstruction. ⁵⁰*Iliad* VII 92-93.

⁵¹*Iliad* VII 103-108: Menelaos is neither young nor inexperienced. Agamemnon led Menelaos away.

⁵²*Iliad* VII 109-116: Agamemnon speaks. ⁵³*Iliad* VII 157-160.

herald.⁵⁴ He, himself, joined the circle last and ordered Odysseus to cast lots. They all prayed that fate would designate Aias, silent by themselves lest the Trojans hear it, for Aias was the strongest warrior after Achilles. Fate turned out as they had hoped, indicating Aias. Odysseus picked the lot up and assigned it to Aias, visible to all.⁵⁵

Thus, Aias entered the arena against Hektor. All the Greeks looked at him with admiration, for he was big and strong and had a huge shield. But a trembling fear crept over the Trojans. Everyone, yes, even Hektor's heart pounded in the chest. But it was not possible now to recoil or sneak into the throng of his men; he had challenged the Greeks to a duel.⁵⁶ Close to Hektor, Aias stopped and spoke, "Hektor, now you will know at once what kind of heroes the Greek army has in his midst, even without Achilles, who was always the first to break the ranks of the enemy. Now he stays behind in his house, resentful of Agamemnon, our leader, but among us, there are many who can face you. Begin and open the battle."⁵⁷

To him, the brave Hektor spoke, "Aias, boaster, don't tease me like a weak boy or a woman.⁵⁸ First, show what you can do in battle. For I don't know of a single Greek except Achilles who doesn't immediately bite the dust for me."⁵⁹ And without hesitation, he threw his spear and hurled it into Aias's gigantic shield. It ripped through the top layer, but it got stuck after that.

After him, Aias hurled his spear and hit Hektor's round shield. The spear penetrated the shield and pierced the chest harness along the side. But Hektor stepped aside and escaped death. Then both drew the long spears from their shields and made another attack. Hektor stuck his spear in the middle of the shield, but not through it; the bronze point curved.⁶⁰

Thus, both would have fought tirelessly until the sun went down, had the Trojans not broken their promise. Overconfident, having heard that Achilles was not taking part in the battle, they began throwing stones at the Greeks. But these did not stand idle, and soon, an all-out battle broke out. No one kept aloof anymore.⁶¹ The knobs of the shields clashed, the swords clattered, blood gushed over the earth. There were shouts and groans from those who killed and from those who died.⁶²

⁵⁴*Iliad* VII 161-169: Agamemnon, Diomedes, and the two Aiantes are candidates, but not Teukros, Protesilaos, and Philoktetes. Odysseus is not a herald. ⁵⁵*Iliad* VII 170-189: Nestor is not a candidate. An unnamed herald casts lots. ⁵⁶*Iliad* VII 211-218. ⁵⁷*Iliad* VII 224-232: Achilles stays behind with the ships. ⁵⁸*Iliad* VII 233-236. ⁵⁹Reconstruction according to *Iliad* IX 352-355. ⁶⁰*Iliad* VII 244-263. ⁶¹Reconstruction by analogy with *Iliad* III 79-83. The duel between Hektor and Aias in *Iliad* VII is ended by heralds because night falls. ⁶²*Iliad* IV 448-451.

The Greeks defended themselves as best they could. Those who were usually least regarded also bravely entered the battle.⁶³ Antilochos⁶⁴, Thrasymedes, and Menelaos each killed a man. But after a while, the Greeks had a hard time. They missed Achilles painfully, for no one managed to face the strong Hektor. He went wild in the ranks of the Greeks. They no longer stood their ground, and they fled back to the town.⁶⁵

Only Aias held out. He brandished his great shield and bombarded the Trojans with his sword, covering the Greeks as they retreated.⁶⁶ But Aias, too, had to retreat, step by step, very much against his will, for he was concerned about the town of the Greeks.⁶⁷

When all the Greeks had fled to the last man within the ramparts, Hektor spoke in the midst of the Trojans. “Surround the town now, brave Trojans, and storm the ramparts and the gates. Do not let any of the Greeks escape and cast fire in their houses. Let them pay for their boldness, so that from now on, everyone shakes and trembles whom we visit to collect spoils of war.”⁶⁸

Thus spoke Hektor, and shouting, the Trojans stormed loose on the earthen ramparts and the gates of the town. They tore off the support beams and wiggled the wood of the parapet. A gust of drifting sand rose over the town and fell on the roofs of the houses. Shouts and clamors rang throughout the town.⁶⁹

When Achilles heard this from his room, where he sat in anger, he immediately called in a loud voice for Thetis, his mother. She heard the call, and she came to him. She immediately asked, “Why are you calling me, Achilles? What do you want from me?”

“Beloved mother, seer of Zeus,” replied Achilles. “I think the Greeks will now entreat me by my knees,⁷⁰ driven by intolerable need. Give advice. Ask Zeus how I should act, and tell me.”

Then Thetis retired to seclusion and raised her hands to heaven, praying to Zeus, the almighty god. She begged to be heard and asked him for her son’s fate. Zeus heard her plea and answered, audibly only to Thetis. With trembling knees, Thetis returned to Achilles, fearing that his end was near.

She spoke to him thoughtfully,⁷¹ “Achilles, Zeus has destined two paths for you. If you stand up and fight to drive out the Trojans, you will die in battle, but you will be honored, and your fame will never perish. If

⁶³Reconstruction. ⁶⁴*Iliad* IV 457. ⁶⁵Reconstruction according to *Iliad* VIII 213-216. ⁶⁶*Iliad* XI 543-545: Aias does not use his sword. ⁶⁷*Iliad* XI 555-556. ⁶⁸Reconstruction. The Greek ship camp cannot be surrounded. ⁶⁹*Iliad* XII 35-36, *Iliad* XII 175-177, and *Iliad* XII 253-262: The houses are ships. ⁷⁰*Iliad* XI 608-609: Achilles calls Patroklos and speaks to him. ⁷¹Reconstruction. This contact between Thetis and Zeus is nowhere to be found in the *Iliad*.

you stay here, you will be denied honor and fame, but then a long life awaits you instead of an untimely death.”⁷² After these words, she disappeared. Astounded by what Thetis had said, Achilles remained in his room.

The war raged on around the ramparts and gates of the Greek town all day long. The Trojans tried to break the rampart of the Greeks,⁷³ but these did not give in. Wherever a hole was made in the parapet, they blocked the passage with their shields and harassed the enemy at the foot of the rampart.⁷⁴

When the sun set and darkness fell, the Trojans stopped fighting. They camped in the plain in front of the ramparts and gathered firewood. Then they lit fires all around the town and prepared a meal with meat and wine, which they brought from their town.⁷⁵

The Greeks also gathered at the evening meal. But they were all in the tremendous grip of fear.⁷⁶ Agamemnon was deeply concerned, tears streaming down his cheeks. Sighing heavily, he spoke in the midst of the Greeks,⁷⁷ “Friends! Zeus, the mighty thunder god, has ensnared me in heavy blindness. Once, he promised me that I would rule the wider region and amass much spoils of war, but now, in vile deceit he lets me perish ingloriously against the Trojans.⁷⁸ In the past, all enemies trembled for us, and now, they are fighting for the destruction of our town. The wooden parapets on the ramparts have already collapsed.”⁷⁹ The Greeks were silent, ashamed of failing in battle.

Then Nestor, thinking for the good of all, spoke, “Agamemnon, to you first of all I speak my word, for you are king over many soldiers, and to you, Zeus gave the scepter to lead each one. Therefore, you have to complete for another what he proposes for the best. O king, remember that you have taken away from Achilles his gift of honor, though I have advised against it. With that, you have insulted the best fighter and left him dishonored. Now he is in anger in his room. Even now, let us consider how we can reconcile and persuade him through bountiful gifts and kind words.”⁸⁰

Agamemnon, the old king, answered, “Nestor, my deeds of blindness that you mention are all too true. Achilles, dear to Zeus, is indispensable in battle. I am willing to offer him compensation for the loss of Briseis, his honorary gift. In the presence of all of you, I will mention the precious gifts: a shield five layers thick with a silver strap, a spear with a bronze point, clamped in a ring of gold, a bronze sword, a magnificent chest harness, a hel-

⁷²*Iliad* IX 410-416: Achilles speaks and quotes something his mother Thetis must have said outside the *Iliad*. ⁷³*Iliad* XII 35-37. ⁷⁴*Iliad* XII 262-264. ⁷⁵*Iliad* VIII 497-509. ⁷⁶*Iliad* IX 1-2. ⁷⁷*Iliad* IX 13-16. ⁷⁸*Iliad* IX 17-21. ⁷⁹Reconstruction according to *Iliad* XII 256-263. ⁸⁰*Iliad* IX 96-113.

met made to measure, and five kettles, not touched by any fire. Besides that, I give him Chrysothemis, who was soon to be my concubine. I will solemnly swear to him that I never slept with her, as things are between husband and wife.⁸¹ Let Odysseus go to Achilles's house to bring him this message."⁸²

And so, Odysseus, the sacred herald, made his way to Achilles's house again. He knocked on the door and found Achilles alone, grieving in his room. Scepter in hand, he spoke to him. "I greet you, Achilles, in the name of Agamemnon, our king. For we see before us a great calamity that fills us with fear. Hektor and the Trojans are camping around the town. They lit many fires to prevent us from fleeing, and they will not rest until they have destroyed our town. The preservation of us all is at stake if you do not prepare for battle.⁸³ Agamemnon will compensate you for the suffering he caused you. In the presence of all of us, he mentioned the gifts: a shield five layers thick with a silver strap, a spear with a bronze point, clamped in a ring of gold, a bronze sword, a magnificent chest harness, a helmet made to measure, and five kettles, not touched by any fire. Besides that, he gives you Chrysothemis, who was soon to be his concubine. He will solemnly swear to you that he never slept with her, as things are between husband and wife."⁸⁴

Achilles answered, "Odysseus, sacred herald, I will tell you without delay how I will act. I will not rise to fight, for it turns out that one does not gain thanks by fighting the enemy over and over again. Equal is the share for him who stays at home and for him who fights what he can. Equal is the honor for a coward and for a brave one. Death comes to him who remains idle, as much as to him who performs many valiant deeds. It does not benefit me that I have endured suffering and risked my life again and again in the war. I have conquered many strongholds in the surrounding area. I took many precious treasures from all those strongholds and always brought everything to Agamemnon, who remained in the stronghold of the Greeks. He took it and shared little of it, keeping most of it for himself. The gifts of honor he offered to the other Greek warriors are now their permanent property. Only mine he took away again. That's why I don't fight anymore. Now he must decide for himself how to defend the town of the Greeks with the other warriors. Go now, Odysseus, and tell him all this, as I say it. And his gifts, they are hated

⁸¹*Iliad* IX 114-134: Achilles is offered many more gifts, including his girl Briseis, but no armor. Chrysothemis is a daughter of Agamemnon. ⁸²*Iliad* IX 169: A coalition of several persons is sent, including Odysseus and the heralds Odios and Eurybates. ⁸³*Iliad* IX 225-235: Hektor threatens to burn the ships and kill the Greeks. ⁸⁴*Iliad* IX 261-276: Same as for *Iliad* IX 114-134: Achilles is not promised armor.

to me. I don't give a damn. Let him sleep with Chrysothemis and enjoy her company."⁸⁵

When Odysseus reported what Achilles had said, there was a gloomy silence over the gathering of the Greeks. With Phoinix, the old war teacher of the Greeks, tears sprang to his eyes.⁸⁶ He got up and spoke, "Then let me go to Achilles, to see if he might listen to me. I raised him and taught him everything.⁸⁷ He has always obeyed me."

Phoinix also went to Achilles and entered his house. With a trembling voice, he tried to touch the heart of Achilles. "Achilles, my brave son, I have heard that you want to abandon our town, now that an unblessed anger has entered your heart.⁸⁸ Ah, what did I raise you for and tutor you? Agamemnon entrusted you and Patroklos to me to teach you everything when you were very young,⁸⁹ because I loved you wholeheartedly. You never wanted to sit at the table until I put you on my knee, cut the meat, and fed you, and brought the cup of wine to your lips. Often you have soiled my garment, spitting the wine out in filial vice."⁹⁰

Remember the time when you were inexperienced in war and council, where men distinguish themselves with honor. Then I taught you everything to be skillful in speaking and mighty in deeds.⁹¹ Soon, you became the mightiest warrior, great and strong in stature, skillful with the sword and spear. I brought you up to protect this town from shameful destruction. Achilles, hold back your pride.⁹² Now is the time to pay me back your education. When houses are on fire, it is difficult to save them. Accept Agamemnon's gifts, and stand up. The Greeks will honor you like no other. If you stand up to fight without gifts, you will not be honored so much, even if you fend off the enemy."⁹³

"Phoinix, dear war teacher," Achilles replied firmly. "I do not need the honor you speak of. I think I am honored by Zeus himself. But now, I will tell you something. Imprint it in your mind. Do not try to beseech me in favor of Agamemnon. If you love me, do not show friendship to him, lest my friendship for you turns into hatred.⁹⁴ Go back now, for neither Agamemnon nor any of the Greeks can persuade me. It makes no sense to take turns in tempting me with all kinds of words."⁹⁵

⁸⁵*Iliad* IX 307-337: Agamemnon stayed behind in the ship camp. Achilles says he can sleep with Briseis. ⁸⁶*Iliad* IX 432-433: Phoinix is part of the coalition and is already in Achilles's tent. ⁸⁷*Iliad* IX 485. Phoinix speaks before Odysseus returns. ⁸⁸Reconstruction according to *Iliad* IX 432-433. ⁸⁹*Iliad* IX 434-440: Nothing is said about Patroklos. ⁹⁰*Iliad* IX 486-491. ⁹¹*Iliad* IX 440-443. ⁹²*Iliad* IX 494-496: To protect Phoinix, himself, from destruction. ⁹³*Iliad* IX 601-605: When the ships are on fire. ⁹⁴*Iliad* IX 606-614. ⁹⁵*Iliad* IX 310-311.

Defeated, Phoinix returned to the Greeks and related what Achilles had said. The Greeks were desperate. Nestor got up and spoke in the middle of the council. “Let’s try one last time to persuade Achilles to the battle. A good friend of his age should go to him and ask him to stand up in the name of friendship. But first let us fetch water to wash our hands and command silence so that we pray to Zeus for compassion.”

The Greeks washed their hands and prayed, but no one dared to volunteer for the difficult task, for all of them were afraid to anger Achilles.

Finally, Nestor chose Aias, though he was reluctant. But hoping to save the Greeks from destruction, he set out anyway. He entered with Achilles⁹⁶ and spoke, “Achilles, dear friend, remember the friendship with which we have always honored you. Zeus has put endless anger in your heart for the sake of one girl. Now we offer you a chosen girl and on top of that many gifts. Do allow yourself to be reconciled and respect the close ties that we Greeks have. I was chosen to reconcile you with the Greeks as a friend. I desire to be your closest and dearest friend of all the Greeks.”⁹⁷

“Aias,” Achilles replied. “These words touch my heart, and I care about your suffering. But my chest swells with wrath when I think about how hurtful Agamemnon has treated me, as if I were a dishonorable stranger, not a member of this community. I will not join the battle until Hektor and the Trojans have reached my own home.”⁹⁸ Go now, and report my message to the Greeks.”

Aias returned to the assembly of the Greeks and spoke clearly to all, “Achilles does not intend to give up his anger⁹⁹. Only when Hektor and the Trojans have reached his own home will he engage in battle. Ah, Agamemnon, if only you had never begged him and offered him rich compensation! Now, you have made him even more proud. We must let him alone, whether he stands up or remains resentful. He will resume the fight if his conscience prompts him to do so. Come on, let’s all do what I recommend. Refresh yourselves with flesh and wine, which give strength and courage, and then go to sleep. Tomorrow, we will resume the fight and try to dislodge the Trojans.”¹⁰⁰

So spoke Aias at the council, and the rest of the Greeks approved this proposal.¹⁰¹ Nestor set up sentries all around the ramparts to sound the alarm when the Trojans would attempt an attack.¹⁰² Everyone went to sleep,

⁹⁶Reconstruction. Phoinix does not return, and Aias is also in the coalition. ⁹⁷*Iliad* IX 630-642.

⁹⁸*Iliad* IX 643-652: There is no mention of a community membership. Achilles will participate when the Trojans reach the tents and ships of the Myrmidons. ⁹⁹*Iliad* IX 677-678: Odysseus says this when the coalition returns. ¹⁰⁰*Iliad* IX 698-709: Diomedes says this. ¹⁰¹*Iliad* IX 710-711. ¹⁰²*Iliad* IX 66-67.

both the Greeks and the Trojans. Everything remained calm throughout the night.¹⁰³

Early in the morning, the two armies rearmed, and the Greeks occupied the ramparts around the town – all except Achilles, who remained resentful in his room.

Hektor stirred up the Trojans with boastful words. “Brave Trojans, before nightfall, we will cast fire into the houses of this town and kill the Greeks to the last man. Let no one slack in battle so that everybody learns how we deal with the enemy. After this day, nobody will speak of the rule of the Greeks.” Thus, Hektor scoffed, and all the Trojans shouted aloud.¹⁰⁴ Enraged, they stormed the ramparts and the gates around the town. The shouting and pounding rang out far and wide. Great clouds of dust rose to the sky. The Trojans ran around the ramparts to find an unguarded spot and climb over the parapet. They tugged at the wooden fortification, hoping to break it.¹⁰⁵ Each time, Aias or some other of the Greeks rushed to the spot to drive the Trojans back. Thus, the battle lasted half a day. Many fighters were injured in the jostle at the parapet of the ramparts.

The Greeks resisted bravely, but they missed Achilles painfully. When the Trojans saw that Achilles had still not risen, they fought even more furiously.¹⁰⁶ More and more Greeks had to stop fighting, wounded by an arrow or a spear.

Nestor could not stand it any longer. He rushed to the infirmary, where he found Machaon, the physician of the Greeks. “Machaon, there are already too many Greeks out of work, plagued with painful wounds. Now you have to leave your task for a while and come with me to Achilles’s house. Surely, together, we can persuade him to stand up and save the Greeks from destruction.”¹⁰⁷

So, they went together to Achilles’s house. They found him in his room. Nestor spoke excitedly. “Achilles, now, you can’t keep grudging resentfully. The Greeks are in great difficulties. Soon, Hektor and the Trojans jump inside the ramparts of the town. Are you waiting until the houses are scorched by fire despite our resistance and we ourselves are killed, row after row?”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³The *Doloneia*, in which Odysseus and Diomedes kill Dolon, takes place that night.

¹⁰⁴Reconstruction. ¹⁰⁵*Iliad* XII 35-38. ¹⁰⁶Reconstruction. ¹⁰⁷*Iliad* XI 646-653: Achilles saw Nestor take out a wounded fighter and sent Patroklos to Nestor to learn who it was. Patroklos determined it was Machaon and came back with the message that many Greeks were wounded. ¹⁰⁸*Iliad* XI 663-667: Nestor says something similar to Patroklos.

And Machaon added, “Then come and see for yourself in the infirmary to see what suffering has befallen the army. Many of the bravest are down there, wounded by an arrow shot or a spear thrust.”¹⁰⁹

But still Achilles was not persuaded. He spoke bitterly. “The Greeks, themselves, have sought the difficulties they face now. For I have seen no one willing to make amends for my suffering when Agamemnon took my honor gift. Even when the Trojans came and Hektor challenged the Greeks, you were not willing to collect spoils of war as a ransom,¹¹⁰ even though Hektor was superior to everyone. Now you must think for yourself how you can avert your own suffering.¹¹¹ I also love life. Why should I risk my life for someone else?”¹¹² So spoke Achilles. His anger had not yet abated, and he remained mindful of his mother’s words.¹¹³

When Nestor and Machaon gloomily made their way back to the infirmary, a great calamity occurred at the battle for the ramparts.¹¹⁴ The Trojans made a large hole in the parapet that gave way to many.¹¹⁵ Immediately, Aias stormed to the scene of the calamity. With his large shield and sword, he could stop the influx. Other Greeks rushed to the scene, Eurypylos and Teukros and Menelaos. They all bravely attempted to stop the enemy. But the Trojans came up stronger, with more men. They pounded the heroes’ shields and bombarded them with spears and swords.¹¹⁶

Eurypylos was hit by an arrow in the right thigh. The shaft broke off and weighed on his thigh. He backed away¹¹⁷ from the rampart and cried in a shrill voice, “Greeks, stand your ground and fight behind Aias, who is attacked by spears and arrows. Only with difficulty can he stop the Trojans.”¹¹⁸ Eurypylos himself had to return to the town to treat his painful wound.¹¹⁹ As he left the fray, he saw that Aias was no longer holding out and the first Trojans had entered the ramparts.¹²⁰

On the other side of the town, the Greeks and the Trojans fought with equal chances. Patroklos had stood there since early in the morning. Now, his spear was broken, and he hurried to his house to find a new one.¹²¹ First, he met Nestor and Machaon, who had returned from the house of Achilles.

¹⁰⁹*Iliad* XI 654-662: Nestor says something similar to Patroklos. ¹¹⁰Reconstruction. Such an encounter between Nestor or Machaon, and Achilles, does not occur anywhere. ¹¹¹*Iliad* IX 345-352: Achilles says this to Odysseus. ¹¹²*Iliad* IX 318-322: Achilles says this to Odysseus. ¹¹³Reconstruction. ¹¹⁴Reconstruction. ¹¹⁵*Iliad* XII 467-470: Hektor breaks the gate and jumps in. ¹¹⁶Reconstruction according to *Iliad* XII 261-268, *Iliad* XII 343-350, and *Iliad* XII 467-471. ¹¹⁷*Iliad* XI 581-584. ¹¹⁸*Iliad* XI 586-589. ¹¹⁹*Iliad* XI 808-811. ¹²⁰Reconstruction. ¹²¹*Iliad* XIII 256-257: Meriones goes to his tent to find a new spear.

The thoughtful Nestor saw his broken spear and spoke to him. “Patroklos, brave warrior. Now is the time for you to pause from the war and take care of the wounded. Then Machaon, not yet tired of the war, can take your place.¹²² But ah, I’d rather see you trying to persuade Achilles to the battle. Who knows if you can convince him with the help of Thetis, his mother? Great is the persuasiveness of a bosom friend. If he doesn’t want to stand up himself, let him give his armor to you. Maybe the Trojans will mistake you for him and flee. That would be a relief for the Greeks.”¹²³

Patroklos was moved by Nestor’s words and hurried between the houses to Achilles. But when he came to the house of Odysseus, the herald, he met Eurypylos. Overcome with pity, he halted¹²⁴ and spoke, “Brave Eurypylos, tell me whether the Greeks can still stop the great Hektor or whether we will all die soon.”¹²⁵

“No longer,” replied the wounded Eurypylos, “can the Greeks keep the Trojans out of the ramparts, Patroklos.¹²⁶ Even though Aias is resisting as never before, the Trojans have already jumped within the ramparts of the town. But now take me safe to the infirmary and cut the arrow from my thigh and wash the blood from my wound with warm water and then sprinkle soft herbs on it,¹²⁷ as you learned from Phoinix, our war teacher.”

To him, Patroklos replied, “How is this supposed to work, Eurypylos? I am on my way to Achilles by order of Nestor to bring him into battle. Yet, I will not abandon you in your painful torment.” And he led Eurypylos to the infirmary, where he began to cut the arrow from the wound with his knife.¹²⁸

Meanwhile, more Trojans entered the town’s ramparts. Shouting loudly, they tried to make their way through to the houses of the Greeks. Hektor called out to all the Trojans. “Bring fire; let everyone echo the battle cry! Now Zeus grants us the day that outweighs all others: to destroy the town of the Greeks¹²⁹ and to end their dominion.”

The Trojans broke through the ranks of the Greeks. With torches in hand, they stormed loose on the houses. The Greeks climbed the roofs of their houses. With their spears, they prevented the Trojans from throwing fire into their houses.¹³⁰ Aias jumped with great strides over the roofs of the

¹²²Reconstruction. ¹²³*Iliad* XI 789-802. ¹²⁴*Iliad* XI 803-813: at the level of the fleet of Odysseus.

¹²⁵*Iliad* XI 818-820. ¹²⁶*Iliad* XI 821-823. ¹²⁷*Iliad* XI 827-829: Aias is not mentioned here by Eurypylos. ¹²⁸*Iliad* XI 837-844: There is no mention of an infirmary, but of a tent. ¹²⁹*Iliad* XV 718-720: Hektor orders the Trojans to take the ships, instead of destroying a town. ¹³⁰*Iliad* XV 387-388: The Greeks use long poles from their ships, which are destined for battles at sea.

houses, in his hands brandishing his spear.¹³¹ He urged the Greeks to protect the town and its houses. His voice rose to heaven.¹³²

Then, Thetis could no longer endure hearing the cries of the Greeks. She entered Achilles's room¹³³ and spoke. "Achilleus, my dear son, now Zeus has fulfilled for you what you once prayed, raising your hands to heaven, that all the Greeks would be cornered in this town and would suffer bitter sorrow without your help.¹³⁴ Think of the sorrows that will happen when the town is taken: the men killed, the town reduced to ashes, the children and the women kidnapped by the enemy.¹³⁵ Now it is almost too late. The Trojans are already inside the ramparts of the town, and they try to set the houses on fire.¹³⁶ Yet, don't go into battle yourself, because you will not return safely.¹³⁷ But when Patroklos comes, lend him your armor, so that the Trojans mistake him for you and flee away."¹³⁸

"Dear mother," Achilles sighed. "How can you speak like that? It fills my heart with anger that someone dares to rob another of his honorary gifts because he happens to be king. The girl whom the Greeks gave me as a gift and whom I captured with my own spear Agamemnon has snatched away from me, as if I were a dishonorable stranger. But ah, what has happened we will leave alone.¹³⁹ Go on, dear mother, and try not to talk me over any longer. I will think about what you said."¹⁴⁰

So their conversation went. But in the meantime, Aias no longer held out. His panting breath went arduous; sweat dripped from all his limbs. There was no moment of relaxation; the Trojans appeared again and again with flaming torches. Then the moment came when the first fire fell in the houses of the Greeks. Hektor sprang up to Aias and struck his spear with his sword, the spear that had hitherto driven back the Trojans. The point flew off, leaving Aias with a blunt piece of wood in his hand. Immediately, the Trojans threw fire into the house closest to the rampart, that of Protesilaos. Loudly, the blazing fire crackled.¹⁴¹

When Patroklos heard this, where he was still sitting down to nurse Eurypylos, he slapped his hand on his thigh and spoke, lamenting, "Eurypylos,

¹³¹*Iliad* XV 674-685, *Iliad* XV 742-746: Aias went with great strides over the decks of the ships.

¹³²*Iliad* XV 686-688: Aias calls the Greeks to protect the fleet and the tents. ¹³³Reconstruction analogous to the intervention of Kleopatra in the Meleager story and the type scene of the resentful warrior (Blondé 2019, p. 105-107): *Iliad* IX 588-591. ¹³⁴*Iliad* XVIII 74-77. ¹³⁵*Iliad* IX 592-594: Kleopatra says this to Meleager.

¹³⁶Reconstruction according to *Iliad* IX 588-590 and *Iliad* XV 716-719. ¹³⁷*Iliad* IX 410-413: Achilles tells about his fate to the coalition in his tent. ¹³⁸*Iliad* XI 794-800: Nestor makes this suggestion to Patroklos.

¹³⁹*Iliad* XVI 52-60: Achilles says this to Patroklos. ¹⁴⁰Reconstruction. ¹⁴¹*Iliad* XV 704-706, *Iliad* XVI 102-124: The ship of Protesilaos catches fire.

now I cannot stay here any longer, however much you wish. I see the roaring violence of the fire on the outskirts of the town. I hurry to Achilles and urge him to war. Who knows? Perhaps I can convince him. Great is the persuasiveness of a bosom friend.”¹⁴² After these words, he hurried to Achilles’s house.

Tears streamed down Patroklos’s cheeks out of concern for the Greeks. Weeping,¹⁴³ he spoke to Achilles, “Achilles, greatest hero of the Greeks, do not blame me for coming to beg you, for so great is the sorrow of the Greeks. The best are wounded, Aias can no longer stand his ground, and Protesilaos’s house is already burning. But you, Achilles, my bosom friend, you remain inflexible. May I never hold an anger like you do, unfortunate one. What good is your fame for anybody when they all perish? Callous one! Not Phoinix, not Thetis raised you, but a stone-still rock and a dark gray swamp, so rigid is your heart. If you are, after all, not willing to go into battle yourself, allow me at least to put on your armor so that the Trojans mistake me for you and flee. That would be a relief for the Greeks.”¹⁴⁴

Very moved, Achilles spoke, “Ah, Patroklos, my mother has already come here, and she also touched my heart.”¹⁴⁵ Apparently, it was not doable to endure in my anger to the end, though I thought it wouldn’t end until Hektor and the Trojans reached my own home. Please then, take my armor and gird it yourself,¹⁴⁶ so that it seems to everyone that I have stood up, to the misery of the Trojans. Chase the Trojans outside the ramparts, but stay inside the stronghold yourself. Do not fight in the plains for fame with my armor.”¹⁴⁷

Patroklos hastily exchanged his armor for that of Achilles. He buckled the enormous chest harness around his shoulders and put the helmet with the shiny crest on his head, by which everyone recognizes Achilles from afar. He took the great oval shield and the gigantic spear, which he could barely swing.¹⁴⁸ With that, he ran out and hurried to the fray at the house of Protesilaos.¹⁴⁹

Without hesitation, Patroklos jumped into the midst of the warriors and killed the Trojan Pyraichmes with a thrust of his spear in the chest.¹⁵⁰ All who saw him thought that Achilles had returned to the battle, and a shock went through the ranks of the Trojans. In panic, they dropped their weapons,

¹⁴²*Iliad* XV 390-404. ¹⁴³*Iliad* XVI 2-3. ¹⁴⁴*Iliad* XVI 20-45: Aias is not mentioned here. ¹⁴⁵*Iliad* XVI 50-51: Achilles says the opposite: Thetis has not proclaimed to him a decree of Zeus. ¹⁴⁶*Iliad* XVI 60-64. ¹⁴⁷*Iliad* XVI 87-92. ¹⁴⁸*Iliad* XVI 130-144: Patroklos did not take the spear of Achilles, because it is too heavy for him. ¹⁴⁹*Iliad* XVI 285-286. ¹⁵⁰*Iliad* XVI 287-289: Pyraichmes is hit in the right shoulder.

and each tried to save his own body. They were all afraid of being subdued under Achilles's formidable spear.

But the Greeks who saw Patroklos were filled with delirium. A mighty shout rose to the heavens and spread along the ramparts all around the town. The Greeks were relieved from their distress and gladly drummed back the Trojans.¹⁵¹ They extinguished the house of Protesilaos that remained half burned.¹⁵² The Trojans fled back from the ramparts and across the ditch to the plain. Patroklos gave chase, followed by the rest of the Greeks. Each time, Patroklos killed the last man.

Thus, the Greeks chased the Trojans in front of them in the plain between the strongholds of the Greeks and Trojans. None of the Greek warriors who were not wounded were left, with the exception of Achilles and with the exception of Thrasymedes and Antilochos. These were still too inexperienced for the battle in the plain, and Nestor commanded them to keep watch at the gate of the town¹⁵³. The others ran away from the town, farther and farther into the plain, until they disappeared from sight of the gates and ramparts.

But when they were well on their way, halfway between the towns of the Greeks and the Trojans, Hektor blamed the Trojans with rebuking words, "Shame on you, Trojans, where are you fleeing? Show your courage now! For I am going to meet this man to know who he is, who is doing what he wants here and has brought us much suffering and killed many Trojans.¹⁵⁴ He wears Achilles's armor, but I want to test whether he also possesses his famous combat skills." And without further ado, he turned and faced Patroklos. He spoke, bluffing, "Patroklos, what beautiful armor you have chosen to go to battle with. Although it seems to me that your chest harness and your helmet are a size too big for you. Or perhaps you hoped that larger armor would also increase your power in battle?" So he spoke, recognizing Patroklos from close by.¹⁵⁵ Without delay, he threw his spear and hit Patroklos in the belly. Patroklos fell to the ground with a boom.¹⁵⁶ The fame he achieved was great, but short-lived. The Greeks were shocked to see it, and they stood in terror.

¹⁵¹Reconstruction according to *Iliad* XVI 278-283. ¹⁵²*Iliad* XVI 293-294. ¹⁵³*Iliad* XVII 377-383: There is no lack of experience for Thrasymedes and Antilochos. ¹⁵⁴*Iliad* XVI 422-425: Sarpedon says this to his men, the Lycians. It is one of the few clues in the *Iliad* that Patroklos is taken for Achilles. ¹⁵⁵Reconstruction. Hektor has known for some time who Patroklos is. Apollo and Euphorbos also share in the killing of Patroklos. ¹⁵⁶*Iliad* XVI 818-822.

Immediately, Hektor jumped to the corpse to steal the armor.¹⁵⁷ Triumphantly, he held Achilles's armor high into view of all the Trojans. He put it in the hands of one of the Trojans¹⁵⁸ and spoke, "Brave Trojans, now also drag the corpse of Patroklos to our town. A great ransom will be paid by the Greeks to give this hero a worthy burning."¹⁵⁹ The Trojans rallied again and pushed the Greeks back.¹⁶⁰

Menelaos had noticed that Hektor had killed Patroklos.¹⁶¹ He went through the front rows and looked for Aias. Soon he found him,¹⁶² and he called out, "Aias, greatest hero of the Greeks, come here! Let us fight for Patroklos's corpse and see whether we can recapture it. His armor has already been stolen by Hektor."¹⁶³

Together, they hurried to the corpse of Patroklos.¹⁶⁴ Aias sheltered it with his large shield and positioned himself protectively before it.¹⁶⁵

A fierce battle broke out in the plain between the strongholds of the Greeks and the Trojans. The armies fought each other on a small patch of land, for Hektor kept inciting the Trojans to drive Aias from the corpse. The booming of the bronze, the crack of leather and shields, and the clatter of swords and spears rose from the battlefield.¹⁶⁶ Great clouds of dust rose to heaven; much blood dripped to the earth.

Thus, the battle continued, and no one could say whether the sun was in the sky or the moon, for where the bravest competed for the corpse of Patroklos, everything was shrouded in mist.¹⁶⁷ All this time, Aias and Menelaos fought side by side at the corpse of Patroklos.¹⁶⁸

Then, the moment came when Aias could release Patroklos's corpse from battle. He lifted the body onto his shoulder and fled with it to the stronghold of the Greeks. Menelaos and Meriones held out on the spot to stop the Trojans.¹⁶⁹ But with the brave Aias retreating from the front lines, the rest of the Greeks could not hold out any longer. They were driven backward by the Trojans.¹⁷⁰

Then Phoinix, the old combat teacher, spoke,¹⁷¹ "Menelaos, you have stood your man in battle. Now leave it to the bravest men to protect the

¹⁵⁷*Iliad* XVI 799-800, *Iliad* XVII 125. ¹⁵⁸*Iliad* XVII 130-131: Hektor does not lift the armor, but puts it on himself. ¹⁵⁹*Iliad* XVII 229-232. ¹⁶⁰*Iliad* XVII 233. ¹⁶¹*Iliad* XVII 1-2. ¹⁶²*Iliad* XVII 113-116. ¹⁶³*Iliad* XVII 120-122. ¹⁶⁴*Iliad* XVII 123-124. ¹⁶⁵*Iliad* XVII 128-129. ¹⁶⁶*Iliad* XVI 635-637. ¹⁶⁷*Iliad* XVII 366-369. ¹⁶⁸*Iliad* XVII 237, *Iliad* XVII 508. ¹⁶⁹Reconstruction according to *Iliad* XVII 668-736: Menelaos calls on Meriones and the two Aiantes to fight for the corpse of Patroklos. Then he informs Antilochos of the death of Patroklos and returns to the corpse. Menelaos and Meriones then carry the corpse to the ships, while the two Aiantes hold back the Trojans. ¹⁷⁰*Iliad* XVII 747-761. ¹⁷¹*Iliad* XVII 555.

corpse and to turn the ranks of the enemy.¹⁷² Run ahead of the fleeing and message to Antilochos, who is standing guard at the gate, that Patroklos has been killed in battle. Ask him to go to Achilles and report this sad news to him.¹⁷³ Perhaps this might persuade him to help the Greeks in battle.”

Menelaos heeded this command immediately. He rushed far ahead of the others to the town of the Greeks.

Antilochos and Thrasymedes saw the Greeks coming from afar. They were still ignorant of the death of Patroklos when Menelaos reached them.¹⁷⁴

Panting, Menelaos spoke to them, “Antilochos and Thrasymedes, you will hear sad news. You can also see that the Greeks are being driven back by the Trojans. Patroklos, the most magnanimous of us, is killed, much to the sorrow of the Greeks. His weapons are in Hektor’s possession. Antilochos, go to Achilles and tell him.”¹⁷⁵

Antilochos gave his armor to Menelaos, and as fast as he could, he ran to Achilles’s house.¹⁷⁶ With tears in his eyes, he spoke to the grudging hero,¹⁷⁷ “Ah me, Achilles, you will hear bad tidings. Oh, had it never happened. Patroklos, your bosom friend loved by all of us, has been killed by Hektor. Aias brings his body here, naked; the weapons are in Hektor’s possession.”¹⁷⁸

When Achilles heard this news, a dark cloud of sorrow enveloped him. He picked up the dust from the earth with both hands and sprinkled it on his head.¹⁷⁹ Loudly, he let out a wailing cry.¹⁸⁰

His mother heard this,¹⁸¹ and she came running toward Achilles. Concerned, she asked him, “Why are you crying, my child? What sorrow wounded your heart?”¹⁸²

Lamentingly, Achilles spoke, “Dear mother, what shall I do? Hektor killed Patroklos, my beloved friend, whom I honored above all my other friends, whom I loved as my own life. The armor that was once mine is now in the hands of Hektor.¹⁸³ Ah me. How am I supposed to go into battle now? I don’t know of anyone else wearing appropriate armor, except it had to be the great Aias. But he, himself, also fends off the enemy on the battlefield to protect the corpse of Patroklos.”¹⁸⁴

Thetis answered, with tears in her eyes,¹⁸⁵ “Achilles, my brave son, if you want to go to battle, accept the armor that Agamemnon had made for you

¹⁷² *Iliad* XVII 508: Automedon calls Menelaos for help as he is threatened by Hektor and Aineias.

¹⁷³ *Iliad* XVII 651-655: Aias asks Menelaos. ¹⁷⁴ *Iliad* XVII 378-379. ¹⁷⁵ *Iliad* XVII 684-693. ¹⁷⁶ *Iliad* XVII 698. ¹⁷⁷ *Iliad* XVIII 16-17. ¹⁷⁸ *Iliad* XVIII 18-21. ¹⁷⁹ *Iliad* XVIII 22-24. ¹⁸⁰ *Iliad* XVIII 34-35.

¹⁸¹ *Iliad* XVIII 35. ¹⁸² *Iliad* XVIII 72-73. ¹⁸³ *Iliad* XVIII 80-84. ¹⁸⁴ *Iliad* XVIII 188-195: Achilles complains about this to Iris. ¹⁸⁵ *Iliad* XVIII 94.

as compensation for the girl he took from you. But I beg you, don't do it and stay out of the fray.¹⁸⁶ Because immediately after Patroklos, fate will strike you, too.¹⁸⁷ Go to the ramparts and the ditch, and show yourself without armor, so that the Trojans think you've given up your anger. This way, you can save the other Greeks from destruction."¹⁸⁸

"Mother," replied Achilles. "Do not stop me now that I want to go into battle. Why do you predict death for me? I no longer wish to live among my friends, as long as Hektor has not been struck down by my spear and paid with his life for the death of Patroklos."¹⁸⁹

Sadly, Thetis replied, "Then an early death awaits you according to your own word, my child."¹⁹⁰ So she spoke. But Achilles was already on his way to King Agamemnon, infuriated with anger.¹⁹¹

Antilochos, with his swift feet, went about all over the town proclaiming that Achilles was going to end his anger.¹⁹² Those who remained in the town during the battle, the old men and the wounded warriors, all gathered in the conference room of the house of Agamemnon, leaning on their canes and their spears.¹⁹³

Achilles spoke and addressed the king of the Greeks, "Agamemnon, mighty ruler, what has it brought to us that we have raged against each other for the sake of a girl in biting strife?¹⁹⁴ Many lives of the Greeks I could have saved¹⁹⁵ and that of Patroklos, who missed my assistance in the hour of his death. I am smitten with regret that I did not end my anger sooner. Now, give me the weapons you had made for me so that I can immediately go to battle."¹⁹⁶

The Greeks present were delighted to hear that Achilles was ending his anger.

Agamemnon arose from his seat and spoke,¹⁹⁷ "Achilles, many times the Greeks have reproached me for this act of robbing you of your honor gift. No less often have I regretted my blindness. But ah, forgive me, it was Zeus himself who robbed me of my mind.¹⁹⁸ At random, Zeus chooses the fate that awaits us mortals. There is no point in lamenting afterward about actions. We can only hope that the tide will turn and things will fare better

¹⁸⁶Reconstruction. Thetis hands Achilles herself armor she had forged by the fire god Hephaistos.

¹⁸⁷*Iliad* XVIII 95-96: Immediately after Hektor instead of Patroklos. ¹⁸⁸*Iliad* XVIII 198-201.

¹⁸⁹*Iliad* XVIII 90-93. ¹⁹⁰*Iliad* XVIII 95-96: Achilles is destined to die shortly after Hektor.

¹⁹¹Reconstruction. ¹⁹²*Iliad* XIX 40-41: Achilles himself goes around the ships. There is no battle going on at that time. ¹⁹³*Iliad* XIX 42-53: According to the *Iliad*, these men came *also* to the assembly.

¹⁹⁴*Iliad* XIX 55-58. ¹⁹⁵*Iliad* XIX 61-62. ¹⁹⁶Reconstruction according to *Iliad* XIX 55-73. ¹⁹⁷*Iliad* XIX 74-77. ¹⁹⁸*Iliad* XIX 85-86.

in the future. Likewise, I am delighted to hear that you are giving up your anger.¹⁹⁹ Now, wait here, however much war calls you, so that I can offer you compensation, the gifts Odysseus promised you in your room yesterday.”²⁰⁰

Brave Achilles answered him, “Agamemnon, king of the Greeks, give me the weapons that you promised me. You may give me the beautiful Chrysothemis, as it suits you, or you may also keep her for yourself²⁰¹ For I, myself, will not return alive from the battle. But I want to ask you something else; allow me. If I die and my corpse falls into the hands of the Trojans, ransom it, and put it next to Patroklos.²⁰² Lay us together on the sad funeral pyre, and collect our bones in the same urn, so that we remain together even after death, just as we were brought up together in this town during our lives.”²⁰³

A gloomy silence fell in the hall among the Greeks after hearing these words. With a depressed face, Agamemnon gave his blessing to Achilles. Then he handed him the magnificent weapons.²⁰⁴

Achilleus armed himself in their midst. His teeth gritted at the sight of the armor, and his eyes sparkled with a fiery glow. He girded himself with the chest harness and fitted the helmet over his head. Then he took the large five-layer shield and brandished the spear with the gold ring. The weapons fitted him well; he could easily move with them.²⁰⁵ Under the eye of the Greeks present, Achilleus hurried to the battlefield; a brilliant gloss shone in all directions.

In the meantime, the Greeks, with terrible shouts and fleeing from the man-murdering Hektor, reached the ramparts of the stronghold. They seemed unable to bring Patroklos’s corpse to safety, for time and again Hektor seized it by the feet, eager to drag it away. Aias pushed him away from the corpse again, after which Hektor incited the Trojans to launch another attack.

Thus, the Greeks and the Trojans were in conflict²⁰⁶ when Achilleus appeared on the rampart of the Greek stronghold, looking out over the plain. When he saw the Trojans and Hektor, he let out a loud scream across the ditch. Bewildered, the Trojans ceased their fight, so shrill was the scream. When they saw that Achilleus was standing on top of the rampart, in fiery shining armor, they were terrified.²⁰⁷ In vain, Hektor tried to stir up the Trojans to continue fighting for the corpse of Patroklos.

¹⁹⁹Reconstruction. ²⁰⁰*Iliad* XIX 134-142. ²⁰¹*Iliad* XIX 146-148: Agamemnon had no armor made for Achilles. Neither Chrysothemis nor Briseis is mentioned here. ²⁰²Reconstruction. Achilles does not die immediately after Patroklos in the *Iliad*. Achilles also does not ask anywhere to ransom his body. ²⁰³*Iliad* XXIII 80-92, *Iliad* XXIII 245-248. As Achilles and Patroklos were brought up together by Peleus. ²⁰⁴Reconstruction. ²⁰⁵*Iliad* XIX 364-391: Thetis had this armor made by the god Hephaistos. ²⁰⁶*Iliad* XVIII 148-160. ²⁰⁷*Iliad* XVIII 214-231.

The Greeks happily brought Patroklos to safety. They brought him to the gate of the town, where Achilles just arrived.²⁰⁸ Weeping, he spoke to his dead comrade, “Patroklos, my friend, whom I loved above all, if only I had given up my anger earlier. Then I could have spared your life, and that of many other Greeks.²⁰⁹ I, myself, will now also color the earth red with my blood, because I will not return from the battle. I will not rest until I have killed Hektor and many Trojans to avenge you.²¹⁰ Then I accept my fate according to the will of Zeus. The Greeks will bring my body here and burn it with yours. Until that moment, you will remain here unburied.²¹¹ Our bones will rest in the same urn, under the same burial mound.”²¹²

Thus, Achilles averted the fate of all Greeks. Achilles led the way to the battle and killed numerous Trojans, including Hektor. But when afternoon came and the sun began to return, Achilles, himself, was killed in battle.²¹³

A fierce battle arose for the body of Achilles. The Trojans tried to bring it to their stronghold, but the Greeks pulled Achilles away. Thus, they would have fought until sunset,²¹⁴ if Aias had not lifted Achilles’s corpse onto his shoulders and brought it within the ranks of the Greeks. The other Greeks covered his retreat. Aias brought Achilles’s corpse back inside the Greek town, while Odysseus fended off the Trojans.²¹⁵ Thus Zeus, who decides the war between men,²¹⁶ ended the battle between the Greeks and the Trojans.²¹⁷

The Greeks washed and anointed the bodies of Achilles and Patroklos and placed them on a bier. Lamenting, they surrounded the laid-up bodies; they poured hot tears to the ground.²¹⁸

Lamentingly, Thetis spoke, “Achilles, my dear son, this is how you brought about your own death – and that of your dearest friend, all for the sake of a girl. You have not been able to enjoy the gifts you received from Agamemnon.”²¹⁹ Thus, the Greeks mourned all night long.²²⁰

The next day, they gathered wood for a large funeral pyre.²²¹ Side by side, they laid the corpses of Achilles and Patroklos on it.²²² When the corpses were burned, they extinguished the funeral pyre with wine and collected the bones²²³ and placed them in the same urn of gold.²²⁴ In front of

²⁰⁸*Iliad* XVIII 231-235. ²⁰⁹Reconstruction. ²¹⁰*Iliad* XVIII 329-337. ²¹¹*Iliad* XVIII 338, *Iliad* XIX 29-33. ²¹²*Iliad* XXIII 80-92, *Iliad* XXIII 245-248. ²¹³Reconstruction. Achilles leads the way to the battle and kills Hektor, but is not immediately killed himself. ²¹⁴*Odyssey* XXIV 36-43. ²¹⁵Evelyn-White (1995), *Aithiopsis*: Achilles’s corpse is taken to the ship camp. ²¹⁶*Iliad* XIX 224. ²¹⁷Reconstruction. ²¹⁸*Iliad* XVIII 350-353, *Odyssey* XXIV 43-46. ²¹⁹Reconstruction according to *Odyssey* XXIV 58-64. ²²⁰*Iliad* XVIII 354-355. ²²¹*Iliad* XXIV 784: This is about Hektor’s funeral. ²²²Reconstruction. Achilles and Patroklos are not burned together. ²²³*Iliad* XXIV 791-793. ²²⁴*Odyssey* XXIV 74.

the town of the Greeks, they placed the urn in a pit, and above it, they built a large burial mound. To this day, you can see that burial mound from afar,²²⁵ as a sad reminder of the tragedy that had struck the Greeks.²²⁶

Oral Characteristics of the Anger Fairy Tale: Da1 to Da15

In addition to the general oral characteristics of the narrative Delta tradition, this anger fairy tale also contains many specific oral characteristics. Based on the latter oral characteristics, it can be distinguished from other Delta fairy tales. The specific oral characteristics of the anger fairy tale are as follows:

Da1 Achilles, the tragic main character

Achilleus²²⁷ is the tragic²²⁸ main character, who faces a devastating choice. If he fights, he dies in battle. If he persists in his anger, he will be without honor and fame and hated by all the Greeks for not helping to protect their stronghold. The moral of this fairy tale is that it is better to die gloriously than to be seen as a dishonorable coward. Achilleus behaves accordingly and dies in battle.²²⁹

Da2 The anger of Achilleus

The anger²³⁰ of Achilleus is the main theme of the anger fairy tale.²³¹ It is also the main theme of the *Iliad*, in which the narrator asks the muse to sing about the anger of Achilleus in the very first verse.²³² Achilleus does not really give up his anger until he learns that Patroklos has been killed. The warrior resentfully aloof is also a thematic type scene in the European Beta tradition.^{233,234}

Da3 Aias, the greatest hero after Achilleus

When Achilleus stops participating in the anger fairy tale, it is Aias²³⁵ (the son of Telamon) taking over the role of rescuer of the Greeks. While the rest of the Greeks are almost completely slaughtered, he persists. Aias is also one of the candidates to get Achilleus into battle.

²²⁵*Odyssey* XXIV 81-83. ²²⁶Reconstruction. ²²⁷See also Zankor (1994). ²²⁸See Rinon (2008) for a discussion of tragedy as a pattern in the *Iliad*. ²²⁹Examples: Achilleus's anger: *Iliad* I 224-244, Achilleus's tragic fate: *Iliad* IX 410-416, and Achilleus's mourning: *Iliad* XVIII 22-27. ²³⁰απομηνιω, μηνις, χολος. ²³¹For a discussion of the anger theme, see Muellner (1996). ²³²The very first word of the *Iliad*, *μηνιν*, is even the Greek word for *anger*. ²³³Blondé (2019, p. 105-108). ²³⁴Examples: Achilleus's abstinence: *Iliad* I 488-492, Achilleus's refusal: *Iliad* IX 307-317, and giving up anger: *Iliad* XIX 65-68. ²³⁵*Aias* (Golder 1999) is also a play written by Sophokles (fifth century BC). The focus is mainly the suicide of Aias. Yet that suicide stems from Aias's expectation that he is the greatest hero after Achilleus.

Aias refers to his friendship with Achilles, but fails to get Achilles to give up his anger.²³⁶

Da4 Patroklos, the bosom friend of Achilles

Patroklos has a dual role. First, he is the only friend who manages to touch Achilles's heart and let him give up his anger. This role stems from the type scene of the resentful warrior in the European Beta tradition. Second, he fulfills the role of the son in the theme of "fame for the father" by begging Achilles to be allowed to go to war in his armor.^{237,238}

Da5 Agamemnon, the leader who took Achilles's girl

In the reconstruction of the anger fairy tale, Agamemnon is the clan leader who tries his best to keep peace for his subjects, but fails. With that, he has a much more sympathetic role than in the *Iliad*, in which Agamemnon insults Kalchas and Achilles and steals the girl²³⁹ of Achilles for himself.²⁴⁰

Da6 Thetis, Achilles's mother

Like Patroklos, Thetis plays the role of the one who can touch Achilles's heart during his anger. According to the type scene of the resentful warrior, this role is usually reserved for a woman.²⁴¹ Yet it seems that Thetis's latest plea to have Achilles relinquish his anger has been omitted from the *Iliad*. After all, Nestor,²⁴² Patroklos,²⁴³ and Achilles²⁴⁴ refer to that hypothetical meeting.²⁴⁵ According to the European Beta tradition, the resentful warrior also refrains from sexual intercourse. Thetis refers to this by telling Achilles that it is good to sleep with a woman.²⁴⁶ Finally, Thetis also has the role of the one who successfully invokes Zeus to carry out her plans of doom.²⁴⁷

²³⁶Examples: the duel with Hektor: *Iliad* VII 206-232, protecting the ships: *Iliad* XV 674-688, and protecting Patroklos's corpse: *Iliad* XVII 278-286. ²³⁷Kleopatra also has that dual role in the story about the anger of Meleager, in which Kleopatra's father achieved fame in his fight with Apollo (*Iliad* IX 556-560). Nagy (2013, p. 88-89) points out that Patroklos and Kleopatra are name opposites. *Patros* (πατρος) means "for the father," and *kleos* (κλεος) means "fame." ²³⁸Examples: leading Briseis away: *Iliad* I 337-338, on a mission to Achilles: *Iliad* XI 836-839, and accusing Achilles of his anger: *Iliad* XVI 29-37. ²³⁹γυνή, κορη. ²⁴⁰Examples: to Chryses: *Iliad* I 24-28, promising gifts: *Iliad* IX 114-124, and handing over gifts: *Iliad* XIX 184-197. ²⁴¹Blondé (2019, p. 105-106). ²⁴²*Iliad* XI 793-794. ²⁴³*Iliad* XVI 36-37. ²⁴⁴*Iliad* XVI 50-51. ²⁴⁵According to Slatkin (1991, p. 8), such omissions should not be viewed from an analytical perspective, but they "gain greater access to what Homer's audience heard in the epics." ²⁴⁶*Iliad* XXIV 130-131. ²⁴⁷Examples: begging Zeus: *Iliad* I 502-510, predicting Achilles's fate: *Iliad* IX 410-411, and urging Achilles to eat again, sleep, and have sexual intercourse: *Iliad* XXIV 126-132.

Da7 The heavily besieged camp of the Greeks

As in the story of Meleager's anger, the ramparts²⁴⁸ and the towers²⁴⁹ of the Greeks are so heavily besieged that the turmoil of war can be heard by the resentful warrior. Achilles states that he does not start fighting until the Trojans have reached his house (ships). Due to the heavy siege, Achilles learns from his place of isolation how the war is coming closer.²⁵⁰

Da8 The prediction that Achilles will die

Several people, and an animal, predict that Achilles will die in battle:²⁵¹ Thetis, Hektor, Achilles's horse Xanthos, the ghost of Patroklos, but especially Achilles himself.²⁵² According to Thetis, there are two paths for Achilles: that of a long life but without fame, or that of a fame that will never end, but where Achilles dies in battle.²⁵³

Da9 The gifts for Achilles

Agamemnon's gifts²⁵⁴ to reconcile Achilles belong exclusively to the anger fairy tale. In keeping with the thematic type scene of the withheld honor gift,²⁵⁵ it is these gifts that Achilles can barely enjoy, as he dies in battle.²⁵⁶

Da10 The joint funeral of Achilles and Patroklos

Associated with Achilles predicting his own death, there is Achilles's wish to be buried along with Patroklos. The ghost of Patroklos asks Achilles to bury their bones in the same urn and under the same burial mound. Since Achilles does not die until later in the Trojan cycle,²⁵⁷ Achilles asks not to make Patroklos's burial mound too large. In this way, Patroklos's urn can be excavated when Achilles dies. The fact that Achilles wants to postpone Patroklos's funeral may also indicate that Achilles and Patroklos were burned simultaneously in other versions of the *Iliad*.²⁵⁸

²⁴⁸ *ειλαρ, τειχος*. ²⁴⁹ *πυργος*. ²⁵⁰ Examples: Eurypylos: *Iliad* XI 821-830, the Aiantes passing by on the wall: *Iliad* XII 265-268, and Aias jumping the decks: *Iliad* XV 674-676. ²⁵¹ See also Burgess (2009), *The Death and Afterlife of Achilles*. ²⁵² Again, according to Slatkin (1991), the mortality of Achilles is a central theme in the *Iliad*. ²⁵³ Examples: Thetis's two paths: *Iliad* IX 410-416, Xanthos: *Iliad* XIX 404-410, Hektor: *Iliad* XXII 355-360, Patroklos's ghost: *Iliad* XXIII 80-84, and Achilles himself: *Iliad* XXIII 243-248. ²⁵⁴ *δωρον*. ²⁵⁵ Blondé (2019, p. 103). ²⁵⁶ Examples: Agamemnon's offer: *Iliad* IX 120-157, Achilles's refusal: *Iliad* IX 378-388, and Achilles's indifference: *Iliad* XIX 145-149. ²⁵⁷ This is inevitably the case because of the compassion fairy tale. ²⁵⁸ Examples: Patroklos's postponed funeral: *Iliad* XVIII 329-335, Patroklos's ghost: *Iliad* XXIII 83-84, a burial mound for Patroklos and Achilles: *Iliad* XXIII 126, and making the burial mound not too large: *Iliad* XXIII 243-248.

Da11 Phoinix, who trained Achilles and Patroklos

Phoinix, the educator of Achilles and Patroklos, is also part of the coalition to make Achilles change his mind. He reminds Achilles of the education he received from him. Still, Phoinix does not succeed.²⁵⁹ Phoinix (or, rather, Athene in the guise of Phoinix) is also calling on the Greeks to provide extra resistance in the battle for Patroklos's corpse.²⁶⁰

Da12 The many people who try to persuade Achilles

A motif is the person or group that goes to Achilles to persuade him into battle.²⁶¹ Meanwhile, the situation becomes increasingly dramatic: The Trojans besiege the ramparts, more and more Greeks are wounded, the Trojans get inside the ramparts, and the first house catches fire. Yet, Achilles does not give up his anger.²⁶²

Da13 Briseis, the girl taken away from Achilles

Briseis, the daughter of Briseus, is a girl who is taken from Achilles by Agamemnon. She plays a role in the *Iliad* but only in the context of the anger fairy tale. In the reconstruction, her role is smaller, because she is never returned to Achilles in it.²⁶³

Da14 Menelaos, the inexperienced but brave hero

Like Antilochos, Thrasymedes, and Meriones, Menelaos is an inexperienced but brave hero in the anger fairy tale. That is why it is he who is sent to inform Achilles, via Antilochos, about the death of Patroklos. When he is a volunteer to duel Hektor, Agamemnon stops him.²⁶⁴

Da15 Antilochos, who persuades Achilles to fight

Antilochos is the one who eventually persuades Achilles to battle by informing him of Patroklos's death. According to the *Aithiopsis*,²⁶⁵ Achilles takes revenge for the death of Antilochos, and Achilles and Antilochos are buried simultaneously. According to the *Odyssey*,²⁶⁶ the

²⁵⁹Kim (2000) points out that Achilles is evaluating whether to count Phoinix among his friends (*φίλοι*) or among his enemies. ²⁶⁰Examples: as part of the coalition: *Iliad* IX 165-168, to Achilles: *Iliad* IX 432-438, and in the battle for the body of Patroklos: *Iliad* XVII 555-559. ²⁶¹Scodel (2008, p. 157) has investigated how Homeric characters interact and concludes that they are driven by how they are evaluated by themselves and others. ²⁶²Examples: Nestor's coalition: *Iliad* IX 163-170, Patroklos: *Iliad* XVI 1-46, and Antilochos: *Iliad* XVIII 1-21. ²⁶³Examples: Agamemnon says he will take Briseis from Achilles: *Iliad* I 184, Briseis is one of the gifts to Achilles: *Iliad* IX 132, and Agamemnon never slept with Briseis: *Iliad* XIX 261. ²⁶⁴Examples: dueling with Hektor: *Iliad* VII 109, Menelaos protecting the corpse of Patroklos: *Iliad* XVII 1, and Aias sending Menelaos to Antilochos: *Iliad* XVII 652. ²⁶⁵Evelyn-White (1995), *Aithiopsis*. ²⁶⁶*Odyssey* XXIV 78-79.

bones of Achilles and Patroklos were buried in the same urn, and the bones of Antilochos separately from it, because Antilochos was Achilles's most honored friend after Patroklos.²⁶⁷

These were the oral characteristics of the anger fairy tale. In the next section, the choices made for reconstruction are defended.

Defense of the Reconstruction of the Anger Fairy Tale

The primary purpose is to show that anger fairy tales, similar to the above reconstruction, circulated in the European Bronze Age and the Greek Dark Ages.²⁶⁸ Yet, the reconstruction can be defended for many points. There are general reconstructions, which also apply to the other Delta fairy tales, and reconstructions specific to the anger fairy tale.

General Reconstructions: Ship Camp, Neither Kings Nor Gods

Three general reconstructions help to reduce the complexity of the story. First, there is the replacement of a walled-in ship camp with a walled-in town; second, the Greek heroes are reduced from kings who lead many people to individual heroes with specific roles. Third, all gods are banned except Zeus.

As for the rampart around the Greek ship camp, we cannot ignore the fact that such ramparts were in use in a large area north of Greece for a long time. Therefore, it seems unlikely that the combat passages in the *Iliad* were not influenced by the stories from that area. A walled-in ship camp is an unseen phenomenon that cannot be found in the region around Troy. Probably that is why the bards put Poseidon and Apollo together to have the rampart completely washed away by the rivers near Troy after the war. This keeps the archaeological picture in order.

Almost all the important Greek heroes are kings in the *Iliad*, which is an oral characteristic (A3) of the Mykenaian Alpha tradition. We must confess that this complicates the logic of a simplified fairy tale. When Eurypylos calls on the other Greeks to support Aias or when Achilles is wondering if he can use Aias's armor, the role of king over part of the army gets in the

²⁶⁷Examples: Antilochos knew nothing of Patroklos's death, yet: *Iliad* XVII 378, Menelaos must send Antilochos to Achilles: *Iliad* XVII 653, and Antilochos arrives at Achilles: *Iliad* XVIII 2.

²⁶⁸Hansen (2002) has systematically examined such international stories. However, the Delta fairy tales are falling through the cracks because they were circulating in illiterate communities.

way. Rather than leading their army, the heroes interact directly with each other and are often all alone in battle. Clearly, in the narrative Delta tradition, there is only room for two kings.

Regarding the role of the gods, the reconstruction shows that one god is sufficient. Since Zeus is clearly linked to the narrative Delta tradition, the choice is easy. Other gods, such as Apollo as the god of the dismissed priest and Thetis as the sea goddess, stem mainly from the Aeolian Gamma tradition. The gods of war, such as Eris, Ares, and Iris in the European Beta tradition, can also be easily omitted from the narrative Delta fairy tales.

Reconstructions Specific to the Anger Fairy Tale

A striking difference between the *Iliad* and the reconstruction is that Achilles is more sympathetic in the *Iliad* than in the reconstruction. In the *Iliad*, Agamemnon takes the girl from Achilles to keep her for himself. It is Agamemnon who, according to the seer Kalchas, must give his girl Chryseis to her father Chryses. This variation may have arisen because Achilles was so popular with the audience of the narrative Delta bards that they preferred to hear the unreasonable swearing from Agamemnon's mouth. Yet only a portion of the verbal abuse is assigned to Agamemnon in the *Iliad*. In the reconstruction, all swearing was transferred to one person, namely Achilles. That makes it more reasonable that Agamemnon complains about Achilles's verbal abuse (*Iliad* I 291).

Achilles also takes the initiative in the *Iliad* to consult Kalchas, and it is Achilles who guarantees Kalchas that no one will harm the seer. This provides additional evidence that Achilles's role in the *Iliad* has indeed been mixed up with Agamemnon's in some places where Achilles does not resent.

In the *Iliad*, Achilles's anger is made even more unreasonable by the mix-up because the deprived girl Briseis is found in the *Iliad* among Agamemnon's atonement gifts refused by Achilles. There is an explanation for this refusal, however: Achilles knows that he will die if he goes to war. In addition, Achilles feels hurt and wants an apology from Agamemnon. Yet, the logic in the reconstruction is not inferior to that in the *Iliad*.

Another striking difference between the *Iliad* and the reconstruction is that Achilles gets his new armor in the *Iliad* from his divine mother, Thetis, who had it forged by the fire god Hephaistos. That fact fits much better

with the Aeolian Gamma tradition,²⁶⁹ in which the hero Memnon, son of the goddess Eos, also shows off with armor from Hephaistos.²⁷⁰ Therefore, it has been proposed as a solution that Agamemnon also promises armor to Achilles.

The pace of the reconstruction is also faster than in the *Iliad*. Achilles and Patroklos die in the reconstruction on the same day on which the Greeks and the Trojans fight continuously. A first hint that speaks in favor of that logic is that Achilles refuses to eat in the *Iliad* until he has avenged Patroklos.²⁷¹ A second hint is the emphasis placed on those who do not compete during the meeting inside the ship camp, during which Agamemnon hands over the gifts to Achilles. These are the wounded, such as Diomedes and Odysseus, leaning on their spears, but also those who always remain in the ship camp during the battle: the helmsmen, the stewards, and the dispensers of food.²⁷² This again points to a logic where the battle is ongoing, which is against the facts in our *Iliad*.

Finally, there is the difference that Patroklos fights in the reconstruction from the beginning while he sits idle in the *Iliad*, like all the other Myrmidons (Achilles's people). The fact that Patroklos does not fight and eventually begs for armor to go into battle himself nevertheless fits well with his name *Patro-klos*, which means "fame for the father." The type scene of fame for the father comes from the European Beta tradition.²⁷³ It is about a son who begs to go to war in the armor of his father for the first time. That Patroklos takes care of the injured Eurypylos²⁷⁴ also fits well with the role of the young son who is old enough to be a caregiver, but too young for the battle. Yet the theme of fame for the father seems to fit even better in the fairy tale about Achilles's compassion. To avoid too much overlap, it was therefore decided to make Patroklos an adult warrior who participates in the fight. That, by the way, is the way Nestor sends Patroklos to Achilles in the *Iliad*: as a bosom friend older than Achilles and, therefore, wiser.²⁷⁵

This can suffice as a discussion of the anger fairy tale. The same procedure is applied in the next chapter, which deals with Helen's abduction by Paris.

²⁶⁹Blondé (2020), p. 120. ²⁷⁰Evelyn-White (1995), *Aithiopsis*. ²⁷¹*Iliad* XIX 199-214. ²⁷²*Iliad* XIX 42-50. ²⁷³Blondé (2019), p. 108-112. ²⁷⁴*Iliad* XI 836-848 and *Iliad* XV 390-394. ²⁷⁵*Iliad* XI 784-788.

Chapter 4

The Abduction of Helen

If Achilles's anger summarizes the *Iliad*, the following fairy tale of Helen's abduction¹ can be considered the summary of the Trojan cycle. It also contains the stories that take place before and after the *Iliad*, but of which only short fragments, summaries, and commentaries have been preserved. Nevertheless, the *Iliad* contains enough material to include hidden roles, themes, and motifs about key figures such as Diomedes, Paris, Odysseus, Agamemnon, and Menelaos.

Fairy tale 2: The Abduction of Helen (A Reconstruction)

A man came running toward the stronghold of the Greeks. It was Menelaos, one of Agamemnon's warriors, who lived outside the ramparts with his beautiful wife Helen. Thrasymedes, the youth who kept watch at the gate, brought him to Agamemnon.²

Menelaos took the floor and spoke, "Agamemnon, mighty king of the Greeks, now you must assist your warrior, if you think I am of any use in the battle where we, warriors, risk our lives repeatedly to protect the Greek people. The Trojan Paris, the son of King Priam, came to my house in my absence and abducted my wife, Helen. He also stole precious belongings from my house.³ Two other Trojans, Poulydamas and Deïphobos, accompanied him and carried away Helen. Now she is inside the ramparts of the Trojan stronghold."⁴

¹Gumpert (2001) examines the story of Helen's abduction and its aftermath. ²Introductory reconstruction. ³Evelyn-White (1995), *Kypria*: Menelaos is the brother of Agamemnon and lives in Sparta. ⁴Reconstruction.

Agamemnon sighed heavily.⁵ He raised his gaze to heaven and spoke, “Father Zeus, almighty, again you burden my mind with oppressive worries.⁶ First, you promised a lasting peace between the Greeks and the Trojans, but after this reckless act of Paris, the peace treaties are again compromised.” Then he got up and went with Menelaos to the room of Nestor, his eldest son, to seek advice.

Thoughtfully, Nestor spoke,⁷ “The best we can do is to send Odysseus, the sacred herald, with Menelaos to the town of the Trojans. They must respect the treaties and return Helen to Menelaos.”⁸

The trio set out for Odysseus, and Agamemnon spoke, “Odysseus, sacred herald, fulfill your holy task, and go with Menelaos to the Trojans with the scepter in hand.⁹ Paris, the son of Priam, has broken the peace treaty between the Greeks and the Trojans, and he has abducted Helen, the beautiful wife of Menelaos.¹⁰ Go as messenger from Zeus, and demand Helen back, along with the belongings that Paris stole.”¹¹

There was excitement in the town of the Trojans. The news that Paris had abducted a Greek woman spread through the Trojan town. They were concerned that the Greek warriors would rally to start a war against the Trojans. Everyone poured scorn on Paris.¹² King Priam had all the Trojans gathered to debate on the situation.¹³

Meanwhile, Paris took Antimachos aside. The latter had a smooth tongue and was always able to make a big impression during the council, in which the elders and the nobles met. Paris promised him gold if he pleaded during the council not to return Helen to the Greeks.¹⁴

When the Trojans were debating in Priam’s house, Odysseus and Menelaos came forward to the guard at the gate. He took them to Priam’s house, where all the Trojans were gathered. Thus, the two Greeks stood there, alone and unarmed, before a gathering of many enemies.¹⁵ Odysseus was the smaller of the two, but the most venerable. He held up his scepter and looked at the ground. So he stood still for a while. But as soon as he spoke, his words descended like snowflakes.¹⁶

⁵*Iliad* IX 16. ⁶*Iliad* II 419-420. ⁷Reconstruction according to Evelyn-White (1995), *Kypria*, and *Iliad* X 25-54. ⁸*Iliad* III 205-211: Antenor refers to the arrival of Menelaos and Odysseus within the ramparts of Troy. At that time, there were no treaties yet. ⁹Reconstruction according to *Iliad* III 205-206. ¹⁰*Iliad* VII 348-353: Antenor refers to the treaty made before the duel between Menelaos and Paris, according to which Helen must be returned. ¹¹Reconstruction according to *Iliad* III 205-206. ¹²*Iliad* III 154-160: The Trojans are already on the ramparts here, and the army of the Greeks is in the field. ¹³*Iliad* VII 345-346. ¹⁴*Iliad* XI 123-125: This is related in a digression about a killed warrior. ¹⁵Reconstruction according to *Iliad* III 205-206. ¹⁶*Iliad* III 209-223: Antenor talks about this.

“Greetings, Priam, greetings, Trojans, I bring you a message in the name of the Greeks. Respect the treaties the Greeks and Trojans made with Zeus as a witness. Paris has abducted Helen, the wife of Menelaos, and he brought her here. He also stole valuable possessions from their house. The Greeks demand the immediate return of Helen and the stolen property.”¹⁷

After these words, there was a long silence in the room. King Priam rose to withdraw with the noblest of the Trojans. In a separate conference room, Paris spoke first,¹⁸ “I refuse to relinquish Helen, fair and square. I have chosen her as my wife; from now on, she will be with me.”¹⁹

At first, a silence fell in the room, but then spoke Antimachos, who had been bribed by Paris. “Listen to my word, noble Trojans. We don’t have to dance to the tune of the Greeks. This issue will only bother us as long as Menelaos is alive and longs for the beautiful Helen, who now belongs to Paris. Odysseus, the sacred herald, let him return, but I propose to kill Menelaos now that he has appeared here unarmed in the stronghold of the Trojans.”²⁰

The Trojans hailed this word, but the righteous Antenor was able to prevent this cowardly act. “Antimachos, how did such a word get across your mouth? We are bound by sacred treaties with the Greeks. Menelaos is also entitled to protection, now that he has entered our town as an envoy.”²¹

Priam dissolved the assembly and communicated the word of Paris to Menelaos and Odysseus.²² They turned back empty-handed to the town of the Greeks. Menelaos was not killed, but he did not get his wife back.²³

Agamemnon was furious when he heard everything. He called the noblest and the most honorable of the Greek warriors into a meeting. There were Nestor and Idomeneus, Philoktetes, Aias, Eurypylos, and Thoas. Menelaos, himself, also joined.

Agamemnon spoke with concern, “Friends, nobles, and bravest of the Greek warriors, give counsel. Paris, son of Priam, has abducted Helen, wife of Menelaos, and many of his belongings. We sent Odysseus and Menelaos as envoys to the Trojans to reclaim Helen, but they returned empty-handed. The Trojans have refused to return Helen and her belongings. They have

¹⁷Reconstruction according to *Iliad* III 205-206. ¹⁸Reconstruction according to *Iliad* VII 345-346.

¹⁹*Iliad* VII 355-362: Paris speaks these words during a pause in battle. ²⁰*Iliad* XI 138-142: This is related in a digression about a killed warrior. ²¹*Iliad* VII 347-353: The killing of Menelaos is not mentioned here. Antenor is talking about the treaty made before the duel between Paris and Menelaos in *Iliad* III. ²²*Iliad* VII 366-375: The herald Idaios will convey the words of Paris to the Greeks during a pause in the battle. ²³Reconstruction.

violated the oaths and treaties that the Greeks and the Trojans made, with Zeus as a witness.”²⁴

Nestor spoke first. “Agamemnon, glorious king, let us not waste our time. Stop putting off the task that Zeus sets on us. Come on, let me tour with Odysseus and gather all the soldiers here,²⁵ so we can attack the Trojans today and destroy their stronghold.”²⁶

The other Greeks loudly cheered this proposal. Agamemnon went to Odysseus with Nestor and spoke, “Odysseus, sacred herald,²⁷ now fulfill your holy task again, and assemble the Greek warriors with the scepter in hand. Command them all to come to the stronghold, ready for battle. You will not escape the task of war yourself, Odysseus, because you, too, should prove yourself on the battlefield this time.”²⁸

Thus spoke Agamemnon, and Odysseus set out with Nestor. He kept with him the scepter of the Greeks, the family heirloom passed down from father to son for many generations.²⁹ One by one, Odysseus visited the Greek warriors and exhorted them to come forward to the stronghold, as Agamemnon had requested.³⁰

One of the Greek warriors, Palamedes, tried to escape his job as a warrior. He was no longer the youngest, but his son, Diokles, had not yet matured to adulthood to take over from the father. Palamedes pretended to be a madman by braying like a donkey so that he would be declared unfit for battle.

Then Odysseus spoke fiercely, “Palamedes, honored Greek warrior, may I no longer be called the sacred herald of the Greeks, if I will not send a warrior from this house to the Greek stronghold. If you are unfit to fight, then I will recruit Diokles, your son.” So spoke Odysseus, and soon, Palamedes came to his senses.³¹

Soon, all the Greek warriors crowded into the stronghold, under the watchful eye of Agamemnon. They all sat down and waited in their seats, except for Thersites. He was a farmer who lived outside the ramparts of the town. Never before had he excelled by heroic deeds in battle. His legs were crooked, and he limped.

²⁴Reconstruction. ²⁵Evelyn-White (1995), *Kypria*, and *Iliad* II 433-440: Nestor proposes to tour with the leaders. ²⁶*Iliad* II 413-414: Agamemnon prays to Zeus to destroy Troy that very day. ²⁷*Iliad* II 278-280: Odysseus stood with the scepter in hand next to Athene, who took the form of a herald.

²⁸Reconstruction according to Evelyn-White (1995), *Kypria*. ²⁹*Iliad* II 186: Odysseus makes his tour through the ship camp alone. ³⁰*Iliad* II 187-206: Odysseus exhorts the warriors not to leave in their ships. ³¹Evelyn-White (1995), *Kypria*: It is Odysseus pretending to be insane, but joins after Palamedes’s suggestion to send Telemachos.

Now, he stood up and addressed the king of the Greeks,³² “Agamemnon, what do you have to complain or to desire? Full of bronze and gold is the Greek stronghold, many beautiful women in it, whom we warriors let you choose every time we destroy an enemy stronghold. Or do you still lack gold or a young woman to sleep in your arms?³³ To put you in armor with the soldiers, you miss the courage. Certainly, it is a lot more pleasant to stay in the strong ramparts and send your soldiers into the field.³⁴ Now I bet that you want to attack the Trojans, even though they are by far the better of us in the fight, you reckless one.³⁵ I will no longer stay here; I will return to my home.³⁶ We will never take the stronghold of the Trojans.”³⁷

Thus, Thersites taunted Agamemnon, but before he knew it, Odysseus was standing next to him and hit him on the back with his staff. Whining with pain, Thersites collapsed. The herald of the Greeks spoke threateningly, “Get out of my sight, cowardly dog, and keep this in your ears: If you set foot in the stronghold of the Greeks one more time, I will chop your head off your torso, as certain as I am called Odysseus.³⁸ We don’t need you in our midst from now on. You can’t serve for battle, you coward.”³⁹

Then he chased Thersites out of the town to the loud acclaim of the rest of the Greeks.⁴⁰ When the laughter and noise had subsided, Agamemnon rose with the scepter in hand, visible to all. With a sigh, he spoke. “Greeks, faithful warriors, you who obey this scepter, listen to my words. Zeus, to my sorrow, plunges me into endless quarrels and disputes.⁴¹ Each time, he increases the oppressive burden of my worries.⁴² The Trojans have violated the peace there was until now. Paris took Helen, wife of Menelaos, and stole many treasures, too. He refused to relinquish her at our request. Now, I have decided, in consultation with the noblest of the Greeks, to gather the soldiers and go to war against the evil Trojans.⁴³ May the sun not set until we have killed the Trojan men and destroyed their stronghold.”⁴⁴

All the Greeks cheered this word of Agamemnon aloud. Nestor was just about to arrange the ceremonies and preparations for battle when Diomedes arrived at the stronghold. He lived farther away than the rest of the Greek warriors. Odysseus and Nestor had not come to him themselves, but they had sent Phoinix, the old war teacher, to summon Diomedes to the town.

³²*Iliad* II 211-224: Thersites is not a farmer. ³³*Iliad* II 225-233. ³⁴*Iliad* I 225-229: Achilles says this to Agamemnon. ³⁵Reconstruction. ³⁶*Iliad* II 236. ³⁷*Iliad* IX 417-419. ³⁸*Iliad* II 244-264: Odysseus only threatens to chase Thersites naked from the meeting if he scolds again. ³⁹Reconstruction. The Greeks could not be sent home from the Trojan beach. ⁴⁰*Iliad* II 270-271: Thersites only receives a painful blow to the back with the golden staff of Odysseus. ⁴¹*Iliad* II 375-376. ⁴²*Iliad* II 419-420. ⁴³Reconstruction. The war situation in the *Iliad* is already clear to the Greek warriors. ⁴⁴*Iliad* II 413-414.

Only now did he arrive, and he spoke aloud to all, “Agamemnon, who is served by your leadership? It doesn’t make sense to invite me too late and arrange all sorts of things in my absence.⁴⁵ You always put your trust in the same circle of fighters.⁴⁶ Am I perhaps not important because I am a youth and still inexperienced in combat?⁴⁷ Or do you think of me as a coward who wants to stay away from the battlefield?”⁴⁸

Agamemnon replied angrily, “Diomedes, I owe you little gratitude. Never have you fended off the enemy or committed brave deeds in battle. If you can’t wait to hit the battlefield, all the better. We’re going to battle against the Trojans today. Now, join the rest of the fighters, and leave the preparations to the experienced fighters.”⁴⁹

The council was resumed, and Nestor spoke up. “Greeks, we have long been burdened by the reckless acts of the Trojans. Now is the time to bring their rule to an end.⁵⁰ I declare that the mighty Zeus gave us the promise of victory, with a thunderbolt from the right.⁵¹ I spoke to the nobles in the assembly, “Agamemnon, glorious king, let us not waste our time. Stop putting off the task that Zeus sets on us. Come on, let me go around with the herald and gather all the soldiers here.”⁵² But before we start the battle, we will summon Kalchas here, the bird augur, to give another clear sign of Zeus.”⁵³

Kalchas entered the circle of the nobles and revealed the will of Zeus, but not aloud, so that only Agamemnon and his confidants could hear it. They talked among themselves for a long time after Kalchas had spoken.⁵⁴

Then Agamemnon spoke again and said to all, “Friends, the great Zeus has caught me in cruel blindness, the hard one. First, he promised we would destroy the Trojan stronghold. But now all of this turns out to be fraud, and he urges me to withdraw ingloriously. We are not destined to conquer the Trojans. I advise you all to return home, for this day will bring us no fame.”⁵⁵

Many warriors were relieved to hear these words. They escaped the perilous battle wonderfully. They all got up and returned home.⁵⁶ But Agamemnon’s intentions were different. He had spoken these words only to test their

⁴⁵Evelyn-White (1995), *Kypria*: Achilles gets angry with Agamemnon for being invited late to battle.

⁴⁶*Iliad* IV 283-291. ⁴⁷*Iliad* XIV 110-112. ⁴⁸*Iliad* IV 370-372. ⁴⁹Reconstruction according to *Iliad* IV 365-371. ⁵⁰Reconstruction. ⁵¹*Iliad* II 350-353. ⁵²*Iliad* II 433-440. ⁵³Reconstruction according to *Iliad* II 320-324. ⁵⁴Reconstruction. ⁵⁵*Iliad* II 109-141, *Iliad* IX 16-28; West (1997, p. 207-208) notes the parallel between this test of the army (the *Diapira*) with the book of Judges from the Hebrew Bible (7:2-3). Kelly (2014, p. 32-34) argues that it is unclear which text is older: the *Iliad* or the book of Judges. ⁵⁶*Iliad* II 151-154.

strength of mind. Odysseus mingled among the departing soldiers, scepter in hand.⁵⁷

“Return all to the stronghold. Agamemnon did not speak these words earnestly. Now he is testing the army, but soon, he will punish it.⁵⁸ No one knows how things will go here, whether we Greeks will return with honor or with disgrace.”⁵⁹ Thus, he spoke among the bravest, but to the fearful who stood up first, he uttered scornful words. “Weaklings and cowards, no more Greek warriors, band of women.⁶⁰ For the war, you are no good, neither in battle nor in the council.⁶¹ We can do without you.” Thus, he restored authority and order. Soon, he had gathered all the brave warriors within the ramparts again.⁶²

Nestor spoke, “Agamemnon, make an unalterable decision, and give up to the destruction only those who are returning home alone. They will achieve nothing!⁶³ Let no one return before the Trojan stronghold is destroyed and the Trojans killed and before he takes revenge for Helen’s fears and sighs.⁶⁴ Let every warrior come to you, Agamemnon, and make him swear a solemn oath before you and the nobles of the Greeks that he will not flinch in battle before the stronghold of the Trojans is destroyed.⁶⁵ Then you will know who among the soldiers is cowardly and who is brave.”⁶⁶

One by one, the warriors knelt before Agamemnon and swore the solemn oath. Agamemnon carefully remembered who came forward and resolved to honor them even more in the future.⁶⁷ Then the Greeks prepared the altar for sacrifices. They poured wine to Zeus, and they slaughtered a fat ox.⁶⁸ The nobles of the Greeks gathered around the ox. They held barley grains in hand and silently prayed to Zeus that they might conquer the Trojans.⁶⁹

During this act, a snake suddenly shot up from under the altar into a plane tree. A bird sat on the highest branch, and the snake ate the creature in one big bite. Kalchas immediately explained the divine sign and spoke, “Zeus, in his wisdom, showed us this mighty sign. As this serpent devoured the bird, we will soon overthrow the stronghold of the Trojans.” The Greeks cheered loudly at this auspicious sign of Zeus.⁷⁰

⁵⁷*Iliad* II 185-187. ⁵⁸*Iliad* II 190-193. ⁵⁹*Iliad* II 252-253. ⁶⁰*Iliad* II 235: Thersites says this, not Odysseus. ⁶¹*Iliad* II 202. ⁶²*Iliad* II 207-208. ⁶³*Iliad* II 343-347. ⁶⁴*Iliad* II 354-356. ⁶⁵Reconstruction. ⁶⁶*Iliad* II 365-366. ⁶⁷Reconstruction. ⁶⁸*Iliad* II 400-403. ⁶⁹*Iliad* II 404-414. ⁷⁰*Iliad* II 305-334: Odysseus recalls this incident, which took place at the beginning of the expedition against Troy in Aulis. The serpent devoured the bird’s eight chicks, and the bird ninth, foretelling nine years of fruitless struggle. In the tenth year, Troy would fall.

Fires were lit to prepare a great feast. The warriors ate the meal and feasted on the meat and wine.⁷¹ They spoke boastful words to each other, “Today, I fight in the forefront, and I am gaining eternal fame. In battle, I dare to face ten, even a hundred Trojans.”⁷²

After the meal, the Greeks prepared for battle. The spears were sharpened, the shields prepared, the horses fed, and the chariots examined on all sides.⁷³ Nestor spoke and addressed Agamemnon, “Divide, Agamemnon, the men by lineage,⁷⁴ and go through the rows and encourage everyone.”⁷⁵

The fighters were lined up,⁷⁶ and Agamemnon went past the troops. Nowhere did he find a trace of languor, nor of fear, nor of reluctance to fight, for all warriors were eager for war and fame.⁷⁷

About Nestor, the oldest and most respected warrior, he spoke words of praise. “Nestor, I wish I had ten warriors like you. Then soon the stronghold of Priam would bend under the strength of our hands.”⁷⁸ But when he came to Odysseus and Diomedes, he spoke scornfully, “Well, both of you were the first to join the feast.⁷⁹ But now you are hesitating and waiting for others.⁸⁰ It is your duty to stand in the front line and to be the first to engage in battle.”⁸¹

At the beginning of the march toward the Trojan town, Agamemnon spoke a prayer to Zeus. “Exalted, mighty Zeus, you god of the dark clouds, who dwells in heaven, let the sun not set and darkness rise until the blackened roof of Priam’s house has been thrown to the ground, and the doors have been destroyed by scorching fire.”⁸² So he prayed. But the Greeks were still only a few steps away when Philoktetes stepped on a viper. It curled up and bit his foot. Unfit for battle, Philoktetes was left in the infirmary.⁸³ Machaon, the physician, treated his wound.

The Greeks left for the Trojan town without Philoktetes. The women and old men stayed behind at the rampart’s gate to wave them goodbye. But they were all afraid that the Greeks would be defeated after Philoktetes had been bitten in the foot by a snake – ominous portent.⁸⁴

Soon, the Trojans, who had set up sentries, were aware of the arrival of the Greeks. They armed themselves and lined up in front of the ditch and

⁷¹*Iliad* II 398-399. ⁷²*Iliad* VIII 229-234: Such words, according to Agamemnon, were spoken by the Greeks in Lemnos, on the way to Troy. ⁷³*Iliad* II 381-384. ⁷⁴*Iliad* II 362. ⁷⁵*Iliad* IV 231. ⁷⁶*Iliad* IV 222. ⁷⁷*Iliad* IV 223-225. ⁷⁸*Iliad* II 372-374. ⁷⁹*Iliad* IV 343-346. ⁸⁰*Iliad* IV 340, *Iliad* IV 371. ⁸¹*Iliad* IV 341-342. ⁸²*Iliad* II 412-415. ⁸³Evelyn-White (1995), *Kypria*: Philoktetes stays behind in Lemnos, on his way to Troy. ⁸⁴Reconstruction. The Greeks left Philoktetes because his wound stank so badly. According to a prediction by Helenos, Troy would not fall without Herakles’s bow, which was in the possession of Philoktetes. Then the Greeks brought back Philoktetes.

the ramparts of the Trojan stronghold.⁸⁵ When the Greeks got close, Nestor stepped before the ranks and held back the Greek warriors.⁸⁶

Only Menelaos came forward and spoke in a loud voice, audible to all the Greeks and Trojans, “Now listen to me, for I was most of all stricken with sorrow. I don’t want the Greeks and Trojans to fight because of the feud between Paris and me that Paris started. Let one of us die in a mutual duel, but with the others, you reconcile. Bring lambs here for Zeus, and bring King Priam himself here, that he, himself, may conclude the treaty and that no one would violate the oaths of Zeus with pride.”

Hektor, Priam’s oldest son, was delighted when he heard these words.⁸⁷ For he would like to see Paris sink dead to the earth if that could end the war.⁸⁸ But he could not find Paris anywhere, and neither did any of the other Trojans see him.⁸⁹ Hektor urged everyone to wait patiently until Paris was found.⁹⁰ He, himself, entered the town to look for him.⁹¹

All the while, Paris was in his house, lying in bed with Helen in his arms. Helen reproachfully spoke to him, “Go to the battlefield and challenge Menelaos, my husband, to battle. You, who boast of being superior in the power of hand and spear. Ah, I wish you were soon vanquished and killed.”⁹²

Then Hektor came in and spoke angrily to Paris. “You seem insane that you are lying in bed here at home while the soldiers are in the field for your sake. Arm yourself immediately, and come out.”⁹³ To Helen, he spoke softly, “Go to the ramparts of the town; from there, you can watch how Menelaos and Paris fight for you.⁹⁴ Ah, not you are guilty to me,⁹⁵ but Paris. Zeus raised him to be a great disaster for the Trojans, for King Priam and his sons. If I could watch him die, my heart might forget its bitter worries.”⁹⁶

Thus spoke Hektor, and while Paris armed himself,⁹⁷ Helen went to the ramparts of the stronghold.⁹⁸ On it were the Trojan women and old men no longer fit for battle.⁹⁹ They all talked together.

When Helen came closer and they saw her, they spoke to each other in a whisper,¹⁰⁰ “No wonder that all the warriors are in the field for such a beautiful woman. And yet, as beautiful as she is, it was better that she was

⁸⁵*Iliad* XI 47-50: The Greeks line up in front of the ditch and the ramparts around the ship camp.

⁸⁶*Iliad* III 81-83. ⁸⁷*Iliad* III 76, *Iliad* III 111. ⁸⁸*Iliad* III 38-40. ⁸⁹*Iliad* III 450-454: Paris becomes untraceable during his duel with Menelaos, not before. ⁹⁰Reconstruction. ⁹¹*Iliad* VI 86. ⁹²*Iliad* III 428-433: Immediately after these words, Helen changes her mind and discourages Paris from fighting. Helen voluntarily remarried Paris. ⁹³*Iliad* VI 325-331. ⁹⁴*Iliad* III 136-138: Iris urges Helen to take this action while Hektor is in the field. ⁹⁵*Iliad* III 164: King Priam declares Helen innocent. ⁹⁶*Iliad* VI 282-285. ⁹⁷*Iliad* VI 340, *Iliad* VI 503-505. ⁹⁸*Iliad* III 142-145. ⁹⁹*Iliad* III 150. ¹⁰⁰*Iliad* III 154-155.

returned to the Greeks and did not remain here to be a harm to us and our children.”¹⁰¹

So they spoke. But Priam raised his voice and kindly invited her.¹⁰² “Helen, noble woman, come, and stand next to me to watch the duel between Paris and Menelaos, which is being fought for you. Ah, if only things had turned out differently. But tell me the name of that honorable man, so noble and great, who goes through the ranks of the Greeks and gives orders everywhere.”¹⁰³

The beautiful Helen answered him, “Priam, venerable father of the Trojans, you are of great authority to me.¹⁰⁴ The rest of the Trojans hate me, and I am languishing here in tears. But I will tell you what you ask me and want to know.¹⁰⁵ That man is Nestor, the eldest son of Agamemnon, a good spear warrior who always takes the lead on the battlefield.”¹⁰⁶

Priam looked at him with admiration and spoke,¹⁰⁷ “I have often heard him being praised by the Trojans. He is the bravest warrior of the Greeks and is second to none in the duel. But also name me the one there who stands in the front row. He’s taller than the others in the row¹⁰⁸ and wider in chest and shoulders.¹⁰⁹ I’ve never seen such a strong man before.”

“That man is Diomedes.” Helen replied, “He is still young, and he has never fought on the battlefield before. Whether he is brave in combat remains to be seen.”¹¹⁰

Such was the conversation between Priam and Helen. After that, Priam prepared himself to arrange the ceremonies for the duel. He mounted a graceful carriage drawn by horses. A driver led the carriage outside the gate.¹¹¹ Behind Priam followed Paris and Hektor.

Paris shuddered when he saw Menelaos, whom he was soon to face.¹¹² Nestor joined Priam to swear the solemn oath. He had the heralds bring the sacrificial animals, Odysseus for the Greeks and Idaios for the Trojans. They mixed wine in a vessel and washed Nestor’s and Priam’s hands with water. Then Nestor drew his knife and cut some hair from the heads of the lambs, which he gave to Priam.

He raised his hands to heaven and prayed, audibly to all,¹¹³ “Father Zeus, mighty god, hear me. I speak in the name of Agamemnon, our king, and I take these heralds as witnesses, for they are your messengers. Pro-

¹⁰¹*Iliad* III 156-160. ¹⁰²*Iliad* III 161. ¹⁰³*Iliad* III 162-167. ¹⁰⁴*Iliad* III 172. ¹⁰⁵*Iliad* III 177.

¹⁰⁶Reconstruction. That man is Agamemnon. ¹⁰⁷*Iliad* III 181. ¹⁰⁸Reconstruction. ¹⁰⁹*Iliad* III 194. ¹¹⁰Reconstruction. The second man Priam asks about is Odysseus. ¹¹¹*Iliad* III 250-263.

¹¹²Reconstruction. ¹¹³*Iliad* III 267-275: Agamemnon takes care of the ceremonies, not Nestor. Odysseus does rise, but heralds bring the sacrificial animals together.

tect this sacred treaty: If Paris kills Menelaos, he may keep Helen and all her property. If Menelaos kills Paris, the Trojans must return Helen and all her belongings and pay the Greeks retribution, which remains a memory for posterity. If Priam and Priam's sons do not pay retribution after Paris's death, then we will stay here to fight for it until we destroy the Trojan stronghold."¹¹⁴ After this prayer, he cut the throats of the lambs, and the heralds poured wine on the earth.¹¹⁵

And so, each of the Trojans and Greeks prayed, "Glorious, mighty Zeus! Whoever of both parties first breaks the treaty, may their brains flow over the earth like this wine, theirs and their children's, and may their wives be stolen by strangers." Such was their prayer, but Zeus did not fulfill it for them.¹¹⁶

Odysseus and Idaios demarcated the arena.¹¹⁷ Within it, Menelaos and Paris were to remain until one of them was killed. When the two warriors had armed themselves behind the lines, they entered the arena with grim eyes under the admiring glances of all the Greeks and Trojans.¹¹⁸ Paris was the first to throw his spear and hit the round shield of Menelaos. The bronze point did not penetrate, but bent in the hard shield.¹¹⁹

Then Menelaos saw his chance and threw his spear sharply into the center of Paris's shield. The heavy spear punched right through and tore the armor by his side, but Paris avoided dark death.¹²⁰ Menelaos drew his sword and leaped toward Paris, who sat defeated on the ground. Hitting high, he gave a blow to the helmet, but the sword splintered into three or four pieces.¹²¹ Then Menelaos would have strangled him with his bare hands¹²² if Paris had not stood up and fled. He left the battlefield between the two armies and entered the Trojan lines.¹²³

Nestor spoke scornfully, "Trojans, listen to me. The victory was certainly gained by Menelaos. Hand over Helen and all her belongings and pay retribution, which remains a memory for posterity." So Nestor spoke, and all the Greeks cheered him.¹²⁴

Thus, the Greeks would have achieved great fame with a victory over the Trojans, had Paris not committed a cowardly act. Hidden in the ranks of the Trojan warriors, he drew his bow and watched Menelaos. Loudly,

¹¹⁴*Iliad* III 276-291: Agamemnon speaks here himself. ¹¹⁵*Iliad* III 292-295. ¹¹⁶*Iliad* III 296-302. ¹¹⁷*Iliad* III 314-315: Odysseus and Hektor demarcate the arena. ¹¹⁸*Iliad* III 340-342. ¹¹⁹*Iliad* III 346-349. ¹²⁰*Iliad* III 355-360. ¹²¹*Iliad* III 361-363. ¹²²*Iliad* III 371: Menelaos drags Paris by the helmet, almost strangling him with the chin strap. ¹²³Reconstruction. According to *Iliad* III 380-382, Aphrodite shrouds Paris in a mist and brings him within the ramparts of Troy. ¹²⁴*Iliad* III 456-461: Agamemnon says this.

the string buzzed as he let the arrow fly, searching for its target.¹²⁵ He hit Menelaos with a grazing shot in the thigh. A great stream of blood flowed on the earth.¹²⁶

Nestor shuddered at the sight of the blood, and Menelaos, himself, also shuddered.¹²⁷ Odysseus immediately went in search of Machaon, the physician of the Greeks, who had just arrived after treating Philoktetes. He was able to bind the wound in time so that the bleeding was stopped.¹²⁸

Nestor lined up the Greeks. He cried out angrily, audibly to all, “Brave Greeks, avenge this reckless act. A solemn oath is not empty: the blood of the lambs, the libations of pure wine, the promises in which we trusted. Zeus will execute the punishment for the Trojans, and they will pay heavily with their own blood and with the blood of their wives and children.”¹²⁹

A loud noise rose to the heavens. Both armies fell into battle under the watchful eyes of the Trojan women and the old men on the ramparts.¹³⁰ There was shouting and wailing from those who killed and from those who died. Much blood flowed on the earth.¹³¹

Thus, the battle between the Greeks and the Trojans lasted a quarter of a day. All the Greeks fought bravely, but it was not possible to say of Diomedes with whom he was fighting, with the Greeks or the Trojans. For so heroically he stormed across the plain¹³² to pursue and kill the Trojans. Many warriors fell under his hand: Pheriklos, Pedaios, Antiphos, Laodokos, and Hippothoös. All the Trojans who saw him trembled with terror.¹³³

When Paris saw him racing across the plain behind the confused enemy, he immediately hid behind the oak tree, which stood a stone’s throw from the gate of the Trojan town. He was lurking, and when Diomedes passed by, he shot an arrow from his hideout¹³⁴ with his famous bow. He hit Diomedes in the armor plate on the right shoulder, the sharp arrow flew through the bronze, and the armor was stained with blood.

Paris exulted loudly over him,¹³⁵ “Attack, brave Trojans. Wounded is the greatest hero of the Greeks. Not long will he survive my powerful arrow shot.”¹³⁶

But the arrow had not killed Diomedes. He pulled it from his shoulder with his hand¹³⁷ and spoke fearlessly,¹³⁸ “Paris, you coward, you missed. You

¹²⁵*Iliad* IV 112-126: Pandaros shoots, not Paris. ¹²⁶*Iliad* IV 138-140. ¹²⁷*Iliad* IV 148-150: Agamemnon shudders, not Nestor. ¹²⁸*Iliad* IV 193-219. ¹²⁹*Iliad* IV 158-162: Agamemnon speaks these words to Menelaos and then sets up the Greeks. ¹³⁰Reconstruction. ¹³¹*Iliad* IV 450-451. ¹³²*Iliad* V 85-87. ¹³³Reconstruction. ¹³⁴*Iliad* IV 106-108: Pandaros is lurking and shooting. ¹³⁵*Iliad* V 95-101: Pandaros hits Diomedes. ¹³⁶*Iliad* V 102-104: Pandaros boasts here. ¹³⁷*Iliad* V 112. ¹³⁸*Iliad* V 286, *Iliad* XI 384.

didn't hit me.¹³⁹ You just scratched my shoulder, and you're bragging for no reason. I'm not counting it, as if I had been hit by a woman or an innocent boy."¹⁴⁰ So Diomedes scoffed and went on to kill the Trojans.

Then, the moment came when the Trojans got the upper hand. They were no longer herded together in front of the ramparts and ditch around the Trojan town but instead chased the Greeks into the plain. The Trojan women who watched rejoiced. Hektor urged the Trojan fighters to join in the pursuit of the Greeks. But he could not find Paris anywhere. He left the warriors' ranks and found Paris still hidden behind the oak tree.

Hektor approached him and spoke reproachfully, "Paris, evil bringer, you can kidnap a defenseless woman, but in the battle of man against man you are standing aside.¹⁴¹ Where are you with your famous bow and your feathered arrows?¹⁴² It hurts my heart to hear that the Trojans slander you, for whom we must all suffer."¹⁴³

To him, Paris answered, "Hektor, now you accuse an innocent. May I also take a rest from the war? My mother did not give birth to me as a coward.¹⁴⁴ I already hit two Greeks with an arrow, Diomedes and Menelaos. I made the blood flow from both of them. I put Menelaos out of action, but I only increased the fighting spirit of Diomedes."¹⁴⁵

After this conversation, Hektor and Paris hurried back to the fray.¹⁴⁶ The Trojans could not advance far into the plain, for the Greeks fought too fiercely. Great clouds of dust rose to heaven by the bustle of the feet on the earth. There were moans and cheers and the sound of bronze on bronze.

Thus, they would have fought until all had fallen of exhaustion to the ground until the last man, had not day given way to night.¹⁴⁷ The heralds intervened,¹⁴⁸ and the fighters gathered to return to their strongholds. The women of the Greeks and the Trojans were relieved to see the warriors returning safely to town.

When all the Greeks sat together at the meal, Agamemnon spoke in reproachful words,¹⁴⁹ "Ah, Greeks, I thought you were better fighters.¹⁵⁰ Did you not promise to destroy the Trojan stronghold before darkness came? I want you all to follow Nestor's example; then the battle would be over quickly. Diomedes, you are the youngest. Behave like a warrior with more experience, who is second to none in bravery."¹⁵¹

¹³⁹*Iliad* V 287. ¹⁴⁰*Iliad* XI 388-390. ¹⁴¹Reconstruction. ¹⁴²*Iliad* V 171: Aineias says this to Pandaros. ¹⁴³*Iliad* VI 523-525. ¹⁴⁴*Iliad* XIII 774-777. ¹⁴⁵*Iliad* V 206-208: Pandaros says this to Aineias. ¹⁴⁶*Iliad* VII 1-2. ¹⁴⁷Reconstruction. ¹⁴⁸*Iliad* VII 274-275. ¹⁴⁹Reconstruction. ¹⁵⁰*Iliad* VIII 229. ¹⁵¹Reconstruction. In *Iliad* IX 31-36, Diomedes refers to such a reproach.

Meanwhile, a meeting with the Trojans was also taking place at Priam's house. The meeting was restless and fierce. The righteous Antenor began thus, "Trojans, listen to me. I will tell you what my heart tells me. Let us return Helen and the stolen property to the Greeks. Our struggle is the breach of a sacred treaty. Nothing good will ever come of that!"¹⁵²

After this speech, Paris stood up and replied, "Antenor, I don't like what you're saying there. Surely you can think of something else better than this. If you are truly proclaiming this, then Zeus has robbed you of your mind. But I will give my answer to the Trojans: I will not return Helen. She is my wife now. The valuables that I brought here from her house, I can give the Greeks and other things besides them from my own possessions."¹⁵³

Then Priam, king of the Trojans, took the floor, and he spoke, thinking about the welfare of all, "Trojans, listen to me now. Take the evening meal in town, as usual. But don't forget the watch, and stay wakeful. At the rising of the sun, let Idaios, the herald, go to the stronghold of the Greeks to impart to them the word of Paris. In addition, he must suggest to them to stop fighting until we have burned the bodies of the fallen. Then we will resume the fight until Zeus grants victory to either side."¹⁵⁴ Such was his counsel, and all followed it.

Early in the morning, Idaios went to the town of the Greeks. He found them all gathered in an assembly at the house of Agamemnon. He entered and spoke in a clear voice, "Agamemnon and the rest of you Greeks! Priam and the other noble Trojans ordered me to bring you this message from Paris: All the valuables that he stole from Menelaos's house, he intends to return, and some other things from his own possessions. But he does not want to give up Helen, however much Antenor and the other Trojans have urged him to do so. I was also instructed to suggest to you to stop fighting until we burned the bodies of the fallen. Then we will resume the fight, until Zeus grants victory to either side."¹⁵⁵

This word was followed by a long silence, until at last the silence was broken by the young Diomedes. "Let no one accept Paris's property nor Helen, herself. Even a silly one can understand that the Trojans are caught in the snares of destruction."¹⁵⁶

All the Greeks applauded loudly at this word of Diomedes, and King Agamemnon spoke to the herald, "Idaios, you, yourself, have heard the answer of the Greeks. I agree. And as for the dead, I do not begrudge them the

¹⁵²*Iliad* VII 345-353. ¹⁵³*Iliad* VII 355-364. ¹⁵⁴*Iliad* VII 366-378. ¹⁵⁵*Iliad* VII 379-397. ¹⁵⁶*Iliad* VII 398-402: Diomedes is not called young here.

burning. So a treaty, of which Zeus may be a witness.” And at this word he raised the scepter to Zeus.¹⁵⁷

Soon the Greeks and the Trojans were busy, some to fetch the dead, others to gather wood.¹⁵⁸ The sun was already high in the sky when the battle resumed. In the middle of the plain, the armies met. Their fighting spirit had not yet diminished, neither for the Trojans nor for the Greeks. Out of sight of the ramparts of the strongholds, the battle deteriorated; it was a terrible spectacle. As long as the sun moved in its highest orbit, the weapons of both sides hit their target, and the soldiers perished.

But when the sun began to retreat,¹⁵⁹ Zeus gave the victory to the Trojans. He let out a loud thunderclap and sent a bolt of lightning to the army of the Greeks. Then they lost the courage to resist. They turned and fled. Nestor alone stood his ground, the oldest and most distinguished warrior of the Greeks.¹⁶⁰ There he would have lost his life, overwhelmed by superior numbers, had the young Diomedes not seen it sharply.

In a shrill voice, he admonished Odysseus, who fled with the others,¹⁶¹ “Odysseus, why have you turned your back and run like a coward? Don’t let anyone throw a spear in your back. Stay and let us join Nestor to hold up the Trojans.”¹⁶² But Odysseus did not listen and hurried on to the town of the Greeks.¹⁶³

Diomedes lined up next to Nestor. They stood side by side. The ranks of the Trojans pushed forward and surrounded them, enclosing their own destruction.¹⁶⁴ For Diomedes leaped upon the enemy and wounded Deiopites in the shoulder. Then he killed Phegeus and Phaistos. But only brief was the joy of the brave pair, for Zeus preferred to give victory to the Trojans.

With a thunderous blow, he threw flashing lightning at the feet of Nestor and Diomedes.¹⁶⁵ The Trojans pushed forward, and soon, the two were oppressed. Most of all, they were attacked by Hektor, who went on furiously. Nestor turned and spoke to Diomedes. “Take flight, Diomedes. Can’t you see Zeus is assisting the Trojans? Now he gives the victory to Hektor, later to us again, if he wants. No man can thwart the will of Zeus.”¹⁶⁶

The brave Diomedes replied, “Yes, that is all true, but still, it grieves me deep in my heart. Hektor will once boast among the Trojans, ‘Diomedes has fled from me to the stronghold of the Greeks.’ He will boast like that.”¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁷*Iliad* VII 403-412. ¹⁵⁸*Iliad* VII 417-420. ¹⁵⁹Reconstruction. ¹⁶⁰*Iliad* VIII 66-80. ¹⁶¹*Iliad* VIII 90-92. ¹⁶²*Iliad* VIII 93-96. ¹⁶³*Iliad* VIII 97-98. ¹⁶⁴*Iliad* XI 412-413. ¹⁶⁵*Iliad* VIII 133-134.

¹⁶⁶*Iliad* VIII 139-144. ¹⁶⁷*Iliad* VIII 145-150.

“Ah, Diomedes,” replied Nestor, “how can you say that? Though Hektor calls you weak and a coward, he will find no belief in the wives of the Trojan warriors, whose men you made bite the dust.¹⁶⁸ We are far from the ramparts here. None of the Trojan women can see us.”¹⁶⁹

And without further ado, he fled. Diomedes followed him. The Trojans and Hektor, with a loud cry, sent a grievous hail of spears and arrows after them. Hektor shouted triumphantly, “Diomedes, the Greeks honored you with a place at the table, with meat and full cups of wine. Now the honor is over. You are no more worth than a woman! Flee, you cowardly doll!”¹⁷⁰

In this way, the Greeks were chased to their stronghold, where they sought protection between the sturdy ramparts. A confused crowd thronged in front of the gate between the deep ditches.¹⁷¹ Agamemnon watched from the rampart, next to the gate. With scepter¹⁷² in hand, he shouted to the Greeks, “Shame on you Greeks, cowardly is your heart! What became of your boasting words when you claimed to be the best of warriors? When you feasted on the flesh and the wine, each one boasted that he could compete with a hundred, even two hundred Trojans.”¹⁷³

After these words, the Greeks regained new courage. They bravely charged for the Trojans, again animated by pugnacity. Then no one could boast of having turned and plunged across the ditch into the grim battle earlier than Diomedes.¹⁷⁴

In front of their wives and King Agamemnon, the Greeks fought valiantly, but they could not drive the Trojans away. Until the evening, they fought before the ramparts and the ditch of their town. Then Zeus thundered again and sent a bolt of lightning to the town of the Greeks. An appalling fear seized the Greeks, and with trembling knees, they fled within the ramparts of their stronghold.¹⁷⁵

Hektor arranged a meeting in the open space. In the circle of the Trojans, he spoke, “Listen to me, Trojans. We surround the Greeks stronghold, and we do not return to our town. Make sure that none of the Greeks, none of the women, can escape to neighboring towns.¹⁷⁶ But now, let’s follow up on the dark night and prepare for supper. Take herds and sheep out of our town and bring wine and bread and gather much wood that we may burn many fires all night long until the dawn. Idaios, the herald dear to Zeus, has to tell around the town that the boys still flourishing with youth and the old men

¹⁶⁸*Iliad* VIII 151-156. ¹⁶⁹Reconstruction. ¹⁷⁰*Iliad* VIII 160-164. ¹⁷¹*Iliad* VIII 213-215. ¹⁷²*Iliad* VIII 221: From Odysseus’s ship, with a purple robe in hand. ¹⁷³*Iliad* VIII 228-233. ¹⁷⁴*Iliad* VIII 251-255. ¹⁷⁵Reconstruction according to *Iliad* VIII 73-77. ¹⁷⁶Reconstruction according to *Iliad* VIII 497-516.

with gray temples should keep watch on the ramparts. And let the women each kindle a great fire in their house. There must be a strict watch. Tomorrow morning, we will start a fierce battle for the town of the Greeks. Then I will know whether Diomedes, that nefarious warrior, will chase me to the Trojan ramparts, or I will kill him and rob him of his armor.”¹⁷⁷

Thus, the Trojans prepared everything. But the Greeks were in the tremendous grip of fear.¹⁷⁸ Agamemnon walked troubled back and forth, tears running down his cheeks. Sighing heavily, he spoke in the assembly, “Greeks all gathered here, the great Zeus has ensnared me in cruel blindness. Once he promised with a thunderbolt from the right that I would be victorious over the Trojans and overthrow their stronghold. But now, he is urging me to surrender ingloriously after losing many people. Thus he seems to have decided in his omnipotence.”¹⁷⁹

This word silenced all, and they sat anxiously mute for a long time. Finally, Diomedes spoke up, “Agamemnon, you first and your folly I want to fight, which is lawful in council, so don’t get angry. You have accused me of cowardice in the midst of the Greeks, saying that I fell short in war and resistance. All Greeks have heard that: young and old. But Zeus gave you two contradictory things. He gave you the king’s scepter, but he gave you no courage, and courage is the supreme authority. Sir, why do you think the Greeks are unwarlike and cowardly? Then if your heart desires to surrender, then do so. But I fight until I see the end of the Trojan stronghold.”¹⁸⁰

All Greeks applauded Diomedes’s word in admiration. Then Nestor got up and spoke, “Diomedes, great is your strength in battle, and in the council, you surpass all those of your age. But I, who am so much older than you, will make all the arrangements for the evening and the night. Agamemnon, take charge of preparing the meal for all warriors with flesh and wine. After that, the sentries have to be set up all along the ditch and the ramparts. I dedicate that task to the young lads.”¹⁸¹

The Greeks made all preparations for the night. They enjoyed the meal, and the sentries were set up.¹⁸² After the meal, they all went to sleep, tired from the battle.¹⁸³

Early in the morning, the two armies armed to resume battle.¹⁸⁴ Odysseus and Diomedes were impatiently waiting to be the first to storm through the gate and across the ditch. With a fierce scream, the Greeks pounced on the enemy. Clouds of dust rose to the heavens; shouts and clamor came from

¹⁷⁷*Iliad* VIII 502-534: There is no question of Idaios, but of unnamed heralds. ¹⁷⁸*Iliad* IX 1-2.

¹⁷⁹*Iliad* IX 13-22. ¹⁸⁰*Iliad* IX 29-49. ¹⁸¹*Iliad* IX 50-71. ¹⁸²*Iliad* IX 79-90. ¹⁸³*Iliad* IX 712-713.

¹⁸⁴Summary of *Iliad* XI 1-66.

those who killed¹⁸⁵ and from those who died.¹⁸⁶ The Greeks were the first to gain the upper hand in battle.¹⁸⁷ They chased the Trojans from the ramparts to the plain. Odysseus killed Molion¹⁸⁸ and Hippodamas;¹⁸⁹ Diomedes killed Thymbraios,¹⁹⁰ Adrastos, and Amphios.¹⁹¹ The Greeks were already hoping to chase all the Trojans to the Trojan stronghold, killing the last man each time. But when the two camps were halfway the plain, near the burial mound of King Ilos,¹⁹² Zeus in his omnipotence turned the odds.¹⁹³ The Trojans all turned and fought violently.

Hektor raged furiously through the ranks. He defeated Asaios and Opites, Dolops, Opheltios, and Aisymnos. None of the Greeks could stop him. Then their destruction was imminent, and irreparable suffering would have been done if Odysseus had not cried out to Diomedes. “Diomedes, what is it with us, that we have forgotten our stalwart strength? Come and stand here next to me, my friend. It would be a shame if Hektor takes our town.”¹⁹⁴

Immediately, Diomedes spoke, “Certainly. But that terrifying Hektor is now coming straight to us. Let’s stand and fight.”

With a swing, he raised his spear and hurled it. He didn’t miss, but he hit Hektor at the tip of the helmet. The bronze ricocheted and did not penetrate the skin. Hektor fainted and fled backward in the crowd of the Trojan ranks.

The strong Diomedes called out after him, “Now you have escaped death again, dog. Destruction has come close to you. We’ll meet later, and I’ll definitely kill you.”¹⁹⁵

So Diomedes mocked and went on to kill the Trojans. But Paris aimed his bow at Diomedes. He was hidden behind the burial mound once erected by the Greek people in honor of King Atreus. From there, he drew his bow and shot. Not in vain did the arrow escape from his hand, for he met Diomedes in the heel of the right foot. The arrow went right through it and got stuck in the earth.

Jubilantly, Paris sprang up from his hiding place and spoke proudly. “You have been hit. Not in vain did my weapon fly. Oh, if I had hit you in the stomach and killed you! Then the Trojans would be relieved from their distress.”¹⁹⁶

Fearlessly, Diomedes spoke. “Cowardly Paris, foot shooter, please stop flaunting. If you had bombarded me with your weapons in open battle, your

¹⁸⁵Reconstruction. ¹⁸⁶*Iliad* XI 83. ¹⁸⁷*Iliad* XI 90. ¹⁸⁸*Iliad* XI 321-322. ¹⁸⁹*Iliad* XI 335. ¹⁹⁰*Iliad* XI 320. ¹⁹¹*Iliad* XI 329-334, *Iliad* II 830-831. ¹⁹²Reconstruction. ¹⁹³*Iliad* XI 336-337: Zeus balances the battle. ¹⁹⁴*Iliad* XI 299-315: It would be a shame if Hektor takes the ships. ¹⁹⁵*Iliad* XI 346-365. ¹⁹⁶*Iliad* XI 367-383.

bow and arrows would be of no avail. Now you've scratched the tendon of my foot, oh dear. The weapons of a worthless coward are blunt. Mine are different. My spear is sharp. Even if it hits only fleetingly, it immediately brings death to my enemy." So he spoke.

Odysseus came to him and pulled the arrow from his foot. A fierce pain tormented Diomedes. He returned to the town of the Greeks;¹⁹⁷ for him, the fighting was over. Sthenelos took him to Machaon, the physician of the Greeks.¹⁹⁸

Now, Odysseus was on his own. None of the Greeks stayed with him; they were all in the grip of the fearful flight. Embittered, he spoke to himself, "Ah me. What must become of me, now Zeus makes the other Greeks flee? Disastrous, if I flee for fear of the enemy. But why does the heart within me debate on these things? I know that only cowards flee the war. He who excels in battle stands firm, whether he wounds or is wounded."¹⁹⁹

While he thought this over, the Trojans crowded around him. Odysseus defended himself bravely, for he killed two Trojans on the spot, Thoön and Ennomos.²⁰⁰ But then Hektor came on again from the dense crowd and hurled his spear at Odysseus. The bronze pierced through the round shield and the breastplate and tore the skin of the ribs.²⁰¹ Then the bleeding Odysseus would have been killed off by a superior number of Trojans, if not Aias and Menelaos had turned to assist him. Aias held up the Trojans while Menelaos led Odysseus by the arm to the town of the Greeks.²⁰²

Nonetheless, the Trojans could not immediately expel all the Greeks. A hard core of brave and experienced warriors still held out around Nestor, the leader of the warriors. Idomeneus and Eurypylos stood there, Aias and Thoas. Steadfastly, they stood firm.²⁰³ But then Paris ended Nestor's heroic struggle by striking him in the right shoulder with a three-pointed arrow. The courageous Greeks feared that Nestor would die, and the odds of war would turn.

Immediately, Idomeneus spoke, "Nestor, return within the town of the Greeks. Let Machaon, the physician, take care of you to cut the arrow from the wound and sprinkle gentle herbs over it."²⁰⁴ In the meantime, we are holding out in front of the gate."

¹⁹⁷ *Iliad* XI 384-400: Diomedes returns to the ships. ¹⁹⁸ Reconstruction according to *Iliad* XI 399-400.

¹⁹⁹ *Iliad* XI 401-410. ²⁰⁰ *Iliad* XI 411-422. ²⁰¹ *Iliad* XI 435-437: Not Hektor but Sokos tears the skin off Odysseus's ribs. ²⁰² *Iliad* XI 461-488: Menelaos leads Odysseus out of the crowd to his chariot.

²⁰³ Reconstruction according to *Iliad* XI 489-501. Thoas is not mentioned here. ²⁰⁴ *Iliad* XI 505-515: Paris shoots the physician Machaon in the shoulder, and Machaon is led away by Nestor.

That is how Nestor also ended up in the infirmary. Along with Philoktetes, Diomedes, and Odysseus, he was cared for by Machaon. Outside the ramparts, a small group of Greeks held out around Idomeneus, but they could not stay there for long, as most of the Greeks had fled within the ramparts.

Agamemnon was desperate. When he saw that Nestor was also in the infirmary, he lost heart.²⁰⁵ Sadly, he spoke, “Nestor, why did you leave the devastating battle too? Ah, thus will be fulfilled the word of Hektor, who once spoke in the midst of all the Trojans, that he would burn down our town and kill the Greeks. Those were his words, and now everything is being accomplished.”²⁰⁶

Nestor replied, depressed, “Yes, we arrived at that point. Not even Zeus, the mighty thunder god, could undo this. Let’s think together about how to proceed, if thinking still makes sense. Throwing us into battle, I advise against. It is impossible to fight for a wounded person.”²⁰⁷

Agamemnon agrees. “Now, this will please the almighty Zeus. As well as I knew that he once graciously protected the Greeks, so well I know now that he gives fame to the Trojans and has paralyzed our strength and hands. Come on, let’s all do what I recommend.”²⁰⁸ We ask the Greek women to collect and gather all the valuables in the sanctuary in front of the market square.²⁰⁹ Then we wait for the night, if maybe the Trojans interrupt the battle.²¹⁰ Then we all flee with our finest treasures to one of the neighboring towns, with which we live in peace.²¹¹ It is no shame to flee from destruction, not even at night. Better to avoid destruction by flight than to be seized.”²¹²

But then Odysseus spoke fiercely. “Agamemnon, how did such a word come across your lips? Miserable one, I wish you were the king of another army, an army of cowards, not king over us, to whom Zeus gave the destiny to endure many arduous battles from childhood to old age until we each find destruction. Do you want to leave the beautiful town of the Greeks, which is so loved by all of us? If we now prepare everything to flee, the Greeks will no longer keep up the battle. They will turn their eyes backward and flinch in the fight. Such damage brings your counsel, our supreme leader.”²¹³

There was a long silence among all those present. Then Agamemnon finally spoke. “With your reproach, you have hit me painfully, Odysseus.”²¹⁴

²⁰⁵Reconstruction. Agamemnon has also been wounded in the arm. ²⁰⁶*Iliad* XIV 41-48. ²⁰⁷*Iliad* XIV 52-63. ²⁰⁸*Iliad* XIV 69-74. ²⁰⁹Reconstruction according to *Iliad* VI 269-272. Agamemnon proposes to anchor a first row of ships in the sea. ²¹⁰*Iliad* XIV 78. ²¹¹Reconstruction. Agamemnon proposes to flee by ship. ²¹²*Iliad* XIV 80-81. ²¹³*Iliad* XIV 82-102: Do you want to leave Troy like this, for which we have suffered so much sorrow? ²¹⁴*Iliad* XIV 103-105.

But I just can't get the Greeks to stand up to the Trojans.²¹⁵ If there would be anyone, young or old, who could advise me in this hopeless situation – ”

Then the voice of the brave Diomedes sounded in their midst, “That man is near, that is, if you are willing to listen and you are not all annoyed because I am the youngest in years among you.²¹⁶ Let's return to the battlefield, even though we are wounded. The rest of the Greeks will regain their courage when they see that even we, who are wounded, appear in the fight again.”²¹⁷

So he spoke, and immediately he rushed out, followed by the rest of the wounded. A mighty cheer surged as the Greeks saw that the bravest among them had risen again. They threw themselves once more on the Trojans, who retreated in terror. The Greeks chased them far into the plain between the towns of the Greeks and Trojans. Thus, the town of the Greeks was released of its distress.²¹⁸

The Trojans gathered in the middle of the plain between the strongholds of the Greeks and the Trojans. The sun was already setting, covering the battle field in darkness. There was no time left for another attack on the Greek stronghold, nor to collect the bodies of the dead. They returned to the Trojan town, boasting of their victory.

Hektor spoke scornfully to all Trojans. “Those Greeks really thought they could besiege our stronghold as if it were only inhabited by women. Perhaps they have learned a lesson now that we have driven them out and nearly destroyed their own stronghold.²¹⁹ I think many a Greek can enjoy the wounds we inflicted with an arrow or with a spear this night. From now on, they will shy away from starting the war against the Trojans.²²⁰ We will not see them again.”

Arriving in the Trojan town, the women and the old men crowded around to hear from the warriors who had returned alive how everything had turned out. For all who had remained in the town were very concerned as long as Helen was in their midst, kidnapped by Paris.

Hekabe ran up to Hektor, followed by Laodike, Cassandra, Helen, and Priam, king of the Trojans. Concerned, she spoke to him, “Hektor, you have been able to chase away the Greeks, and you have returned unharmed. But I am very worried that the Greeks will return as long as Paris refuses to

²¹⁵Reconstruction. Agamemnon will not force anyone to flee against his will. ²¹⁶*Iliad* XIV 107-112.

²¹⁷*Iliad* XIV 128-132: Diomedes suggests that the wounded go to the battlefield to send the less brave into the battle. ²¹⁸Reconstruction according to *Iliad* XIV 133-152. ²¹⁹Reconstruction according to

XXI 583-587. ²²⁰*Iliad* VIII 513-516.

relinquish Helen. Soon, the Trojan stronghold falls. Please, don't be too frivolous."²²¹

Hektor replied, "Dear mother, trust us brave warriors.²²² Many powerful men are here protecting the Trojan stronghold for their parents, their wives, and children.²²³ Now, gather firewood for us to light fires and prepare a feast to celebrate our victory. Let cattle and sheep be slaughtered and wine mixed for everyone to enjoy. But I will ask Laokoön, the priest of Zeus, for a favorable sign from the thunder god, so that you can enjoy your sleep with peace of mind tonight."²²⁴

The Trojans prepared the sacrificial altar and fetched a fat ox. Laokoön slaughtered the ox and poured wine to the ground. Then he cut some hair from the ox's head and raised his hands to Zeus in prayer. All the Trojans, according to custom, sat still in their place and listened to the priest.

Looking up to the wide sky, he spoke, praying, "May Zeus, the mighty thunder god, now witness the feast that we are organizing in honor of our victory over the Greeks, and may he confirm the rule of the Trojans in the future."²²⁵

As Laokoön spoke this prayer, a fiery red snake suddenly shot out from under the altar. He curled over the praying priest's body and bit his neck. Fainting, Laokoön fell to the floor.²²⁶

Kassandra lamented loudly, her voice ringing all over the town. "Woe to us, wretched ones! Now our stronghold will surely fall. This is a sign that Zeus, in his omnipotence, is revealing to us. Ah, if I may be dead before I face these heinous acts:²²⁷ killed my brothers, dragged my sisters, their rooms destroyed, innocent children thrown to the earth. My parents killed by the murderous hands of the Greeks."²²⁸ So she wailed, but the Trojans did not listen to her.²²⁹

Laokoön was taken away and cared for by a physician, who touched his wound and sprinkled it gently with herbs. But this help was of no avail, because Laokoön died from the poisonous snakebite, lonely and abandoned in the sickbed.²³⁰

²²¹Reconstruction according to *Iliad* XXII 58-67 and *Iliad* XXIV 727-729. ²²²Reconstruction.

²²³*Iliad* XXI 586-588. ²²⁴Reconstruction. ²²⁵Reconstruction according to *Iliad* III 267-298 and *Iliad* XIX 249-260. ²²⁶Reconstruction according to Evelyn-White (1995), *Fall of Troy*. Laokoön is devoured by monstrous sea snakes. ²²⁷Reconstruction according to Way (1913), Quintus Smyrnaeus, *The Fall of Troy* XII 565-594. ²²⁸*Iliad* XXII 62-65: Priam wails to Hektor and talks about his sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law. ²²⁹Reconstruction according to Way (1913), Quintus Smyrnaeus, *The Fall of Troy* XII 595-605 ²³⁰Reconstruction.

Meanwhile, the Trojans enjoyed a feast with meat and wine in abundance. They played music and made much noise.²³¹ None of them remembered the war with the Greeks, except Helen, for she longed for her husband, Menelaos.

The Greeks also sat together at the supper, but they were quiet and worried. In the distance, they saw the fires burning in front of the Trojan town.²³² Sighing heavily, Agamemnon spoke, “Now this will please the almighty Zeus. As well as I knew that he once graciously protected the Greeks, so well I know now that he gives fame to the Trojans and has paralyzed our strength and hands.”²³³ He tore the hairs out of his head; heavily, his heart ached.²³⁴

Nestor prepared for the night ahead. He divided the sentries over the ramparts and the gate. He left that task to Thrasymedes, Antilochos, Meriones, and the young men spared from the arduous work of war.²³⁵ He urged them to remain vigilant and alert this night as well and to raise the alarm when they spotted an enemy.

All the Greeks and Trojans went to sleep. A peaceful silence fell over the plain, lit by the moonlight.²³⁶ Only Agamemnon could not sleep. Many worries troubled his mind.²³⁷ The best he could think of was to get up and go to Nestor’s room.²³⁸ But just as he was on his way in the dark night, he found Menelaos dressed in his armor.²³⁹ He could not sleep either, for he was constantly thinking of his wife, Helen, now sleeping in the arms of Paris. Together, they made their way to Nestor’s room.²⁴⁰

They found him in his bed, with his head on his shield and his weapons at his side, within reach. As soon as Nestor heard them, he took his sword and spoke, “Who are you who comes there in the dark night, when the other people are asleep? Speak, and don’t come to me in silence. What do you need here?”

Agamemnon reassured him,²⁴¹ “But Nestor, you do recognize your king.²⁴² It’s us, Agamemnon and Menelaos. If you want to do something – you, too, cannot sleep – let’s go and inspect the watch so that the men are not tired and doze off and forget about waking altogether.”²⁴³

²³¹*Iliad* X 12-13. ²³²Reconstruction according to *Iliad* X 11-13. ²³³*Iliad* XIV 69-73. ²³⁴*Iliad* X 15-16. ²³⁵*Iliad* IX 66-68. ²³⁶Reconstruction according to *Iliad* X 96-100. ²³⁷*Iliad* X 3-4. ²³⁸*Iliad* X 17-18. ²³⁹*Iliad* X 34-35: Menelaos finds Agamemnon on his ship putting on his armor. ²⁴⁰Reconstruction according to *Iliad* X 32-96. Agamemnon goes to Nestor alone, while Menelaos goes to awaken Aias and Idomeneus. ²⁴¹*Iliad* X 73-86. ²⁴²*Iliad* X 87-88. ²⁴³*Iliad* X 96-99.

The trio set out to inspect the guards. They did not find them asleep at all. The guards were all keeping sentry, wide awake and armed.²⁴⁴

But their worries had not yet disappeared. Nestor suggested waking the other fighters in the stronghold as well. They scattered and gathered the Greeks in a nocturnal meeting.²⁴⁵ Diomedes and Odysseus were there, and Aias, Eurypylos, Philoktetes, and all the rest of the Greek warriors qualified to fight in battle.²⁴⁶

Nestor led the meeting, and he began thus, “Friends, is anyone here so confident that he dares to venture inside the town of the Trojans to free Helen? Whoever succeeds in this and returns to us safe and sound will have great fame and receive a great reward. He always finds a place of honor at meals and feasts.²⁴⁷ Menelaos is the first, because he has a burning desire by himself to hold his wife back in his arms. But two other warriors must assist him, because he can never complete this mission alone.”²⁴⁸

All were silent, except the brave Diomedes. He was immediately ready to accept the assignment. But he did insist that Odysseus be the third companion, the cunning herald who knows all the ways in the enemy stronghold. Odysseus was also ready to go,²⁴⁹ and without delay, they left for the gate that gave access to the plain. Diomedes and Odysseus were not yet armed, but they put on the armor of Thrasymedes and Meriones, the youths who stood guard at the gate.²⁵⁰ With fear, the Greeks said goodbye to the brave trio. Nestor assured them that all the Greeks would follow them when they heard a cry for help or perceived a fire signal.²⁵¹

Thus, they set out through the dark night. Zeus sent them a bird from the right, a heron, as an auspicious sign.²⁵² Without any problems, they reached the stronghold of the Trojans. Once there, they crept closer, because sentries were posted on the ramparts and before the gate.²⁵³ A stone’s throw from the gate, they hid in the bushes and reeds that grew on the side of the ditch. Crawling under their armor, they stopped to watch the guard.²⁵⁴

Two Trojan guards were doing the rounds together on the ramparts of the stronghold. They talked to each other and paid little attention to the environment. When they got close, the three Greeks could hear them clearly.

²⁴⁴*Iliad* X 180-182: Odysseus and Diomedes have also been awakened in the meantime. ²⁴⁵Summary of *Iliad* X 137-176. ²⁴⁶Reconstruction according to *Iliad* X 227-231. ²⁴⁷*Iliad* X 204-217: Nestor asks to sneak up on the enemy camp in the field to eavesdrop on a council. ²⁴⁸Reconstruction according to *Iliad* X 219-227. Menelaos does not participate in *Iliad* X. ²⁴⁹Summary of *Iliad* X 218-232. Odysseus is not a herald. ²⁵⁰Summary of *Iliad* X 251-273. ²⁵¹Reconstruction. ²⁵²*Iliad* X 274-275: Athene sends the heron. ²⁵³Reconstruction. ²⁵⁴*Odyssey* XIV 469-475: This is part of a lie story told by Odysseus.

“Troilos, tell me, who do you think is the bravest of the Greek warriors?” asked one of them.

“Odysseus is the bravest,” said the other, “for it is he who always enters the Trojan town all alone with only a scepter in hand.”

“No,” the first answered again. “Diomedes is a braver hero. For once, when the Greeks were put to flight and Nestor got into trouble, Diomedes was the only one who dared to stand up to Hektor’s attack. Odysseus fled with the rest of the Greeks.”

This is how the Trojan guards spoke among themselves. Soon they could no longer be heard, but the Greeks remained lying, so they would not be discovered by the guard at the gate.²⁵⁵

Suddenly, they heard a whispering voice behind them, from the direction of the plain, “It is I, Nestor. Come back to the Greek camp. The mission has been canceled.”

Diomedes almost wanted to get up and answer, but Odysseus held him back and put a firm hand on his mouth, for it was not Nestor who had appeared but a guard of the Trojans. The watchman approached and now called out aloud, “Come out, Greeks, you have been seen. Don’t think that you have escaped us and that you can hide in the thicket.”²⁵⁶

Menelaos reached for his sword and tried to get up, but again, Odysseus stopped him. He clutched his arms tightly and pressed him to the ground. Thus, the shrewd Odysseus prevented their hiding place from being discovered.²⁵⁷

Three times the guard walked back and forth near the undergrowth, but the three remained dead still. Finally, the guard left and disappeared into the nighttime darkness.²⁵⁸

Sleep was not given to the Trojans, either. In the stronghold of the Trojans, Hektor woke and gathered the Trojan warriors in a nightly council. When they were united, he unfolded his plan. “Brave Trojans, listen.²⁵⁹ Many Trojan warriors have died today under the Greek ramparts. We do not begrudge them the burning. Who is brave enough to go to the Greek stronghold by horse and wagon and load the bodies?²⁶⁰ As a reward, he can keep the horse and the wagon. The horse is beautiful and big, as you have never seen. The wooden wagon is nicely decorated, with silver and gold.²⁶¹ The rest of the Trojans can go back to sleep.”

²⁵⁵Reconstruction. ²⁵⁶By analogy with *Odyssey* IV 269-289. ²⁵⁷By analogy with *Odyssey* XI 523-532, in which Odysseus must prevent Neoptolemos from prematurely betraying their hiding place.

²⁵⁸Reconstruction. ²⁵⁹*Iliad* X 299-303. ²⁶⁰Reconstruction. Hektor asks to see if the Greek guards are still vigilant. ²⁶¹*Iliad* X 304-305, *Iliad* X 436-438.

These words were followed by a long silence. But among them was a certain Dolon, son of the herald Eumedes. He was ugly in appearance but swift of foot. He took the floor and spoke. “Hektor, my brave heart drives me to go near the Greek ramparts and bring here the fallen Trojans. But first raise the scepter for me and swear that you will give me the beautiful horse and the precious chariot.”

Thus, he spoke, and Hektor took the scepter and swore, “Let Zeus be my witness, you will – I tell you – show off the beautiful horse and wagon forever.” He took a vain oath, but he encouraged Dolon with his words.

Dolon put on his armor, and over it, he put a cloak of wolfskin, for it was a cold night.²⁶² The rest of the Trojans went back to sleep.

Meanwhile, Odysseus, Diomedes, and Menelaos were still hidden in the undergrowth, peeping at the guards at the gate and on the ramparts. Menelaos hit Odysseus, who was lying next to him, with an elbow and whispered, “Odysseus, soon we will be frozen and stiff if we lie here any longer. It’s way too cold.²⁶³ It’s time to move.” He had just spoken these words when Dolon rode out through the gate seated on the wagon.

Odysseus then hatched a cunning plan. He got rid of his weapons and hid them in the undergrowth. Then he put a bundle of reeds together and added them as a clear sign, so that they might find the weapons in the dark night²⁶⁴ To Diomedes and Menelaos, he said, “Come on, we are sneaking out, away from the guards, and then we chase that man and rob him of his horse, his chariot, and weapons.”²⁶⁵

The trio slipped out of sight of the guards and gave chase. Menelaos ran around Dolon in a wide circle to stop him and take him alive. The other two approached him from behind. Odysseus was dressed only in his nightdress, leaving his armor behind. So they shut him in, and they stopped his horse.

Dolon wanted to run, but they grabbed his arms and pushed him to the ground.²⁶⁶ He burst into tears and wailed, “Take me alive. I will redeem myself! There is a great deal of bronze and gold in my house. My father will gladly pay you an immeasurable ransom if he learns that I am alive in the town of the Greeks.”

The cunning Odysseus replied, “Do not think about death. Rather, tell me your name and where you are going, alone, in the dark night, when the other people are asleep.²⁶⁷ And also tell me the following: Where is Helen

²⁶²*Iliad* X 313-335. ²⁶³*Odyssey* XIV 483-488. ²⁶⁴*Iliad* X 465-468. ²⁶⁵Reconstruction according to *Iliad* X 339-348. ²⁶⁶Reconstruction. ²⁶⁷*Iliad* X 377-386.

in the town of the Trojans? Where are the sentries posted? Please, tell me all this accurately.”²⁶⁸

Dolon replied with trembling limbs, “My name is Dolon. I was on my way to the Greek town to load the corpses of the Trojans, who were killed near the ramparts of the Greek stronghold. Hektor deluded me and promised me this beautiful horse and this magnificent wagon.²⁶⁹ But I will tell you exactly where Helen sleeps.²⁷⁰ Priam built fifty rooms for his sons and daughters to sleep with their husbands and wives.²⁷¹ Helen sleeps with Paris, the scandalous, who brought the war to the Trojans. After Priam’s house, turn left, and then take the third street on the right. There you will find the house where the beautiful Helen sleeps. But it will be difficult to get there because on the ramparts of the castle there are three guards who are constantly going around. At the gate, there is a guard outside and one inside to open the gate from there.”²⁷²

Odysseus was pleased with this information, but he was merciless for Dolon. The latter still wanted to beg, but Diomedes cut the head off his torso. It rolled in the dust.²⁷³

Then Odysseus unfolded his cunning plan, “Listen, friends, to what I propose to invade the town of the Trojans. I dress in the armor and this wolfskin of Dolon. We load his body and head onto the wagon. Both of you lie down next to him, very still. In this way, we return to the gate that gives access to the town of the Trojans, and I try to deceive the guard with lies. But as soon as the gate is open and I give you a signal, you will jump out of the wagon, armed, to kill the guards.”²⁷⁴

Menelaos and Diomedes cheered on this plan, and they loaded Dolon onto the wagon and laid themselves down next to him. Odysseus disguised himself as Dolon. He girded himself with his armor and helmet and threw the wolfskin around his shoulders.²⁷⁵ No one would recognize him. He was suddenly a very different man than the one who was known in the town of the Greeks.²⁷⁶ He sat in front of the chariot, whip in hand, and chased the horse back to the town of the Trojans.²⁷⁷

The guard at the gate was still at his post. He believed that Dolon had returned with three corpses on his wagon,²⁷⁸ yet he questioned Odysseus thoroughly. This one, however, cunningly avoided all questions.²⁷⁹ The

²⁶⁸Reconstruction. ²⁶⁹*Iliad* X 390-393: There is no question of collecting corpses. Dolon was to get the horses and the chariot of Achilles. ²⁷⁰Reconstruction. ²⁷¹*Iliad* VI 244-246. ²⁷²Reconstruction. ²⁷³*Iliad* X 454-457. ²⁷⁴Reconstruction. ²⁷⁵Reconstruction. ²⁷⁶*Odyssey* IV 248-249. ²⁷⁷*Iliad* X 498-501: Odysseus leads the horses of Rhesos to the ships of the Greeks. ²⁷⁸Reconstruction. ²⁷⁹*Odyssey* IV 251.

watchman called to his comrade in the town to open the gate. The horse rode in, and then Odysseus whistled for his comrades. He, himself, jumped off the chariot and killed the guard within the ramparts. Diomedes and Menelaos killed the guard at the gate.²⁸⁰

In this way, the three had ended up within the walls of the enemy stronghold. They rode on with the horse to the market square. There, Odysseus spoke to his companions, “Now let us disperse ourselves to kill the guards on the ramparts, too. Then we gather here again.²⁸¹ Otherwise, we miss each other, because there are many roads through this town.”²⁸²

Soon, the three brave Greeks had killed the last of the Trojan guards and gathered again in the market square. None of the Trojans was awake. Either they were killed or fast asleep. The three went in search of the place where Helen slept. They passed Priam’s house and the many houses of his sons and daughters. They looked in through the windows how the Trojans slept, fatigued.²⁸³ Beside their beds were their weapons ready, orderly,²⁸⁴ so that they could arm themselves immediately as soon as a watchman raised the alarm.

Odysseus found the house where Helen slept next to Paris, as Dolon had said, for he had told the truth, hoping for pity, the fool. Then Menelaos could no longer control himself. He went to the front door of the house and tried to open it. Three times, he spoke Helen’s name in the hope that she would wake and open the tightly closed door from within. But Paris also woke up and came to the front door to see what was going on.

Odysseus dragged Menelaos away and clasped his hand to his mouth. He walked quickly around the house to the back, and there, they saw Helen through the window, who had also been awakened by the rattling of the door.

In a whisper, the shrewd Odysseus spoke, “Helen, come here quickly to escape through the window. We came here to save you.”

The beautiful Helen was astonished because she did not recognize Odysseus. It wasn’t until he had taken off Dolon’s wolfskin and helmet that she understood that the Greeks were close by. She spoke delightedly. “Odysseus, cunning hero, I knew you would not forget me and would come here to save me. But I can’t crawl through the window to escape. It’s way too high and too narrow. Paris will also raise the alarm and wake all the Trojans when he finds that I am gone.”

²⁸⁰Reconstruction. ²⁸¹Reconstruction. ²⁸²*Iliad* X 65-66. ²⁸³Reconstruction. ²⁸⁴*Iliad* X 471-473.

Odysseus replied, “You have spoken thoughtfully, Helen. Stay here now so Paris doesn’t notice.²⁸⁵ In the meantime, we will get help from the Greeks and let them in through the gates of the Trojan stronghold. Until then, do not disclose among the Trojans that we have crept into the Trojan town.”²⁸⁶

Just in time, Odysseus had finished his message to hide from Paris, who had returned to the bedroom. He whispered to Diomedes and Menelaos, “Hush now, that none of the Trojans hear us.” He squatted and whispered with his hand over his mouth and proclaimed the following ruse, “There is no point in forcibly entering the house of Paris. He will make a great deal of noise and awaken the rest of the Trojans. We are too far from the Greek town to return alive with three against a crowd. But now that we have opened the gate and the guards have been killed, we can get the help of the rest of the Greeks.²⁸⁷ Have someone take that message to Agamemnon, so he can send reinforcements from the Greek town.”²⁸⁸

Immediately, Menelaos sprang to his feet and hurried to the ramparts of the town. With a burning torch, he rose to the highest point of the rampart and brandished it according to an agreed-upon code, as a sign that all Greeks were to arm themselves and hurry to the Trojan town.

The Greek sentries noticed it, and the news spread through the Greek town. Soon all the fighters were on their feet. A string of flaming torches meandered its way through the plain, visible from afar, bringing disaster to all the Trojans.²⁸⁹

Meanwhile, the trio hid within the Trojan town, patiently waiting for the other Greeks to arrive. But not enough time had passed when Laodike, Priam’s daughter, suddenly appeared in the marketplace. She discovered the horse with the beautifully carved wooden wagon and walked around it. She discovered Dolon’s corpse, but she thought it was one of the Trojans who had been killed in battle in front of the Greek ramparts. She brought out a white shroud²⁹⁰ and warm water and ointment to care for the corpse. It was only when she covered him with the shroud and washed and anointed his face that she recognized Dolon²⁹¹ and realized that the enemy was near.

Loudly, she wailed in a shrill voice that rang throughout the town, “Trojans, you unfortunates, why are you sleeping while Dolon lies here, killed by the hand of the enemy? Nowhere can I see the Trojan guards guarding the

²⁸⁵Reconstruction. ²⁸⁶*Odyssey* IV 253-256. ²⁸⁷Reconstruction. ²⁸⁸*Odyssey* XIV 496-498: from the fleet instead of the Greek town. ²⁸⁹Reconstruction. ²⁹⁰Reconstruction. ²⁹¹*Odyssey* IV 250-253: Helen recognizes Odysseus before she washed, anointed, and clothed him.

ramparts to protect the sleeping people. Ah, how often have we, the Trojan women, warned of this day? Defenseless we are, defenseless the Trojan town lies here now, the gate opened, prey to the Greeks.” So wailed Laodike, shivering with fear and tearing at her cheeks. The Trojans woke, and they came out dressed in their nightgowns to see what was going on.²⁹²

The three Greeks sprang to their feet. There was no point in hiding any longer.²⁹³ They assailed the Trojans, who were still half sleepy and unarmed, and sowed death all over the place. A nasty groan arose when the sword struck them. The earth turned red with blood.²⁹⁴ Many a Trojan they killed with the long-edged sword.²⁹⁵ A shouting and tremendous commotion arose among the Trojans. They were furiously gathering²⁹⁶ when they saw their soldiers down, convulsing in their own blood. Some quickly put on their armor; others walked drowsy or in panic back and forth.²⁹⁷

The Trojans’ camp was in utter confusion when the rest of the Greeks arrived from the plain. The gate was still open; the Greeks entered in orderly lines, torch in hand, to set fire to the houses of the Trojans. There was Nestor, Aias, Eurypylos, Idomeneus, and Thoas. Philoktetes was there, too, for the snakebite in his foot was now healed. They killed the Trojans wherever they could. There was shouting and groaning and the crackling of the fire falling in the first houses.²⁹⁸

Hektor led the resistance of the Trojans, shouting, “Bring all the women, children, and old men into the temple of Zeus, and close the solid door.²⁹⁹ The able-bodied men should line up in the market square to protect the sanctuary.” All the Trojan women fled to the temple.³⁰⁰ They wept loudly, except Helen, for joy filled her heart now that the return was near.³⁰¹

Andromache, the wife of Hektor, lamented, “Doomed are me and Astyanax, the child I bore with Hektor. Soon, the Trojan women are captured and dragged to the town of the Greeks; the men are killed. And you, my child, will accompany me and be brought up without name and distinction, unless one of the Greeks takes you by the hand and throws you from the ramparts, a gruesome death.³⁰² Ah, had I died before!” Thus, the Trojan town was filled with wailing and screaming at the hour of its doom.

Only one of the Trojans, Agenor, followed his own plan. He led his wife and child and old father, Antenor, to a small gate in the rampart on the

²⁹²Reconstruction. ²⁹³Reconstruction. ²⁹⁴*Iliad* X 482-484: Diomedes slays the Thracians. ²⁹⁵*Odyssey* IV 257. ²⁹⁶*Iliad* X 523-524. ²⁹⁷Reconstruction. ²⁹⁸Reconstruction. ²⁹⁹Reconstruction according to *Iliad* VI 269-270 and Evelyn-White (1995), *Fall of Troy*. ³⁰⁰Reconstruction according to *Iliad* VI 269-270. ³⁰¹*Odyssey* IV 259-261. ³⁰²*Iliad* XXIV 731-736.

other side of the town. They escaped through a ramshackle bridge across the ditch to the plain on their way to a neighboring town that lived in peace with the Trojans. The Greeks, who had surrounded the town, saw Agenor and his family escape, but they let them go. For of all the Trojans, Antenor had been the only one who had remained righteous and respected the law. Of all the Trojan warriors, only this one could escape, Agenor. All the others remained confined within the town, prey to the killing hands of the Greeks.³⁰³

The Trojan fighters had gathered in the market square. There, they tried to withstand with the weapons they could take in haste. But the Greeks were by far the better of them, and they bombarded them with spears from all sides.

Diomedes took the lead and shouted, “Greeks, brave warriors, now kill the Trojans on the market square who are preventing us from entering the temple. There are all the gold treasures and the beautiful women of the Trojans. Do not flinch in battle before everyone has entered the temple and captured a woman.” Thus spoke Diomedes, and the Greeks stormed toward the Trojans with sword in hand.³⁰⁴

Paris had not appeared on the square but was hiding in the narrow streets between the houses. From there he shot his arrows at the Greeks. But Philoktetes had seen him, and he, himself, took up his bow and aimed an arrow at Paris. He hit Paris with the first shot in the chest, killing the man who had caused the war.³⁰⁵

The Trojans were slaughtered in front of the temple on the market square. Badly armed and still half-drunk from the feast in the evening, they had no chance against the Greeks. One by one, they were killed.

Diomedes went to meet Hektor. He shouted triumphantly, “Hektor, this time you will not escape my attack. All too easily, you imagined killing the Greeks and destroying our town. Now you, yourselves, undergo the fate intended by Zeus.” Thus spoke Diomedes, hurling his spear at Hektor. He hit him in the abdomen below the diaphragm.

Whining, Hektor dropped to his knees. Dark death enveloped him. All the Greeks cheered loudly when they saw it. With even more fighting spirit, they attacked the Trojans.³⁰⁶

Odysseus killed Deïphobos, Menelaos killed Helenos, Nestor killed Poulydamas, and Philoktetes killed Antimachos. Soon, the last of the Trojan

³⁰³Reconstruction. According to later sources, such as Virgil’s *Aeneid*, it was Aineias who escaped with his father Anchises on his shoulders, with a large group of followers. Nevertheless, these sources also agree that Antenor could escape from Troy. ³⁰⁴Reconstruction according to *Iliad* II 354-355.

³⁰⁵Reconstruction according to Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*. In it, Paris is killed by Philoktetes before the fall of Troy. ³⁰⁶Reconstruction.

warriors had been killed on the market square. None was left to protect the entrance to the temple.³⁰⁷

Menelaos opened the gate of the temple with a sword in hand. He had only just appeared in the opening of the gate when Helen came running toward him. Menelaos almost stabbed her, fearful of the opposition of more warriors in the sanctuary. But he recognized his lovely wife and dropped the sword to the ground. In front of all the Greek warriors and the Trojan women, the reunited lovers embraced each other.³⁰⁸

The Greeks rushed into the sanctuary, killing the old men and the youthful boys and stealing the women as spoils of war. The women and the valuables they found they brought to their town, where all were divided by Agamemnon. Thus was accomplished the will of Zeus, who had planned the calamity to punish the Trojans for their dishonorable deeds.³⁰⁹

Oral Characteristics of Helen's Fairy Tale: Dh1 to Dh17

For this fairy tale, too, we find a series of specific oral characteristics that distinguish it from the other Delta fairy tales. They are as follows:

Dh1 Oaths and treaties

The Greeks and the Trojans make a sacred treaty³¹⁰ before the duel between Paris and Menelaos and later to collect the dead on the battlefield and to burn them. The heralds sent to the enemy camp must also be able to rely on existing treaties.³¹¹

Dh2 The dishonest, corrupt Trojans who violate the treaties

Paris and the Trojans repeatedly violate the treaties concluded by the Greeks and the Trojans. Paris refuses to relinquish Helen despite his lost duel and even tries to have Menelaos killed when he comes to Troy as a negotiator.³¹²

Dh3 Zeus, who watches over the oaths and treaties

Although Zeus seems to change the odds at random, he also watches over the observance of the oaths and treaties,³¹³ for which Zeus is called

³⁰⁷Reconstruction. ³⁰⁸Reconstruction. ³⁰⁹Reconstruction. ³¹⁰See also D11 on p. 28. ³¹¹Examples: the duel between Menelaos and Paris: *Iliad* III 267-280, Antenor: *Iliad* VII 345-353, Idaios calling for a truce: *Iliad* VII 381-397. ³¹²Examples: Pandaros's attack: *Iliad* IV 112-115, Paris's refusal: *Iliad* VII 354-364, Paris's bribery: *Iliad* XI 122-142. ³¹³See D11 on p. 28.

as a witness. Consequently, Troy is destroyed because of the Trojans' false deeds. Yet, Zeus allows a temporary injustice, with the aim of maintaining the long-term plan.³¹⁴ For example, he causes Pandaros (Paris in the fairy tale) to shoot an arrow at Menelaos.³¹⁵ The idea that the Trojans are favored by Zeus stems from the Aeolian Gamma tradition.³¹⁶

Dh4 **The opposites of cowardice and bravery in battle**

Both the cowardice³¹⁷ of Paris and the bravery³¹⁸ of Diomedes are thematic in the story of the abduction of Helen.³¹⁹ The youngster Diomedes has yet to prove himself to Agamemnon, while the old Nestor automatically gets all the credit. Paris is an archer who attacks his enemies from hidden positions.³²⁰

Dh5 **Excelling in war assemblies**

Those who do not excel on the battlefield can still prove themselves as a valuable warrior by excelling at the council of war.³²¹ Attack or withdrawal is what it's usually all about. Here, too, the theme of bravery plays a role. Whoever proposes to attack is brave. Whoever recommends withdrawal is cowardly.³²²

Dh6 **Diomedes, the youth who turns out to be the greatest hero**

Due to his young age, Agamemnon does not yet appreciate Diomedes. Yet on the battlefield, he turns out to be the greatest and bravest hero, killing the most and withstanding as the last while the others flee.³²³ In the council, Diomedes also excels by always calling for attack.³²⁴

Dh7 **Helen, languishing in Troy**

Helen is a character who also plays an important role in oral traditions other than the narrative Delta tradition. Therefore, it is difficult to determine whether Helen herself is complicit in her abduction in the nar-

³¹⁴See also Yamagata (1994), Chapter 2. ³¹⁵*Iliad* IV 68-72 and 93-94. ³¹⁶Examples: As a witness to an oath: *Iliad* III 267-280, not completing the punishment immediately: *Iliad* IV 158-168, giving a favorable sign to the Greeks: *Iliad* VIII 245-252. ³¹⁷*αικελιος, αναλκις, απτολεμος, κακος.*

³¹⁸*αγηνωρ, αρετη, αριστευω, εξοχος, οτρυνω.* ³¹⁹See also Wissmann (1997), Chapter 2, for a discussion of cowardice. ³²⁰Examples: Agamemnon to Odysseus and Diomedes: *Iliad* IV 333-373, Diomedes to Agamemnon: *Iliad* IX 31-36, Paris and Diomedes: *Iliad* XI 369-395. ³²¹See D2 on p. 25. ³²²Examples: Nestor before the battle: *Iliad* II 336-371, Diomedes replies to Idaios: *Iliad* VII 398-404, Diomedes as wounded: *Iliad* XIV 109-133. ³²³According to Wilson (1996), Diomedes speaks briefly and sharply in *Iliad* VIII, because he tends toward arrogance. ³²⁴Examples: the introduction to Diomedes's triumphant raid: *Iliad* V 85-94, Diomedes withstanding as the last: *Iliad* VIII 137-150, Diomedes to attack first: *Iliad* VIII 253-256.

rative Delta tradition.³²⁵ Yet everything seems to indicate that Helen is a defenseless victim within it. In a very typical Delta passage, Nestor calls on the Greeks to take revenge “for Helen’s fears and sighs.” The view of the Ionian Epsilon tradition that Helen voluntarily allowed herself to be kidnapped by the beautiful Paris does not fit into the fairy tale of Helen’s abduction. In it, it is Paris and the Trojans who are false and corrupt.³²⁶

Dh8 **Odysseus, the brave herald and companion of Diomedes**

It is due to the type scene of the brave scout (see Chapter 7) that Odysseus has grown from a herald to a courageous hero. He often forms a duo with Diomedes,³²⁷ the other brave antihero in the fairy tale of Helen’s abduction.³²⁸

Dh9 **The type scene of the brave scout**

It is mainly Odysseus and secondly Diomedes, who are closely associated with the type scene of the brave scout. For example, Odysseus visits Helen in Troy, disguised as a beggar.³²⁹ However, also the ruse with the Trojan horse, in which Helen tries to deceive the Greeks,³³⁰ the negotiation with Odysseus and Menelaos about Helen in Troy, and the *Doloneia*³³¹ are examples of that type scene. That anchors the type scene of the brave scout within Helen’s fairy tale. On the other hand, Priam’s visit to the Greek ship camp within the compassion fairy tale (see Chapter 5) is also an example of this type scene.³³²

Dh10 **Agamemnon, the leader who is outclassed in the councils**

Although Agamemnon is the supreme leader, he is still outclassed in the council of war by the brave antiheroes Diomedes and Odysseus. They

³²⁵See Austin (2008) for an in-depth discussion of Helen and whether she is guilty. ³²⁶Examples: revenge for Helen’s fears and sighs: *Iliad* II 354-356, Helen on the ramparts: *Iliad* III 129-142, about Helen’s return to Menelaos: *Iliad* VII 347- 364. ³²⁷In *Iliad* IV 336-373, Odysseus and Diomedes are taunted by Agamemnon; in *Iliad* VIII 91-96, Diomedes enlists the help of Odysseus; in *Iliad* X 227-579, they undertake an espionage tour in the Trojan camp together; in *Iliad* XI 312-319, Oysseus enlists the help of Diomedes; and in the *Little Iliad* (Evelyn-White 1995), they kidnap the Palladium (a wooden statue of Athene) from Troy together. ³²⁸Examples: as a negotiator in Troy: *Iliad* III 199-224, demarcating an arena for the duel between Paris and Menelaos: *Iliad* III 314-317, as a wounded warrior: *Iliad* XIV 82-109. ³²⁹Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*. ³³⁰*Odyssey* IV 265-289. ³³¹Chapter X of the *Iliad*, in which Dolon is killed by Odysseus and Diomedes during a nightly espionage mission. ³³²Examples: Odysseus and Menelaos in Troy: *Iliad* III 199-224, the duo Diomedes/Odysseus in the *Doloneia*: *Iliad* 222-247, Helen on Odysseus: *Odyssey* IV 240-258.

realize how important it is not to lose heart. Indeed, recommending flight kills more warriors than holding out bravely.³³³

Dh11 The impending fall of Troy

That Troy must fall follows from the prediction of Kalchas and from the fact that they are violating the treaty they made with the Greeks before the duel between Menelaos and Paris. The total destruction of Troy is the only appropriate punishment. Therefore, Agamemnon prays to Zeus that darkness does not fall until he has thrown down the blackened roof of Priam's house.³³⁴

Dh12 Paris and Pandaros, cowardly archers

Paris³³⁵ is the epitome of the cowardly, treacherous Trojan. He does not dare to fight with a spear in the forefront. He prefers to use a bow to shoot arrows from a great distance, from hidden positions. In doing so, he only injures the Greeks instead of killing them. Pandaros, the mythological predecessor of Paris, still performs in the *Iliad* as a Lycian who has characteristics similar to those of Paris.³³⁶

Dh13 Nestor, the captain who takes care of practical matters

Nestor has the role with the Greeks that Hektor has with the Trojans. He sets up sentries and proposes to Agamemnon what actions to take, such as preparing the meal or summoning the army. Agamemnon has the highest esteem for Nestor. Nestor may once have been the eldest son of the clan leader in the narrative Delta tradition who later merged with the Nestor of the Mykenaian Alpha tradition. This made him a very old warrior on the battlefield.³³⁷

Dh14 Antenor, the righteous among the Trojans

Antenor³³⁸ is the exception that confirms the rule of Trojan dishonesty. He receives Odysseus and Menelaos on their visit to Troy as negotiators, and he can prevent Menelaos from being killed during that visit.

³³³Examples: Diomedes replies when Agamemnon is silent: *Iliad* VII 398-407, Diomedes when Agamemnon suggests fleeing: *Iliad* IX 16-51, Odysseus and Diomedes when Agamemnon again proposes to flee: *Iliad* XIV 64-133. ³³⁴Examples: Kalchas: *Iliad* II 308-330, Agamemnon: *Iliad* II 411-420, Diomedes: *Iliad* VII 399-402. ³³⁵According to Suter (1987), the Aphrodite/Paris/Helen trio is of Vedic origin. In Blondé (2019, p. 102), it is argued that Paris is the prototype of a cowardly archer and a corruption of Pandaros or Pandion. ³³⁶Examples: Paris with Helen during the battle: *Iliad* VI 321-328, Paris's refusal to relinquish Helen: *Iliad* VII 354-364, Paris hits Machaon with an arrow: *Iliad* XI 504-515. ³³⁷Examples: before battle: *Iliad* II 336-368, before nightfall: *Iliad* IX 52-79, distraught: *Iliad* XIV 52-63. ³³⁸See also Danek (2006).

He also points out during the council of war that the battle is the breach of a sacred treaty. Because of his justice, Antenor is spared³³⁹ during the destruction of Troy.^{340,341}

Dh15 Wounded fighters and the physician Machaon

In the first part of Helen's fairy tale, in which the Greeks are oppressed, the bravest warriors drop out one by one due to injuries.³⁴² Fortunately, Machaon is there to take care of the injured Greeks. The pattern of the wounded fighters culminates in the meeting with Agamemnon, Nestor, Odysseus, and Diomedes,³⁴³ in which Diomedes proposes to go to the battlefield, even though they are wounded.³⁴⁴

Dh16 Snakes as inauspicious omens

Even though the fairy tale about the compassion of Achilles also contains a snake³⁴⁵ and birds that serve as an omen, the snake still seems characteristic of Helen's fairy tale. We have the snake in the plane tree in Aulis, the snake that bites Philoktetes in Lemnos, and the sea snakes that kill the priest Laokoön.³⁴⁶

Dh17 Menelaos, the hero whose wife was abducted

In Helen's fairy tale, Menelaos has a more developed role compared to the anger fairy tale. Menelaos is now the warrior whose wife has been abducted by a Trojan. From this evolved narrative Delta role, Menelaos is probably reconciled with an important Mykenaian Alpha hero: the husband of a daughter of Zeus and the brother of Agamemnon.³⁴⁷

These were the specific oral characteristics of Helen's fairy tale. In the next section, the reconstruction is defended.

³³⁹Fitzgerald (1983), Virgil, *Aeneid* I 242. ³⁴⁰According to West (1997) and Blondé (2020, p. 41), the saving of a righteous individual during the destruction of a city is an Eastern oral characteristic (Gd8, Appendix Overview of all oral characteristics). The beautiful, special woman in the city (Helen, Gd9), and the wickedness of the people in the city (the Trojans, Gd2) are also part of an Eastern destruction story (Blondé 2020, p. 36). This indicates that Helen's fairy tale may have had intercontinental allure. ³⁴¹Examples: Hosting Odysseus and Menelaos: *Iliad* III 203-207, when swearing an oath: *Iliad* III 261-266, on the oath: *Iliad* VII 347-353. ³⁴²ελλκος, ουταζω, ουταω. ³⁴³*Iliad* XIV 1-134. ³⁴⁴Examples: Machaon taking care of Menelaos: *Iliad* IV 198-219, Paris shoots Diomedes in the foot: *Iliad* XI 369-378, Paris shoots Machaon in the shoulder: *Iliad* XI 504-507. ³⁴⁵See D39 on p. 36. ³⁴⁶Examples: at Aulis: *Iliad* II 303-322, Philoktetes: *Iliad* II 718-725, Laokoön: Evelyn-White (1995), *Fall of Troy*. ³⁴⁷Examples: Menelaos asks the Greeks and the Trojans to reconcile: *Iliad* III 96, Menelaos is in Troy to negotiate for Helen: *Iliad* III 206, Menelaos is bleeding due to an attempt to kill him: *Iliad* IV 150.

Defense of the Reconstruction of Helen's Fairy Tale

Four differences with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are defended in this section: Zeus, who wants to punish the Trojans instead of favoring them; the replacement of Pandaros with Paris; the exchange of Nestor and the physician Machaon regarding who was injured; and the replacement of the wooden Trojan horse with a living horse.

The Main Theme: Zeus Punishing Injustice

The main theme of Helen's fairy tale, namely, Zeus punishing the injustice of the Trojans, is not properly reflected in the *Iliad*. Zeus constantly favors the Trojans, instead of punishing them.³⁴⁸ Moreover, the fall of Troy lies after the end of the *Iliad*, in the Trojan Cycle. This makes it seem like the Trojans can break their oaths with impunity.

There is a twofold reason for Zeus's favoring the Trojans in the *Iliad*. First, Zeus promised Thetis to let the Trojans prevail in battle, following the logic of the anger fairy tale. Second, Troy is the principal city in the Aeolian Gamma tradition, in which Trojans always make pious sacrifices. Zeus, according to that tradition, sits on the Ida and supports the Trojans.

Yet we still find the logic of Helen's fairy tale in the *Iliad*, in the form of Agamemnon (Nestor in the reconstruction), who predicts the revenge of Zeus in a ten verses³⁴⁹ long speech to Menelaos when hit by an arrow of Pandaros (Paris in the reconstruction). This justifies a Zeus who has the ultimate plan to punish the Trojans, even without the intervention of his wife, Hera.

Paris and Pandaros: A De-duplication

As shown by this reconstruction, Pandaros, who is killed by Diomedes in *Iliad* V, has been replaced by Paris. The latter is, after all, hidden within the ramparts of Troy between chapters III and VI of the *Iliad*. In the book

³⁴⁸If Zeus has to intervene to the disadvantage of the Trojans, it is usually under pressure from Hera. However, the ongoing quarrel between Hera and Zeus is an oral characteristic of the Aeolian Gamma tradition (G41). ³⁴⁹*Iliad* IV 158-168. *Still the oaths and the blood of the lambs shall not be called vain, the unmixed wine poured and the right hands we trusted. If the Olympian at once has not finished this matter, late will he bring it to pass, and they must pay a great penalty, with their own heads, and with their women, and with their children. For I know this thing well in my heart, and my mind knows it. There will come a day when sacred Ilion shall perish, and Priam, and the people of Priam of the strong ash spear, and Zeus son of Kronos who sits on high, the sky-dwelling, himself shall shake the gloom of his aegis over all of them in anger for this deception.*

on the European Beta tradition, it was already decided that Pandaros, Paris, and Pandion are corruptions of the same character.³⁵⁰ All three are archers guided by a great hero to the heat of the battle: Pandaros by Aineias,³⁵¹ Paris by Hektor,³⁵² and Pandion by Aias.³⁵³ Thus, all three portray the archetype of the cowardly archer in the corresponding type scene of the European Beta tradition.³⁵⁴ They shoot their arrows from hidden positions, and they can only injure but not kill their target.³⁵⁵ That these similarities are no coincidence is also evident from the strong similarities between passage V 280-287, with Pandaros in the lead role, and passage XI 369-392, in which Paris performs.³⁵⁶ For Pandaros, we read:³⁵⁷

So he spoke, and balanced the spear far-shadowed, and threw it, and struck the son of Tydeus in the shield, and the flying bronze spearhead was driven clean through and into the corselet, and the shining son of Lykaon cried aloud in a great voice: "Now are you struck clean through the middle, and I think that you will not hold up for much longer; you have given me great claim to glory." Then strong Diomedes answered, not frightened before him: "You did not hit me, you missed."

Diomedes then kills Pandaros with the spear. For Paris, we have this:³⁵⁸

The arrow escaping his hand flew not vain but struck the flat of the right foot, and the shaft driven clean through stuck in the ground. Then Alexandros, laughing merrily, sprang from his hiding-place and cried out his speech of triumph: "You are hit, and my arrow flew not in vain. How I wish I had struck you in the depth of the belly and torn the life from you. So the Trojans, who shudder before you as bleating goats do before a lion, would have got their wind again after disaster."

Then not at all frightened strong Diomedes answered him: "You archer, foul fighter, lovely in your locks, eyer of young girls. If you were to make trial of me in strong combat with weapons your bow would do you no good at all, nor your close-showered arrows. Now you have scratched the flat of my foot, and even boast of this. I care no more than if a witless child or a woman had struck me; this is the blank weapon of a useless man, no fighter. But if one is struck by me only a little, that is far different, the stroke is a

³⁵⁰Blondé (2019), p. 102. ³⁵¹*Iliad* V 166-240. ³⁵²*Iliad* VI 313-342 and *Iliad* VI 503 - VII 16. ³⁵³*Iliad* XII 365-372. ³⁵⁴Blondé (2019), p. 100-103. ³⁵⁵Pandaros: *Iliad* IV 112-140, *Iliad* V 283-287, Paris: *Iliad* XI 369-390, *Iliad* XI 505-518. ³⁵⁶West (2016) also compares these passages, but less completely. ³⁵⁷*Iliad* V 280-287. ³⁵⁸*Iliad* XI 376-392.

sharp thing and suddenly lays him lifeless.”

The similarities between the two passages are as follows:

1. Diomedes is the terror of all Trojans.
2. An archer attacks Diomedes.
3. Archer: “You are affected.”
4. Archer: “I achieve great fame with the Trojans.”
5. Diomedes replies *fearlessly*.³⁵⁹
6. Diomedes: “I was not killed. I’m not counting this.”
7. Diomedes’s spear is deadly.

The death of Achilles by Paris and Apollo at the Skaian Gate,³⁶⁰ with Paris shooting the heel of Achilles,³⁶¹ has similarities with this passage, except that it is deadly for Achilles. Another important point of similarity between Paris and Pandaros is that, during a solemn gathering of Greeks and Trojans, both hit the Greek hero around whom the ceremony revolves. For Paris, it is about the marriage between Achilles and Polyxena,³⁶² and for Pandaros, about the duel between Menelaos and Paris in the *Iliad*.³⁶³ This justifies the choice to turn Pandaros into the more famous Paris in a simplified fairy tale.

Nestor and Machaon: An Interchange

Another difference between the *Iliad* and the reconstruction is that Nestor leads the injured physician Machaon away in the *Iliad*. Conversely, in the reconstruction, Machaon helps the injured Nestor inside the ramparts. The basic argument for this switch is to follow the most obvious logic: physicians accompany injured people, not the other way around.

A possible explanation for this mix-up is that Nestor has a double reason for entering the Greek stronghold. According to the anger fairy tale, Nestor is needed there to persuade Achilles to fight, with the help of Patroklos and perhaps also Machaon. According to Helen’s fairy tale, Nestor must

³⁵⁹*Iliad* V 286 = *Iliad* XI 384 = *τον δ' ου ταρβησας προσεφη κρατερος Διομηδης*. ³⁶⁰*Iliad* XXI 277-278; *Iliad* XXII 359-360; Fitzgerald (1983), Virgil, *Aeneid* VI 57. ³⁶¹Way (1913), Quintus Smyrnaeus, *The Fall of Troy* III 70. ³⁶²Frazer (1966), Dares Phrygius 34. ³⁶³*Iliad* III 1 - IV 219.

be present at the meeting with all the wounded fighters. Nestor does not have to be hurt, according to the anger fairy tale. In addition, Nestor is an old man outside the narrative Delta tradition. They can more easily afford to be safe and sound within the Greek stronghold.

In the logic of reconstruction, Nestor is also one of the foremost and bravest warriors. They must have a good excuse to leave the battlefield. Injury provides that excuse, while helping an injured person can be left to a lesser warrior. After all, it is a logical choice to build the tension in the story by having one of the bravest and most respected warriors injured.

The Trojan Horse: Fused Symbolism

According to the *Little Iliad*³⁶⁴ (a story of the Trojan Cycle that follows the *Iliad*) and the *Odyssey*, the Greeks build a large wooden horse in which the bravest Greeks hide. Subsequently, the rest of the Greeks burn their huts and sail away. Thinking the war is over, the Trojans triumphantly bring the wooden horse into Troy. At night, however, the Greeks get out of the horse and kill the Trojans.

This version does not fit well with the realism of the reconstructed fairy tales, partly because the Greeks do not have the chance to sail away. The Trojan Horse myth may well have developed starting from the narrative Delta tradition. In any case, the myth seems to have evolved mainly in the Aeolian Gamma tradition. In Blondé (2020, p. 20-21), all the parallels with the *Doloneia* (containing the horses of Rhesos) and the man-eating horses of the Thracian Diomedes were discussed. Troy, as a whole, is also strongly associated with horses in the Aeolian Gamma tradition. Yet, the Aeolian Gamma tradition and the narrative Delta tradition are probably not the only origins of the Trojan Horse. Rand (2015), for example, points to the battering ram as the origin, which fits well with the fact that the Trojans tear down the city wall above the gate to bring in the horse.³⁶⁵

In Chapter 7, it will be shown that the myth of the wooden horse has developed partly from the type scene of the brave scout. It is associated with wagons or carts pulled by horses or mules. Brave scouts may also have hidden themselves in such a cart, which justifies the choice of an ordinary live horse in the reconstruction. In the next chapter, the fairy tale about Achilles's compassion is reconstructed.

³⁶⁴Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*. ³⁶⁵Fitzgerald (1983), *Virgil, Aeneid* II 234.

Chapter 5

The Compassion of Achilles

The third fairy tale, about Achilles's compassion, is best hidden in the *Iliad* and is, thus, the least well known. Unlike the previous two fairy tales, the oral characteristics of the compassion fairy tale are not central to the *Iliad* or the Trojan Cycle. Yet, there are actually significantly more oral characteristics that characterize this narrative Delta fairy tale and distinguish it from the other fairy tales. They vary from Hektor and his family to knees and tree species. This fairy tale also assumes two strongholds, belonging to Greeks and Trojans, surrounded by a wall of earth and wood and a ditch.

Fairy Tale 3: The Compassion of Achilles (A Reconstruction)

From time immemorial, the Greeks and the Trojans have been enemies. They often fought bitterly on the battlefield. The Trojans were numerous, for Priam, their king, had many sons by different wives. Hektor, the chief of the Trojan warriors and the eldest son of Priam, was born to Hekabe, Priam's legal wife. Hektor was honored by all the Trojans because, without him, they could not protect Troy. Despite Hektor's brave actions, the Trojans usually fell short in the fight against the Greeks.¹

Achilleus was the most excellent warrior of the Greeks. He was known far and wide for his compassion in battle.² When one of the Trojans fell into his hands, he restrained himself and his fellows from killing the enemy. He bound the Trojans with willow branches or chariot belts and brought them to

¹Introductory reconstruction. ²See, for example, *Iliad* VI 414-418: Achilles held back from stripping the dead Eëtion of his armor, and he cast a burial mound for him.

the stronghold of the Greeks.³ There he released them again when the nobles of the Trojans came with a high ransom to buy their sons free.⁴ When he killed a Trojan on the battlefield, he honored the corpse and returned it to the parents and relatives so they could weep for the corpse on the death bed. The Trojan nobles were not quick to fail to pay a high ransom, for Troy was rich in numerous treasures of bronze and gold.⁵

Again, the battle had ignited around the ramparts of Troy. After a dispute over women and property and lusting for wealth and fame, the Greeks attempted to conquer the town. For the first time, Patroklos fought on the battlefield, the youngest son of Peleus and a brother of Achilles born of the same mother. He was the darling of all Greeks and Achilles in particular. For years, Patroklos begged to go to battle in his father's armor. Peleus was old and sick, but he kept his armor hidden from Patroklos all this time. Now that Patroklos was finally an adult, he reluctantly handed over his weapons. Peleus had an ominous feeling about it and predicted that Patroklos would be killed in battle. He urged Patroklos not to fight in the front ranks and not to engage in duels. In addition, he had to stay far from Hektor, the best of the Trojan fighters.⁶

The Greeks advanced to Troy. Polites, Priam's son, trusting the speed of his feet, watched for the Trojans at the top of the burial mound, where the old Aisyetes lay buried. There he spied whether the Greeks were advancing from their stronghold. The Trojans were gathered in Priam's house, all together, young and old, when Polites rushed in.

Polites spoke to all. "Trojans, give advice. The Greeks are advancing to our town. I have already taken part in many fights of men, but I have never seen such a large, such a brave army."

Then Hektor spoke to Priam. "Old king, endless words are always beloved to you, as in the old days in peacetime. But now a persistent war has started. I advise you to do as follows: gather the army of the Trojans, and let each one give orders to the men over which he rules and lead them to battle."⁷

Immediately, Hektor dissolved the assembly, and all rushed to arms. All the gates were opened, and the soldiers poured out, the foot soldiers and the charioteers. There is a steep burial mound before the town called Batieia,

³*Iliad* XXI 27-42: Twelve unnamed Trojans and Lykaon, among others, were once bound by Achilles.

⁴*Iliad* II 229-231: Thersites refers to the many ransom prizes that Agamemnon receives. ⁵Introductory reconstruction. ⁶Introductory reconstruction following the type scene of fame for the father in the European Beta tradition (Blondé 2019). "Patroklos" is Greek for "fame to the father." See also *Iliad* XI 716-720. ⁷Reconstruction of *Iliad* II 786-806: Only the goddess Iris speaks here in the guise of Polites.

some way in the plain; all around it is open and flat. There, the Trojans deployed their army.⁸

Thus, the war broke out between the Greeks and the Trojans. After a short battle, the Trojans were chased from the battlefield and locked within their stronghold. As they fled within the ramparts, they jostled to be the first to get through the gate. Many Trojans jumped into the ditch to escape the Greeks. Achilles sprang after them to pull them out. Whomever he caught, he handed over to his companions. They were taken with their hands tied behind their backs to the stronghold of the Greeks.⁹ Among them were many sons of Priam. The Greeks surrounded Troy. They camped in the plain and besieged the ramparts during the day. Early in the morning, the Trojans gathered to spread across the ramparts and stop the attacks of the Greeks.¹⁰

Hektor was tired of being trapped inside the town. In the morning, he gathered all the fighters in the market square.¹¹ Hekabe, his loving mother, came up to him with Laodike, her daughter, and spoke,¹² “My child, why do you have all the warriors here on the market? Soon the Greeks resume their attack on the ramparts. Ah, I am very concerned about the fate of us all. Soon the Greeks will batter the gate and climb over the ramparts, much to the sorrow of the Trojans. Let the fighters quickly take up their position on the ramparts.”¹³

Hektor answered her, “Dear mother, don’t worry so much. We are going to venture outside the ramparts to drive out the Greeks. When the Greeks are chased out into the plain, we return inside the ramparts.¹⁴ Help me now, and bring wine here so that we can shed it to Zeus, the mighty thunder god.”¹⁵

Immediately, Hekabe left to get the wine, her knees trembling, for she was terrified that the Trojans would be killed outside the ramparts. After the wine was poured, the warriors left¹⁶ for the Skaian gate, which gave access to the plain.

There, Andromache came running to Hektor, his caring wife, daughter of the brave Eëtion. Eëtion had once been killed by Achilles in an earlier encounter between the Greeks and the Trojans. Achilles killed Eëtion, but

⁸*Iliad* II 807-815. ⁹Reconstruction. See also *Iliad* XXI 25-32, in which the Trojans are taken out of the river and handcuffed to the ships, and *Iliad* XXI 526-XXII 4, in which the Trojans crowd to enter the ramparts of Troy. ¹⁰Reconstruction. ¹¹Reconstruction. See also *Iliad* XVIII 285-287. ¹²*Iliad* VI 251-253. ¹³Reconstruction. See also *Iliad* VI 431-434, in which Andromache gives Hektor that advice. ¹⁴Reconstruction according to *Iliad* XVI 87-96. ¹⁵*Iliad* VI 258-268: Hektor refuses to shed wine because his hands are dirty. ¹⁶Reconstruction. See also *Iliad* VI 258-279. There is no question of shaking knees, but of pouring wine.

did not rob him of his weapons; reverence restrained him. He burned him with his precious armor, cast a grave mound for him, and planted an elm above it. He took Andromache's brothers prisoner that same day but released them for an immeasurable ransom.

She came to meet Hektor with their little boy in her arms. Hektor called him Skamandrios, but the others Astyanax, savior of the town. For Hektor protected Troy alone. Standing close to Hektor, she spoke, "Bold one, your courage will kill you. You have no pity for your innocent child, and for me, wretched one, who will soon be stolen from you. Hektor, you are a father to me, a beloved mother, a brother; you are my strong husband. Have pity now, and stay here in the stronghold. Do not make your child an orphan and your wife a widow. Position your soldiers at the fig tree, where the town is the most accessible, and the rampart, the lowest."

The brave Hektor spoke to her,¹⁷ "Wife, don't stop me now. I want to go. Do not be a bad omen here in our town."¹⁸ What you said is very dear to me, too. But when I see the Trojans and their wives, I am ashamed to stay far from the battlefield as a coward. I have learned to be brave all the time and to fight in the front rows on the battlefield, gaining great fame for my father and myself.¹⁹ But I will consult a bird augur as to what we must do before we go out of the town."

Then Helenos, son of Priam, the best of the bird augurs, went to Hektor and spoke, "On your shoulders rests the battle of the Trojans against the Greeks, Hektor. You always excel in every aspect: in war and in council. But let the soldiers here wait a little longer in front of the gate, and let all the women gather in the sanctuary of Zeus, which can close with sturdy gates. They must take the valuables from all the houses and bring them into the sanctuary. They should make rich sacrifices to Zeus and pray for the success of our plan."²⁰

Immediately, Hektor rushed through the streets of Troy to gather all the women. They left their homes with a fearful heart, for they were afraid that the end of Troy was near. They brought valuables to offer Zeus in the hope that he would feel sorry for the town. Thus they gathered within the sanctuary.²¹

Kassandra, the prettiest of Priam's daughters, wailed loudly. Her voice sounded all over town,²² "This I know, and this is how it will be: Once the day

¹⁷*Iliad* VI 393-434. ¹⁸*Iliad* XXIV 218-219: Priam speaks these words to his wife, Hekabe. ¹⁹*Iliad* VI 441-446. ²⁰*Iliad* VI 75-92. ²¹Reconstruction. See also *Iliad* VI 253-311. ²²Fitzgerald (1983), Virgil, *Aeneid* II 246: Kassandra makes disastrous predictions, but she is never believed.

will come when holy Troy and the people of Priam will perish.²³ Many brave sons of Priam will be killed in battle. I mourn for them and for Hekabe and Priam themselves. The men are killed; the women are carried away²⁴ and sold into slavery. The children are thrown down from the high ramparts.²⁵ Oh, may I die before that day dawns.”²⁶ All the women wept and mourned Hektor while he was still alive. For they did not believe that he would turn back from the battlefield and escape from the warlike hands of the Greeks.²⁷

When all the women were gathered in the sanctuary, Hektor rushed back to the Trojan warriors. But halfway through, he was stopped by Priam, who was aware of Hektor’s plan. He was concerned and urged Hektor to be careful,²⁸ “If you have driven the Greeks out of the town, return. If the thundering Zeus allows you to achieve fame, do not desire to continue to fight with the brave Greeks. Do not lead your men, proud of war and manslaughter, crushing the Greeks to the gates of the Greek town.”²⁹

Hektor replied, “Dear father, do not hinder me on my way to battle any longer. My goal is to drive the Greeks away from the town; that task is difficult enough. If I succeed, all Trojans will honor me. I will thereby achieve great fame for myself and for you, my father.”³⁰

After these words, Hektor hurried on to the gate, where the warriors were waiting. He spoke encouragingly to them, “Do not let your fighting spirit diminish, and do not turn back to your beloved wives, until we have driven the Greeks from the town to the plain.³¹ We fight to protect the town and save our women and children from destruction.”³² Loudly, all the Trojans cheered him.

Outside the ramparts, the Greeks prepared to raid the ramparts of Troy again. They were already dressed in their armor and were just walking up the ramparts when suddenly the Trojan gatekeepers opened the gates. The Trojans stormed out with a terrifying scream. Bewildered and confused, the Greeks also set up their ranks.³³

At the level of the oak that stood before the Skaian gate, some way out in the plain, the two armies met.³⁴ Shields and spears collided. There was wailing and shouting from those who killed and those who died. The blood flowed on the earth.³⁵ Of all the warriors, there was none that raged like Patroklos. He fought at the forefront and killed numerous Trojans. He

²³*Iliad* VI 447-449: Hektor says this to Andromache. ²⁴*Iliad* XXII 62-67. ²⁵*Iliad* XXIV 728-736.

²⁶*Iliad* VI 464-465. ²⁷*Iliad* VI 500-502. ²⁸Reconstruction. ²⁹*Iliad* XVI 87-92: Achilles asks Patroklos to return to the ships in time. ³⁰Reconstruction. See also *Iliad* VI 444-446. ³¹Reconstruction.

³²*Iliad* XXI 586-588: Agenor says this to Achilles. ³³Reconstruction. ³⁴Reconstruction. ³⁵*Iliad* VIII 61-65.

achieved great fame for himself and for Peleus, his father.³⁶ As long as it was daytime and the sun was high, the weapons of both sides struck their target. But when daylight waned, Zeus turned fate. He thundered loudly and sent a flash of lightning to the army of the Greeks. The Greeks lost the courage to continue fighting. No longer were they favored by Zeus, the almighty.³⁷ They turned and fled to their town.

The Trojans chased them. They did not think of re-entering Trojan town and re-occupying the ramparts. Hektor cried out in a loud voice, “Brave Trojans, let none of you stay behind here by the oak or return within the ramparts. Zeus is on our side, to the great disaster of the Greeks. Now all give chase and kill whoever comes within reach of your spear.”

So he spoke, and all the Trojans cheered him. They ran away from Troy as fast as they could, killing the last man of the Greeks every time.³⁸

Whoever had the fastest feet could escape the flight through the plain; the slowest were killed. But Patroklos had bold intentions. Displeased, he spoke to himself,³⁹ “Ah me, when I flee, trusting the speed of my feet. That way, I will not achieve fame for myself and for my father. But why does the heart within me debate on these things? Anyone who does not fight the enemy in the forefront on the battlefield is a coward who is of no use.⁴⁰ The Greeks will speak of me as a good-for-nothing boy, not yet ready for the war.”

Immediately, Patroklos ceased flight and waited for the Trojans, with spear in hand. But Zeus still did not favor the Greeks. Once again, he sent a fierce flash of lightning to the Greeks. Delighted at this sign, Hektor approached Patroklos. Patroklos saw him coming and threw his spear with a strong swing. But he missed, and the spear shook itself into the ground at Hektor’s feet.

Hektor shouted triumphantly to him,⁴¹ “Patroklos, you thought you were going to destroy our town, rob the women of Troy of their day of liberty, and abduct them to your town. You fool! To protect Troy, we go to war, and I, myself, the best spearman of the Trojans, wards off from it the day of slavery. Miserable one, what did your courage benefit you, and the words of Peleus, who, when you left, certainly told you, ‘Do not turn back, Patroklos, until you have killed many Trojans in the front ranks and destroyed the town of the Trojans.’ He certainly spoke to you in this way, and your foolish heart believed him.”⁴²

³⁶Reconstruction. ³⁷*Iliad* VIII 66-78. ³⁸Reconstruction. ³⁹Reconstruction. ⁴⁰*Iliad* XI 404-410: Odysseus speaks to himself. *Iliad* XXI 553-567: Agenor speaks to himself. There is no fame here for the father: neither for Odysseus, nor for Agenor. ⁴¹Reconstruction. ⁴²*Iliad* XVI 830-842.

At close range, Hektor threw his spear and hit Patroklos in the belly near the navel. Wailing, Patroklos dropped to his knees. A dark mist came over his eyes, and he fell forward into the dust.⁴³ Hektor pushed the body on its back with his heel and pulled the bronze spear from the wound.⁴⁴

The Trojans who saw it shouted loudly – all,⁴⁵ except Poulydamas, Panthoös's son. He looked at the past and the future. He was friends with Hektor, and both were born on the same night. Mindful of the welfare of all, he spoke, "Hektor, we are already halfway in the plain between the towns of the Greeks and the Trojans. Now it is time for us to return to our town and see what the Greeks are up to,⁴⁶ because I am concerned that they will take revenge for the death of Patroklos.⁴⁷ He was the youngest son of Peleus and the darling of the Greeks.⁴⁸ If we continue to fight with them, we will not complete the same way to our town safely, but we will leave many Trojans behind, slain by the Greeks with the bronze."⁴⁹

Furious, Hektor answered, "Poulydamas, how did such a word come across your lips? Can you not see that Zeus is on our side and wishes the defeat of the Greeks?⁵⁰ This day will bring me great fame with a victory over the Greeks.⁵¹ Continue all with the battle to pursue and kill the Greeks." Thus spoke Hektor, and all the Trojans cheered him.⁵²

It had not escaped Achilles's notice that his most beloved brother had been killed by Hektor.⁵³ When he saw Patroklos sink to the ground, a mist spread over his eyes, and he no longer held out to flee for the Trojans.⁵⁴ Animated with anger and sorrow, he roared loudly. His voice was heard all over the plain. All the Greeks stopped running and looked behind them at what had happened. The Trojans trembled from the loud roar.

With fire in his eyes, Achilles rushed toward Hektor, the spear at the ready.⁵⁵ But Hektor ducked into the crowd of his fellows; Achilles could not reach him.⁵⁶ The Greeks turned and rejoined the ranks. They pushed back the Trojans. So they captured the corpse of Patroklos. He still had his armor on, for Hektor had not had a chance to steal it.⁵⁷ The Greeks pulled Patroklos out of reach of the spears and laid him on a bier. Lamenting, his friends surrounded him. Achilles joined them, shedding hot tears when he

⁴³Summary of *Iliad* XVI 787-822. ⁴⁴*Iliad* XVI 862-863. ⁴⁵Reconstruction. ⁴⁶*Iliad* XVIII 249-256.

⁴⁷*Iliad* XIII 744-745: Yesterday's defeat instead of the death of Patroklos. ⁴⁸Reconstruction. ⁴⁹*Iliad* XII 223-227. ⁵⁰Summary of *Iliad* XII 230-236. ⁵¹*Iliad* XIII 828: Hektor says this to Aias.

⁵²Summary of *Iliad* XII 244-251. ⁵³Reconstruction. ⁵⁴*Iliad* XX 419-422: Hektor cannot bear to keep his distance from Achilles, when he sees his youngest brother Polydoros clutching his intestines.

⁵⁵Reconstruction. ⁵⁶*Iliad* XX 379-380. ⁵⁷Reconstruction.

saw his youngest brother lying on the bier, torn by the sharp bronze. Patroklos achieved great fame in battle, but his return he was not granted.⁵⁸

The dominance of the Greeks lasted only briefly, for Zeus sounded a loud thunderclap for the third time and sent a bolt of lightning to the town of the Greeks.⁵⁹ The Trojans took new courage and once again broke through the ranks of the Greeks. None of the Greeks could stand his ground any longer under the constant pressure of the Trojans, and they fled further to their town. They carried the bier with the corpse of Patroklos with them.

After the Greeks were chased away and fled to the last man within the gates of their stronghold,⁶⁰ the Trojans halted and gathered in a council of war. The wise Poulydamas spoke first, Panthoös's son. Thinking about their well-being, he began to speak,⁶¹ "Hektor, you are not accessible to other people's advice. To the one, the god gives talent for the work of war; to the other, the thundering Zeus puts wisdom in his heart. I will say what seems best to me.⁶² I propose to go to our town now and not wait for the divine dawn here in the plain beneath the ramparts of the Greek town. Until now, Achilles has shown himself generous to the Trojans in battle. But I don't think we can count on compassion now that Patroklos, his most beloved brother, has been killed. Overconfident as he is, he will not want to keep fighting in the plains, where Trojans and Greeks fight each other with equal opportunities, but he will want to fight again for the possession of our town and our women. If we heed my words, however painful, we would gather our forces in the marketplace during the night, while ramparts and high gates would protect the town. Early in the morning, we would occupy the ramparts, fully armed.⁶³ Priam's town is rich in gold and bronze; the houses are full of precious jewelry.⁶⁴ With that, we can make up for the mourning of the Greeks for Patroklos."⁶⁵

Hektor looked at him angrily and spoke. "Poulydamas, it no longer pleases me what you say there, you who advise us to be locked up again within the town. If you really proclaim this in earnest, then Zeus, himself, has robbed you of your mind. You fool, don't speak such thoughts anymore among the warriors, now that Zeus has granted me fame at the town of the Greeks. None of the Trojans will listen to you; I will not allow that. Rather, let's all do what I recommend. Now, take the supper in the plain, and all

⁵⁸*Iliad* XVIII 231-238. ⁵⁹*Iliad* VIII 75-76. ⁶⁰Reconstruction. See also *Iliad* XVIII 148-167 and *Iliad* XVIII 231-233. ⁶¹*Iliad* XVIII 245-253. ⁶²*Iliad* XIII 726-735. ⁶³Reconstruction. Gathering possessions is not in the *Iliad*, although Hektor seems to answer to it in *Iliad* XVIII 300-302. ⁶⁴*Iliad* XVIII 289-290: Hektor says that Troy used to be rich, but no longer is. ⁶⁵Reconstruction.

keep awake, and do not forget the watch. Anyone of the army who is unduly burdened by his property, let him gather it and divide it among the other Trojans. Better that they enjoy it than the Greeks! Tomorrow morning, when dawn comes, we will arm ourselves and unleash a fierce battle at the Greek ramparts. If Achilles is really angry, all the worse for him if he desires to fight.”⁶⁶

Hektor had just spoken these words when an eagle approached high in the sky on the left side of the battlefield, with a large, blood-red snake in its talons. The snake was still alive and struggled and did not give up the fight, but leaning back, he bit the bird by the neck in the chest.

Shrinking with pain, the eagle let the snake fall and threw it to the ground in the midst of the Trojans. A shiver ran through the men at the sight of that wriggling snake in their midst.

Then Poulydamas spoke. “Hektor, you always break me down in the assembly when I give sensible advice. You cannot bear that someone else expresses a different opinion, neither during a council nor during the war. Your power must always be supported. But believe me, it will happen like this if this bird was a sign to the Trojans: We will not return safely within the ramparts of Troy, but numerous Trojans will be killed by Achilles’s spear, fleeing across the plain. Our town will not be spared, either, but will perish after losing its best warriors. That is how a seer would interpret it, who clearly understands the signs, and he found an audience with the soldiers.”⁶⁷

Displeased, Hektor looked at him and spoke. “Poulydamas, surely you can think of advice better than this, you who urge me to forget the signs of Zeus, who promised us victory over the Greeks. Do you want me to obey birds? I don’t care about them, and it is the same to me whether they come flying from the left or the right. We listen to the counsel of the great Zeus, who rules over all people. We are guided by only one sign: to protect our town.”⁶⁸ Thus spoke Hektor, and the foolish Trojans cheered him, for Zeus robbed them of their minds. They approved of Hektor’s wicked counsel, but to Poulydamas’s wise proposal, no one listened.⁶⁹

The Trojans took supper in the plain. But Achilles ordered the Greeks to fetch wood to heat bathwater. Sentries were posted so that an attack by the powerfully armed Trojans would not overtake them.⁷⁰ The Greeks mourned the corpse of Patroklos all night long, most of all, Achilles. They put a

⁶⁶*Iliad* XVIII 284-307: Hektor speaks of the ships instead of the town of the Greeks. ⁶⁷*Iliad* XII 200-229: There is no question of Achilles. ⁶⁸*Iliad* XII 230-242. ⁶⁹*Iliad* XVIII 310-313: Athene robbed them of their reason, not Zeus. ⁷⁰*Iliad* XXIV 799-800: The Trojans set out sentries at Hektor’s burial.

large kettle on the fire to wash the clotted blood of Patroklos corpse. When the water boiled, they washed it and placed it on a bier. They covered him from head to foot with a white pall. Sighing heavily, Achilles spoke. “Ah, if only I had never been so generous to the Trojans when one of them fell into my hands. Hektor also showed no pity for you, Patroklos, but mercilessly killed you. We will bury you with honor, but not until I have brought here the weapons and head of Hektor, the proud hero who killed you. Many Trojans I will kill and slaughter at your stake, angry about your death. These include those whom I previously captured and brought here with tied hands. I will not give Hektor’s corpse to the flames of the pyre but to the dogs.” So he spoke. All night long, the cry for Patroklos of Achilles and of the Greeks echoed.⁷¹

Dawn appeared, and the Greeks prepared for battle again.⁷² In their midst, Achilles armed himself. His teeth were grinding, his eyes glittered with fiery radiance, and intolerable grief resided in his heart.

Filled with wrath against the Trojans, he put on his armor. “Come on, get all of you ready for a ruthless battle. Face the Trojans, and do not spare them. I would like to see if they dare to spend the night at the Greek town again. I suspect they will be more than happy to bend their knees to escape from our spear, far from the murderous battle.”⁷³

All the Greeks shouted aloud, and Thrasymedes and Antilochos opened the gates of the Greek town. A loud battle cry rose to heaven. All the Greeks rushed out, filled with anger. At the front, Achilles raged, eager to kill many Trojans.⁷⁴

The Trojans were also ready for battle. But when they saw Achilles, a frightened shudder took hold of them. No longer were they filled with fierce fighting spirit. Hektor stirred up the Trojans’ courage and incited them to battle.⁷⁵

He saw Lykaon, his half-brother, waiting and spoke, “Lykaon, where are your threats, when you were drinking wine with the princes of Troy and promised to fight against Achilles? When we chase the enemy in their flight, you fight in the forefront, but now you linger on the spot.”

Lykaon replied, “Hektor, why do you urge me to fight against my will with Achilles? He is a much stronger hero. Not for the first time would I now face Achilles. We fought each other before, and then I narrowly

⁷¹Adaptation of *Iliad* XVIII 314-355: The generosity of Achilles and the ruthlessness of Hektor are not explicitly mentioned here; nor are the dogs to whom Hektor’s corpse is fed. ⁷²Reconstruction according to *Iliad* XIX 1-2 and *Iliad* XIX 351-352. ⁷³*Iliad* XIX 68-73. ⁷⁴Reconstruction.

⁷⁵Reconstruction.

escaped death.⁷⁶ Achilles took me prisoner and chained me, but I could secretly escape and return within the ramparts of Troy.”⁷⁷

Soon, the two armies met. The first to be killed was Iphition, a son of Priam. Achilles hit him from afar, with a spear in the chest. He tumbled into the dust, and life left him. Then Achilles killed Helenos, the brother of Hektor, born of the same mother. He ran to avenge Iphition’s death, but Achilles took his life from nearby. Then the Trojans lost their courage and fled headlong. Loud were the screams of the Greeks who pursued and killed the Trojans.⁷⁸

Achilles chose Isos and Antipos for his prey, two of Priam’s sons, a bastard and a lawful son. This pair had once been caught by Achilles in a quarrel over cattle, and Achilles bound them with pliable willow branches. However, he released them for ransom. Now, Achilles hit Isos with his spear in the back, and he struck Antipos in the neck with the sword. He recognized them, but this time, he showed no pity.⁷⁹

Then, Achilles pursued Polydoros. Priam had forbidden him from fighting because he was the youngest of his sons and loved by him the most. But secretly, Polydoros had signed up, and now, he was racing among the foremost, trusting the speed of his feet. That cost him his life. Achilles thrust a spear right in his back. Wailing, he sank to his knees.⁸⁰

When Hektor saw his brother Polydoros sink to the ground, a mist spread over his eyes, and he went up to Achilles, swinging his sharp spear, inflamed with fiery rage.

As soon as Achilles saw him, he sprang up and shouted with joy, “Near is the man who has wounded me in the depths of my soul, who killed my youngest brother, loved the most by me of all the Greeks.” And he spoke with a grim look to Hektor, “Draw near, soon you will be caught in the snares of death.”⁸¹

Undeterred, Hektor spoke. “Achilles, do not think that you frighten me like a silly child with these words. I, myself, also understand the art of saying scornful and overconfident words. I know you are a great hero and I am much weaker than you. But this lies upon the knees of Zeus, whether I, being the weakest, will take your life by the throw of my spear. My spear too – believe me – has a sharp point.” And immediately, he swung his spear and threw it.⁸²

⁷⁶Adaptation of *Iliad* XX 79-94: It is Apollo, in the form of Lykaon, who incites Aineias to fight with Achilles. ⁷⁷Summary of *Iliad* XXI 34-44. ⁷⁸Reconstruction. ⁷⁹*Iliad* XI 101-112: It is Agamemnon who kills Isos and Antipos. ⁸⁰*Iliad* XX 407-417. ⁸¹*Iliad* XX 419-429. ⁸²*Iliad* XX 430-438.

But Achilles sprang aside and grazed the spear with his shield. Now Achilles swung his spear, but Hektor was afraid to wait. His courage failed him, and he took flight. Zeus thundered loudly to confirm the victory of the Greeks.⁸³ Achilles shouted in a threatening voice, “Now you have escaped death again, dog!”⁸⁴ Once before, I think, I put you to flight with my spear,⁸⁵ when you waited for me at the oak tree at the Skaian gate.⁸⁶ Then you did not look back on your flight, but you escaped within the ramparts of Troy as fast as your feet could bear you.⁸⁷ But close the destruction has now come to you. We will meet later, and I will certainly kill you if Zeus allows me to. Now I’m going to fight other Trojans, whoever comes within my reach.”⁸⁸

Achilles continued the pursuit and spotted Lykaon. Achilles spoke to himself in anger, “Damn! I see a great miracle before my eyes. One moment, the Trojans whom I killed will rise from the misty darkness, just as he was resurrected here. Once, I took him prisoner and took him to the stronghold of the Greeks. But now, he appears here again, alive and well. I want to see if he will also return from the dead after I pierce him with my spear.”⁸⁹

Overcome with fright, Lykaon stopped his flight and threw himself, wailing, at Achilles’s knees. “I pray you, Achilles, spare me, and have pity. I can get you a great deal of gold if you capture me and sell me for ransom. Ah, I must be hated by Zeus, who is now driving me in your hands for the second time. For a short life, my mother gave birth to me, Laotoë. She was one of Priam’s many wives. She is the mother of two sons, and both of them you will kill. One, you’ve already defeated in the front ranks: Polydoros, pierced by your sharp spear. And now, you will be my downfall here; for not, I fear, will I escape your hands. But one more thing I want to ask you: Don’t kill me, because I am not a son of the same mother as Hektor, who killed Patroklos.”⁹⁰

Thus, the son of Priam spoke to Achilles, but he heard an inexorable answer. “Fool, do not promise me a ransom; do not speak of it. Before the day of fate came for Patroklos, I was more inclined to spare the Trojans, taking many prisoners and selling them. Now, none will escape death, none of the Trojans, but certainly none of Priam’s sons. I will kill whoever Zeus hands over to me here before Troy. Patroklos had to die, too.”⁹¹

When Lykaon heard this, his knees slackened, and he lost courage. He released the spear and sat there, arms wide open. Achilles drew his sword

⁸³Reconstruction according to *Iliad* XX 438-447. ⁸⁴*Iliad* XX 448-449. ⁸⁵*Iliad* XX 187: This is Aineias fleeing from Achilles. ⁸⁶*Iliad* IX 352-355. ⁸⁷*Iliad* XX 190-191: Aineias escaped to the city of Lyrnessos, not Hektor to Troy. ⁸⁸*Iliad* XX 449-454. ⁸⁹*Iliad* XXI 49-62. ⁹⁰Summary of *Iliad* XXI 64-96. ⁹¹*Iliad* XXI 97-107.

and hit him in the collarbone next to the neck. Lykaon lay stretched forward on the ground, his blood soaking the earth. Achilles grabbed him by the foot and hurled him into the Skamandros, the river that ran along the battlefield.

He spoke with pompous words, “Lie there now among the fish, which will lick the blood from your wound, relentlessly. Not your mother will lay you on the death bed and weep you. Death to all of you until we reach the ramparts of Troy! You will all die bitterly until you pay for the death of Patroklos.”⁹²

Achilleus went on to kill the Trojans. He killed Mulios at close range with the spear, and Echecklos, son of Antenor, he cut off his head with the sword. Laogonos,⁹³ the son of Alastor, fell to his knees if he might spare him and take him captive alive and not kill him, his like in age, out of pity, the fool, who did not know that Achilleus would not listen. For he was neither meek, nor kind, only pugnacious. Achilleus stabbed him in the liver with the sword. Darkness covered his eyes.⁹⁴

Then he went loose on Rhigmos, the son of Peiroös.⁹⁵ He was unarmed, without helmet and shield – neither did he have a spear, for he had thrown all that to the ground in his flight, tormented by sweat and fatigued knees.⁹⁶ Once before, he had fallen into the hands of Achilleus, cutting the twigs of a fig tree for wickerwork. Achilleus tied him with the twigs and ransomed him for a high price.⁹⁷ Now, he killed him with a throw of the spear in the back.⁹⁸ He left him, and stopped Demuchos, the son of Philetor, from his swift flight with a throw of his spear in the knee. He pierced him at close range with the sword and took his life.⁹⁹

Then, Asteropaios approached Achilleus with a spear in each hand. When the two got close, Achilleus began by asking, “Who are you that you dare to meet me? Disastrous, whose sons dare to withstand my attack.”

Asteropaios answered, “Brave Achilleus, why do you ask me about my origins? Of Pelagon I am the son, famous for his spear. But now, let’s fight.”

So he spoke, throwing two spears at once – he was ambidextrous. With one spear, he hit the shield of Achilleus; with the other, he hit the right arm of Achilleus, scratching the elbow. Dark blood poured out. Thus, Asteropaios became unarmed, even though he used two spears. In turn, Achilleus hurled his spear right at Asteropaios, eager to kill him. But he missed the man, and his spear got stuck in the ground. The other could not pull the spear out of

⁹²*Iliad* XXI 114-134. ⁹³Reconstruction. ⁹⁴*Iliad* XX 464-472. ⁹⁵*Iliad* XX 485-486. ⁹⁶*Iliad* XXI 50-52: It is Lykaon who was unarmed. ⁹⁷*Iliad* XXI 36-40: It is about Lykaon again. How Achilleus tied Lykaon is not mentioned. ⁹⁸Reconstruction. ⁹⁹*Iliad* XX 456-460.

the earth with his fist. Still, he jerked when Achilles took his life at close range by a blow of the sword.¹⁰⁰ Again, Achilles went on to pursue and kill the Trojans. He killed Demoleon, Otrynteus, Hippodamas, and Deukalion in the rear ranks.¹⁰¹

Meanwhile, the Trojans had come to the gate of their town. Priam watched from the town's rampart and saw the mighty Achilles and the Trojans, who jostled frightened before him.

He called to the gatekeepers. "Keep the gates open, hands on the doors, because I'm afraid Achilles will jump within the ramparts."¹⁰² The gate was opened, and the Trojans crowded within the ramparts. Immediately, the women and the old men rushed to them to inquire who had escaped and who had fallen in battle.¹⁰³

Priam, concerned, exclaimed, "Where is Asios, where Helenos, where Polydoros, where Lykaon?¹⁰⁴ Nowhere can I see the two sons who were born to me by Laotoë. If they were alive with the enemy, I would redeem them for bronze and for gold. We have enough of that, because the old Altes gave his daughter many treasures in marriage.¹⁰⁵ But ah, I fear that the fierce Achilles killed them without pity.¹⁰⁶ Now, proud Troy is falling. Now, steep destruction is assured."¹⁰⁷

The Trojans, who were already safely inside, watched from the ramparts.¹⁰⁸ But outside, a tangle of Trojans tried to get in through the gate in time. At the back was Agenor, son of the noble Antenor. His brave heart beat uneasily, and he spoke to himself in displeasure, "Ah me! If I flee from the strong Achilles, where the others crowd each other in fear, he will still seize me and slaughter me like a coward. I will not be able to wash my sweat in a bath within the ramparts of Troy. But why does the heart within me debate on these things? Why don't I face him? Surely his body is also vulnerable to the sharp bronze!"

So he spoke, and he waited for Achilles with a brave heart, eager to fight.¹⁰⁹ He cried in a loud voice, "Brave Achilles, surely you hope in your heart that you will destroy the town of the famous Trojans today. You fool! Much suffering will it cost you to capture this town. In it are many powerful men, we who protect Troy for our parents, our wives, and our sons."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁰*Iliad* XXI 144-179. ¹⁰¹Reconstruction. ¹⁰²*Iliad* XXI 526-536. ¹⁰³Adaptation of *Iliad* XXI 606-611. ¹⁰⁴*Iliad* XIII 770-772: It is Hektor who cannot find Asios and Helenos among others. ¹⁰⁵*Iliad* XXII 46-51. ¹⁰⁶Reconstruction. ¹⁰⁷*Iliad* XIII 772-773: Hektor speaks these words. ¹⁰⁸*Iliad* XXII 1-3: From the battlements. ¹⁰⁹Summary of *Iliad* XXI 545-572. ¹¹⁰*Iliad* XXI 582-588.

So he spoke, and his powerful hand sent the sharp spear that struck Achilles in the shin plate below the knee. The plate echoed dangerously, but Achilles was not hurt. Now it was Achilles's turn to attack. But Agenor did not dare to wait and took flight away from the town. Achilles drew his sword and followed him.

Soon, they came to the Skamandros, and Agenor ran along the banks,¹¹¹ where the elms, rushes, and willows grew lavishly.¹¹² But the swift Achilles caught up with him, and Agenor plunged into the river to escape his attacker. Achilles planted his spear in the bank, and he sprang after Agenor. There he killed Agenor with the sword at close range; the water turned red with blood.

Achilles jumped back from the river and spoke angrily to himself,¹¹³ "I shouldn't have let myself be lured far from the rampart. Otherwise, many would have bitten the dust and not reached the town."¹¹⁴ Quickly, Achilles's feet and knees hurried back to the town.¹¹⁵

All Trojans fled within their stronghold. Only Hektor remained outside the ramparts, in front of the Skaian gate.¹¹⁶ He refused to flee as a coward in the throng of the rest of the Trojans. One of Hektor's brothers, Deiphobos, saw his need and retraced his steps.

He came to stand next to Hektor and spoke,¹¹⁷ "Dear brother, we are being harassed by the fast Achilles. But come on. Let's fight bravely now and not spare the spears. Soon we will know whether Achilles is killing us and dragging our corpses away or whether he is being killed by our spear."

The brave Hektor answered him, "Deiphobos, you have always been dearest to me of my brothers, of all the sons of Hekabe and Priam, but now I want to honor you even more, because you have dared to stay out of the ramparts with me, while the others have fled inside."¹¹⁸

Hektor and Deiphobos waited together for Achilles. The gate of Troy was already closed. Their father and mother and all their friends fervently begged them from the ramparts not to wait outside.¹¹⁹ Priam stretched out his hands and uttered the pitiable words, "Hektor, my beloved child, come within the wall, that you may save the Trojans and the women of Troy. Do not bring great fame to Achilles and be deprived of precious life yourself. Have pity on me, unfortunate one, as long as I am still alive and in my right

¹¹¹*Iliad* XXI 590-603. ¹¹²*Iliad* XXI 350-352. ¹¹³Reconstruction. See also *Iliad* XXI 595-605, in which Apollo pretends to be Agenor and has relieved Agenor, himself, from the battle with a dense cloud. ¹¹⁴*Iliad* XXII 16-17. ¹¹⁵*Iliad* XXII 24. ¹¹⁶*Iliad* XXII 5-6. ¹¹⁷Reconstruction. See also *Iliad* XXII 226-228. It is Athene taking the form of Deiphobos. Moreover, she does that only after Hektor has been chased around Troy three times. ¹¹⁸*Iliad* XXII 229-237. ¹¹⁹Reconstruction. See also *Iliad* XXII 37-89 and *Iliad* XXII 239-242.

mind. I am a wretched one, for whom Father Zeus has destined a grievous fate, after seeing many heinous deeds on the threshold of old age: my sons killed, my daughters taken away, their rooms destroyed, innocent children thrown to the earth in dreadful death, my daughters-in-law dragged away by the murderous hands of the Greeks. At last, I myself: In the forecourt of my house, the raw-eating dogs will tear me to pieces after an enemy has taken my life by a thrust or a throw of the sharp bronze. The dogs that I raised in my house at my table, guarding my gates, will drink my blood and lie sated at my door. Everything about a youthful man is beautiful when he lies dead in battle, maimed by the sharp bronze. Even in his death, everything that appears to the eye is beautiful to see. But if the dogs violate the gray head, the gray chin, the private parts of an old man who has been slain – no sight is so pitiful for the unfortunate people.” So spoke the old king, tearing the gray hairs from his head.¹²⁰

Hektor’s mother also wept and wailed in turn. She bared her bosom and held her breast to him with her hand. Weeping, she spoke, “Hektor, my child, have reverence and pity on me, if I have ever breastfed you. Think of that, my dear son, and confront that cruel man here within the wall. For if he kills you, it will not be I, dear child, who bore you myself, not your loving wife, who will mourn you on your death bed, but in the town of the Greeks, the dogs will devour you.”¹²¹

So she spoke. But Hektor and Deiphobos did not yield. Soon, Achilles rushed over, brandishing his spear in hand. Hektor bravely stepped forward, but Deiphobos lost heart. Frightened, he spoke to himself,¹²² “Ah me, when I meet Achilles. He is much stronger. But if I leave Hektor to his fate and if I myself flee into the thicket with quick feet, then I can wash my sweat with a bath in the river and return to Troy in the evening.”¹²³ And immediately, he took flight, leaving Hektor alone.¹²⁴

Bitterly, Hektor spoke to himself. “Ah me! If I crawl into the gate and the ramparts now, Poulydamas will be the first to revile me – he who advised me to bring the Trojans into the town for this night. Because I have destroyed the Trojan people by my folly, I am ashamed of the Trojans and the women of Troy. I can also take off my shield and my helmet. I can plant my spear in the ground and go to Achilles unarmed to promise him some of all the treasures this town holds. I can make the Trojans swear an oath not to

¹²⁰*Iliad* XXII 56-76. ¹²¹*Iliad* XXII 79-89. ¹²²Reconstruction. See also *Iliad* XXII 226-299. ¹²³*Iliad* XXI 553-561: It is Agenor who makes these considerations when Achilles approaches him, leaving the tangle of Trojans in front of the gate to their own devices. ¹²⁴Reconstruction. Deiphobos is located within the ramparts.

withhold anything but to divide everything into two equal halves. But why does the heart within me debate on these things? He will not feel sorry. It is better to go to war – and fast! Then we will know to whom Zeus will grant glory.”¹²⁵

He stepped toward Achilles, swung his long spear, and hurled. Without missing, he hit Achilles’s shield in the middle, but the spear grazed far from the shield. Hektor, angry that the swift weapon had fled from his hand in vain, stood defeated; he had no other spear. In a loud voice, he called to Deiphobos and asked the hero for a long spear, but he was nowhere near.¹²⁶ When Hektor saw Achilles approaching, a frightened shudder seized him. He did not dare to stay, left the gate, and fled.

Achilles, trusting in his speed, chased him. Thus, they ran under the walls and along the ditch of Troy in sight of the Trojans. Hektor hurried his quick knees, but Achilles came close after him. When Hektor rushed to one of the gates of the town, hoping that his friends would let him enter in time, Achilles was always ahead of him. He turned him toward the plain, himself darting along the side of the town walls.

None of the Greeks dared to gain fame by killing Hektor before Achilles. So they ran along the roadway past the lookout and the blowing fig tree until they reached the two bright-flowing springs that debouch into the Skamandros. Close by are beautiful wide washing basins, in which the women and beautiful daughters of the Trojans washed their clothes when there was still peace and the Trojans were not locked up in the town. They rushed past it, one fleeing; the other, pursuing. At the front, a strong hero fled. A much stronger one pursued him, at tremendous speed. So the two of them turned around Priam’s town three times with swift feet.

Hektor grew tired and could no longer escape the swift Achilles. Then Hektor stopped,¹²⁷ and he spoke to himself, “Alas, now fate has come for me. Thus, it has certainly long pleased Zeus, who previously had kindly protected me. I can no longer escape sad death. But let me not perish defenseless and inglorious, but after having done an act that posterity will remember.”

And immediately, he drew the sharp sword that hung by his side. He turned and shot toward Achilles, brandishing the sharp sword. Achilles rushed closer, filled with rage. With his spear in hand, he looked at Hektor, where the skin was exposed. His body was completely covered, except at the place where the collarbones separate the neck from the shoulders, at the

¹²⁵ *Iliad* XXII 98-130. ¹²⁶ *Iliad* XXII 289-295. ¹²⁷ Reconstruction. Hektor stops fleeing because Athene deceives him in the guise of Deiphobos in *Iliad* XXII 226-231.

throat, the fastest place for death. There, Achilles hit the onrushing Hektor with his spear. The point penetrated the neck, but the spear did not cut the windpipe, so that Hektor could still speak and beg Achilles.¹²⁸

Moribund, Hektor spoke, "I beg you by your knees, by your life, and that of your parents. Do not let the dogs in the town of the Greeks tear me apart, but accept much bronze and much gold as a gift, which my father and my venerable mother will give you. Give my body back to them so the Trojans and the women of Troy can burn me in the fire."¹²⁹

With a fierce look, Achilles spoke, "Do not beg me by my knees, dog. Your parents will not lay you on your death bed and mourn you, but the dogs will eat you in revenge for what you did.¹³⁰ You, too, did not spare Patroklos, although he was a youth, still inexperienced in combat."¹³¹

Dying, Hektor replied, "How well I know you, when I look at you. I know I would not persuade you. The heart in your chest is made of stone." After these words, eternal death enveloped him.¹³²

Achilles devised dishonorable deeds. He pierced the sinews behind both feet, from heel to ankle, and tied them together with leather straps. Then he dragged him through the dust at his feet, in sight of the Trojans. His mother tore her hair from her head and wailed loudly at the sight of her child. Priam, his father, grieved pitifully, and the whole town was filled with cries and lamentations. It seemed completely as if prosperous Troy was already being consumed to the ground by fire.¹³³

With great difficulty, the Trojan people stopped Priam, who wanted to rush out of Troy in his desperation. Wallowing in the dust, he begged his friends, calling to everyone by name, "Let me go out of town, however anxious you may be, to beg Achilles if he would respect my age. After all, he also has a father my age, Peleus, who begot and raised him to be a disaster for the Trojans. Most of all, he has brought pain to me. He killed so many of my sons in the prime of their youth. But for all of them, however sad I am, I do not mourn as for Hektor. Ah, if only he died in my arms. Then we would have been satisfied with tears and laments, his wretched mother who bore him, and I, myself."¹³⁴ So Priam begged, but his sons who were still alive prevented him from passing through.¹³⁵

Hekabe also lamented loudly, "My child, unfortunate one! Why shall I still live in bitter sorrow now that you have been killed! You, who were my

¹²⁸*Iliad* XXII 296-329. ¹²⁹*Iliad* XXII 337-343. ¹³⁰Summary of *Iliad* XXII 344-354.

¹³¹Reconstruction. ¹³²*Iliad* XXII 355-361: Of iron instead of stone. ¹³³*Iliad* XXII 395-411. ¹³⁴*Iliad* XXII 412-428. ¹³⁵Reconstruction according to *Iliad* XXII 412-413 and *Iliad* XXIV 237-264.

pride day and night in the town, a comfort to all men and women. You were their greatest fame as long as you lived. Now, you are the prey of death and fate.”¹³⁶

Andromache, Hektor’s wife, had not heard anything yet. She had put a large kettle on the fire so that hot bath water was ready for Hektor when he returned from battle, filthy with sweat and blood. Now she was rushing to the rampart and the sound of the wailing Trojans. She stood on the rampart with her knees stiff and looked around. There, she saw Hektor dragged ahead of the town. A dark night fell over her eyes; she fell backward and lost consciousness. Her sisters-in-law, Hektor’s sisters, caught her and embraced her.

As she regained her breath and consciousness, she spoke, lamenting, “Hektor, disastrous! That is how we were both born, for bad luck. Now you descend into death, and you leave me as a widow in your house. Our child that we have given birth to is still young and innocent. Even if he survives the war with the Greeks, trouble and sorrow still await him. Becoming an orphan makes a child completely devoid of friends. The son whose parents both live pushes him away from the table, beating him with fists and scolding him with words: ‘Get out of here! Your father is not here for dinner!’ He returns to his lonely mother with tears in his eyes. Much suffering awaits him, Astyanax, protector of the town, as the Trojans call him, for you alone, Hektor, protected the long ramparts and gates for them. Now in the town of the Greeks, far from your parents, the wriggling maggots will eat you after the dogs have satisfied themselves with your body.” So she spoke weeping, and with her, the women wailed.¹³⁷

Achilleus and the rest of the Greeks returned to their town. They took Hektor’s corpse with them. His head was completely covered in dust. Achilleus spoke to the Greeks, “Now, all return to your own homes. For the time being, we stop fighting. Tomorrow, we will arrange mourning for Patroklos, our beloved brother and friend. I will kill the noble sons of the Trojans, who are prisoners in our town, and arrange them around his corpse on the stake. I will drag Hektor around the stake and then leave him as food for the dogs.”¹³⁸

The Trojans were left wailing. Priam begged his relatives to let him go to the town of the Greeks to redeem Hektor’s corpse. Hekabe was afraid to let him go. She wailed, “Ah me, where did your mind go, wherefore you

¹³⁶*Iliad* XXII 430-436. ¹³⁷Summary of *Iliad* XXII 437-515. ¹³⁸Reconstruction of *Iliad* XXIII 1-26.

were always praised by your people? You have a heart of stone! If Achilles sees you and grabs you, he will not pity you; he will not spare you.”¹³⁹

Old Priam answered her, “Don’t stop me now that I want to go. Don’t be a bad omen in my house. You will not persuade me.¹⁴⁰ Bring me a fortune teller or a sacrificial priest. I will ask him for a bird sign of Zeus.”

A sacrificial priest went into the courtyard. He had a cup with him, from which no one ever drank wine, and which was used only to shed to Zeus. He washed the cup with clean water and then washed his hands as well. He scooped the wine and shed to Zeus as he prayed, “Father Zeus, glorious, mighty one. Allow Achilles to receive Priam with pity and send a bird sign – the bird you prefer yourself, a bird from the right. Then Priam can confidently go to the town of the Greeks.”¹⁴¹

So he prayed, and the wise Zeus answered him. He sent an eagle high in the sky flying over the town from the right. When the Trojans saw it, their hearts were warmed with joy.¹⁴² The sons of Priam no longer hindered him from leaving the town. They helped him collect a ransom in exchange for Hektor’s corpse. They brought together an enormous treasure: much gold, much copper, gemstones and jewelry. Everything was loaded onto a cart, and they hitched a mule before it.¹⁴³ Priam waited until sunset. Together with Idaios, the herald, he set out for the town of the Greeks. With fear in their heart, his sons and sons-in-law let him leave. They, themselves, were left behind at the gate of Troy.¹⁴⁴

The trip went well. They passed the burial mound of Ilos and followed a route along the Skamandros.¹⁴⁵ Soon they came to the town of the Greeks. The gates were guarded by a sentry, a youth. He had just finished supper and was keeping watch wide awake.

He noticed the pair and spoke,¹⁴⁶ “Who are you who come to the town of the Greeks, in the dark night, when the other people are asleep? Speak, and don’t come to me in silence! What do you need here?”¹⁴⁷

Idaios lost heart and spoke to Priam. “Give advice. Now it comes down to wise conduct. I see a man, and I fear he will soon kill both of us. Ah, let us flee or clasp his knees and beg for pity.”¹⁴⁸

¹³⁹*Iliad* XXIV 197-205. ¹⁴⁰*Iliad* XXIV 217-219. ¹⁴¹*Iliad* XXIV 302-313: Priam, himself, fulfills the roles of priest and bird augur. ¹⁴²*Iliad* XXIV 314-321. ¹⁴³Summary of *Iliad* XXIV 228-280. ¹⁴⁴*Iliad* XXIV 322-331. ¹⁴⁵Reconstruction according to *Iliad* XXIV 331-351. ¹⁴⁶Reconstruction according to *Iliad* XXIV 344-352 and *Iliad* XXIV 440-447. Hermes accompanies Priam and puts the guards to sleep. ¹⁴⁷*Iliad* X 82-85: Nestor says this to Agamemnon. ¹⁴⁸*Iliad* XXIV 353-357.

But Priam bravely stepped forward and addressed the youthful watchman, “Young man, I am Priam, the king of the Trojans.¹⁴⁹ Tell me the whole truth. Is my son still intact in the town of the Greeks, or did Achilles tear the body apart and throw the pieces to the dogs?¹⁵⁰ And are the sons of the Trojans whom he once captured still alive and well, or were they killed without mercy?”¹⁵¹

The watchman replied, “No, sir, the dogs have not yet devoured Hektor’s corpse. Achilles did drag him in the dust around the corpse of Patroklos, but he does not disfigure him.¹⁵² The Trojans he captured are still alive.”¹⁵³

Priam heard this with joy and spoke, “I have with me many treasures to redeem Hektor’s corpse. Here, take this beautiful cup from me, and lead me to Achilles’s room.”

Then spoke the watchman, “You are testing me, you an old man, me a younger one, but you will not persuade me to take gifts intended for Achilles, lest punishment awaits me. I will take you to Achilles’s room.”¹⁵⁴

Priam followed the guard, leaving Idaios to keep watch with the mules. He entered Achilles’s room and threw himself to the ground. He embraced Achilles’s knees and pleaded,¹⁵⁵ “Have pity, Achilles, spare my life out of respect for my old age. You, too, have a father who rejoices whenever you return safe from the ruthless battle. Perhaps he, too, is sometimes plagued by worries and sorrows. I am more lamentable because I do what no man on earth did before: to raise my hand to the mouth of the man who killed his son. I had fifty sons when the Greeks came, nineteen from the womb of one mother and the rest to me by the women in my house. You paralyzed the knees of many of them, but he, who was the only one who still protected the town, you have also killed now, Hektor. I came here because of him and because of the Trojans you captured earlier. I bring you a tremendous ransom. I implore you by your life and your father’s, accept this ransom for Hektor’s corpse, and give it to me so that we may mourn him in Troy.”¹⁵⁶

Achilles was astonished when he saw Priam, the king of the enemy, and spoke, “Bold one! You have a heart of stone! How did you dare to enter the town of the Greeks, alone,¹⁵⁷ in the night when the other people are asleep? To buy your son’s body, you risk your life, you, for whom the

¹⁴⁹Reconstruction based on *Iliad* XXIV 372-385. ¹⁵⁰*Iliad* XXIV 407-409. ¹⁵¹Reconstruction. In the *Iliad* (XXIII 175-177) the twelve captive Trojan youths have already been sacrificed at the stake of Patroklos. ¹⁵²*Iliad* XXIV 410-414. ¹⁵³Reconstruction. ¹⁵⁴*Iliad* XXIV 424-437. ¹⁵⁵Summary of *Iliad* XXIV 447-485. ¹⁵⁶Reconstruction of *Iliad* XXIV 486-506. ¹⁵⁷*Iliad* XXIV 517-521: A heart of iron, instead of stone.

Trojans would pay multiples if they knew you were alive in the town of the Greeks. Ah, why do you ask me about my father, the noble Peleus? I am very concerned about him, because he will not live long. He was born for a life of happiness and wealth. He had many sons, and he ruled the environment like a king. But now, he is in bed sick and mourns the death of Patroklos, the darling of the Greeks, just as you mourn the death of Hektor, your dear son. Peleus did not ask me to kill Hektor as revenge for the death of Patroklos. It was my own anger and grief that animated my actions. My father was always meek as long as he reigned in life and well-being.¹⁵⁸

Stop begging me now. I, myself, intend to return Hektor to you, too.¹⁵⁹ I will release the Trojans who are prisoners in this stronghold.¹⁶⁰ For three days, I will free the Trojan people from the war and the encirclement of Troy, so that they can get wood for the stake and build a burial mound.”¹⁶¹ Then he broke out in lamentation and called his beloved brother by name, “Patroklos, do not be angry that I am returning Hektor to his father, redeemed for a large ransom. I will give you the share that is due to you.”¹⁶² Thus spoke Achilles, moaning, and he fulfilled what he had promised Priam. He helped load Hektor’s body onto the cart and freed the captured Trojans.¹⁶³

Early the next morning, Priam and the liberated Trojans returned with Hektor’s corpse. The Trojan watchman saw them coming and called everyone in Troy to wake up. All gathered at the gate and rejoiced that the Trojans had returned alive. When they saw Hektor, unbearable grief took hold of them. Weeping, they gathered around the cart on which the corpse lay.¹⁶⁴

Andromache led the lamentation with her hands around Hektor’s head, “My husband, you lost your life young, and you leave me a widow. The child we conceived is still small and innocent. I don’t believe he will reach adulthood. Earlier, Troy will be destroyed. For ah, you have gone, the guard who sheltered it, who protected the caring women and the young children. The women will be taken away: I, one of them. And you, Astyanax, either you will accompany me, or one of the Greeks will take you by the hand and throw you from the high ramparts, a gruesome death, as revenge for Hektor killing his brother or his father or perhaps his son.” So Andromache mourned, and the other women followed her example.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁸Reconstruction from *Iliad* XXIV 534-542 and *Iliad* XXIV 685-688. ¹⁵⁹*Iliad* XXIV 560-561.

¹⁶⁰Reconstruction. ¹⁶¹Reconstruction. According to *Iliad* XXIV 656-666, the Trojans need eleven days. ¹⁶²*Iliad* XXIV 591-595. ¹⁶³Reconstruction. See also *Iliad* XXIV 580-591. ¹⁶⁴Summary of *Iliad* XXIV 695-712. Cassandra sees Priam coming, instead of a watchman. ¹⁶⁵*Iliad* XXIV 723-737.

Priam ordered that the corpse be washed and anointed. Then the corpse was covered with a white shroud, from head to feet.¹⁶⁶ Priam then asked to fetch wood for the funeral pyre. They quickly set out.¹⁶⁷ Sentries were all around, lest an attack by powerfully armed Greeks would overtake them.¹⁶⁸

Before Troy, the Trojans arranged the funeral of Hektor. The Greeks arranged the funeral of Patroklos.¹⁶⁹ Weeping, they laid the body on the stake.¹⁷⁰ In front of the pyre, they skinned and slaughtered many fat sheep and cattle. They took the fat from it and covered the corpses from head to feet with it.¹⁷¹ Then they lit the flame at the stake.¹⁷² They shed wine the whole day.¹⁷³

The next morning, the Greeks and Trojans gathered again around the pyres of their mourning heroes and extinguished the firelight with wine.¹⁷⁴ They collected the bones and put them in an urn.¹⁷⁵ They marked off a burial mound by creating a circle of stones around the pyre and pouring loose earth over it.¹⁷⁶ After they built the burial mound, they returned¹⁷⁷ inside the town for a lavish meal. In this way, the Greeks and the Trojans took care of the burial of their precious heroes.¹⁷⁸

Oral Characteristics of the Compassion Fairy Tale: Dc1 to Dc41

Although the compassion fairy tale is less well known than Helen's and the anger fairy tales, it is of great importance to the analysis of the *Iliad* because it is much more clearly defined than the others as a separate story with distinct oral characteristics. Perhaps this story was less old, or the composition of the *Iliad* used a more precisely delineated version of it compared to the other two fairy tales from the narrative Delta tradition. It seems that this fairy tale has developed extensively as a great story. It is a precursor to our *Iliad* and has served as a source of inspiration for it.

¹⁶⁶*Iliad* XVIII 350-353: Patroklos was treated like this. ¹⁶⁷*Iliad* XXIV 777-782. ¹⁶⁸*Iliad* XXIV 799-800. ¹⁶⁹Reconstruction. See also *Iliad* XXIII 108-261 (the funeral of Patroklos) and *Iliad* XXIV 777-804 (the funeral of Hektor). ¹⁷⁰*Iliad* XXIII 165, *Iliad* XXIV 786-787. ¹⁷¹*Iliad* XXIII 166-169. ¹⁷²*Iliad* XXIII 177, *Iliad* XXIV 787. ¹⁷³*Iliad* XXIII 218-220. ¹⁷⁴*Iliad* XXIII 233-237, *Iliad* XXIV 791. ¹⁷⁵*Iliad* XXIII 238-243, *Iliad* XXIV 793-795. ¹⁷⁶*Iliad* XXIII 255-257, *Iliad* XXIV 797-799. ¹⁷⁷*Iliad* XXIII 257, *Iliad* XXIV 801. ¹⁷⁸*Iliad* XXIV 801-804.

Recorded Oral Characteristics: Dc1 to Dc32

First and foremost, it should be clarified that this fairy tale, as can be uncovered in the *Iliad*, is even richer in oral characteristics than the reconstruction presented here. The reconstruction has been deliberately limited to a sober narrative that can be applied to any pair of hostile strongholds. Moreover, too much mixing with oral traditions other than the narrative Delta tradition has been avoided. That is why nine of the forty-one oral characteristics have been omitted from the reconstruction. The following thirty-two oral characteristics included in the reconstruction provide more than enough material to outline Achilles's compassion as a separate fairy tale in our *Iliad*:

Dc1 The compassion and ruthlessness of Achilles

Th compassion,¹⁷⁹ the respect,¹⁸⁰ and the mildness¹⁸¹ of Achilles, turning into ruthlessness¹⁸² and pugnacity,¹⁸³ are the main theme of this fairy tale.¹⁸⁴ Before the death of Patroklos, Achilles is compassionate and spares the Trojans; afterward, he is without pity. The many Trojan warriors who, after the death of Patroklos, throw themselves as suppliants¹⁸⁵ at his knees, he kills without exception. However, at the end of the story, Achilles is compassionate again and he returns Hektor's body.¹⁸⁶

Dc2 Troy and the Trojans

While in the Greek camp, we almost only get to see Achilles, Patroklos, and Peleus, the Trojan camp is outlined in detail. This applies to both Troy, itself, and its inhabitants.¹⁸⁷

Dc3 Hektor, whose death leaves Troy unprotected

Hektor is the main character in the Trojan camp. The Trojan women mourn his death while he is still alive. Without Hektor, the town¹⁸⁸ Troy is without protection¹⁸⁹ and prey to the Greeks.^{190,191}

¹⁷⁹ελεεω, οικτειρω. ¹⁸⁰αιδεομαι, αιδοιος, σεβαζομαι. ¹⁸¹αγανοφρων, γλυκυθυμος.

¹⁸²ακηδεω, αμειλικτος. ¹⁸³εμμεμαως. ¹⁸⁴Kim (2000) argues that Achilles's compassion is a thematic element for the entire *Iliad*. ¹⁸⁵See Dc12. ¹⁸⁶Examples: reverence for a fallen: *Iliad* VI 416-420, Isos and Antiphos sold: *Iliad* XI 101-106, explanation to Lykaon: *Iliad* XXI 99-107.

¹⁸⁷Examples: Hektor returns to Troy: *Iliad* VI 237-529, Lykaon about his family: *Iliad* XXI 84-96, Priam about Lykaon and Polydoros: *Iliad* XXII 38-76. ¹⁸⁸αστυ. ¹⁸⁹ερωω. ¹⁹⁰According to Graziosi (2010), the appearance of Hektor's son Astyanax in *Iliad* VI predicts Hektor's death. "Astyanax" means "lord of the city" because Hektor alone protects Troy. ¹⁹¹Examples: Astyanax: *Iliad* VI 403, Trojan women grieving while Hektor is still alive: *Iliad* VI 498-502, Priam to Achilles: *Iliad* XXIV 499-501.

Dc4 The impending fall of Troy

The impending fall of Troy is an oral characteristic associated with Hektor's status as patron of Troy, but it is not necessary to develop the theme and plot of the compassion fairy tale. The funeral of Hektor, which is the end of the *Iliad*, also brings an end to the theme of compassion. This impending fall as a theme may thus have been taken from Helen's fairy tale, from the Aeolian Gamma tradition or from the *Iliad* tradition with which it was associated.

Dc5 The wealth of Troy

Troy is rich¹⁹² with possessions,¹⁹³ beautiful¹⁹⁴ jewelry,¹⁹⁵ copper,¹⁹⁶ and gold.¹⁹⁷ The Trojans captured by Achilles can easily be ransomed back.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, other characteristics are collecting riches to sacrifice them, to hide them from the Greeks, or to pacify the Greek warlike spirit. Yet, this oral characteristic contradicts an oral characteristic that we find in the *Iliad*, but which does not belong to the simple fairy tale: the faded glory of Troy (Dc40).¹⁹⁹

Dc6 Hektor's family

In addition to Hektor, Hektor's family also comes to the fore in the story: His wife Andromache,²⁰⁰ his son Astyanax, his mother Hekabe, and his father Priam are the most important. On the battlefield, we see many brothers and half-brothers at work. His sister Laodike is also mentioned in passing.²⁰¹

Dc7 To gain fame in the fight for the father and for the people

Hektor is ashamed to be locked within the ramparts of Troy. He imagines that the Trojans will then speak shame on him. Hektor wants to fight in the front ranks on the battlefield and gain fame²⁰² for his father²⁰³ and for himself. The name "Patroklos," which means "fame to the father," also refers to this theme.^{204,205}

¹⁹² ολβιος, πλουτος. ¹⁹³ κτεαρ, κτερας, κτημα. ¹⁹⁴ περικαλλης. ¹⁹⁵ κειμηλιον. ¹⁹⁶ χαλκος, πολυχαλκος. ¹⁹⁷ πολυχρυσος, χρυσος. ¹⁹⁸ αποινα. ¹⁹⁹ Examples: Trojans redeeming their sons: *Iliad* II 229-231, sacrifices for Athene: *Iliad* VI 269-275, Lykaon on his ransom: *Iliad* XXI 77-80. ²⁰⁰ Muich (2011) analyzes Andromache's lamentations. ²⁰¹ Examples: Hekabe and Laodike: *Iliad* VI 251-252, Polydoros: *Iliad* XX 407-419, Priam taunting his living sons: *Iliad* XXIV 248-254. ²⁰² κλεος, κυδος. ²⁰³ πατηρ. ²⁰⁴ See also Tsoutsouki (2014) regarding the father-son relationship in the *Iliad*. ²⁰⁵ Examples: Hektor to Andromache: *Iliad* VI 440-446, Patroklos's fame: *Iliad* XVI 837-842, Hektor to himself: *Iliad* XXII 104-110.

Dc8 The signs of Zeus

Zeus communicates with the mortals via signs,²⁰⁶ such as eagles and snakes,²⁰⁷ and in Hektor's case, a head nod.^{208,209} It is mainly seers who indicate such signs, but the other mortals also understand the signs if they are sufficiently clear.²¹⁰

Dc9 Hektor's pride

In his thirst for fame,²¹¹ Hektor becomes reckless. He does not listen to the advice of his wife Andromache and the cautious Poulydamas and tries to defeat the Greeks in their own stronghold. Hektor also interprets the signs of Zeus differently from Poulydamas.^{212,213}

Dc10 The prehistory of Achilles against the enemy

This fairy tale has a history that is frequently referred to: Achilles has often confronted the Trojans but was often very generous in doing so. Instead of killing the Trojans, he captured them and led them bound to the stronghold of the Greeks. Then they were sold for ransom.²¹⁴

Dc11 Priam's many sons and their mothers and deaths

The Trojans captured or killed by Achilles in this fairy tale are almost all sons of Priam, but of many different "women in his palace"²¹⁵ (concubines). Lykaon, for example, begs Achilles to spare him, arguing that he does not have the same mother as Hektor. Lykaon's mother is Laothoë, and Priam wails that he cannot detect any of the sons of Laothoë when the Trojans flee within the ramparts.²¹⁶

Dc12 Begging for pity

Often, the main characters in the compassion fairy tale beg²¹⁷ each other to do something or to desist from something. Andromache, Priam, and Hekabe beg Hektor not to fight outside the ramparts of Troy. Tros, Lykaon, and Priam beg for mercy from Achilles, and Priam begs his

²⁰⁶See D34 on p. 34. ²⁰⁷See D39 on p. 36. ²⁰⁸ΚΑΤΑΝΕΥΩ. ²⁰⁹See Mylonas (1946) for a discussion of the attributes of Zeus. ²¹⁰Examples: an eagle with a snake: *Iliad* XII 200-229, Hektor about the nod of Zeus: *Iliad* XII 234-243, the eagle for Priam: *Iliad* XXIV 308-321. ²¹¹See Dc7. ²¹²See Clark (2007) for a full discussion of the relationship between Hektor and Poulydamas. ²¹³Examples: Hektor says he will not die soon: *Iliad* VI 486-487, Hektor says to dare to fight against Achilles: *Iliad* XVIII 305-313, Hektor realizes that he has destroyed the people through his pride: *Iliad* XXII 104-110. ²¹⁴Examples: Isos and Antiphos: *Iliad* XI 101-112, Aineias to Apollo in the guise of Lykaon: *Iliad* XX 89-96, Achilles sells Lykaon: *Iliad* XXI 34-127. ²¹⁵ενι μεγαροισι γυναικες. ²¹⁶Examples: Lykaon, son of Laothoë: *Iliad* XXI 84-96, Priam about the sons of Laothoë: *Iliad* XXII 46-54, Priam about his fifty sons and their mothers: *Iliad* XXIV 493-501. ²¹⁷ικετης, λισσομαι.

wife Hekabe for permission to go to the camp of the Greeks and to buy Hektor's corpse from Achilles there.

Begging usually involves clasping the knees and sometimes the chin. A possible explanation for this is that the concept of the *knee* itself is an oral characteristic of this fairy tale (Dc30), as fast runners are often said to have fast knees. Yet, the use of begging at the knees and grasping the chin seems to be wider in use than the oral scope of the compassion fairy tale. For example, it is also an oral characteristic of the type scene of the brave scout, and Thetis clasps Zeus's knees and chin likewise in the anger fairy tale. Begging is, of course, related to the main theme of compassion.^{218,219}

Dc13 **Accurate geographic references around Troy**

The bards who performed this fairy tale of Achilles's compassion had a precise geographic picture in their heads.²²⁰ While the other fairy tales revolve around the Greek camp, this fairy tale is set around Troy. Some of the places mentioned are the burial mound of old Aisyetes,²²¹ the burial mound of the Amazon Myrine,²²² the Skaian gate, the oak at the Skaian gate,²²³ the palace of Priam,²²⁴ the sleeping places of Priam's sons-in-law,²²⁵ the fig tree, where the rampart of the city is most accessible,²²⁶ the river Skamandros next to the city,²²⁷ the lookout,²²⁸ the two springs, the basins where the Trojan women rinsed their clothes when they were not yet confined in Troy,²²⁹ and the great tomb of King Ilos.²³⁰

Dc14 **Poulydamas predicting Trojan defeat**

While Hektor wants to kill as many Greeks as possible and even burn the Greek stronghold, Poulydamas mainly thinks of a possible defeat. As Hektor's chief adviser, he repeatedly proposes to return to Troy and re-enter with all the Trojan fighters. By positioning themselves there on the ramparts, they can defend the city much better without suffering heavy losses. Hektor, however, invariably ignores Poulydamas's advice. Neither the bird signs that Poulydamas notices can convince

²¹⁸See Crotty (1994) on supplication in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. ²¹⁹Examples: Andromache to Hektor: *Iliad* VI 405-434, Lykaon begs to Achilles: *Iliad* XXI 70-74, Priam begs to Achilles: *Iliad* XXIV 476-486. ²²⁰See also Mannsperger (2001) for a description of the geographic picture in the *Iliad*. ²²¹*Iliad* II 793. ²²²*Iliad* II 811-814. ²²³*Iliad* VI 237. ²²⁴*Iliad* VI 242-246. ²²⁵*Iliad* VI 247-250. ²²⁶*Iliad* VI 433-434. ²²⁷*Iliad* XXI 603. ²²⁸*Iliad* XXII 145. ²²⁹*Iliad* XXII 147-155. ²³⁰*Iliad* XXIV 349.

Hektor, nor the warning that Achilles will want to take revenge for the death of Patroklos.²³¹

Dc15 Selling the captured Trojans for ransom

Before the death of Patroklos, Achilles was generous and sold captured Trojans for ransom²³² instead of killing them. Accordingly, he meets Lykaon, a son of Priam by Laothoë, for a second time on the battlefield.^{233,234}

Dc16 Loved ones' care and mourning for a corpse

Although caring for and mourning corpses is also an oral characteristic of the narrative Delta tradition as a whole,²³⁵ it turns out to be extra characteristic for the fairy tale of Achilles's compassion. Priam is willing to offer great treasures to ransom Hektor's corpse so that it can be cared for and mourned.²³⁶

Dc17 Getting unarmed, losing the last spear

An oral characteristic unique to this fairy tale of compassion is becoming unarmed.²³⁷ Asteropaios even had two spears but still became unarmed after throwing them both. He tried a third time by trying to pull Achilles's missed spear out of the ground but was killed at close range with the sword. Hektor considered whether he would meet Achilles unarmed to propose a treaty to him as a suppliant. When a little later Hektor became unarmed during his duel with Achilles, he asked for a spear from Deiphobos, but Deiphobos had disappeared in the meantime. Being unarmed is associated with begging for pity.²³⁸

Dc18 The encirclement and siege of Troy

The encirclement and siege of Troy in the *Iliad* belong mainly to the prehistory of this fairy tale. Nonetheless, Hektor's relatives, especially his wife Andromache and his counselor Poulydamas, try to persuade him to let the Trojans be enclosed²³⁹ within the ramparts of Troy again.

²³¹Examples: the eagle and the serpent: *Iliad* XII 196-236, after Achilles has stood up: *Iliad* XVIII 249-266, Hektor to himself: *Iliad* XXII 99-103. ²³²See D45 on p. 38. ²³³*Iliad* XXI 54-58.

²³⁴Examples: Isos and Antiphos: *Iliad* XI 101-106, Lykaon: *Iliad* XXI 78-80, Priam on Lykaon and Polydoros: *Iliad* XXII 46-51. ²³⁵See D37 on p. 35. ²³⁶Examples: Lykaon among the fish: *Iliad* XXI 120-127, Hekabe to Hektor: *Iliad* XXII 86-89, the Trojans to Hektor: *Iliad* XXIV 699-804.

²³⁷αυτος, γυμνος. ²³⁸Examples: Lykaon: *Iliad* XXI 49-52, Asteropaios: *Iliad* XXI 149-183, Hektor as suppliant: *Iliad* XXII 111-125, Hektor and Deiphobos: *Iliad* XXII 289-295. ²³⁹ειλω.

When Hektor waits for Achilles outside the ramparts, his relatives beg him to enter the city.²⁴⁰

Dc19 Fast feet and knees in pursuit and flight

In the compassion fairy tale, it is not the warriors who are quick,²⁴¹ but their feet²⁴² and their knees.²⁴³ After characteristic Dc24 (the danger of being outside the ramparts), *Iliad* XXI closes with the Trojans whose “feet and knees” could rescue them.²⁴⁴

Dc20 The river along the battlefield

The fact that the river²⁴⁵ Skamandros (also called Xanthos) flows close to Troy and the battlefield is an element of the compassion fairy tale. It is probably due to the combination of the oral characteristics of Achilles (G4), the surroundings of Troy (G10), and river (G19), that the Aeolian Gamma tradition has strongly started to color the fight in the Skamandros²⁴⁶ with its oral characteristics.²⁴⁷ However, the oral characteristics of the compassion fairy tale can still be found in it.²⁴⁸

Dc21 The spear and the sword

Although the spear²⁴⁹ and the sword²⁵⁰ are universal in the *Iliad*, their common mention is a characteristic of the fairy tale about Achilles’s compassion. The duels, where both fighters are usually on foot, have two phases: first throwing the spears, then the close combat with the sword.^{251,252}

Dc22 Washing after the fight

Like taking care of the dead, washing²⁵³ after the battle is a characteris-

²⁴⁰Examples: Andromache to Hektor: *Iliad* VI 431-439, Poulydamas to Hektor: *Iliad* XVIII 253-287, Priam and Hekabe to Hektor: *Iliad* XXII 56-85. ²⁴¹εσσυμενος, θυνω, ταχος. ²⁴²πους. ²⁴³γονυ.

²⁴⁴Examples: Polydoros shows off with his fast feet: *Iliad* XX 410-412, feet and knees: *Iliad* XXI 611, Apollo strengthens Hektor’s knees: *Iliad* XXII 204. ²⁴⁵ποταμος. ²⁴⁶*Iliad* XXI 1-604. ²⁴⁷The analysis by Kitts (2013) that Achilles’s fight against Skamandros descends from a *Chaoskampf* from the Near East also fits in the Aeolian Gamma tradition. ²⁴⁸Examples: Achilles drives the Trojans into the River Xanthos: *Iliad* XXI 1-16, Achilles chases Apollo, who takes the form of Agenor, along the Skamandros: *Iliad* XXI 603, Priam’s mules and horses drink from the river: *Iliad* XXIV 350.

²⁴⁹αλχημη, ακων, δορυ, εγχος. ²⁵⁰ξιφος, φασγανον. ²⁵¹See Saunders (2006, p. 279) for accurate combat statistics in the *Iliad* as a whole. ²⁵²Examples: Achilles kills one with a spear throw and the other with the sword: *Iliad* XX 463, Achilles kills Deukalion with the spear and sword: *Iliad* XX 480-483, Achilles leaves his spear behind and fights with the sword: *Iliad* XXI 17-19. ²⁵³See D32 on p. 34.

tic shared with the narrative Delta tradition as a whole. Yet, it regularly pops up as a motif emphasized in the compassion fairy tale.²⁵⁴

Dc23 The invulnerable Achilles, who is scraped at the most

According to a myth especially strongly anchored in the Aeolian Gamma tradition (with oral characteristics G1 to G68), Achilles (G4) is inviolable²⁵⁵ (G17)²⁵⁶ because Achilles's mother (G38), the sea goddess (G36) Thetis, baptized him in the sacred (G49) River (G19) Styx (G31).²⁵⁷ According to another story, she held him over a fire. That inviolability appears among the oral characteristics of the fairy tale of compassion. Achilles can be scratched,²⁵⁸ but not seriously injured or killed.^{259,260}

Dc24 The danger of being outside the ramparts

In particular, it is the Trojans who face the difficult choice of allowing themselves to be shut in within their city or enter the perilous battlefield. When fighters retreat inside the ramparts,²⁶¹ they are immediately welcomed by concerned relatives. When all the fighters return together – or flee – from the battle, the Trojan women and the old men try to find out as quickly as possible who has returned and who is left dead.²⁶²

Dc25 Tying the prisoners with straps

In the prehistory of the fairy tale, the Trojans were regularly captured²⁶³ by Achilles. They were tied²⁶⁴ with young twigs²⁶⁵ or belts²⁶⁶ to be taken to the camp of the Greeks.²⁶⁷

Dc26 The mother who gave birth to Priam's child

Of the many sons of Priam, it is sometimes stated whether they are a

²⁵⁴Examples: Hektor saying he is unwashed: *Iliad* VI 266-267, Agenor contemplating cooling his sweat in the river: *Iliad* XXI 560-561, Andromache preparing a bath for Hektor: *Iliad* XXII 442-445.

²⁵⁵ΑΑΠΤΟΣ. ²⁵⁶Inviolability is related to the oral characteristic *injuries* (G17) in the Aeolian Gamma tradition, but is not specifically a Gamma characteristic. ²⁵⁷Here, we find the following oral characteristics of the Aeolian Gamma tradition: Achilles (G4), injuries (G17), rivers (G19), immersing a body in a river or the sea (G31), sea gods and sea monsters (G36), nymphs and gods as one's mother or father (G38), and priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods (G49). ²⁵⁸επιγραβδην: *Iliad* XXI 166. ²⁵⁹Salehi (2017) and Abolqasem compare three myths of inviolability: those of Achilles, Esfandiyar, and Siegfried. ²⁶⁰Examples: Aeneias does not get through Achilles's shield: *Iliad* XX 259-272, Athene blows away Hektor's spear: *Iliad* XX 438-441, Asteropaios scratches Achilles: *Iliad* XXI 163-168. ²⁶¹See D9 on p. 27. ²⁶²Examples: Relatives ask Hektor: *Iliad* VI 237-240, the Trojans do not dare to interrogate each other outside the ramparts: *Iliad* XXI 607-610, the Trojans fear for Priam's life, but stay inside: *Iliad* XXIV 327-331. ²⁶³αγω, διδημι. ²⁶⁴δεω, λυγω. ²⁶⁵μοσχος, ορπηξ. ²⁶⁶ιμας. ²⁶⁷Examples: Isos and Antiphos with willow branches: *Iliad* XI 105-106, twelve young Trojans with the belts of their own chitons: *Iliad* XXI 27-32, Lykaon cutting fig twigs: *Iliad* XXI 34-40.

bastard²⁶⁸ or a legal²⁶⁹ son or by which mother they were born. Priam had many concubines²⁷⁰ apart from his lawful wife Hekabe.²⁷¹

Dc27 Self-pity

Both the Trojan fighters and the other Trojans lament²⁷² regularly and let their tears²⁷³ flow. They were born for such misfortune, and a pitiful future awaits them.^{274,275}

Dc28 Tree species

Tree species are also a motif in the compassion fairy tale.²⁷⁶ We find oaks,²⁷⁷ a fig tree,²⁷⁸ elms,²⁷⁹ willows,²⁸⁰ and tamarisks.²⁸¹

Dc29 Lykaon

Lykaon is the son of Priam and his concubine Laothoë. Priam is willing to pay a large ransom for Lykaon if he is alive in the enemy camp. However, Achilles kills Lykaon without pity, having previously captured and sold him alive.²⁸²

Dc30 Knees

Knees²⁸³ are mainly referred to in two ways: as quick knees needed during chase and flight, and as knees clasped in begging for pity. During the sacrifice to the goddess Athene, a cloth is placed on her knees, and Achilles is hit in the shin below the knee.²⁸⁴

Dc31 The knowledge, or lack thereof, of the plot

Sometimes, it seems like all characters are clairvoyant. Hektor predicts that the day will come when Troy will fall.²⁸⁵ The Trojan women are already mourning Hektor when he is still alive,²⁸⁶ and Lykaon knows in advance that his pleas will have no effect.²⁸⁷ Another fact not included in the reconstructions is that Hektor predicts the death of Achil-

²⁶⁸νοθος. ²⁶⁹γνησιος. ²⁷⁰See Dc11 on p. 139. ²⁷¹Examples: Isos and Antiphos: *Iliad* XI 101-104, Laothoë: *Iliad* XXII 46-51, Priam's fifty sons: *Iliad* XXIV 495-497. ²⁷²See also D37 on p. 35. ²⁷³δακρυον. ²⁷⁴Cosgrove (2018) studies lamentations in ancient Greek literature. ²⁷⁵Examples: Andromache: *Iliad* VI 411-428, Hekabe: *Iliad* XXII 86-89, Priam: *Iliad* XXIV 505-506. ²⁷⁶Forster (1936, p. 104) concludes that the use of trees and plants in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is neither romantic nor scientific, but practical. ²⁷⁷δρυσ, φηγος: *Iliad* VI 237, *Iliad* XXI 549, and *Iliad* XXII 126. ²⁷⁸ερινεος: *Iliad* VI 433 and *Iliad* XXII 145. ²⁷⁹πτελεα: *Iliad* VI 419 and *Iliad* XXI 350. ²⁸⁰ιτεα: *Iliad* XXI 350. ²⁸¹μυρικη: *Iliad* XXI 350. ²⁸²Examples: Apollo in the guise of Lykaon to Aineias: *Iliad* XX 81-82, Achilles kills Lykaon: *Iliad* XXI 114-119, Priam bemoans Lykaon: *Iliad* XXII 46-54. ²⁸³γονυ. ²⁸⁴Examples: Sacrifice on the knees of Athene: *Iliad* VI 303, Polydoros sinks to the knees: *Iliad* XX 417, Tros throws himself at Achilles's knees: *Iliad* XX 464-470, Achilles's shin below the knee: *Iliad* XXI 591. ²⁸⁵*Iliad* VI 447-449. ²⁸⁶*Iliad* VI 499-502. ²⁸⁷*Iliad* XXI 92-93.

leus by the hand of Paris and Apollo.²⁸⁸ This shows that the characters have knowledge of events that normally only the bard and the audience have. Conversely, Andromache warms bathwater for Hektor when he has already been killed by Achilles,²⁸⁹ Lykaon continues to beg,²⁹⁰ and Hektor does not realize that he will die soon.²⁹¹

Dc32 A heart of iron

Three times in the context of the compassion fairy tale, a person is reproached for having a heart of iron: Hektor says it to Achilles,²⁹² Hekabe to Priam,²⁹³ and Achilles to Priam.²⁹⁴ The reconstruction uses the expression “heart of stone” to make the fairy tale more appropriate in a Bronze Age context. Yet it is possible that this oral characteristic was only introduced by a special role in the Ionian Epsilon tradition.

Unrecorded Oral Characteristics: Dc33 to Dc41

An additional list of oral characteristics further characterizes this story as a separate narration. Simultaneously, it shows that the story has integrated over time with unrelated oral traditions, in particular the Mykenaian Alpha tradition and the Aeolian Gamma tradition.²⁹⁵ These oral characteristics are only partly reflected in the above reconstruction of Achilles’s compassion, because they do not fit into the pure narrative Delta fairy tale. However, one who looks at the relevant passages of the *Iliad* can find them in the text. The supplementary list consists of the following nine oral characteristics:

Dc33 The Mykenaian Alpha context of Achilles’s captures

The references to the captures²⁹⁶ of the Trojans by Achilles, situated in the past, often show the characteristics of the Mykenaian Alpha tradition. The Trojans were captured with herds of cattle or sheep (A13), in orchards (A34, A56), or during raids for cattle (A26).²⁹⁷

²⁸⁸*Iliad* XXII 358-360. The reason for not including it in the reconstruction is that this fact mixes the oral characteristics of the three fairy tales. ²⁸⁹About this passage (*Iliad* XXII 240-246), Graziosi (Verity (2011), p. xix) notes that the poet of the *Iliad* often draws the attention to the ignorance of the mortal characters. ²⁹⁰*Iliad* XXI 94-96. ²⁹¹*Iliad* XVIII 309. ²⁹²*Iliad* XXII 357. ²⁹³*Iliad* XXIV 205. ²⁹⁴*Iliad* XXIV 521. ²⁹⁵The Ionian Epsilon tradition is, of course, also found, but only as a superficial layer, as in the epithets and the Homeric similes. ²⁹⁶See Dc25 on p. 143. ²⁹⁷Examples: herding sheep at the Ida: *Iliad* XI 105-106, the poaching of Aineias’s cattle and the destruction of cities: *Iliad* XX 90-92, poaching and an orchard: *Iliad* XXI 35-37.

Dc34 Troy’s neighboring cities, regions, and islands

In Blondé (2020), the book on the Aeolian Gamma tradition, it was already concluded that not only the names Troy and Ilion, but also a range of other names from the area – such as Pergamos, Dardanos, and Thebes at Plakos – are among the oral characteristics of the Aeolian Gamma tradition. The neighboring towns of Troy are also a motif in the complete version of Achilleus’s compassion. For example, there are many allies from neighboring cities who come to the aid of Troy. Some of the neighboring cities were previously destroyed by Achilleus, “with the help of Athene,” and for the Trojan women in this story it is sometimes mentioned which neighboring city they come from. Achilleus also sells captured Trojans in neighboring cities.^{298,299}

Dc35 The earlier encounter with Aineias

The duel between Achilleus and Aineias, one destined for a short life and the other for a long life full of wealth, belongs to the Aeolian Gamma tradition. However, in the introduction to the duel, it is described how Aineias was one of the unfortunates who had already been confronted with Achilleus in the past (Dc10). Aineias declares to Lykaon (Dc11) that he had been forced to flee to the neighboring city (G10, Dc34) Lyrnessos before, by the spear (Dc21) of the swift Achilleus, during a raid for cattle (A26, Dc33), and that his fast knees (Dc19) had saved him.³⁰⁰ These characteristics place this encounter firmly into the story of Achilleus’s compassion.³⁰¹

Dc36 Selling prisoners as slaves

The Trojans whom Achilleus captured were not only released for ransom from the Trojans, but also sold as slaves³⁰² in the neighborhood of Troy (G10), such as in the islands (G44) Samos, Imbros, or Lemnos. In the story of Apollo, Poseidon (G9), and Laomedon (G2), this is also mentioned: Laomedon, the lying Trojan king, threatened to handcuff both gods (G3) and sell them on distant islands.³⁰³ Thus, this oral characteristic is closely related to the Aeolian Gamma tradition.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁸Burgess (2012) studied the wider area of Troy. ²⁹⁹Examples: Kilikians, Thebes, and Plakos: *Iliad* VI 415-425, the destruction of Lyrnessos and Pedasos: *Iliad* XX 92, Lemnos, Imbros, and Arisbe: *Iliad* XXI 40-43. ³⁰⁰*Iliad* XX 86-93. ³⁰¹Examples: Aineias to Lykaon: *Iliad* XX 81-98, Achilleus to Aineias: *Iliad* XX 187-194. ³⁰²περρω, περρημη. ³⁰³*Iliad* XXI 453-454. ³⁰⁴Examples: Lykaon sold in Lemnos: *Iliad* XXI 40-41, Lykaon sold in Lemnos: *Iliad* XXI 79, Samos, Imbros, or Lemnos: *Iliad* XXIV 751-753.

Dc37 The integration with the family tree of Priam

As in the European Beta tradition for fallen warriors, we often get a brief description of the origins of Hektor's relatives. The ancestors of Priam, himself, are also mixed with this fairy tale about Achilles's compassion. In the battle part of the story, we read:

*Then Achilles swooping on Dardanos and Laogonos, sons both of Bias, dashed them to the ground from behind their horses, one with a spearcast, one with a stroke of the sword from close up. Now Tros, Alastor's son: he had come up against Achilles' knees, to catch them and be spared.*³⁰⁵

The names Tros and Dardanos come straight from the family tree of the Trojans, as described by Aineias some 250 verses earlier. This confusion makes us suspect that the family tree has long been linked to the flight of the Trojans in this story. Personal names such as Laogonos, Loathoë, Laodike and perhaps Lykaon also show a clear relationship with the name of Laomedon, father of Priam. Finally, one of the typical place indications in this story, the burial mound along the river, has been named the burial mound of Ilos, a former Trojan king. Priam's entire family tree belongs mainly to the Aeolian Gamma tradition.³⁰⁶

Dc38 The divine Skamandros

The river along the battlefield is certainly a motif in Achilles's compassion story. Chapter XXI of our *Iliad* is largely devoted to the battle in the Skamandros (also called Xanthos), in which Achilles slaughters many fleeing Trojans. The Skamandros is a river near Troy in which the Trojans regularly sacrificed. The compassion fairy tale has grown to such an extent over time that the river has entered the story as a deity itself, even engaging in battle with Achilles and other gods. This clearly blends with the oral characteristics of the Aeolian Gamma tradition.³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵*Iliad* XX 461-465. ³⁰⁶Examples: Lykaon, descendant of Dardanos: *Iliad* XXI 34-35, Loathoë, mother of Lykaon and Polydoros: *Iliad* XXII 46-51, burial mound of Ilos: *Iliad* XXIV 349.

³⁰⁷Examples: Achilles throws Lykaon into the Skamandros: *Iliad* XXI 120-127, the river god Xanthos is angry with Achilles: *Iliad* XXI 145-147, the river god fights with Achilles: *Iliad* XXI 240-284.

Dc39 Allies' replacement of the Trojans

In four places in the *Iliad*,³⁰⁸ fighters are mentioned who came from neighboring cities of Troy to redeem³⁰⁹ the Trojans in battle only a few days earlier. Redemption fits in with the realism of a war that has lasted ten years but less with that of a shorter battle in which the Trojans were trapped within Troy. Two (to three) of the four mentions clearly occur within the context of the compassion story.³¹⁰ All four belong to the broader contours of the narrative Delta tradition.

Dc40 The faded glory of Troy

The wealth³¹¹ of Troy is sometimes referred to in the complete version of the story as former wealth, which has since been lost. Tradition has probably dictated for some time that the war for Troy lasted ten years so that a prosperous Troy no longer seemed so realistic. Achilles speaks to Priam in the past tense: *And you, old sir, we are told you prospered once; for as much as Lesbos, Makar's hold, confines to the north above it and Phrygia from the north confines, and enormous Hellespont, of these, old sir, you were lord once in your wealth and your children.*³¹² Hektor also speaks in the past tense about the wealth of Troy.³¹³

Dc41 The mixture with the Aeolian Gamma tradition

In some chapters of the *Iliad*, namely in II, VI, XX, and XXI, the compassion fairy tale is colored to a greater or lesser extent by the oral characteristics of the Aeolian Gamma tradition. This is especially the case regarding the duel between Achilles and Aineias in *Iliad* XX, the fight in the River Skamandros in *Iliad* XXI, and the text close to these passages. This probably has much to do with the fact that Achilles, Aineias, and rivers, themselves, are important oral characteristics of the Aeolian Gamma tradition. External influences from, for example, the Aeolian Gamma tradition have been excluded from the reconstructions of the fairy tales.³¹⁴

³⁰⁸*Iliad* X 434, *Iliad* XIII 793-794, *Iliad* XXI 45-46, and *Iliad* XXI 154-156. ³⁰⁹*αμοιβος*. ³¹⁰The two statements in *Iliad* XXI are clear. The one in *Iliad* XIII occurs near Poulydamas (oral characteristic Dc14). ³¹¹*ολβιος*. ³¹²*Iliad* XXIV 543-546. ³¹³*Iliad* XVIII 288-292. ³¹⁴Examples: the gods know a burial mound near Troy named after Myrine (an Amazon): *Iliad* II 814, nymphs take care of a Kilikian: *Iliad* VI 419, Dardanos and Tros, namesakes of Trojan ancestors, are killed without pity by Achilles: *Iliad* XX 461-464.

Defense of the Reconstruction of the Compassion Fairy Tale

The reconstruction of the compassion fairy tale requires less defense than that of the anger fairy tale or Helen's fairy tale because fewer facts have been distorted or ignored. For the compassion fairy tale, the main task is to identify the correct passages and put them together in a logical order. Thanks to the many oral characteristics of this fairy tale, that is relatively easy.

Nonetheless, a choice had to be made to assign the father role in the theme "fame for the father," with Patroklos in the role of the son, to Peleus, rather than Achilles. In the *Iliad*, Achilles has that father role, because Patroklos comes to beg him to be allowed to fight in his armor and because Achilles is the one who urges Patroklos to return in time instead of wanting to gain great fame. Yet, both Peleus, the father of Achilles, and Menoitios, the father of Patroklos, are mentioned when Patroklos comes to beg for Achilles's armor.³¹⁵ Therefore, it seems appropriate not to sideline that generation. Another reason is to preserve the parallel between the triads Priam-Polydoros-Hektor³¹⁶ and Peleus-Patroklos-Achilleus. Priam forbade Polydoros to fight because he was his youngest son. That puts their relationship in the type scene of the fame for the father. When Achilles kills Polydoros,³¹⁷ Hektor can no longer stand to avoid Achilles on the battlefield. Thus, Hektor takes on the role of the warlike older brother, who wants to take revenge for the slain young brother. Assigning similar roles to Peleus, Patroklos, and Achilles thus seems to be a justified reconstruction.

This concludes the discussion of the last of the three Delta fairy tales. In the next chapter, we study the narrative Delta tradition in detail by analyzing sections of some of the purest Delta passages.

³¹⁵*Iliad* XVI 14-15. ³¹⁶*Iliad* XVI 407-422. ³¹⁷According to Euripides's *Hecabe* (Daitz 1973), Polydoros kills Polydoros to steal the treasures that Polydoros carried.

Chapter 6

Analyzed Delta Passages

The reconstructed fairy tales are already a testimony to the narrative Delta tradition. Yet, they do not contain references to their oral characteristics. As for the other oral traditions, a chapter follows with such references. The narrative Delta tradition has many very pure passages that are completely built up with its oral characteristics. Those passages are discussed first. In a second part follows a dissection of a possibly centuries-old passage (Hektor who makes a tour of Troy in *Iliad* VI) on which various oral traditions, including the narrative Delta tradition, have had their influence over time.

The Purest Delta passages

In this section, with pure Delta passages, the short descriptions of the oral characteristics are printed in footnotes to facilitate analysis. The first pure Delta passage shows us Nestor making the practical preparations to march to Troy. It belongs to *Iliad* II before the first clash between the Greeks and the Trojans in the *Iliad*. Odysseus has just given a speech about the bird signs explained by the seer Kalchas at the departure of the Greeks in Aulis, when we read the following:¹

So he spoke [D3], and the Argives shouted aloud [D40], and about them the ships echoed terribly to the roaring [D6, D40] Achaians as they cried out

¹*Iliad* II 333-345.

applause [D2] to the word [D10] of godlike Odysseus [D18]. Now among them spoke [D3] the Gerenian horseman, Nestor [D19]:²

“Oh, for shame! You are like children when you hold assembly [D2], infant children [D29], to whom the works of war [D10] mean nothing. Where then shall our covenants [D11] go, and the oaths [D6, D11] we have taken? Let counsels [D2] and the meditations [D2] of men be given to the flames [D26] then, with the unmixed wine [D21] poured [D35] and the right hands [D6, D11] we trusted [D27]. We do our fighting [D10] with words [D3, D10] only, and can discover no remedy [D2, D6], though we have stayed here a long time. Son of Atreus [D25], do you still as before hold fast to your counsel [D2, D6] unshaken and be the leader of the Argives through the strong encounters [D10].”³

In this passage, a series of oral characteristics of the narrative Delta tradition are in the display window: meetings, children, oaths, treaties, councils of war, shed offerings, wine, fire, and war. Nestor simply mentions them in sequence, almost independent of their meaning.

After this passage, the Greeks order their troops and go to battle. Then follows the Catalogue of Ships, which lists all the leaders of the Greeks and mentions the number of ships they command. The goddess Iris subsequently warns the Trojans in a passage that has different characteristics of the compassion fairy tale (Dc1-Dc39):⁴

Now to the Trojans came as messenger wind-footed Iris, in her speed, with the dark message from Zeus [D24] of the aegis. These were holding assembly [D2] in front of the doors of Priam [Dc13] gathered together [D2, D6] in one place, the elders and the young men [D4, D43]. Standing close at hand swift-running [Dc19] Iris spoke to them, and likened her voice to that of the son of Priam [D25], Polites [Dc11], who confident in the speed of his feet [Dc19] kept watch for the Trojans [Dc2] aloft the ancient burial mound [Dc13, D30] of ancient Aisyetes, waiting [D20] for the time when

²Councils of war (D2), dialogues (D3), the repetition of the same oral characteristic (D6), Odysseus, Idaios, and Odios as heralds (D18), Nestor, Hektor, and Achilleus as captains (D19), and the joint applause of a proposal or a long silence (D40).

³Councils of war (D2), dialogues (D3), the repetition of the same oral characteristic (D6), (mentioning) “words” or “war” (D10), oaths and treaties (D11), wine (D21), Agamemnon and Priam as clan leaders (D25), fire and firewood (D26), wiles and deceit (D27), women, children, young men, and old men (D29), and the sacrifice of cattle and wine (D35).

⁴*Iliad* II 786-806.

the Achaians should move from their vessels. In this man's likeness Iris the swift-running [Dc19] spoke [D3] to them: "Old sir [D25], dear to you forever are words [D10] beyond number as once, when there was peace [D4]; but stintless war [D4, D10] has arisen. In my time I have gone into many battles [D10] among men, yet never have I seen a host [D10] like this, not one so numerous. These look terribly like leaves, or the sands of the seashore, as they advance across the plain [D9] to fight [D10] by the city. Hektor [D19, Dc3], on you beyond all I urge this, to do as I tell [D2] you: all about the great city of Priam are many companions [Dc39], but multitudinous is the speech of the scattered nations: let each man who is their leader give orders [D10] to these men, and let each set his citizens in order [D10], and lead [D6, D10, D15] them."⁵

In particular, the opposition of the young and the old in the council is a clear indication that we are dealing with the narrative Delta tradition here. It is a classic opposition, but it is also relevant in the context of the council.

The armies of the Greeks and the Trojans meet in *Iliad* III near the ramparts of Troy. Under pressure from Hektor, Paris proposes fighting Menelaos in a direct duel. Hektor happily conveys that message to the Greeks. Then follows this passage:⁶

So he spoke, and all of them stayed stricken to silence [D2]; but among them spoke [D3] out Menelaos [Dh17] of the great war cry: "Listen [D3] now to me also; since beyond all others this sorrow comes closest to my heart, and I think the Argives [D15] and Trojans [D15] can go free [D1] of each other at last. You have suffered much evil for the sake of this my quarrel since Alexandros [Dh12] began [D27] it. As for that one of us two to whom death and doom are given, let him die: the rest of you be made friends [D1] with each other. Bring two lambs [D35]: let one be white [D4] and the other black [D4] for Earth [D4] and the Sun God [D4], and for Zeus [D24, D35] we will

⁵*Generic Delta characteristics*: councils of war (D2), dialogues (D3), oppositions (D4), the repetition of the same oral characteristic (D6), ramparts, a ditch, gates, towers, and the battlefield (D9), (mentioning) "words" or "war" (D10), the symmetry between the two enemy camps (D15), Nestor, Hektor, and Achilles as captains (D19), sentries (D20), Zeus and sometimes Athene or Apollo (D24), Agamemnon and Priam as clan leaders (D25), burial mounds, cremation, and urns (D30), and old versus young fighters (D43). *Characteristics of the compassion fairy tale*: Troy and the Trojans (Dc2), Hektor, whose death leaves Troy unprotected (Dc3), Priam's many sons and their mothers and deaths (Dc11), accurate geographic references around Troy (Dc13), fast feet and knees in pursuit and flight (Dc19), and allies' replacement of the Trojans (Dc39).

⁶*Iliad* III 95-110.

*bring yet another. Bring, that he may seal the pledges [D11], the strength of Priam [D25]: Priam himself, for his sons [D29] are outrageous, not to be trusted [D12, Dh2]; lest some man overstep [D27] Zeus' [D24] oaths [D11], and make them be nothing. Always it is, that the hearts in the younger [D4, D29] men are frivolous, but when an elder [D4, D29] man [D2] is among them [D2], he looks behind [D4, D6] him and in front [D4, D6], so that all comes out far better for both sides [D15]."*⁷

In this passage, oaths and treaties are central, along with everything related to them, such as sacrifices. However, the contrasts, such as black and white, Sun-Earth, young-old, and front-back, are also characteristic.

Paris loses the duel but is brought safely into the ramparts of Troy by the goddess Aphrodite. The Greeks and the Trojans come to blows again. During a pause in the battle, a meeting takes place in Troy, in which Paris says he is willing to return the treasures he stole from Menelaos, along with gifts from his own possessions. However, he does not want to give up Helen. The herald Idaios delivers that message to the Greek camp, where the leaders were just sitting in a meeting. Idaios also proposes respecting a short truce to burn the dead. After his word, we read this:⁸

So he spoke [D3, D10], and all of them stayed quiet in silence [D2]; but now at long last Diomedes [D23, Dh6] of the great war cry addressed them: "Now let none accept the possessions [D16] of Alexandros [Dh12], nor take back Helen [Dh7]; one who is very simple can see it, that by this time the terms of death hang over the Trojans [D3, D12, Dh3, Dh4]." So he spoke, and all sons of the Achaians shouted acclaim [D40] for the word of Diomedes, breaker of horses; and now powerful Agamemnon [D25] spoke to Idaios [D14, D18]: "Idaios, you hear for yourself the word of the Achaians, how they are answering you; and such is my pleasure also. But about the burning [D1, D26, D30] of the dead bodies I do not begrudge you; no, for there is no sparing time [D37] for the bodies of the perished, once they have

⁷The diversification from the fight (D1), councils of war (D2), dialogues (D3), oppositions (D4), the repetition of the same oral characteristic (D6), oaths and treaties (D11), themes and motifs (D12), the symmetry between the two enemy camps (D15), Zeus and sometimes Athene or Apollo (D24), Agamemnon and Priam as clan leaders (D25), wives and deceit (D27), women, children, young men, and old men (D29), the sacrifice of cattle and wine (D35), the dishonest, corrupt Trojans who violate the treaties (Dh2), Paris and Pandaros, cowardly archers (Dh12), and Menelaos, the hero whose wife was abducted (Dh17).

⁸*Iliad* VII 398-441.

died, to give them swiftly the pity [D37] of burning [D6, D26]. Let Zeus [D24], high-thundering lord of Hera, witness [Dh3] our pledges [D11, Dh1].” He spoke [D3], and held up the scepter [D36] in the sight of all the gods [D11].⁹

Then Idaios [D18] made his way back once more to sacred Ilion. The Trojans and Dardanians were in session of assembly [D2], all gathered in one place [D2, D6], awaiting Idaios when he might come back; and he returned to them and delivered his message [D14] standing there in their midst [D2], and they made their swift preparations, for two things, some to gather the bodies [D37], and the others firewood [D26]; while the Argives on the other side [D15] from their strong-benched vessels went forward, some to gather the bodies [D6, D15, D37], and others firewood [D6, D15, D26].¹⁰

Now the sun of a new day [D17] struck on the ploughlands, rising out of the quiet water and the deep stream of the ocean to climb the sky [D17]. The Trojans assembled together. They found it hard to recognize [D37] each individual dead man; but with water [D38] they washed [D32, D37] away the blood [D48] that was on them and as they wept warm tears [D46] they lifted them onto the wagons [D13]. But great Priam would not let them cry [D46] out; and in silence they piled [D37] the bodies upon the pyre [D30], with their hearts in sorrow, and burned [D30, D26] them upon the fire [D26], and went back to sacred Ilion. In the same way [D15] on the other side [D15] the strong-greaved Achaians piled [D37] their own slain upon the pyre [D30], with their hearts in sorrow, and burned [D30, D26] them upon the fire [D26], and went back to their hollow vessels.¹¹

⁹The diversification from the fight (D1), councils of war (D2), dialogues (D3), the repetition of the same oral characteristic (D6), (mentioning) “words” or “war” (D10), oaths and treaties (D11), themes and motifs (D12), heralds (D14), gifts and valuables (D16), Odysseus, Idaios, and Odios as heralds (D18), young antiheroes (D23), Zeus and sometimes Athene or Apollo (D24), Agamemnon and Priam as clan leaders (D25), fire and firewood (D26), burial mounds, cremation, and urns (D30), the scepter (D36), mourning and funeral care (D37), the joint applause of a proposal or a long silence (D40), Zeus, who watches over the oaths and treaties (Dh3), the opposites of cowardice and bravery in battle (Dh4), Diomedes, the youth who turns out to be the greatest hero (Dh6), Helen, languishing in Troy (Dh7), the impending fall of Troy (Dh11), and Paris and Pandaros, cowardly archers (Dh12).

¹⁰Councils of war (D2), the repetition of the same oral characteristic (D6), heralds (D14), the symmetry between the two enemy camps (D15), Odysseus, Idaios, and Odios as heralds (D18), fire and firewood (D26), and mourning and funeral care (D37).

¹¹The somewhat austere materialism (D13), the symmetry between the two enemy camps (D15), the alternation of day and night (D17), fire and firewood (D26), burial mounds, cremation, and urns (D30), to wash and to anoint (D32), mourning and funeral care (D37), boilers, bathtubs, and water for washing (D38), tears, weeping, and lamentation (D46), and blood and dirt (D48).

But when the dawn [D17] was not yet, but still the pallor of night's [D6, D17] edge, a chosen body of the Achaians formed by the pyre [D30]; and they gathered together [D37] and piled one single mound [D30] all above it indiscriminately from the plain [D9], and built a fort [D9] on it with towered [D9] ramparts [D6, D9], to be a defense for themselves and their vessels; and they built within these walls gates [D9] strongly fitted that there might be a way through [D10] them for the driving of horses [D13]; and on the outer side and against it they dug a deep ditch [D9], making it great and wide, and fixed the sharp stakes [D13] inside it.¹²

The wall that the narrative Delta bards have built here by the Greeks has the function of simulating the siege of a stronghold or town. It is an indispensable part of the European Beta tradition and the narrative Delta tradition. During several chapters of the *Iliad* (especially XI-XIII), the siege of the rampart is central. Thanks to the help of Patroklos, the Greeks can break out for a while, but after the death of Patroklos, they are driven back to their camp by the Trojans. The Greeks can only just recapture the corpse of Patroklos, thanks to Aias on the battlefield, and thanks to Achilles, who shows up and shouts aloud on the Greek side of the ditch in front of the rampart. Then we get the following narrative Delta passage:¹³

The sun went down [D17], and the brilliant Achaians [D15] gave over [D1] their strong fighting [D10], and the doubtful collision of battle [D6, D10]. The Trojans on the other side [D15] moved from the strong encounter [D10] in their turn, and unyoked [D42] their running horses [D42] from under the chariots [D42], and gathered into assembly [D2] before taking thought for their supper [D5]. They stood on their feet in assembly [D2, D6], nor did any man have the patience to sit down, but the terror was on them all, seeing that Achilles [Da1] had appeared, after he had stayed [D1, D12] so long from the difficult fighting [D10]. First to speak [D3, D10] among them [D2] was the careful Poulydamas [Dc14], Panthoös' son, who alone of them looked before [D4] and behind [D4] him. He was companion to Hektor [D19], and born on the same night [D17] with him, but he was better in words [D4, D6, D10], the other with the spear [D4, D10, D13] far better. He in kind intention

¹²The repetition of the same oral characteristic (D6), ramparts, a ditch, gates, towers, and the battlefield (D9), (mentioning) "words" or "war" (D10), the somewhat austere materialism (D13), the alternation of day and night (D17), burial mounds, cremation, and urns (D30), and mourning and funeral care (D37).

¹³*Iliad* XVIII 241-256.

toward all [D3] stood forth and addressed [D3, D6] them: “Now take careful thought [D2], dear friends; for I myself urge you to go back into [D22] the city and not wait for the divine dawn [D17] in the plain [D4, D9, Dc24] beside the ships. We are too far from the wall [D4, D9, Dc24] now.”¹⁴

This is the situation with the Trojans. Nevertheless, Poulydamas cannot convince Hektor. This passage shows us the type scene of the setting of the sun, associated with the stretching out of the horses, the supper, and the councils of war. We also find three oppositions: past versus future, excellence in words versus battle, and plain versus rampart. The passage is part of the compassion fairy tale, characterized by Poulydamas and the danger of being outside the ramparts. On the Greek side, we see that the type scene of washing after the battle is applied to the corpse of Patroklos.^{15,16}

So speaking [D10] brilliant Achilles [Dc23] gave orders [D1] to his companions to set a great cauldron [D13, D38] across the fire [D26], so that with all speed they could wash [D32] away the clotted [D48] blood [D48] from Patroklos [D37, Da4]. They set up over the blaze of the fire [D6, D26] a bath-water [D38] cauldron [D6, D38] and poured water [D38] into it and put logs [D6, D26] underneath and kindled [D6, D26] them. The fire [D6, D26] worked on the swell of the cauldron [D6, D38], and the water [D6, D38] heated. But when the water [D6, D38] had come to a boil in the shining bronze [D13], then they washed [D6, D32] the body and anointed [D32, D37] it softly with olive oil [D13] and stopped the gashes in his body with stored-up unguents [D13, D32] and laid him on a bed [D13], and shrouded him in a thin sheet [D13] from head to foot, and covered that over with a white mantle [D13, D37]. Then all night [D17] long, gathered about Achilles of the swift

¹⁴The diversification from the fight (D1), councils of war (D2), dialogues (D3), oppositions (D4), meals with much meat and wine (D5), the repetition of the same oral characteristic (D6), ramparts, a ditch, gates, towers, and the battlefield (D9), (mentioning) “words” or “war” (D10), themes and motifs (D12), the somewhat austere materialism (D13), the symmetry between the two enemy camps (D15), the alternation of day and night (D17), Nestor, Hektor, and Achilles as captains (D19), the safe return within the ramparts (D22), driving, (un)yoking, and feeding the horses (D42), Achilles, the tragic main character (Da1), Poulydamas predicting Trojan defeat (Dc14), and the danger of being outside the ramparts (Dc24).

¹⁵*Iliad* XVIII 343-355.

¹⁶The diversification from the fight (D1), (mentioning) “words” or “war” (D10), the somewhat austere materialism (D13), the alternation of day and night (D17), fire and firewood (D26), to wash and to anoint (D32), mourning and funeral care (D37), boilers, bathtubs, and water for washing (D38), blood and dirt (D48), Patroklos, the bosom friend of Achilles (Da4), and the invulnerable Achilles, who is scraped at the most (Dc23).

feet, the Myrmidons mourned [D37] for Patroklos and lamented [D6, D37] over him.

The repetition of the same oral characteristic is especially typical here: The kettle/bronze, fire, water, washing, oil/ointment, and sheet/mantle are all mentioned several times. Moreover, these are all narrative Delta characteristics that fit within its austere materialism. The next morning, all-out battle takes place, and Achilles chases the Trojans back to their city. In doing so, he causes numerous deaths. All Trojans rush within the walls, except Hektor. He awaits Achilles and speaks to himself in a passage that contains many oral characteristics of the compassion fairy tale, including becoming unarmed, an oak as a tree, and the wealth of Troy:¹⁷

“Ah me [D49, Dc27]! If I go now inside [Dc24] the wall [D9] and the gateway [D9], Poulydamas [Dc14] will be first to put a reproach upon me, since he tried [D2] to make me lead the Trojans [Dc2] inside [Dc24] the city on that accursed night [D17] when brilliant Achilles [Dc23] rose up, and I would not obey [D2] him, but that would have been far better. Now, since by my own recklessness I have ruined [Dc4] my people, I feel shame [Dc9] before the Trojans [D6, Dc2] and the Trojan women [D6, Dc2] with trailing robes, that someone who is less of a man than I will say of me: ‘Hektor [Dc3] believed in his own [Dc9] strength and ruined [Dc4] his people.’ Thus they will speak; and as for me, it would be much better at that time, to go against Achilles, and slay [Dc7] him, and come back [Dc24], or else be killed by him in glory [Dc7] in front of the city. Or if again I set down [Dc17] my shield [D6, Dc17] massive in the middle and my ponderous helm [D6, Dc17], and lean my spear [D6, Dc17] up against the rampart [D9] and go out as I am [D6, Dc17] to meet Achilles the blameless and promise [D11] to give back [D16] Helen [Dh7], and with her all her possessions [D6, D16], all those things [D6, D16] that once in the hollow ships Alexandros [Dh12] brought back to Troy, and these were the beginning of the quarrel [D10]; to give [D6, D16] these to Atreus’ sons to take away, and for the Achaians also to divide [D6, D16] up all that is hidden within the city [Dc5], and take an oath [D11] thereafter for the Trojans [Dc2] in conclave not to hide anything away, but distribute [D6, D16] all of it, as much [D6, D16] as the lovely citadel keeps guarded within it; yet still, why does the heart within me debate on these things [D49]? I might go up to him [Dc12], and he take no pity [Dc1] upon me nor respect

¹⁷ *Iliad* XXII 99-130.

[D6, Dc1] my position, but kill [D6, Dc1] me naked [D6, Dc17] so, as if I were a woman [D29], once I stripped [D6, Dc17] my armor from me. There is no way anymore from a tree [Dc28] or a rock to talk [D3] to him gently whispering [D3, D6] like a young man [D4, D6, D29] and a young girl [D4, D6, D29], in the way a young man [D4, D6, D29] and a young maiden [D4, D6, D29] whisper [D3, D6] together. Better to bring on the fight [D10] with him as soon as it may be. We shall see to which one the Olympian [D24] grants the glory [Dc7].”¹⁸

This concludes the analysis of the pure Delta passages. In the next section, a passage is discussed that is much less pure but has several layers and is, therefore, probably very old.

The Multilayered Hector’s Visit to Troy in *Iliad* VI

In the book on the European Beta tradition, it was already established that the structure of Chapter VI¹⁹ of the *Iliad* is very old.²⁰ Let us take a closer look at this chapter and provide references to the many oral characteristics of the various oral traditions we find in it. The [E] stands for the Ionian Epsilon tradition. The discussion deals in particular with passages VI 80-125 and VI 240-529:

The Trojans are beaten back to the ramparts [Ba10] of Troy, and Helenos, the bird augur [D34], gives advice to Hektor [Ba1, D19, Dc3]. Hektor must first form a front [Ba10] before the ramparts of Troy and encourage the ranks [Ba12]. Then he must enter Troy to ask the Trojan women to offer sacrifices [Ba15, D35] to Athene [D24]. Hektor follows that advice, and

¹⁸Councils of war (D2), dialogues (D3), oppositions (D4), the repetition of the same oral characteristic (D6), ramparts, a ditch, gates, towers, and the battlefield (D9), (mentioning) “words” or “war” (D10), oaths and treaties (D11), gifts and valuables (D16), the alternation of day and night (D17), Zeus and sometimes Athene or Apollo (D24), women, children, young men, and old men (D29), Ah me, why does my heart debate these things? (D49), the compassion and ruthlessness of Achilles (Dc1), Troy and the Trojans (Dc2), Hektor, whose death leaves Troy unprotected (Dc3), the impending fall of Troy (Dc4), the wealth of Troy (Dc5), to gain fame in the fight for the father and for the people (Dc7), Hektor’s pride (Dc9), begging for pity (Dc12), Poulydamas predicting Trojan defeat (Dc14), getting unarmed, losing the last spear (Dc17), the invulnerable Achilles, who is scraped at the most (Dc23), the danger of being outside the ramparts (Dc24), self-pity (Dc27), tree species (Dc28), Helen, languishing in Troy (Dh7), and Paris and Pandaros, cowardly archers (Dh12).

¹⁹See also Graziosi (2010) for a discussion of *Iliad* VI.

²⁰Blondé (2019), p. 115-116.

wielding two spears [Ba12], he goes along the ranks of the Trojan warriors [Ba12]. On entering Troy, his mother Hekabe asks [Dc6] if he needs wine [Ba15, D21, D35]. Hektor refuses the wine, so that his strength is not paralyzed for the battle, and he also refuses to shed it to Zeus [D24], because he has not yet washed [D32] his hands after the battle. They are covered with blood and filth [D48]. However, he asks the women to take the most beautiful garment [E] from the treasury [Dc5] and to put it on the knees [Dc30] of Athene. In addition, they must promise to sacrifice twelve oxen [D35]. The women carry out this order, and they choose a robe that Paris himself brought from Sidon [E]. Then Hektor goes looking for Paris [Bd2], who is just busy [Bb5] with his weapons [Bc9] and his bow [Bd1]. Hektor blames Paris as a coward [Bc4] and calls on him [Bc8] to help the Trojans [Bb8] on the battlefield. Paris apologizes [Bc6] and says that he did not hang back in anger [Bf1] and that Helen [Bf5] had already persuaded him [Bf8] to fight. Then Helen reviles herself and explains her detestable actions to Hektor, inviting him to sit [E].

Hektor then tries to find his wife Andromache, but finds only female slaves [E] in her room. He eventually finds her at the ramparts [D9] and the Skaian gate [Dc13]. There, Andromache speaks in self-pity [Dc27] in a long account that has the characteristics of different oral traditions [A13, A19, B12, G13, G20, G28, G32, D30, Dc1, Dc3, Dc15, Dc28]. In it, she mentions, among other things, the burial mound [D30] that Achilles [Dc1] raised [D37] for her father, and she advises Hektor to shut himself in inside [Dc24] the ramparts again.

Hektor answers according to the characteristics of the compassion fairy tale [Dc7] and predicts the fall of Troy [G7, G33]. Then follows a lovely scene [E] with the baby Astyanax [Dc6], Hektor's successor as savior [Dc3] and fame [Dc7] bringer of the city. That scene ends with Andromache and her slaves who mourn Hektor while he is still alive [Dc3]. In the end, Hektor goes to war together with Paris [Bc10, Bd3].

The analysis in the book on the European Beta tradition remains intact: The European Beta tradition forms the oldest layer in Chapter VI. This has to do with the way the type scenes of the European Beta tradition are combined. Everything starts with the idea that an army is gathered in front of the ramparts of Troy and forms a front.

Linked to this is the type scene of setting up the army before the fight (B39). According to that scene, the chief – Hektor – must enter the city to

offer sacrifices to the gods. That is a link with two other type scenes that go well together: the rescuer (B40) and the cowardly archer (B42) – Paris. The rescuer must be sought far behind the ranks, and that is also where the cowardly archer is.

The fact that this person is also far behind the ranks in the city goes well with the type scene of the resentful warrior (B44). The type scene of the fighter blaming his companion (B41) can also easily be added. That is why Paris is busy with his weapons and not, as one might expect, with his lyre or his dance clothing. Accordingly, the whole framework of *Iliad* VI started with a very popular passage of the European Beta tradition, which combines many of its type scenes.

The narrative Delta tradition touches on an important element in this whole, namely, the sacrifice made to the gods. This is also an oral characteristic of the narrative Delta tradition, especially of wine and cattle. That is why Hekabe offers Hektor wine.

The narrative Delta tradition is further exploited by adding Andromache to the scene. She laments her own fate, speaks of her father's burial mound that Achilles has erected, advises Hektor to close himself in again within the city, and introduces Astyanax as the city's new savior and fame bringer. This provides a framework for Andromache's intervention according to the fairy tale of Achilles's compassion.

The oral characteristics of other oral traditions in Andromache's account are not essential and are therefore probably added later. The conversation between Hektor and Helen stems from another Delta fairy tale: Helen's abduction. Ultimately, the Ionian Epsilon tradition also left its mark on this popular passage by introducing several female slaves and referring to the city of Sidon and its precious cloth. The fact that the wine as a sacrifice had to be dispensed with could be solved by another oral characteristic of the narrative Delta tradition: the idea that warriors should wash themselves when they return from the battlefield. Because Hektor's hands were unwashed, he could not shed wine.

This explains the multiple layers in *Iliad* VI. In the next chapter, the last before the conclusion, the evolution of the character Odysseus is examined. This evolution begins with a type scene of the narrative Delta tradition: the brave scout.

Chapter 7

Odysseus: From Herald to Hero

In this chapter, we explore the connection between the Odysseus in the narrative Delta tradition and the Odysseus in the *Odyssey*. In the narrative Delta tradition, Odysseus is a herald, while in the *Odyssey*, he is the cunning protagonist who experiences numerous adventures. First, the thesis is defended that Odysseus must once have been a herald in the oral tradition. Subsequently, a type scene is discussed that originates from the narrative Delta tradition, but that has developed further in the Ionian Epsilon tradition. That is the type scene of the brave scout, which is mainly impersonated by Odysseus, but which is also applied to Diomedes, Priam, Sinon, and Menelaos. The cunning of the brave scout has successively linked itself with the telestory¹ and the king story.² Thus, Odysseus develops from a herald into a telewarrior who endures many adventures during long wanderings. Then, or simultaneously, he became the protagonist of a king story about Ithaka – a king deceived by his subjects – that dates to Mykenaian times.

The Heralds Idaios, Odios, and Odysseus

It may come as a surprise to some to see Odysseus return repeatedly in the Delta fairy tales as the herald of the Greeks.³ We know this hero in many other guises, not in the least thanks to the *Odyssey*, the other epic attributed to the legendary poet Homer.⁴ For the whole of the *Iliad*, we cannot conclude that Odysseus is a herald either. He is primarily an important hero, wise and

¹Blondé (2020), p. 49-55. ²Blondé (2018), p. 27-54. ³A search for Odysseus's heraldic role in the extant literature has yielded nothing. ⁴For an alternative theory of evolution of the *Odyssey*, see Burgess (2017).

experienced, who leads a regiment as king of Ithaka. After all, that is the vision for the final version of the *Iliad* that has survived. Nevertheless, we find numerous indications of an older role as herald for Odysseus, both in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*.

To begin with, there is a similarity between the names “Odysseus,” “Idaios,” and “Odios.” The last two are heralds in our *Iliad*. Perhaps those names are related to Zeus (Dios in Greek), as the heralds are called messengers of Zeus in the narrative Delta tradition. Furthermore, there are several passages in which Odysseus performs tasks also performed by heralds. There are passages where the name “Odysseus” is mentioned near the word “herald.” Finally, there are several actions in the *Iliad* and in the rest of the Trojan Cycle in which Odysseus takes on a role appropriate for a herald. In the *Iliad*, we find the following passages in which heralds perform a role that Odysseus also performs:

- Picking up Briseis and taking her to her father
(Odysseus: *Iliad* I 430-447, heralds: *Iliad* I 320-348)
- Controlling the crowd
(Odysseus: *Iliad* II 169-208, heralds: *Iliad* II 96-98)
- Casting lots before a duel
(Odysseus: *Iliad* III 314-317, herald: *Iliad* VII 181-189)
- Wielding the scepter
(Odysseus: *Iliad* II 186, *Iliad* II 265, *Iliad* II 278-280, and *Iliad* III 216-219, heralds: *Iliad* VII 274-277)
- Bringing a message to the enemy camp
(Odysseus: *Iliad* III 205-224, Herald Idaios: *Iliad* VII 381-398)
- Bringing a message to Achilleus
(Odysseus: *Iliad* IX 165-181, heralds: *Iliad* I 320-341, and *Iliad* IX 170-174)
- Solemnly handing over gifts
(Odysseus: *Iliad* XIX 247, herald Talthybios: *Iliad* XIX 250-268)
- Taking care of a sacrifice
(Odysseus: *Iliad* I 430-447, heralds: *Iliad* III 268-270 and *Iliad* XIX 250-278)

In the following passages of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, “Odysseus” and “herald” are mentioned closely together:

- *So she spoke, and he knew the voice of the goddess speaking and went on the run, throwing aside his cloak, which was caught up by Eurybates the herald of Ithaka who followed him.*⁵
- *Odysseus, sacker of cities, stood up holding the staff, and beside him gray-eyed Athene in the likeness of a herald.*⁶
- *On the other side rose up the lord of men, Agamemnon, and the resourceful Odysseus rose up. Meanwhile the proud heralds led up the victims for the gods’ oaths, and in a great wine-bowl mixed the wine, and poured water over the hands of the princes.*⁷
- *First of all let Phoinix, beloved of Zeus, be their leader, and after him take Aias the great, and brilliant Odysseus, and of the heralds let Odios and Eurybates go with them.*⁸
- *Odysseus had friendship with many men. Indeed, there were few Achaians like him. I myself gave him a brazen sword and a double cloak of purple, a handsome thing, and a fringed tunic, and saw him off in the proper way on his strong-benched vessel. Also there was a herald, a little older than he was, who went with him. I will describe to you what he looked like. He was round in the shoulders, black-complexioned, woolly-haired, and had the name Eurybates. Odysseus prized him above his other companions, for their thoughts were in harmony.*⁹

The first passage, in which Odysseus sheds his cloak, which is taken up by Eurybates, seems almost symbolic. Eurybates has taken over Odysseus’s role of herald in the oral tradition. Moreover, this scene takes place just at a moment in the story when Odysseus, himself, takes on the role of herald. The detailed description of Eurybates resembling Odysseus is also illustrative.

Apart from Homeric works, Odysseus also fulfills several tasks that suit a herald. We can find the following tasks:

⁵*Iliad* II 182-184. ⁶*Iliad* II 278-280. ⁷*Iliad* III 267-270. ⁸*Iliad* IX 168-170. ⁹*Odyssey* XIX 239-248.

- Gathering soldiers, such as Achilles,¹⁰ Neoptolemos, and Philoktetes¹¹
- Cleansing Achilles from bloodshed¹²
- Handing over Achilles's weapons to Neoptolemos¹³
- Entering Troy to speak to Helen¹⁴

So much for the evidence that Odysseus once had the role of a herald. In the next section, it becomes clear that the role of Odysseus has grown further thanks to a type scene that originates in the narrative Delta tradition: the type scene of the brave scout.

The Type scene of the Brave Scout

The type scene of the brave scout was originally associated with the narrative Delta tradition, but has evolved beyond that context, such as in the Aeolian Gamma tradition and the Ionian Epsilon tradition. The scene involves a scout, herald, or spy who is given the dangerous task of entering enemy territory. The scout encounters the enemy but completes his mission thanks to his lies and cunning, or thanks to a good disguise. Afterward, the scout manages to return safely to his own camp.

During its evolution, the scene must have merged regularly with the telestory because it has several oral characteristics in common with it. In addition, some scenes, such as Odysseus with Circe and Menelaos with Proteus, have oral characteristics of both the telestory and the type scene of the brave scout. It has also mixed with the king story, as shown in the *Odyssey*.

Oral Characteristics: Ds1 to Ds34

The following is a summary of the evolved oral characteristics of the type scene of the brave scout, as it occurs in the Ionian Epsilon tradition, but explained according to the more ancient logic of the narrative Delta tradition:

Ds1 The brave scout(s) entering dangerous territory

A scout,¹⁵ herald,¹⁶ or spy¹⁷ is about to enter dangerous, unknown, or hostile¹⁸ territory. He will risk his life carrying out an assignment.

¹⁰Dilke (1954), Statius's "Achilleid." ¹¹Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*. ¹²Evelyn-White (1995), *Aithiopsis*. ¹³Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*. ¹⁴Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*. ¹⁵πυθολομοι.

¹⁶See D14 on p. 29. ¹⁷σκόπιαζω. ¹⁸δυσμενης.

Sometimes the scout is alone; at other times, he is accompanied by one or more brave comrades.^{19,20}

Ds2 The god or man who gives an order

A god, human, or god in the guise of a human commands the scout²¹ to speak to, consult, or visit someone.²²

Ds3 The god or man who gives advice, support, or a sign

A god or human advises²³ and explains how the scout should proceed with his difficult task. Sometimes, the scout also gets help²⁴ in the form of material support, a sign,²⁵ or guidance.²⁶ If it is a god, it could also be an auspicious sign.²⁷ Here, too, it is often a god in the form of a human being.²⁸

Ds4 The reassurance

The scout or a person who is approached is anxious and must be reassured:²⁹ “Don’t fear,” “don’t think about death,” “have good courage,” and “you still recognize me.”³⁰

Ds5 The transformation: A change of role or appearance

The expedition starts with a change of appearance or role.³¹ For example, Sinon must mingle with the Trojans as a naked, battered outcast.³² The old logic is that the scout disguises himself³³ to enter the dangerous area unrecognizable or unnoticed. However, the transformation goes in both directions: At some point, the scout will be made clean and recognizable again (see Ds27).³⁴

Ds6 The role of herald, beggar, or old man

The role assumed to enter the dangerous territory is often a herald, beg-

¹⁹ *εταίρα*. ²⁰ Examples: the espionage command: *Iliad* X 36-41, Odysseus and Diomedes: *Iliad* X 248-254, Priam and Idaios: *Iliad* XXIV 322-325, Odysseus wants to explore Circe’s island: *Odyssey* X 148-155. ²¹ *εργον, κελευω, προσημι*. ²² Examples: Nestor gives an assignment: *Iliad* X 203-217, Zeus via Iris to Priam: *Iliad* XXIV 142-159, Proteus orders Menelaos to make a sacrifice in Egypt: *Odyssey* IV 471-480. ²³ *φραζω*. ²⁴ *εκλυω, σασω, σωζω*. ²⁵ See D34 on p. 34. ²⁶ *αγω, πομπος*. ²⁷ See D34 on p. 34. ²⁸ Examples: Athene sends a heron to the right hand: *Iliad* X 274-276, Hermes helps Priam: *Iliad* XXIV 339-355, Hermes advises Odysseus: *Odyssey* X 277-307, Eumaios supports Odysseus: *Odyssey* XIV 45-59. ²⁹ *θαρσεω*. ³⁰ Examples: Agamemnon reassures Nestor at night: *Iliad* X 81-88, Odysseus reassures Dolon: *Iliad* X 383, Zeus orders Priam to be fearless: *Iliad* XXIV 152. ³¹ Block (1985) argues that the role changes, the appearance, the changing of clothes, the lying stories, the recognition, and the assistance of Athene are motifs that belong together in the *Odyssey*. As shown here, all these motifs are oral characteristics of the type scene of the brave scout. ³² Tryphiodorus, *Taking of Ilios* 220. ³³ *εισκω, κατακρυπτω*. ³⁴ Examples: Odysseus takes over the role of herald from Eurybates: *Iliad* II 182-186; Odysseus disguises himself as a slave: Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*; Athene turns Odysseus into an old beggar: *Odyssey* XIII 429-438.

gar,³⁵ or old man.³⁶ Dolon, a brave scout in *Iliad X*, is the son of a herald, while Odysseus mistreats himself in the *Little Iliad*³⁷ to resemble a slave.³⁸

Ds7 **Odysseus**

Odysseus shows up in most instances of the type scene of the brave scout. He owes this to his role as a herald in the narrative Delta tradition. Sometimes he has Diomedes as companion.³⁹

Ds8 **The person who is filthy and dressed in rags**

The dirty⁴⁰ scout clad in rags⁴¹ is related to the role of beggar. It also increases the contrast between the unrecognizable scout before the transformation that makes the scout recognizable and the washed and clothed scout afterward.⁴²

Ds9 **Clothes and getting them or losing them**

Changing clothes⁴³ relates to the role change and approaching the enemy territory in disguise.^{44,45}

Ds10 **Emphasis on outward appearance**

The particular emphasis on the outward appearance⁴⁶ of the characters also relates to the scout's disguise and role switch. We have already seen that special emphasis was placed on the appearance of Eurybates, the herald of Odysseus. Antenor is talking about the appearance of Odysseus and Menelaos.⁴⁷

Ds11 **The god who constantly assists the scout**

A god⁴⁸ supports⁴⁹ the scout during the mission. The scout feels em-

³⁵ δέκτης. ³⁶ See D29 on p. 33. ³⁷ Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*. ³⁸ Examples: Dolon: *Iliad X* 314-315, the old Priam and the herald Idaios: *Iliad XXIV* 322-325, Odysseus invades Ithaca as an old beggar: *Odyssey XIV-XXII*. ³⁹ Examples: Odysseus as negotiator in Troy: *Iliad III* 205-206, Diomedes chooses Odysseus as companion: *Iliad X* 241-243, Odysseus invades his own palace: *Odyssey XIII-XXIV*. ⁴⁰ μορυσσω, ρυπαω. ⁴¹ δερμα, ρακος, σπειρον. ⁴² Examples: Menelaos stinks of a seal: *Odyssey IV* 440-446, Odysseus invades Troy as a slave with dirty rags: *Odyssey IV* 244-249, Athene turns Odysseus into a dirty beggar: *Odyssey XIII* 429-438. ⁴³ ειμα, ζωμα, πεπλος, ρακος, χιτων, χλαινα. ⁴⁴ Yamagata (2005) argues that clothing closely relates to identity in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. ⁴⁵ Examples: Odysseus and Diomedes take over the armor from the sentries: *Iliad X* 254-261, Priam gives Achilles all kinds of clothing: *Iliad XXIV* 228-231, Odysseus receives a cloak from Eumaios: *Odyssey XIV* 510-517. ⁴⁶ ειδος, φυη. ⁴⁷ Examples: the appearance of Odysseus and Menelaos: *Iliad III* 208-224, ugly Dolon: *Iliad X* 316, Proteus constantly changes appearance: *Odyssey IV* 454-461. ⁴⁸ αθανατος, θεα, θεος. ⁴⁹ παριστημι.

powered by clear signs of the god or encounters a human form of the god. For Odysseus, it is almost always Athene.^{50,51}

Ds12 Silence and the silent, hidden approach

The scout must work covertly and must not be caught by sentries. Therefore, he moves tight-lipped⁵² and silently, or he lies down silently in an ambush. The disguise is an alternative form of approaching hidden.⁵³

Ds13 The nighttime action

The fact that the action often takes place at night⁵⁴ fits the silent, hidden approach.⁵⁵

Ds14 Mules and horses

A chariot pulled by mules⁵⁶ or horses⁵⁷ is used to transport valuables, corpses, or hidden warriors.⁵⁸

Ds15 The person who lies down or jumps up

The old logic of this oral characteristic, remain⁵⁹ lying down⁶⁰ or jump up,⁶¹ refers to the scout hiding from passersby and to those who sleep during nighttime action. Sometimes, the brave scout lies in an ambush and will jump out to kill the enemy passersby. In the old logic, lying is outside⁶² in the cold.^{63,64}

Ds16 Objects or persons hidden in vegetation

Closely related to lying down is hiding in the dense vegetation⁶⁵ of plants: shrubs,⁶⁶ forests,⁶⁷ branches,⁶⁸ or reeds.⁶⁹ Sometimes it is valuables that are hidden.⁷⁰

⁵⁰Sommer, Markopoulos, and Goggins (2013) explore the mentoring relationship that Athene has with Telemachos and Odysseus in the *Odyssey*. ⁵¹Examples: Athene supports Odysseus and Diomedes: *Iliad* X 274-285, Hermes helps Priam and Idaios: *Iliad* XXIV 360-371, Athene helps Odysseus: *Odyssey* XIII 221-440. ⁵²ακρω, σιωπαω. ⁵³Examples: Odysseus is first silent for a while: *Iliad* III 216-221, do not approach me in silence: *Iliad* X 85, Odysseus silently enters Circe's harbor: *Odyssey* X 140. ⁵⁴νυξ, παννυχλιος. ⁵⁵Examples: the *Doloneia*: *Iliad* X, Priam at Achilleus: *Iliad* XXIV 361-695, a lying tale about a frosty night: *Odyssey* XIV 468-502. ⁵⁶ορευς. ⁵⁷ιππος. ⁵⁸Examples: Are you looking for a mule?: *Iliad* X 84, Priam with horses and mules: *Iliad* XXIV 322-326, the Greeks silently in the wooden Trojan Horse: *Odyssey* IV 269-289. ⁵⁹μεινω. ⁶⁰ευναζω, ευναω, λεγω. ⁶¹αναισσω. ⁶²εκτος. ⁶³πηγυλις, ριγω. ⁶⁴Examples: Odysseus standing up to say something: *Iliad* III 216-217, Priam lying outside: *Iliad* XXIV 648-675, Thoas jumping up from an ambush: *Odyssey* XIV 499. ⁶⁵εριθληης, πολυανθης. ⁶⁶δριος. ⁶⁷υλη. ⁶⁸αζος. ⁶⁹δονακευς. ⁷⁰Examples: Odysseus hides Dolon's armor: *Iliad* X 465-468, Odysseus hides his treasures in a cave: *Odyssey* XIII 361-371, a hideout where the forest is densest: *Odyssey* XIV 352-357.

Ds17 The ambush

Akin to lying down and hiding in vegetation is ambushing⁷¹ to surprise the enemy.⁷²

Ds18 Sentries

The main obstacle to entering the enemy's stronghold is the sentries⁷³ at the entrance gate, unless the guards are not doing their job properly and are sleeping.⁷⁴

Ds19 The questioning

If the scout finds people on his path in hostile territory, such as the guards at the enemy's gate, chances are, he will be interrogated.⁷⁵ Characteristic is the sequence of several short question sentences: "Who are you?," "Where are you going?," "Who are your parents?" The scout should, therefore, have a lying tale ready.⁷⁶

Ds20 Scepters, swords, and magic staffs

The weapons in this type scene, on offense or on defense, are scepters,⁷⁷ staffs,⁷⁸ and swords.⁷⁹ They are wielded by the scout, friend, foe, or god who constantly assists the scout. In the hands of a god, the staff becomes a magic wand.⁸⁰

Ds21 The person who is anxious, sad, or in distress

The scout is anxious,⁸¹ tormented,⁸² tired,⁸³ cold,⁸⁴ sad,⁸⁵ cries,⁸⁶ no longer wants to live,⁸⁷ or has a broken heart.^{88,89,90}

Ds22 Lies, wiles, evil, and bold plans

To enter the enemy territory in another role, the brave scout must be

⁷¹λοχῶν, λοχῶν. ⁷²Examples: Odysseus and Diomedes when Dolon passes: *Iliad* X 349-350, Menelaos in ambush: *Odyssey* IV 440-454, Odysseus lying to Athene about an ambush: *Odyssey* XIII 267-271. ⁷³See D20 on p. 30. ⁷⁴Examples: A Trojan must investigate whether the Greek guards are still awake: *Iliad* X 308-312, Hermes puts the Greek guards to sleep: *Iliad* XXIV 444-446, Circe's palace is guarded by tame lions and wolves: *Odyssey* X 212-220. ⁷⁵ἀνερωτῶν. ⁷⁶Examples: Odysseus questions Dolon: *Iliad* X 381-389, Hermes questions Priam: *Iliad* XXIV 361-367, Helen questions Odysseus: *Odyssey* IV 250-256, Circe questions Odysseus: *Odyssey* X 324-325. ⁷⁷See D36 on p. 35. ⁷⁸ραβδος. ⁷⁹See Dc21 on p. 142. ⁸⁰Examples: Odysseus wields the scepter: *Iliad* III 216-219, Hermes wields a magic wand: *Iliad* XXIV 343-345, staffs and swords with Circe: *Odyssey* X 318-322. ⁸¹δειδῶ. ⁸²καματος, τειρω. ⁸³αλγος, θυμοφθορος. See also the tired Odysseus in *Odyssey* XIII 73-81. ⁸⁴ριγῶν. ⁸⁵αχευῶν. ⁸⁶κλαίω. ⁸⁷ζῶν. ⁸⁸κατεκλασθη φίλον ἦτορ. ⁸⁹Pache (2000) notes that Odysseus, unlike other heroes, never weeps in the *Iliad*, as he often does in the *Odyssey*. ⁹⁰Examples: Dolon is anxious: *Iliad* X 374-378, Idaeus is anxious: *Iliad* XXIV 353-357, Menelaos's heart breaks because he has to return to Egypt: *Odyssey* IV 481-483.

cunning,⁹¹ able to lie well, and dare to execute bold⁹² plans. In turn, he must be wary of the enemy's evil plans.^{93,94}

Ds23 Solemn oaths

In the role of herald, the scout must dare to rely on sworn oaths.⁹⁵ Outside the context of a herald, oaths are important, too. For example, Odysseus makes Helen and Circe swear not to betray him or harm him.⁹⁶

Ds24 Killing enemies during a mission

When it is not possible to work covertly, it sometimes is a matter of killing⁹⁷ enemy⁹⁸ witnesses. Achieving fame is another reason to kill enemies. After all, the scout often risks being killed himself.⁹⁹

Ds25 The scout who reaches the wanted person

The scout's assignment is often to reach a person in the dangerous area. The scout always succeeds.¹⁰⁰

Ds26 (Not) recognizing somebody

The searched-for person does not recognize¹⁰¹ the scout at first because of his disguise. Just as often, we see the opposite is the case: The scout is recognized by a particular person, despite his disguise. In a more evolved form of this oral characteristic, it can be anyone who is or is not recognized.¹⁰²

Ds27 The scout who is made clean and recognizable

A god makes the scout beautiful¹⁰³ again, clean, young, and recognizable, or the scout is washed and neatly dressed by people.¹⁰⁴

⁹¹ κερδοσυνη, πολυμητις. ⁹² θρασυκαρδιος. ⁹³ See also Emlyn-Jones (1986) for an analysis of lie and truth in the *Odyssey*; Tsagalis (2012) examines whether the lying tale that Odysseus tells Eumaios could have been a rival version of our *Odyssey*. ⁹⁴ Examples: Odysseus lies that he will spare Dolon: *Iliad* X 382-384, the Greeks in the Trojan Horse: *Odyssey* IV 265-289, Odysseus tells Eumaios a lying tale: *Odyssey* XIV 199-359. ⁹⁵ See D11 on p. 28. ⁹⁶ Examples: Hektor swears a promise to Dolon: *Iliad* X 318-332, Achilles takes Priam's right hand by a promise: *Iliad* XXIV 668-672, Helen swears not to say anything about Odysseus's presence: *Odyssey* IV 253-254, Circe vows not to carry out any more evil plans: *Odyssey* X 342-346. ⁹⁷ διαρραιω, εναιρω, θεινω, (κατα)κτεινω, ολλυμι. ⁹⁸ δυσμενης. ⁹⁹ Examples: Diomedes kills Dolon: *Iliad* X 446-459; Odysseus kills Trojans in Troy: Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*; Odysseus kills the enemies in his palace: *Odyssey* XXII 1-478. ¹⁰⁰ Examples: Priam reaches Achilles: *Iliad* XXIV 471-475; Odysseus reaches Helen: Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*; Odysseus reaches Penelope: *Odyssey* XIX 53-600. ¹⁰¹ (ανα)γιγνωσκω. ¹⁰² Examples: Nestor does not recognize Agamemnon: *Iliad* X 81-88; Helen recognizes Odysseus: Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*; Eumaios does not recognize Odysseus: *Odyssey* XIV 36-48; Eurykleia recognizes Odysseus: *Odyssey* XIX 389-393. ¹⁰³ καλλος, χαριεις. ¹⁰⁴ Examples: Odysseus and Diomedes take a bath: *Iliad* X 572-577, Odysseus is washed and dressed by Circe's slaves: *Odyssey* X 357-365, Odysseus is made clean and young again by Eurynome and Athene: *Odyssey* XXIII 153-163.

Ds28 The amazement

The amazement¹⁰⁵ occurs when the brave scout is recognized or when the scout returns to his camp.¹⁰⁶

Ds29 Begging for pity

As for the compassion fairy tale, begging¹⁰⁷ for pity is an oral characteristic of the type scene of the brave scout. Significantly, here, too, begging usually involves clapping the knees and sometimes the chin of the person being begged. The begging can be done by the scout himself, by a companion of the scout, or by an enemy of the scout.¹⁰⁸

Ds30 The hospitable reception

Although the hospitable¹⁰⁹ reception¹¹⁰ belongs to the core of the Ionian Epsilon tradition, it must also be considered as part of the type scene of the brave scout. After all, most of the examples handed down to us contain this oral characteristic. This is an important indication that the type scene has developed further in the Ionian Epsilon tradition.¹¹¹

Ds31 The silence about the arrival of the scout

When the scout is recognized, he asks to keep the silence¹¹² about his presence.¹¹³

Ds32 The information, objects, or persons obtained

The assignment is often to exchange information, obtain an item, or bring a person – alive or dead – back to their own camp. The brave scout succeeds in this task.¹¹⁴

Ds33 The flight to one's own camp

If the mission does not go as expected or if the mission is completed, but the enemy is alert, it often comes down to fleeing¹¹⁵ back as quickly as possible to one's own camp.¹¹⁶ If the scout is accompanied by a

¹⁰⁵αγαμαι, θαμβος, θαυμα(ζω). ¹⁰⁶Examples: The Trojans are no longer amazed by Odysseus: *Iliad* III 223-224, Agamemnon is amazed by the Trojan camp: *Iliad* X 11-12, Achilles is amazed by Priam: *Iliad* XXIV 480-484, Circe is amazed that Odysseus is not enthralled: *Odyssey* X 326-327.

¹⁰⁷ικετης, λισσομαι. ¹⁰⁸Examples: Dolon begs Odysseus and Diomedes: *Iliad* X 377-381 and *Iliad* X 454-455, Idaios wants to beg Hermes: *Iliad* XXIV 357, Priam begging Achilles: *Iliad* XXIV 485.

¹⁰⁹φιλεω. ¹¹⁰ξενοιζω; Hooker (1989); Finley (2002). ¹¹¹Examples: Antenor welcomes Odysseus and Menelaos to his home: *Iliad* III 205-208, Achilles welcomes Priam in his cabin: *Iliad* XXIV 521-674, Circe welcomes Odysseus to her palace: *Odyssey* X 311-470. ¹¹²See Ds12 on p. 167.

¹¹³Examples: Greeks are not allowed to know that Priam is with Achilles: *Iliad* XXIV 649-655, Helen swears to keep Odysseus's presence secret: *Odyssey* IV 253-255, Odysseus swears Eurykleia to keep his presence secret: *Odyssey* XIX 480-486. ¹¹⁴Examples: Dolon provides Odysseus with information: *Iliad* X 382-445, Priam obtains the corpse of Hektor: *Iliad* XXIV 571-601, Odysseus obtains a cloak from Eumaios: *Odyssey* XIV 508-516. ¹¹⁵φευγω. ¹¹⁶Routing: φοβεω.

less brave hero, the latter sometimes proposes fleeing before the goal is reached.¹¹⁷

Ds34 **The safe return to one's own camp**

The scout almost always manages to complete his dangerous mission and return¹¹⁸ to the safe area of his camp. Dolon in the *Doloneia* is an exception.¹¹⁹

These are all the oral characteristics of the type scene of the brave scout. Shared characteristics with the telestory are entering dangerous territory, getting into contact with a human or a god, the help of a human or a god, the distress of the scout/telewarrior, and killing one or more enemies. With respect to the king story, we find entering the territory of the enemy, the cunning ruse to get inside the hostile territory, and killing the enemy. In this way, Odysseus has evolved from a herald into a brave scout and then later also into a telewarrior and a betrayed king. All these oral scopes can be found in the appendix “Overview of All Oral Characteristics (Alpha–Delta).”

Example Passages

In the following examples, we still recognize the old logic of the type scene of the brave scout fairly well:

- Odysseus and Menelaos venture into Troy.¹²⁰
- Odysseus and Diomedes stalk the Trojan field camp.¹²¹
- Priam dares to visit Achilles.¹²²
- Odysseus enters Troy to speak to Helen.¹²³
- Odysseus and Diomedes rob the statue of Pallas Athene from Troy.¹²⁴
- Sinon misleads the Trojans with a lying story.¹²⁵

¹¹⁷Examples: Odysseus and Diomedes flee back to their camp with the loot: *Iliad* X 507-541, Idaios suggests he and Priam flee: *Iliad* XXIV 351-357, Eurylochos suggests he and Odysseus flee: *Odyssey* X 266-269. ¹¹⁸νοοτεω, νοοτος. ¹¹⁹Examples: Menelaos was not killed within the walls of Troy: *Iliad* III 205-207, Priam reaches Troy after his visit to Achilles: *Iliad* XXIV 679-709, Odysseus returns after having visited Helen: Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*. ¹²⁰*Iliad* III 204-224. ¹²¹*Iliad* X. ¹²²*Iliad* XXIV 160-709. ¹²³Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*. ¹²⁴Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*. ¹²⁵Fitzgerald (1983), Virgil, *Aeneid* II 57-260; Mair (1928), Tryphiodorus, *Taking of Ilios* 220-512.

- The Greeks in the Trojan Horse invade Troy.¹²⁶
- Odysseus ventures into Circe's palace.¹²⁷
- Odysseus enters his own palace in Ithaka as a beggar to speak with Penelope.¹²⁸

In other examples, we find some oral characteristics of the type scene, but the scene is incomplete or highly evolved:

- Aphrodite, disguised as an old woman, sends Helen to Paris.¹²⁹
- Odysseus wipes off dust and puts on his chiton.¹³⁰
- Athene supports Odysseus during Patroklos's funeral games.¹³¹
- Odysseus visits the underworld to speak with the dead.¹³²
- Menelaos, disguised as a seal, consults a shape-changing sea god.¹³³
- Odysseus enters the palace of the Phaiakians.¹³⁴
- Odysseus receives shelter and a cloak in the hut of Eumaios.¹³⁵
- Odysseus claims to have been admitted to King Pheidon's palace.¹³⁶
- Thoas goes to Agamemnon and leaves his cloak behind.¹³⁷
- Telemachos recognizes Odysseus on his return.¹³⁸
- Orestes invades the palace of Mykenai.¹³⁹

Many of these examples are now analyzed by explicitly identifying their oral characteristics by their identifier (see Appendix "Overview of All Oral Characteristics (Alpha–Delta)"). The passages in italics are literal quotations from the classical sources. The rest are summaries. We find the oral characteristics in the quotations as well as in the summaries.

¹²⁶Evelyn-White (1995), *Fall of Troy*. ¹²⁷*Odyssey* X 135-574. ¹²⁸*Odyssey* XIX 1-604. ¹²⁹*Iliad* III 383-447. ¹³⁰*Iliad* XXIII 739. ¹³¹*Iliad* XXIII 768-778. ¹³²*Odyssey* XI 1-640. ¹³³*Odyssey* IV 347-572. ¹³⁴*Odyssey* VI 1 - VII 347. ¹³⁵*Odyssey* XIV 1-533. ¹³⁶*Odyssey* XIV 314-322. ¹³⁷*Odyssey* XIV 468-503. ¹³⁸*Odyssey* XVI 1-320. ¹³⁹Jebb 1894, Sophocles's *Elektra*, 1354-1510.

Odysseus and Menelaos Visiting Troy

In a conversation with Helen, Antenor talks about his earlier meeting with Odysseus.¹⁴⁰

Once Odysseus [Ds7] was visiting [Ds1] Troy, accompanied by Menelaos, to reclaim Helen [Ds32]. I got to know the appearance [Ds10] and the character of both, when I received them hospitably [Ds30] in my palace. Menelaos stood with his broad shoulders above Odysseus [Ds10], but when they sat, Odysseus was the most honorable. As soon as Odysseus jumped up [Ds15], he kept his eyes silently [Ds12] on the ground, and his scepter [Ds6, Ds20] moved neither backward [D4] nor forward [D4]. However, when Odysseus began to speak [Ds6], his words [D10] descended like winter snowflakes. Then the Trojans were no longer amazed [Ds28] by his appearance [Ds10].¹⁴¹

The *Doloneia*: A Nighttime Spy Trip

The following example of a type scene of the brave scout is the *Doloneia*,¹⁴² a nighttime episode starring Odysseus, Diomedes, and the Trojan Dolon:

At night¹⁴³ [Ds13], while all Greeks are asleep [Ds15], Agamemnon stands up [Ds15], worried about the Trojans who encircle the Greek ship camp. The many fires of the Trojans astonish [Ds28] him when he looks out over the plain. He tears his hair from the head [Ds21] in front of the eyes of Zeus [D24]. Then he dresses [Ds9] him with the skin of a great reddish lion [E], binds the beautiful sandals [E] underneath his feet, and seeks Nestor.¹⁴⁴

Menelaos also stands up [Ds15], and he dresses [Ds9] with a leopard skin [E]. He finds Agamemnon while he is busy arming himself [Ds9]. Menelaos starts the conversation:¹⁴⁵ *“Why this arming, my brother? Is it one of your companions you are stirring to go and spy [Ds1] on the Trojans? Yet I fear sadly there will not be any man to undertake this endeavor, going against*

¹⁴⁰*Iliad* III 204-224. ¹⁴¹In this passage, we find the following oral characteristics: oppositions (D4), (mentioning) “words” or “war” (D10), the brave scout(s) entering dangerous territory (Ds1), the role of herald, beggar, or old man (Ds6), Odysseus (Ds7), emphasis on outward appearance (Ds10), silence and the silent, hidden approach (Ds12), the person who lies down or jumps up (Ds15), scepters, swords, and magic staves (Ds20), the amazement (Ds28), the hospitable reception (Ds30), and the information, objects, or persons obtained (Ds32). ¹⁴²*Iliad* X. ¹⁴³The fragments in italics are literal quotations from the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*; the normal printed text is a summary. ¹⁴⁴cf. *Iliad* X 1-24. ¹⁴⁵cf. *Iliad* X 25-34.

*enemy fighters to spy [Ds1] on them, alone, through the immortal night. Such a man will have to be very bold-hearted [Ds1, Ds22].”*¹⁴⁶

Agamemnon and Menelaos decide to awaken the other Greeks. When Agamemnon joins Nestor [D19], the latter shouts: “Who are you [Ds26], who goes through the ship camp, when the other people are asleep [Ds13]? Are you looking for a mule [Ds14] or one of your friends? Speak, and do not come to me in silence [Ds12]!”

Agamemnon reassures Nestor [Ds4] and proposes inspecting the sentries [Ds18]. Nestor dresses [Ds9] with a purple cloak [E] and puts on his beautiful sandals [E]. First, Odysseus and Diomedes are also awakened. Next, Nestor inspects the sentries [Ds18], all of who are wide awake [Ds18] at their post facing the plain to hear the Trojans approaching [Ds12].¹⁴⁷

The chiefs of the Greeks hold a council of war [D2] in which Nestor [D19] asks if anyone is brave enough to venture [Ds1] into the camp of the Trojans [D8] to capture an enemy or eavesdrop on a conversation. Everyone keeps silent [D40, Ds12], except Diomedes [Ds7], who asks if someone can accompany him. Many are willing to do so; Diomedes can choose a companion for himself.

He speaks:¹⁴⁸ *“If indeed you tell me myself to pick my companion, how then could I forget Odysseus [Ds7] the godlike, he whose heart and whose proud spirit are beyond all others forward in all hard endeavors, and Pallas Athene [D24] loves [Ds11] him?”*¹⁴⁹

Odysseus and Diomedes arm [Ds9] themselves with the weapons of the guards [Ds18] Thrasymedes and Meriones. Pallas Athene [D24] sends them a heron to the right [Ds3]. Then Odysseus and Diomedes pray to Athene [D24] for assistance [Ds11]. Diomedes recalls that time when his father went all alone among the enemy with a message [Ds1], helped by Athene [Ds11].¹⁵⁰

The Trojans also hold a nightly [Ds13] council of war [D2]. Hektor [D19] promises a chariot and a team of horses [Ds14] for those who dare to sneak to the ship camp [Ds1] to find out if it is still properly guarded [Ds18]. A long silence [D40, Ds12] follows. However, there is in their midst a certain Dolon, the son of a sacred herald [Ds6], ugly in appearance [Ds10], but a fast runner. He lets Hektor hold up the scepter [Ds20] and swear [Ds23] that he will get the horses [Ds14] of Achilles [Ds32] if he succeeds in his assignment. Hektor swears this with Zeus [D24] as a witness, but the oath

¹⁴⁶*Iliad* X 37-41. ¹⁴⁷cf. *Iliad* X 41-193. ¹⁴⁸cf. *Iliad* X 194-241. ¹⁴⁹*Iliad* X 242-245. ¹⁵⁰cf. *Iliad* X 246-298.

turns out to be false [Ds22]. Dolon dresses [Ds9] with a wolf skin and a martenskin cap, and he sets off.¹⁵¹

Odysseus sees Dolon coming [Ds12] and proposes that he and Diomedes lie down next to the road [Ds15] and let Dolon pass first. So it happens, and when Dolon is a little way past them, as far as the mules [Ds14] plow in one day, Odysseus and Diomedes follow him. Dolon does not recognize them [Ds26] immediately, but when he realizes that they are two Greeks, he flees [Ds33] as fast as he can in the direction of the ship camp. When they have almost reached the sentries [Ds18] of the ships, Diomedes overtakes Dolon. Dolon stands anxiously [Ds21], with trembling knees and chattering teeth [Ds21]. He begs [Ds29] to take him alive and release him for ransom [D45]. Odysseus tells him to be of good cheer [Ds4, Ds22] and not to think about death [Ds4]. Moreover, he has him tell everything [Ds19] about his mission as a spy [Ds1], the sentries [Ds18], the position of Hektor at the burial mound [D30] of Ilos, and the precious horses [Ds14] of Rhesos. The latter is the king of the Thracians and an ally of the Trojans.¹⁵²

When Dolon is finished, Diomedes kills [Ds24] him. They steal the cap made from martenskin, the wolfskin, the bow and the spear [Ds32], and they hide the spoil in a tamarisk bush [Ds16]. Then they go to the camp of the Thracians to kill [Ds24] more men and to steal [Ds32] the horses [Ds14] of Rhesos.

When they have done that, Athene advises Diomedes [Ds3] to return [Ds33] to the Greeks' ship camp. Apollo then awakens the Trojans. Hippokoön, Rhesos's cousin, jumps [Ds15] up from his sleep and calls the Trojans awake, wailing loudly.

Meanwhile, Odysseus and Diomedes arrive at the Greek ship camp, where Nestor is amazed [Ds28] at the beauty of the conquered [Ds32] horses [Ds14]:¹⁵³ *"I think it must be some god who met you, and gave them to you [Ds3]. Since both of you are beloved [Ds11] to Zeus [D24] who gathers the clouds, both to the gray-eyed maiden of Zeus who wears the aegis, Athene [D24]."*¹⁵⁴ Odysseus explains they are Thracian horses [Ds14] and that they killed [Ds24] a spy [Ds1] of the Trojans on the way.¹⁵⁵

After these words, Odysseus [D18] drives the horses across the ditch [D9], cheering [D40] and accompanied by the glad Greeks [D22, Ds34]. Diomedes [D23] feeds the horses [D42], and Odysseus prepares a sacrifice [D35] to Athene [D24]. They wash [D32, Ds8, Ds27] in the sea and then in a

¹⁵¹cf. *Iliad* X 299-339. ¹⁵²cf. *Iliad* X 339-445. ¹⁵³cf. *Iliad* X 446-550. ¹⁵⁴*Iliad* X 551-553. ¹⁵⁵cf. *Iliad* X 554-563.

smoothly polished [E] tub [D38]. After they have anointed themselves [D32] with olive oil [D32, E], they sit down to the meal [D5], and they shed [D35] wine [D21] to Athene [D24].¹⁵⁶

In Blondé (2020), it was already decided that the *Doloneia* is colored by the Aeolian Gamma tradition. From the above analysis, it follows that the *Doloneia* is, in the first place, based on the narrative Delta tradition and in particular on the type scene of the brave scout. It is Dolon, Odysseus, and Diomedes who are the brave scouts. Moreover, this story is more strongly colored by the Ionic Epsilon tradition than an average chapter in the *Iliad*. The latter observation may be related to the fact that the *Doloneia* can be removed from the *Iliad* without damaging the unity of the *Iliad*. After all, such passages give the bards more leeway to control the length of their performance, giving it a special status.¹⁵⁷

Priam in the Ship Camp of the Greeks

Chapter XXIV of the *Iliad* is devoted to Achilles's restitution of Hektor's corpse to King Priam. The latter is the brave scout who slips into the Greek ship camp at night.

The gods see with pity how Achilles drags the body of Hektor [D19] around the grave [D30] of Patroklos. Therefore, they decide to set up a plan to return the corpse to Priam [D25]. They send Thetis, the mother of Achilles, to her son to ask him to return Hektor in exchange for a ransom [D45]. Then Zeus sends [D24] Iris to Priam with the command¹⁵⁸ [Ds2] *to ransom his dear son, going down to the ships of the Achaians and bringing gifts [D16] to Achilles, which might soften his anger: alone [Ds1], let no other man of the Trojans go with him, but only let one elder [Ds6] herald [Ds6] attend him, one who can manage the mules [Ds14] and the easily running wagon [D13], so he can carry the dead [D37] man, whom great Achilles slew, back to the city. Let death not be a thought in his heart [Ds4]. Let him have no fear [Ds4]; such an escort [Ds11] shall I send to guide him, Argeiphontes [the god Hermes], who shall lead him until [Ds34] he brings him to Achilles.*¹⁵⁹

Iris finds Priam and his sons [Dc11] wailing [D37, Ds21]. They water their garments [Ds9] with tears [D46, Ds21]; the old [Ds6] man sits in their midst, tightly wrapped in his mantle [Ds9]. The head and neck of the old man

¹⁵⁶cf. *Iliad* X 564-579. ¹⁵⁷See also Danek (2012). ¹⁵⁸cf. *Iliad* XXIV 1-144. ¹⁵⁹*Iliad* XXIV 145-154.

were covered with dung [Ds8], for he had been rolling in it, he had smeared it on with his own hands [Ds5]. Iris first reassures Priam [Ds4] and then delivers the message [Ds32].¹⁶⁰

Priam collects the gifts [D16]. He opens the shapely lids of the chests and takes from them twelve beautiful women's robes [Ds9], twelve single robes [Ds9], and as many blankets, as many shiny sheets, as many chitons [Ds9]. By gold he weighs ten full talents; he takes out two sparkling kettles [D38] and four basins [D13]. His wife Hekabe brings him wine [D21] to shed to Zeus [D24] and asks him to pray for a safe return [Ds34]. In addition, she asks him to pray for a bird sign [D39, Ds3] from Zeus [D24]. Priam washes [D32] his hands, sheds the wine [D21], and prays to Zeus [D24]. The mighty thunder god sends him an eagle [D39, Ds3] from the right.¹⁶¹

Priam and the herald Idaios [D18] set out, followed by Priam's sons [Dc11], who wail [Ds21] as if he were going to die [Ds34]. When they leave the city, the sons turn back.

Then Zeus speaks to his son: "Hermes, go, and lead Priam to the Greeks, so that none of the Greeks see or notice him [Ds12] until he is with Achilles."

Hermes goes out and meets Priam and Idaios in the form of a young king's son at the level of the grave [D30, Dc13] of King Ilos. Idaios then speaks to Priam: "Son of Dardanos, counsel. I see a man, and I fear that he will soon kill us both [Ds21]. Let us flee [Ds33] or take his knees [Dc30] and beg [Dc12, Ds29] whether he has pity [Dc1]." In addition, the old [Ds6] king is bewildered [Ds28] and terribly afraid [Ds21]; he is speechless [Ds12].¹⁶²

Hermes asks, "Whereto, father, are you on your way with your mules [Ds14] through the night [Ds13], when other people are asleep [Ds13]? You, yourself, are not young [D29, Ds6] anymore, and he who accompanies you is an old man [D29, Ds6]. I will not harm you [Ds4], and I can protect [Ds11] you from strangers."

The old king replied, "One of the gods is assisting me [Ds11], who sent me such a man to meet me on my way, so staid, so beautiful in appearance [Ds10] and face [Ds10], so sensible of spirit."

Hermes asks [Ds19] about the purpose of their journey and is then questioned [Ds19] himself by Priam. The god explains that Hektor's corpse has not yet been devoured by dogs and birds of prey.

¹⁶⁰cf. *Iliad* XXIV 156-188. ¹⁶¹cf. *Iliad* XXIV 189-321. ¹⁶²cf. *Iliad* XXIV 322-360.

Priam then offers him a cup as a gift [D16], but Hermes replies, “You test me, you an old man, me a younger [D4, D43]. But you won’t persuade me to accept gifts [D16].”¹⁶³

Hermes escorts [Ds11] Priam, and when they arrive at the rampart and the ditch [D9] of the ship camp, the guards [Ds18] are just busy with their supper [D5]. Hermes puts them all to sleep [Ds18] with his magic wand [Ds20]. He opens the gates [D9] and brings Priam and Idaios to the hut of Achilles. Hermes gives Priam advice [Ds3] on how to beg Achilles for mercy [Dc1] and then disappears. Priam leaves Idaios behind to keep watch [Ds18] with the mules [Ds14] and goes straight to the hut of Achilles.

The latter has just finished the meal [D5] when Priam enters unnoticed [Ds12]. Priam puts his arms around the knees [Dc30] of Achilles and kisses his hands. Achilles is amazed [Ds28], and also the companions of Achilles look at each other in amazement [Ds28].¹⁶⁴

Thereupon [Ds32], Priam speaks pleading [Dc12, Ds29] to Achilles: *“Achilleus like the gods, remember your father, one who is of years like mine [Dc6], and on the door-sill of sorrowful old age [D29]. And they who dwell nearby encompass him and afflict him, nor is there any to defend him against the wrath, the destruction. Yet surely he, when he hears of you and that you are still living [Ds34], is gladdened [Ds34] within his heart and all his days he is hopeful that he will see his beloved son come home [Ds34] from the Troad. But for me, my destiny was evil. I have had the noblest of sons [Dc11] in Troy, but I say not one of them is left [Dc11] to me. Fifty were my sons [Dc11], when the sons of the Achaians came here. Nineteen were born to me from the womb of a single mother [Dc11], and other women [D6, Dc11] bore the rest in my palace; and of these violent Ares broke the strength in the knees [Dc30] of most of them, but one was left me who guarded [Dc3] my city and people, that one you killed [Dc3] a few days since as he fought in defense of his country, Hektor; for whose sake I come now to the ships of the Achaians to win him back [Dc15] from you, and I bring you gifts [D6, Dc15] beyond number. Honor then the gods, Achilleus, and take pity [Dc1] upon me remembering your father, yet I am still more pitiful; I have gone through what no other mortal on earth has gone through; I put my lips to the hands of the man who has killed my children [Dc11].”*¹⁶⁵

This arouses in Achilles a sad [Ds21] longing for his father, and he speaks wise words of reconciliation to Priam. Soon, the hut is filled with

¹⁶³cf. *Iliad* XXIV 360-436. ¹⁶⁴cf. *Iliad* XXIV 437-484. ¹⁶⁵*Iliad* XXIV 486-506.

lamentations [Ds21]. When Achilles and Priam can weep [D46] no longer, Priam asks for the corpse of Hektor.

Achilleus speaks with fierce countenance: “Don’t sting me any longer, old [D29] man! I also intend to return Hektor to you. So do not also call forth my anger besides my sorrow, lest I violate a supplicant here in my tent [Ds24] and break Zeus’s [D24] commandments.”

After these words, Achilleus goes out to transfer the ransom [D45]. Two coats [Ds9] and one chiton he leaves there so that the dead man, wrapped in it [Ds9], may be taken home [Ds32]. He calls the servants and bids them wash the corpse [D32] and anoint [D32] it. After they have finished, the servants wrap Hektor into a sheet and a chiton [Ds9]. Then Achilleus prepares a meal [D5, Ds30].¹⁶⁶

When their hunger and thirst have been satisfied, Priam looks at Achilleus with an admiring glance: how tall [Ds10] he was, and how handsome [Ds10]. Achilleus admires Priam, seeing his noble face [Ds10] and hearing his word [D10]. Then Achilleus has the beds prepared [D17, Ds30].

He spoke to Priam, “Sleep outside [Ds15], my friend. In here, one of the Greeks may come to confer with me [D2, Ds31].¹⁶⁷

Early the next morning, Priam and Idaios return with the corpse of Hektor [Ds32], again accompanied by Hermes [Ds11]. Near the gate [D9] of Troy the Trojans meet them, Hektor’s wife and mother [Dc6] ahead. Now, all day long until sunset [D17], they would have bewailed Hektor with tears [D37], if [D50] Priam had not called to the people from the chariot: “Make way for the mules! [Ds14] Later, you will be satisfied with weeping.”

Then Andromache, Hekabe, and Helen lead the women in lamentation [D37]. Priam gives the order to gather firewood [D26]. The Trojans put the corpse high on the stake [D30] and put the flame [D26, D30] in it. The next morning [D17], the people gather around the stake, and they extinguish the glow of the fire [D26] with wine [D21]. Then the brothers and friends collect the bones and store them in a golden urn [D30]. They quickly raise a burial mound [D30], after which they gather in the palace of Priam for a sumptuous meal [D5]. In this way, they took care of the funeral [D37] of Hektor.¹⁶⁸

This analysis of *Iliad* XXIV shows that the type scene of the brave scout is not always connected with Odysseus. In this case, Priam is the brave scout. Although the emphasis for the analysis has been placed on the type

¹⁶⁶cf. *Iliad* XXIV 507-628. ¹⁶⁷cf. *Iliad* XXIV 629-652. ¹⁶⁸cf. *Iliad* XXIV 677-804.

scene of the brave scout, it further shows that *Iliad* XXIV is inspired by the narrative Delta tradition and the compassion fairy tale.

Odysseus and Diomedes as Spies in Troy

The following passage about Odysseus with Helen is still close to the narrative Delta tradition. However, it is the context in which it occurs that belongs to the telestory: Helen relates this passage during the tour of Telemachos in the *Odyssey*. Helen speaks of the exploits performed by Odysseus as follows:

He [Ds7] flagellated himself with degrading strokes [Ds5], then threw on a worthless sheet [Ds9] about his shoulders. He looked like a servant [Ds5, Ds10]. So he crept [Ds12] into the wide-wayed city of the men he was fighting [Ds1], disguising himself in the likeness of somebody else, a beggar [Ds6], one who was unlike [Ds5] himself beside the ships of the Achaians [Ds26], but in his likeness crept [Ds12] into the Trojans' city, and they all were taken in [Ds26]. I alone recognized [Ds26] him even in this form, and I questioned [Ds19] him, but he in his craftiness [Ds22] eluded me; but after I had bathed [D32, Ds27, Ds30] him and anointed [D32, Ds27] him with olive oil and put some clothing [Ds9, Ds30, Ds32] upon him, after I had sworn [Ds23] a great oath not to disclose [Ds31] before the Trojans that this was Odysseus [Ds7] until he had made his way back to the fast ships and the shelters, then at last he told [Ds32] me all the purpose of the Achaians, and after striking [Ds24] many Trojans down with the thin bronze [Ds20] edge, he went back to the Argives and brought back much information [Ds32].¹⁶⁹

In the book on the Mykenaian Alpha tradition, it was decided that this story fits better the similar meeting between Odysseus and Eurykleia in Ithaka.¹⁷⁰ However, that conclusion is premature.¹⁷¹ While the king story of Ithaka is probably older, and in any case purer than the Trojan king story, the type scene of the brave scout has clearly started with a war between two hostile camps meeting on a battlefield. The same goes for the name Odysseus. Both the type scene and the name Odysseus stem from the narrative Delta tradition, which is not applicable to the king story of Ithaka. The type scene of the brave scout is applicable to the king story, but only after Odysseus evolved in his role as herald into a hero who endures the most dangerous

¹⁶⁹*Odyssey* IV 244-258. ¹⁷⁰Blondé (2018), p. 39. ¹⁷¹The type scene of the brave scout had not been fully mapped out until this book was edited in 2020.

adventures. Visiting Helen in Troy may have been one of the first steps in that evolution and thus probably forms the model for the encounter between Odysseus and Eurykleia in the *Odyssey*.

The meeting between Odysseus and Helen belongs to the *Little Iliad*,¹⁷² of which only short content has been preserved, namely Proclus's Chrestomathy. In that summary, we read the following:

*Odysseus [Ds7] disfigures [Ds5, Ds6] himself and goes in to Ilium as a spy [Ds1], and there being recognized [Ds26] by Helen, plots [Ds32] with her for the taking of the city; after killing [Ds24] certain of the Trojans, he returns [Ds34] to the ships.*¹⁷³

This is immediately followed by this sentence:

*Next he [Ds7] carries the Palladium [Ds32] out of Troy [Ds1] with help of Diomedes [Ds7].*¹⁷⁴

Odysseus and Diomedes often perform together, as was already clear from the fairy tale about the abduction of Helen. If we accept the meeting between Odysseus and Helen as an example of the type scene of the brave scout, then we must do the same for the robbery of the Palladium (a statue of Athene), since it is a similar undertaking. In the *Little Iliad*¹⁷⁵ we also find the following action:

*Next Odysseus [Ds7] lies [Ds15] in wait [Ds17] and catches Helenus [D34], who prophesies [Ds32] as to the taking of Troy, and Diomedes [Ds7] accordingly brings [Ds32] Philoctetes from Lemnos.*¹⁷⁶

According to Sophokles,¹⁷⁷ it was Odysseus and Neoptolemos who went to get Philoktetes, with Odysseus recommending Neoptolemos persuade Philoktetes to the fight through a lying story [Ds22]. According to Euripides,¹⁷⁸ it was Odysseus and Diomedes who traveled to Lemnos together. A clear type scene of the brave scout¹⁷⁹ we do not see here, but this

¹⁷²Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*. ¹⁷³Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*. ¹⁷⁴Evelyn-White

(1995), *Little Iliad*. ¹⁷⁵Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*. ¹⁷⁶Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*.

¹⁷⁷Theodoridis (2009), Sophocles, Philoktetes, 1-300. ¹⁷⁸Collard (2004), Euripides's Philoktetes.

¹⁷⁹The book on the European Beta tradition (Blondé 2019, p. 102) already showed that the retrieval of the archer Philoktetes by a great hero fits the Beta type scene of the cowardly archer.

may be because the original text of the *Little Iliad*¹⁸⁰ has been lost. In any case, we can conclude that Odysseus has grown from his role as herald to the hero in the *Odyssey*, thanks to his actions in forerunners of the *Little Iliad*.

Apart from Odysseus, Diomedes, and Priam, there is another character who is fairly purely associated with the characteristics of the type scene of the brave scout: Sinon. That is what the next part is about.

Sinon Misleads the Trojans with a Lying Tale

Linked to the fall of Troy and the Trojan Horse, we find Sinon to be a brave scout. Here is a summary of the account Virgil and Tryphiodorus make of Sinon:¹⁸¹

Odysseus¹⁸² [Ds7] comes up with a plan to build a large wooden horse [Ds14], with in it the bravest of the Greeks, and to let the rest of the Greeks sail away to the island of Tenedos. A certain Sinon has a very difficult and dangerous [Ds2] key role [Ds5]. The Greeks carry out the plans, and they leave Sinon on the beach, all alone [Ds1], naked [Ds8], and with bloody welts [Ds10] on his body. Shepherds bring him to the Trojans and King Priam [Ds25]. They ask Sinon all kinds of questions [Ds19].

The fearful [Ds21] and weeping [Ds21] Sinon kisses Priam's feet and begs [Ds29] for pity. He tells a pitiful lying story [Ds22]: According to the oracle of Apollo, a Greek had to be sacrificed to ensure a safe journey home. Odysseus [Ds7] asked the seer Kalchas who should be sacrificed. For ten days, Kalchas was silent [Ds12] about that question, and the Greeks waited in silence [Ds12]. Meanwhile, Odysseus [Ds7] reached through lies [Ds22] and insinuations [Ds22] that Sinon was hated by all Greeks. Finally, Kalchas identified Sinon as a victim. Sinon was captured and maltreated, but – so Sinon continues to lie – was able to escape and hide [Ds16] by a muddy lake.

Sinon also involves the robbery of the Palladium of Athene by Odysseus [Ds7] and Diomedes in his lying story. Athene would have been angry with the Greeks because of this robbery. As a penance to reconcile the goddess, the Greeks had to build the great wooden horse [Ds14] of Kalchas. It had to be made so big that the Trojans could not bring it in through the city

¹⁸⁰Evelyn-White (1995), *Little Iliad*. ¹⁸¹Fitzgerald (1983), Virgil, *Aeneid* II 13-260; Mair (1928), Tryphiodorus, *Taking of Ilios*, 220-512. ¹⁸²Epeios also had a hand in it, according to Fitzgerald (1983), Virgil, *Aeneid* II 264 and Mair (1928), Tryphiodorus, *Taking of Ilios* 57.

gate because then the structure would protect the Trojans. All this Sinon is lying to the Trojans.

Priam reassures Sinon [Ds4] and makes sure that he gets a cloak [Ds5, Ds9] and a chiton [Ds5, Ds9]. Frenzied with joy, the Trojans tear down part of the city wall to bring in the Trojan Horse. But at night [Ds13], the Greek ships return, aided by the silence [Ds12] of the mute [Ds12] moonlight. Meanwhile, Sinon lets the Greeks out of the wooden horse.

In this story about Sinon, we recognize the type scene of the brave scout at least as clearly as in the *Doloneia* and in Priam's visit to Achilles. The lying story is a central oral characteristic here. We also find that in the *Odyssey*, but not in the *Iliad*. The story about Sinon is unfortunately less well preserved because it is beyond the reach of the *Iliad*. Moreover, there are no flashbacks about Sinon in the *Odyssey*.

In Proclus's summaries of the Trojan Cycle, it is only mentioned that Sinon gives a fire signal to the rest of the Greeks after entering Troy through a lie. Nonetheless, Virgil seems well aware of the brave scout scene's original oral characteristics, as evidenced by his "aided by the silence of the mute moonlight."¹⁸³

In the next section, we examine a flashback in the *Odyssey* about the bravest of the Greeks hidden in the Trojan Horse.

The Greeks in the Trojan Horse

As already explained on p. 113, the story of the Trojan Horse is strongly linked to the Aeolian Gamma tradition. Nevertheless, during Telemachos's visit to Sparta, we find a story by Menelaos about the Trojan Horse, incorporating many oral characteristics of the type scene of the brave scout. These are, in particular, the horse associated with hidden warriors, Odysseus and Diomedes, the lying still and hidden, and the mendacious cunning of Helen:

"In my time I [Menelaos] have studied the wit and counsel of many men who were heroes, and I have been over much of the world, yet nowhere have I seen with my own eyes anyone like him, nor known an inward heart like the heart of enduring Odysseus [Ds7]. Here is the way that strong man acted and the way he endured action, inside the wooden horse [Ds14], where we who were greatest [Ds1] of the Argives all were sitting [Ds15]

¹⁸³Fitzgerald (1983), Virgil, *Aeneid* II 255.

and bringing death [Ds24] and destruction to the Trojans. Then you came there, Helen; you will have been moved by some divine spirit [Ds11] who wished to grant glory to the Trojans, and Deïphobos, a godlike man, was with you when you came. Three times you walked around the hollow ambush, feeling it, and you called out, naming them by name, to the best of the Danaans, and made your voice sound like [Ds22] the voice of the wife of each of the Argives. Now I myself and the son of Tydeus [Ds7] and great Odysseus [Ds7] were sitting there in the middle of them and we heard you crying aloud, and Diomedes and I started up [Ds15], both minded to go outside, or else to answer your voice from inside, but Odysseus pulled us back [Ds31] and held us, for all our eagerness. Then all the other sons of the Achaians were silent [Ds12]: there was only one, it was Antiklos, who was ready to answer, but Odysseus, brutally squeezing his mouth in the clutch of his powerful hands, held him, and so saved the lives of all the Achaians until such time as Pallas Athene [Ds11] led you off from us.”¹⁸⁴

The Greeks in the horse are the brave scouts here who enter enemy territory by cunning and successfully accomplish their mission. “Silence and the silent, hidden approach” are central oral characteristics in this passage. The next type scene of the brave scout, Menelaos with the sea god Proteus, is another flashback that Menelaos makes in the *Odyssey*, this time to one of the return stories (*nostoi*).¹⁸⁵

Menelaos Lures Proteus into an Ambush

On his tour after the fall of Troy, Menelaos gets stuck on a deserted island due to a lack of wind. He meets the goddess Eidothea [Ds11], who gives him the following advice [Ds3]:

“The ever truthful [D34] Old Man of the Sea ranges in these parts. This is the Egyptian, immortal Proteus, and he knows all the depths of the sea. He is Poseidon’s underthegn. And they say also he is my father, that he begot me. If somehow you could lie in ambush [Ds17] and catch hold of him,

¹⁸⁴ *Odyssey* IV 267-289. ¹⁸⁵ Evelyn-White (1995), *Returns*.

he could tell [Ds32] you the way to go, the stages of your journey, and tell you how to make your way home on the sea where the fish swarm. And he could tell you too, illustrious one, if you wish it, what evil and what good has been done in your palace.”¹⁸⁶

Menelaos asks [Ds19] how he should proceed to capture Proteus. Eidothea answers him: “At the time when the sun has gone up to bestride the middle of heaven [D17], then the ever-truthful [D34] Old Man of the Sea will come out of the water under the blast of the West Wind, circled in a shudder of darkening water, and when he comes out he will sleep, under hollow caverns, and around him seals, those darlings of the sea’s lovely lady, sleep in a huddle, after they have emerged from the gray sea, giving off the sour smell that comes from the deep salt water. There I will take you myself when dawn shows and arrange [Ds15] you orderly in your ambush [Ds17]; you must choose from your companions those three [Ds1] who are your best [Ds1] beside your strong-benched vessels. Now I will tell you [Ds3] all the devious ways of this old man. First of all he will go among his seals and count them, but after he has reviewed them all and noted their number, he will lie [Ds15] down in their midst, like a herdsman among his sheepflocks. Next, as soon as you see that he is asleep, that will be the time for all of you to use your strength and your vigor, and hold him there while he strives and struggles hard to escape you. And he will try you by taking the form [Ds5] of all creatures that come forth and move on the earth, he will be water [D38] and magical fire [D26]. You must hold stiffly on to him and squeeze him the harder. But when at last he himself, speaking in words [D10], questions [Ds19] you, being now in the same form [Ds10] he was in when you saw him sleeping [Ds15], then, hero, you must give over your force and let the old man go free, and ask him which one of the gods is angry with you, and ask [Ds19] him how to make your way home on the sea where the fish swarm.”¹⁸⁷

The next morning, Eidothea brings four seal skins, and lying under them [Ds15], Menelaos and three of his men await. The stench of the seals torments them terribly [Ds21]. When Proteus comes ashore, he counts them [Ds26] among the seals without suspecting any deception [Ds22]. Finally, Proteus lies down [Ds15] between the seals. Then Menelaos and his fellows jump up [Ds15] with a loud cry, and they put their arms around him.

However, Proteus has not forgotten his cunning [Ds22] magic. He transforms [Ds5] himself into a lion, a dragon, a panther, and a boar. He transforms [Ds5] himself into running water [D38] and a tall tree. Menelaos

¹⁸⁶Odyssey IV 384-392. ¹⁸⁷Odyssey IV 400-424.

and his fellows, however, remain steadfast and hold him tight. Eventually, Menelaos can interrogate him [Ds19] and find out [Ds32] what happened at home in Greece.¹⁸⁸

This story has similarities with Odysseus, who is ambushed [Ds17] to catch the Trojan seer [D34] Helenos, and interrogates him [Ds19] about what strategy [Ds32] they should follow to overthrow Troy. We find the same pattern in the *Doloneia*, in which Odysseus and Diomedes question Dolon about the Trojan camp after being ambushed. Each time, the brave scout gains valuable information by catching and interrogating an enemy. That is the old logic behind this story. The next scene to be analyzed is a flashback that Odysseus makes to his own return story.

Odysseus with the Sorceress Circe

When Odysseus washes up naked at the Phaiakians and is dressed and welcomed by them, he tells them about his adventures during a long night. One of them is his stay with Circe:

*There [on Circe's island Aia] we brought our ship in to the shore, in silence [Ds12], at a harbor fit for ships to lie, and some god guided [Ds11] us in. There we disembarked, and for two days and two nights [D17] we lay [Ds15] there, for sorrow [Ds21] and weariness [Ds21] eating our hearts out. But when the fair-haired Dawn [D17] in her rounds brought on the third day, then at last I took up my spear again, my sharp sword [Ds20], and went up quickly from beside the ship to find a lookout [Ds1] place, to look for some trace of people, listen for some sound. I climbed to a rocky point of observation and stood there, and got a sight of smoke which came from the halls of Circe going up from wide-wayed earth through undergrowth [Ds16] and forest [Ds16]. Then I pondered deeply in my heart and my spirit, whether, since I had seen the fire and smoke, to investigate [Ds1]; but in the division of my heart this way seemed the best to me, to go back first to the fast ship and the beach of the sea, and give my companions some dinner [D5], then send them forward to investigate [Ds1]. But on my way, as I was close to the oar-swept vessel, some god [Ds11], because I was all alone, took pity upon me, and sent a great stag [Ds3, Ds32] with towering antlers right in my very path.*¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸cf. *Odyssey* IV 435-537. ¹⁸⁹*Odyssey* X 140-159.

Odysseus killed the animal with his spear and brought the booty [Ds32] to his comrades, who looked with amazement [Ds28] at the colossal deer. *They washed [D32] their hands and set to preparing a communal high feast [D5]. So for the whole length of the day until the sun's setting [D17] we sat there feasting on unlimited meat [D5] and sweet wine [D21]. But when the sun went down [D17] and the sacred darkness came over, then we lay down to sleep [D17] along the break of the seashore.*¹⁹⁰

The following morning [D17], Odysseus divided the group in two and shook the lots [D14]. A group led by Eurylochos – a sad company [Ds21] – had to go out on an exploration [Ds1], while Odysseus and the rest stayed there, mourning [Ds21].¹⁹¹

Eurylochos and his group came to the palace of Circe, guarded [Ds18] by tame lions and wolves. As they approached, they heard Circe sing in a beautiful voice. Instead of approaching silently, they shouted loudly [Ds12].

Immediately, Circe invited [Ds30] them for a meal [D5], but she mixed in pernicious [Ds22] spices that turned [Ds5] them into swine. Only Eurylochos stayed behind, for he suspected fraud [Ds22]. When he arrived back [Ds34] at Odysseus, he could not utter a word [Ds12], and his eyes were full of tears [Ds21]. It was only when Odysseus in amazement [Ds28] asked what had happened that Eurylochos told the whole story. Odysseus then asked him to go back the same way, but Eurylochos begged [Ds29]:¹⁹² *“Illustrious, do not take me against my will there. Leave me here, for I know you will never come back [Ds34] yourself, nor bring back [Ds32] any of your companions. Let us rather make haste, and with these who are left, escape [Ds33], for we still may avoid the day of evil [Ds21].”*¹⁹³

Odysseus sets out alone to explore [Ds1] and meets the god Hermes [Ds11], the god with the golden staff [Ds20], in the guise of a young man.¹⁹⁴ Hermes explains to him [Ds3] how he can save his fellows [Ds32] and return safely [Ds34] with them: *“And I will tell you all the malevolent guiles [Ds22] of Circe. She will make you [Ds30] a potion, and put drugs in the food, but she will not even so be able to enchant you, for this good medicine which I give you [Ds3] now will prevent her. I will tell you [Ds3] the details of what to do. As soon as Circe with her long wand [Ds20] strikes you, then drawing from beside your thigh your sharp sword [Ds20], rush forward against Circe, as if you were raging to kill [Ds24] her, and she will be afraid [Ds21], and invite you to go to bed with her. Do not then resist and refuse the bed of the*

¹⁹⁰Odyssey X 182-186. ¹⁹¹cf. Odyssey X 187-209. ¹⁹²cf. Odyssey X 210-265. ¹⁹³Odyssey X 266-269. ¹⁹⁴cf. Odyssey X 270-279.

*goddess, for so she will set free your companions [Ds32], and care for you also; but bid her swear the great oath [Ds23] of the blessed gods, that she has no other evil [Ds22] hurt that she is devising against you, so she will not make you weak and unmanned [Ds5], once you are naked [Ds8].”*¹⁹⁵

What Hermes predicted happened. Odysseus called Circe, who made him sit inside her palace [Ds30], while she prepared [Ds30] a magic potion [Ds22]. After Odysseus had drunk from it, she hit him with her staff [Ds20] and spoke: “Now go to the cabin and lie down [Ds15] with your friends!”

But Odysseus drew his sword and jumped [Ds15] at her, as if he wanted to kill [Ds24] her. Then Circe took his knees [Ds29] and cried, wailing:¹⁹⁶ “*What man are you and whence? [Ds19] Where are your city [Ds19] and parents? [Ds19] The wonder [Ds28] is on me that you drank my drugs and have not been enchanted.*”¹⁹⁷

Then she suggested to him they lie down together [Ds15] in bed, so that in love and sleep united, they might trust each other. Odysseus refused this and said that he would only share a bed with her when she swore a solemn oath [Ds23] that she would not plot more mischief [Ds22] against him.¹⁹⁸

After she had sworn that oath, Odysseus laid [Ds15] himself down in her bed. *Meanwhile, the four maidservants [E], who wait on Circe in her house, were busy at their work, all through the palace. These are daughters [G38] born of the springs [G19] and from the coppices [G13] and the sacred [G49] rivers [G19] which flow down to the sea [G19]. Of these one laid the coverlets, splendid [E] and stained in purple [E], over the backs of the chairs [E], and spread on the seats the cloths [E] to sit on. The second drew up [Ds30] the silver [E] tables [E] and placed them in front of the chairs [E], and laid out the golden [E] serving baskets [E] upon them. The third mixed wine [D21], kindly [E] sweet [E] and fragrant, in the silver [E] mixing bowl, and set out [Ds30] the golden [E] goblets. The fourth one brought in water [D38], then set about building up an abundant fire [D26], underneath the great caldron [D38], and the water [D6, D38] heated.*¹⁹⁹

When the water [D6, D38] boiled in the shiny copper, she made Odysseus sit [Ds30] in the bathtub [D32, D38]. Pleasantly mixing the water [D6, D38] out of the great cauldron [D6, D38], she washed [D32, Ds27] him, his head and shrugging shoulders, until the debilitating weariness [Ds21] was gone from his limbs. After the bath [D6, D32], she rubbed him with olive oil [D32, E], dressed [Ds9] in a chiton [Ds9] and a beautiful [E] cloak [Ds9],

¹⁹⁵ *Odyssey* X 289-301. ¹⁹⁶ cf. *Odyssey* X 302-324. ¹⁹⁷ *Odyssey* X 325-327. ¹⁹⁸ cf. *Odyssey* X 333-344. ¹⁹⁹ *Odyssey* X 348-359.

and led him inside [Ds30], where he sat on an artfully carved [E] chair [E], adorned with silver [E] and with a footstool [E] underneath. She invited him to dinner [D5, Ds30].²⁰⁰

However, Odysseus had no appetite, to which Circe spoke: “*Why, Odysseus, do you sit so, like a man who has lost his voice [Ds12], eating your heart out [Ds21], but touch neither food nor drink?*”²⁰¹ Odysseus replied that he was too concerned with the fate of his comrades. Then Circe gathered Odysseus’s men together and smeared them with a new miracle ointment [D32].

Immediately, their brushes fell off [Ds27], and they changed again into males, younger, handsomer, and bigger [Ds5] than they had been before. Circe then suggested that Odysseus return to his ship to fetch the rest of his men. Odysseus obeyed her words. When he returned with the second group, Circe was taking care of the first group [Ds30].²⁰² *Meanwhile, inside the house, Circe with loving care bathed [D32, Ds30] the rest of my companions and anointed them well with olive oil [D32, E] and put about them mantles [Ds9, E] of fleece and tunics [Ds9, E]. We found them all together, feasting [D5] well in the halls. When my men looked each other in the face [Ds10] and knew [Ds26] one another, they burst into an outcry [Ds21] of tears [Ds21].*²⁰³

For a whole year [Ds30], Odysseus and his men enjoyed daily an abundance of meat [D5] and delicious wine [D21]. But when Odysseus wanted to return to his homeland, his sorrow [Ds21] was not over yet. Circe gave him a new assignment: He had to descend into the underworld to speak with the seer Teiresias.²⁰⁴

In this story about Circe, Odysseus is the brave scout who, with the help of the god Hermes, enters the “hostile” territory – Circe’s palace. The staff (Ds20) is a central motif here: the golden staff of Hermes, the wand of Circe, the sword of Odysseus, but also the erect male genitalia.

The scene in the next part is one in which Odysseus, the brave scout, takes his first steps in his homeland Ithaka. By posing as a beggar, he can gain valuable information about who has remained faithful to him and who betrayed him.

²⁰⁰cf. *Odyssey* X 360-373. ²⁰¹*Odyssey* X 378-379. ²⁰²cf. *Odyssey* X 380-448. ²⁰³*Odyssey* X 449-454. ²⁰⁴cf. *Odyssey* X 467-498.

Odysseus's Lying Tale with Eumaios

In the *Odyssey*, we find many oral characteristics of the type scene of the brave scout in the form of motifs connected with Odysseus, namely his dress [Ds9], metamorphoses [Ds5], the recognition by his relatives [Ds26], and his special bond with the goddess Athene, who constantly assists him [Ds11]. There is much ado about these motifs in the *Odyssey*. Odysseus constantly receives clothes from others, which he later loses or hands out. When he meets old acquaintances again after many years, there is always much attention to the way they eventually recognize [Ds26] him.

Eumaios, Odysseus's faithful swineherd, first gets to see Odysseus in the role of a beggar [Ds6]. He receives him hospitably [Ds30] in his home, where he lives with some other shepherds. Odysseus tells them a completely made-up story [Ds22] about his life. After all, the intention of the brave scout is to remain incognito. That lying tale again uses the oral characteristics of the type scene. The next part of the lying tale concerns lying down and jumping up [Ds15], having a hard time [Ds21], and killing enemies [Ds24]:

Whenever I detailed the best [Ds1] fighters to go into ambush [Ds17], planning evil things for the enemy, the proud heart in me had no image of death [Ds21] before it, but far the first I would leap out [Ds15] and with my spear bring down [Ds24] that enemy man whose speed of foot failed him against me.²⁰⁵

A little later, Odysseus talks about his attack on Egypt in his made-up biography. In it, a reference is made to a scouting assignment:

I stayed my oarswept ships inside the Aigyptos River. Then I urged my eager companions to stay where they were, there close to the fleet, and to guard [Ds18] the ships, and was urgent with them to send look-outs [Ds1] to the watching [Ds18] places.²⁰⁶

After more wanderings, Odysseus talks about King Pheidon. For once, it is not a god leading the brave scout but a human:

The king of the Thesprotians, the hero Pheidon, looked after me [Ds30] without price, for his own dear son had come on me when I was beaten by weariness [Ds21] and cold air [Ds21], and lifted

²⁰⁵ *Odyssey* XIV 217-221. ²⁰⁶ *Odyssey* XIV 258-261.

me up by the hands, and led [Ds3] me home to the house [Ds1] of his father, and put [Ds5] a mantle [Ds9] and tunic [Ds9] about me to wear as clothing [Ds9]. It was there I had word of Odysseus [Ds7].²⁰⁷

Finally, the biography ends with the hut of Eumaios. We recognize the hiding between plants, the assistance of the gods, and the hospitable reception of Eumaios:

At evening [D17] time they made their way off the fields of sunny Ithaka, and there they tied me fast in the strong-benched ship, with a rope's end twisted and tightly about me, and themselves disembarking speedily took their evening meal [D5] on the sand of the seashore. But the very gods [Ds11] themselves untied the knots that were on me easily, and I, wrapping my head in a rag [Ds9], climbed down the polished plank that was there for loading, and let my chest into the sea [D32], then struck out with both my arms, and thus swimming I very soon was out of the water and close to where they were. Then I went up, where there was a growth of flowering [Ds16] thicket, and lay [Ds15] there, cowering [Ds16]; they with outcry great and sorrowful came back to search, but then it seemed there was no more profit in looking for me any longer, and so they went back, boarding their hollow ship again; but it was the gods [Ds11] who concealed [Ds16] me easily, and it was they [Ds11] who brought me here to the steading of an understanding man [Ds30].²⁰⁸

Later in the evening, Odysseus tests Eumaios whether he or another shepherd in the hut would be willing to give his cloak to ragged Odysseus. He does this through the following lying tale, in which the main character has a hard time due to the cold, someone takes on the role of herald (or messenger), and a cloak is exchanged:

I wish I were young [Ds6] again and the strength still steady within me, as when, under Troy, we formed an ambush [Ds17] detail and led it. The leaders were Odysseus [Ds7] and Atreus' son, Menelaos, and I made a third [Ds1] leader with them, since they themselves asked me. But when we had come underneath

²⁰⁷Odyssey XIV 316-321. ²⁰⁸Odyssey XIV 343-359.

the city [Ds1] and the steep wall, we, all about the city in marshy ground and the dense growth [Ds16] of swamp grass [Ds16] and the reeds [Ds16], and huddling under our armor, lay [Ds15] there, and a bad night came on with a rush of the North Wind freezing [Ds21], and from above came a fall of snow [Ds21], chilling like frost [Ds21], and on the shields' edges the ice [Ds21] formed, rimming them. There all the other men were wearing both mantles [Ds9] and tunics [Ds9], and they slept at ease, pulling their great shields over their shoulders, but I, in my carelessness when I started with my companions, had left my mantle [Ds9]; I never thought I would be so cold [Ds21], but went along with only my shield and my shining waist guard [Ds9].

But when it was the third time of the night [D17] and after the star change, then I spoke to Odysseus [Ds7], for he was lying next me, nudging him with my elbow, and he listened at once. I said: "Son of Laertes and seed of Zeus, resourceful Odysseus, I shall no longer be left among the living [Ds21]. The weather [Ds21] is too much for me. I have no mantle [Ds9]. The spirit made me silly, to go half-dressed [Ds9], and now there is no escape for me." So I spoke, and he immediately had an idea in his mind, such a man he was for counseling [D2, D4], as for fighting [D2, D4]. He spoke to me in a little voice and said a word [Ds22] to me: "Be quiet [Ds12] now, let no other of the Achaians hear [Ds12] you." Then he propped his head on his elbow and spoke a word, out loud: "Hear me, friends. In my sleep a divine [Ds2] dream came to me. We have come too far [Ds1] away from the ships. Now, would there be someone to tell [Ds6] Agamemnon, Atreus' son, shepherd of the people, so he might send more of the men by the ships to come here to us?"

So he spoke, and Thoas sprang up [Ds15], the son of Andraimon, quickly, and took off and laid aside his red [E] mantle [Ds9], and went on the run for the ships, and I lay [Ds15] down in his clothes [Ds9], happily, and rested until Dawn [D17] of the golden throne came. I wish I were young [Ds6] like that and the strength still steady within me.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁹Odyssey XIV 468-503.

Odysseus succeeds and is given a cloak for one night. In this story, two oral characteristics are linked, namely the distress [Ds21] because of the cold and the exchange of a cloak [Ds9], which in the old logic of the type scene may not have been paired. In that old logic, the change in clothes is mainly linked to the role change [Ds5] of the brave scout. Conversely, making new connections is typical of a cluster of oral characteristics that belong together, especially if they are as obvious as here.

Odysseus's Lying Tale with Penelope

In Chapter XIX of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus slipped into his own palace as a beggar, where he would receive a cloak and a chiton in exchange for information about Odysseus.²¹⁰ Throughout the chapter, the oral characteristics of the narrative Delta tradition and the type scene of the brave scout shine through. The main oral characteristics we find in it are disguising oneself as a beggar [Ds6] to explore dangerous territory [Ds1], recognizing the brave scout [Ds26], the washing [D32] and clothing [Ds9], so that the brave scout becomes recognizable [Ds27], the interrogation [Ds19], keeping the scout's mission secret [Ds31], reaching the wanted person [Ds25], obtaining information [Ds32], killing the suitors [Ds24], and interpreting bird signs [D34].

When Odysseus [Ds7] and Telemachos make their way through their palace in Ithaka [Ds1], Athene [Ds11] goes in front with a golden lamp in the hand. Immediately, Telemachos exclaimed, "*Father, here is a great wonder that my eyes look on. Always it seems that the chamber walls, the handsome bases and roof timbers of fir and tall columns sustaining them, shine in my eyes as if a fire [D26] were blazing. There must be surely a god [Ds11] here, one of those who hold the high heaven.*"²¹¹ Odysseus replies: "*Hush [Ds12], and keep it in your own mind [Ds31], and do not ask questions. For this is the very way of the gods, who hold Olympos. You should now go to bed, and I shall remain behind here, so that I can continue to stir up [Ds19] the maids, and also your mother; and she in her sorrow will question [Ds19] me about everything.*"²¹²

Telemachos goes to sleep [D17], and Odysseus is left alone in the hall where the suitors, who compete for Penelope's hand, have just eaten. At that moment, Penelope [Ds25] and some maids [E] enter. Melanthe rages against Odysseus.²¹³

²¹⁰See also Harsh (1950) for an analysis of *Odyssey* XIX. ²¹¹*Odyssey* XIX 36-40. ²¹²*Odyssey* XIX 42-46. ²¹³cf. *Odyssey* XIX 47-65.

*“Stranger, do you mean to stay here all night and bother us by poking all over the house and spying upon the women? Take yourself out of the door, you wretch, and be well satisfied with your feast [D5], or you may be forced to get out, with a torch [D26] thrown at you.”*²¹⁴

Penelope chides Melantho for this: *“Always I know well what monstrous thing you are doing, you bold and shameless bitch; you will wipe it off on your own head. You understood all this very well, because you had heard it from me, how in my halls I intended to question [Ds19] the stranger about my husband; since I am troubled [Ds21] for him incessantly.”*²¹⁵ Then she has a chair (E) fetched and invites [E] Odysseus for a conversation [Ds25].

Penelope complains to Odysseus. *“For all the greatest men who have the power in the islands, in Doulichion and Same and in wooded Zakynthos, and all who in rocky Ithaka are holders of lordships, all these are my suitors against my will, and they wear my house out. Therefore, I pay no attention to strangers [Ds30], nor to suppliants [Ds6], nor yet to heralds [Ds6], who are in the public service, but always I waste away at the inward heart, longing for Odysseus [Ds7].”*²¹⁶

Then Penelope talks about the ruse [Ds22] she used to escape marriage: She said she could not get married as long as she worked on a pall [Ds9] for Laertes, Odysseus’s father. During the day, she worked on the pall [E], but at night, she took out the weave [Ds9].²¹⁷

Then it is Odysseus’s turn to talk about his past. Odysseus, still disguised as a beggar, tells how he met Odysseus [Ds7]. Penelope, moved to tears [Ds21], wants to put Odysseus to the test [Ds19] about that encounter with the following questions:²¹⁸ *“Tell me what sort of clothing [Ds9] he wore on his body, and what sort [Ds10] of man he was himself, and his companions, who followed him.”*²¹⁹

Odysseus describes the clothes [Ds9] that he got from Penelope, although twenty years ago, in great detail. He wore, among other things, a purple [E] woolen coat [Ds9] and an elaborately worked [E] image [E] of a hound that was throating a doe. Furthermore, Odysseus lies [Ds22] that he gave Odysseus [Ds7] a sword [Ds20] and a beautiful [E] purple [E] double cloak [Ds9] as presents [E]. Then follows the passage with the description of the appearance [Ds10] of Eurybates, the herald [Ds6] of Odysseus (see p. 163).²²⁰

²¹⁴*Odyssey* XIX 66-69. ²¹⁵*Odyssey* XIX 91-95. ²¹⁶*Odyssey* XIX 130-136. ²¹⁷cf. *Odyssey* XIX 137-150. ²¹⁸cf. *Odyssey* XIX 165-217. ²¹⁹*Odyssey* XIX 218-219. ²²⁰cf. *Odyssey* XIX 220-248.

Penelope cries [Ds21], remembering her husband. Odysseus [Ds7] then swears to her that Odysseus [Ds7] is nearby and will soon return, which Penelope does not believe. She orders her servants [E] to wash Odysseus's feet [D32, Ds27], prepare a bed for him, bathe him the next morning [D32, Ds27], and anoint [D32, Ds27] him so that he can have breakfast [D5] with Telemachos.

Odysseus replies that he does not want to have his feet washed [D32] by a servant, unless by an old [Ds6] woman who has gone through as much in her life as he has. Then Penelope calls Eurykleia, who was his nurse [E] in Odysseus's [Ds7] youth, and bids her to wash his feet [D32, Ds27].²²¹

Eurykleia weeps hot tears [Ds21] and laments the fate of Odysseus [Ds7], but also feels compassion for Odysseus disguised as a beggar. She speaks to him: "*There have been many hard-traveling strangers [Ds6] who have come here, but I say I have never seen one as like [Ds10] as you are to Odysseus, both as to your feet, and voice [Ds10] and appearance [Ds10]*"²²²

Odysseus answers that all people say that who saw them together, that they are each other's image. Eurykleia then fetches a bowl [D38] that serves as a footbath [D38] and mixes cold and warm water [D38].

But Odysseus slides away from the fireplace [D26] and turns quickly to the dark, for he suddenly realizes that Eurykleia will recognize the scar [Ds26] that a boar has inflicted on him in his childhood. Eurykleia approaches to wash Odysseus's feet [D32], and she recognizes [Ds26] the scar. She drops his leg from amazement [Ds28]. The bowl [D38] topples, and the water [D38] flows over the ground.²²³

Eurykleia takes Odysseus by the chin [Ds29] and says, "*Then, dear child, you really are Odysseus [Ds7]. I did not know [Ds26] you before; not until I had touched my lord all over.*"²²⁴ And immediately her eyes look for Penelope, because she wants to indicate to her that her beloved husband is in the room.

But Odysseus grabs her by the throat and says, "*Nurse, why are you trying to kill me? You yourself suckled me at your own breast; and now at last after suffering [Ds21] much, I have come, in the twentieth year, back to my own country. But now that you have learned who I am, and the god put it into your mind, hush [Ds12], let nobody else in the palace know [Ds31] of it.*"²²⁵

²²¹cf. *Odyssey* XIX 249-358. ²²²*Odyssey* XIX 379-381. ²²³cf. *Odyssey* XIX 382-471. ²²⁴*Odyssey* XIX 474-475. ²²⁵*Odyssey* XIX 482-486.

He adds that he will also kill the women in the palace after he conquers the suitors. In his role as a beggar, he will find out for himself [Ds1] who has remained faithful to him and who betrays him.²²⁶

Odysseus moves closer to the fire [D26] and hides [Ds26] his scar [Ds26] under his rags [Ds9]. Penelope wants to ask him one more question before going to sleep. In her garden, she has soaked twenty geese [D34], which are her joy to see, how they eat their wheat, soaked in water [D38]. But in a dream came a great eagle [D39], which broke their necks and killed [Ds24] them all. Penelope wept [Ds21] and wailed [Ds21], while the eagle [D39] rose high in heaven.

Then the eagle came back and spoke in a human voice,²²⁷ *“Do not fear, O daughter of far-famed Ikarios. This is no dream, but a blessing real as day. You will see it done. The geese are the suitors, and I, the eagle, have been a bird of portent, but now I am your own husband, come home, and I shall inflict shameless destruction [Ds24] on all the suitors.”*²²⁸

To this, Odysseus speaks: *“Lady, it is impossible to read this dream and avoid it by turning another way, since Odysseus [Ds7] himself has told you its meaning, how it will end. The suitors’ doom [Ds24] is evident for one and all. Not one will avoid his death [Ds24] and destruction [Ds24].”*²²⁹ Finally, Penelope talks about the contest she will organize for the suitors. Then everyone goes to sleep [D17].²³⁰

Once again, we see Odysseus perform here in the role of the brave scout who, disguised as a beggar, treads dangerous territory. His mission is to gather information about who has remained loyal to him and who has not and to prepare his wife Penelope for his arrival. Important motives in this scene are interrogation and recognition. Odysseus can cunningly avoid questions again, thanks to a lying tale. This concludes the chapter on Odysseus and the type scene of the brave scout. The next, last chapter describes the conclusions.

²²⁶cf. *Odyssey* XIX 487-502. ²²⁷cf. *Odyssey* XIX 506-545. ²²⁸*Odyssey* XIX 546-550. ²²⁹*Odyssey* XIX 555-558. ²³⁰cf. *Odyssey* XIX 559-604.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

Although the narrative Delta tradition usually appeals to the European Beta tradition for its battle passages in our *Iliad*, it is nevertheless a full-fledged oral tradition that tells fairy tales about wars between neighboring clans. This is shown by the reconstructions of three fairy tales: the anger of Achilles, the abduction of Helen, and the compassion of Achilles. Even in the many raw combat passages of the European Beta tradition, the themes and motifs of Delta fairy tales remain present.

The three fairy tales determine the architecture of our *Iliad*. There is no chapter in the *Iliad* that does not contain any of the three fairy tales. Nonetheless, the European Beta tradition may be the oldest stratum in the *Iliad*, as shown by the analysis of *Iliad* VI. Various themes in the Delta fairy tales, such as the resentful warrior, the cowardly archer, and the fame for the father, can also be found in the thematic type scenes typical of the European Beta tradition.

The narrative Delta tradition and the European Beta tradition give different views of the same clan society using largely divergent oral characteristics. The similarities can be found mainly in the themes, which for the narrative Delta tradition are the major themes of the fairy tales, while those for the European Beta tradition are contained in type scenes dealt with during the combat passages. If, after all, the European Beta tradition and the narrative Delta tradition are two pieces of the same tradition, we must conclude that the European Beta tradition is an auxiliary oral scope of the narrative Delta tradition.

Like the European Beta tradition, the narrative Delta tradition probably originated in Central Europe, where we found a mixture of the funeral customs of the Urnfield peoples and the Tumulus peoples. We find these mixed

funeral customs in the *Iliad* mainly as oral characteristics of the narrative Delta tradition. The Greek heroic cults of the Dark Ages are probably more a consequence than an origin of the funeral customs found in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Nevertheless, an interaction between Greek hero cults and Homeric works does not seem to be ruled out.

Furthermore, the oral characteristics of the narrative Delta tradition betray a sober materialism. Bronze kettles, for example, are among those oral characteristics, and they can serve as gifts or washing basins. Writing is absent from the narrative Delta society. In oaths and treaties, heralds or clan leaders invoke a god as witness while holding up a scepter. Finally, there is the rampart of wood and earth and the ditch around the camp of the Greeks. These elements are also part of the oral characteristics of the narrative Delta tradition. They are an important indication that we must seek the origin of the narrative Delta tradition north of Greece. In the original narrative Delta tradition, the houses in the strongholds of clans were surrounded by such a rampart and ditch. Accordingly, the Greeks, like the Trojans, are a town population in Delta fairy tales.

Finally, the sacrifice of horses on the pyre of Patroklos and the usage of chariots in the narrative Delta and the European Beta traditions may indicate that these traditions originate – at least partially – from the nomads in East Europe, Russia, and Central Asia. Horses were important for the people who lived there, and it is uncertain whether chariots were already used for a sufficiently long time in Central Europe at the beginning of the Dark Ages in Greece, when the European Beta and narrative Delta traditions are likely to have entered Greece. There was great cultural continuity across non-Mediterranean Europe in the Bronze Age, and shared oral traditions may very well have been a part of that.

The main theme of the anger fairy tale, the anger of Achilles, is also the main theme of the *Iliad*. In it, Achilles is torn apart by the choice between gaining great fame and dying in battle, on the one hand, and resentfully staying aloof from the battle, but living a long life, on the other. When his best friend Patroklos dies under the hand of Hektor, his choice is made, and he asks, even before his death, to be buried with Patroklos. Achilles then dies after taking revenge on Hektor. The Greeks who stayed behind buried the bones of Achilles and Patroklos in the same urn under the same burial mound.

Helen's fairy tale has the dishonesty of the Trojans as its main theme and the punishment of the supreme god that follows from it. The dishonest

Trojan par excellence is Paris, who stole Helen from the Greek Menelaos. He bribes Antimachos to propose that Menelaos be killed when he shows up as a negotiator with the Trojans. He flees in a duel against Menelaos but refuses to return Helen as agreed by a solemn oath. On the battlefield, he shoots with bow and arrow from hidden positions. Only Antenor advocates respecting treaties with the Greeks. Ultimately, the Greeks destroy the Trojan town, and only Antenor and his family are spared. A minor theme in Helen's fairy tale is the bravery of the youth Diomedes and the herald Odysseus.

The compassion fairy tale has the compassion of Achilles as its main theme. Achilles was known for his generosity in battle. He left the Trojans that fell into his hands alive to sell them back to the Trojans for a ransom. This generosity turns to ruthlessness when Patroklos, whom he loves above all other Greeks, is killed by Hektor. Achilles takes revenge on the Trojans and Hektor during a long triumphant raid from the Greek stronghold to Troy. Numerous Trojans die. In the end, Achilles kills Hektor, the only one who does not want to flee within the ramparts of Troy. Achilles drags Hektor's corpse to the camp of the Greeks, planning to have it torn up by the dogs. However, when Priam appears in the camp of the Greeks, all alone with Achilles, Achilles changes his mind and returns Hektor's corpse in exchange for a ransom.

A side theme that appears in both the anger fairy tale and the compassion fairy tale is fame for the father. We find Patroklos, Polydoros, and in part also Hektor, in the role of the son, who is impatient to make his father proud by committing great deeds on the battlefield. According to the most classic version, the son is still too young for battle and begs his father to go to war in his father's armor. The father eventually allows this, but urges his son not to fight too far ahead and to avoid the enemy's greatest hero on the battlefield. The son gains great fame in battle but is nevertheless killed by the enemy's greatest hero. The father is in deep mourning.

It is especially the compassion fairy tale that can be clearly distinguished from other fairy tales by a long series of oral characteristics that are mostly exclusively associated with this one fairy tale. The focus on Troy and the Trojans and on Hektor and his family are among the most important of those oral characteristics.

However, there are many detailed oral characteristics that do not appear in the short content of the fairy tale, such as naming various tree species, knees, becoming unarmed, and handcuffing prisoners with belts. Moreover, there are several oral characteristics of the compassion fairy tale that do not fit

into the simplified setting of the reconstruction in Chapter 5 but that do fit into the Greek *Iliad* tradition in which the war has been going on for ten years. For example, in the reconstruction, Troy is rich, so the Trojans can always pay the ransom when Achilles captures their sons. Among the additional oral characteristics, however, we found that Troy was rich in the past, but its glory has now passed away. Several of these additional oral characteristics relate to the Mykenaian Alpha tradition and the Aeolian Gamma tradition.

The study of the narrative Delta tradition also uncovers the origin of the character Odysseus. Like Odios and Idaios, Odysseus acts as a herald in the narrative Delta tradition. However, it is mainly thanks to the type scene of the brave scout that Odysseus has grown into the cunning hero who endures many adventures. In that type scene, a brave hero ventures into enemy territory alone or in a small group to carry out an assignment. That is also the job of the heralds, which is why we also see “herald” emerging as an oral characteristic of the type scene of the brave scout. This type scene may have developed strongly within the Ionian Epsilon tradition.

That explains a series of characteristics of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, such as his cunning, the dangerous adventures he endures, the metamorphoses, recognizing Odysseus, dressing and washing Odysseus, the lying tales that Odysseus tells, Odysseus’s regularly crying, the constant assistance of Athene, and his task of gathering information in dangerous territory. This shows that the type scene of the brave scout has almost grown into a story unto itself. In any case, it has mixed several times with the king stories¹ and the telestories,² which were also popular and which also explain part of the origin and evolution of the character Odysseus and the *Odyssey*.

This concludes the discussion of the narrative Delta tradition. In the next book in the Homeric Traditions series, the last oral tradition in the series of five is unraveled and highlighted: the Ionian Epsilon tradition. That book also discusses in detail how the *Iliad* turned from an oral narrative into a fixed, written text.

¹Blondé (2018), p. 23-49.

²Blondé (2020), p. 49-54.

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Overview of the Oral Traditions

Published

1. *The Mykenaian Alpha Tradition: On the Origin of Greek Stories*
2. *The European Beta Tradition: On the Origin of the Iliad*
3. *The Aeolian Gamma Tradition: On the Origin of Roman Stories*
4. *The Narrative Delta Tradition: Iliadic Fairy Tales*

Still to be Published

5. *The Ionian Epsilon Tradition: Homer's Finishing Touch*

Overview of All Oral Characteristics (Alpha–Delta)

A1–55: The Mykenaian Alpha Tradition

- A1. Wars on cities
- A2. Bloody feuds within the family
- A3. Kings
- A4. The brave hero
- A5. The change of power
- A6. The cycle of misery
- A7. The revenge on the return
- A8. The special education
- A9. Fatal women
- A10. Failed marriages
- A11. Divine dynasties
- A12. Places and personal names that are often Greek
- A13. Large herds of cattle, horses, or sheep
- A14. Long wanderings
- A15. Digressions
- A16. Recruiting soldiers
- A17. The move to a distant place
- A18. Strange peoples with a typical characteristic
- A19. The seven-gated Thebes
- A20. The remuneration of the king
- A21. Polytheism
- A22. The punishment of the gods
- A23. The hero who defeats a whole army
- A24. The exiled son

- A25. Destinies, seers, and curses
- A26. The abduction of cattle
- A27. The numbers nine and twelve
- A28. Herakles, Tydeus, Neleus, Peleus, or Nestor
- A29. The hero assisted by the gods
- A30. The honorable funeral
- A31. Ate, goddess of delusion
- A32. The flight after a crime
- A33. The marriage to a king's daughter
- A34. Riches of the soil, typical of a place or city
- A35. The story of a character's life
- A36. The secret intercourse of a mortal and a god
- A37. The painful, prolonged captivity
- A38. The mortal abducted by a god
- A39. Furies (Erinyes), wrathful goddesses, and Hades
- A40. (Delegated) counselors
- A41. Holiness
- A42. The abduction of a woman
- A43. Superlatives, as in "the bravest of all mortals"
- A44. The human who fights the gods
- A45. Palaces with solid walls
- A46. The overpowering of a wild animal
- A47. Games
- A48. Cunning ambushes
- A49. Old age
- A50. Moralizing digressions
- A51. Being rich and noble
- A52. Male, godlike beauty
- A53. The loving education or adoption in a palace
- A54. Age-old, well-known myths and stories
- A55. Hermes mentioned in a digression
- A56. Orchards and vineyards

Ah1–41: The Hero Story

- Ah1. The birth of the hero in a Greek city
- Ah2. The destiny that lies in a neighboring kingdom
- Ah3. The disturbed relationship with and between the educators
- Ah4. The evil woman who rules the hero

- Ah5. The wound on the foot during the hero's youth
- Ah6. The good educator who takes care of the hero
- Ah7. The hero who gets a name after his educators
- Ah8. The hero who ends up in a neighboring kingdom
- Ah9. Great, remarkable deeds of the hero
- Ah10. Applying for the hand of the king's daughter
- Ah11. The formal agreement between hero and king
- Ah12. Commands that the king gives to the hero
- Ah13. Special weapons of the hero
- Ah14. The close friendship with an ally
- Ah15. Changing roles with the ally
- Ah16. The king attempting to have the hero killed
- Ah17. The hero who is recognized as very special
- Ah18. The king's remuneration of the hero
- Ah19. The hero's revenge on his educators
- Ah20. The hero's glorious peak
- Ah21. The unfortunate end of the hero
- Ah22. The hero's arch-enemy
- Ah23. The hero's caregiver
- Ah24. The monster killed by the hero
- Ah25. The hostile king
- Ah26. Multiple cities in the hero's life cycle
- Ah27. The hero's lonely captivity
- Ah28. Oral characteristics from the East
- Ah29. Twins
- Ah30. The heavenly-earthly pair of humans
- Ah31. Distant and exotic geographic locations
- Ah32. Famous horses and horsemen
- Ah33. Snakes
- Ah34. Fabulous monsters
- Ah35. The visit of a living person to the underworld
- Ah36. Captivity in a cramped metal construction
- Ah37. The hero raised by an animal
- Ah38. Explanation myths
- Ah39. The savior who frees the earth from monsters
- Ah40. Explanation myths of geographic place names
- Ah41. The distant journey to Okeanos
- Ah42. The first man on Earth, who quickly surpasses the gods

Ak1–33: The King Story

- Ak1. The king who loses his power
- Ak2. The queen who betrays the king
- Ak3. The king's son who receives a decent education
- Ak4. Gathering warriors
- Ak5. The enumeration of the warriors
- Ak6. The failure of the original attack plan
- Ak7. Seers who predict the dramatic outcome
- Ak8. Sentries and murder plans of the traitors
- Ak9. Attackers who assemble at a distance from the city
- Ak10. The loyal few among the traitors
- Ak11. The loyal friend who hospitably welcomes the king
- Ak12. The negotiator who ventures into the city
- Ak13. The individual who defeats the traitors in a game
- Ak14. The attack on the city
- Ak15. The nobleman who is the first to die
- Ak16. The death of the king
- Ak17. Many years that pass with the traitors in power
- Ak18. The king's son who joins in the fight as an adult
- Ak19. The exile who joins the fight or predicts the end
- Ak20. Attackers who get into the city after a while
- Ak21. The fight during a feast or solemn games
- Ak22. Revelers who are massacred
- Ak23. The city that falls thanks to tricks and advice
- Ak24. Sacrificing women, acts of revenge, and gathering riches
- Ak25. Loyal individuals who are spared or who flee
- Ak26. The transport of corpses, leading to new deaths
- Ak27. The madness and the punishment of the gods
- Ak28. The new cycle of return dramas
- Ak29. The theme of loyalty and infidelity
- Ak30. The fear of the king's return
- Ak31. The educator of the king's son
- Ak32. The spy
- Ak33. The smuggler

B1–50: The European Beta Tradition

- B1. The battle scene
- B2. Gruesome injuries
- B3. Chariots
- B4. Progressive type scenes
- B5. Thematic type scenes
- B6. The intervention of the gods of war
- B7. Duels
- B8. The clan system
- B9. Combat psychology
- B10. Beta-specific fixed formulas
- B11. The duo of brave warriors
- B12. Robbing the armor, the horses, or a corpse
- B13. Godfathers and bastard sons
- B14. The direction of Zeus
- B15. The fight for a corpse
- B16. Highborn champions
- B17. The chase and the flight
- B18. The triumphant raid of a single hero
- B19. Bluff, scorn, and reproach
- B20. The warrior who does not fight
- B21. The shiny light around the great hero
- B22. The blood revenge
- B23. Sons-in-law
- B24. The rampart and the ditch
- B25. Allied armies
- B26. Background information for every dying warrior
- B27. The gods of war Ares, Eris, and Iris
- B28. The combat teacher
- B29. The fame for posterity
- B30. Incineration, urns, and burial mounds
- B31. The corpse that remains for dogs and birds
- B32. Chariot warriors and infantry
- B33. Huge crowds of warriors
- B34. The worried wife waiting at home
- B35. The care for a wounded warrior
- B36. One or two heroes who stand fast alone

- B37. The driver who should watch the horses
- B38. Weapons and armor
- B39. Setting up the army before the fight
- B40. The warrior in need and the helper
- B41. The warrior who blames his companion
- B42. The cowardly archer
- B43. The withheld honor gift
- B44. The resentful warrior
- B45. Fame for the father
- B46. The attack on the enemy stronghold
- B47. The war symbol or aegis held high
- B48. Overwhelmingly loud battle cries and noise
- B49. Blaming a god or praying to them for help in the fight
- B50. The loving education or adoption in a palace

Ba1–23: Setting up the Army Before the Fight

- Ba1. The clan leader warned about a war
- Ba2. Gathering the warriors in the stronghold
- Ba3. Glorious descriptions of the clan leader and captain
- Ba4. Warriors who arm themselves
- Ba5. The captain who watches the enemy from the rampart
- Ba6. The bright glare of the captain on the rampart
- Ba7. The exodus along the bridge over the ditch
- Ba8. The glitter, boom, and noise of the army
- Ba9. The captain's overwhelmingly loud battle cry
- Ba10. Lining up the army near the ditch and the rampart
- Ba11. Listing leaders, regiments, and numbers
- Ba12. The captain holding a war symbol or aegis
- Ba13. Gods of war who wander through the ranks
- Ba14. Gods who choose a side
- Ba15. The captain who returns to sacrifice and pray
- Ba16. The clan leader who watches from the rampart
- Ba17. The captain who moves around the army and leads
- Ba18. Advancing on the enemy army
- Ba19. The loud clatter when jumping off the chariot
- Ba20. Drivers who hold the horses by the ditch
- Ba21. Drivers who follow the chariot warriors
- Ba22. The battle that ignites
- Ba23. The fool who dies first

Bb1–15: The Warrior in Need and the Helper

- Bb1. The old, weak, or dead warrior facing superior numbers
- Bb2. The comrade who just notices the warrior in need
- Bb3. The loud cry for help drowned out by the riot of war
- Bb4. The comrade seeking a helper
- Bb5. The helper far behind the battle zone
- Bb6. The chain of fighters looking for help
- Bb7. The helper's youthful strength
- Bb8. The helper's archery skills
- Bb9. The comrade crying and begging for help
- Bb10. The helper who comes next to the warrior in need
- Bb11. The group that comes to help the warrior in need
- Bb12. The enemy who backs out in fear of the helpers
- Bb13. The weak warrior helped on a chariot
- Bb14. The fight that is in balance again
- Bb15. Aias, Menelaos, and/or Antilochos in one of the roles

Bc1–10: The Warrior Who Blames His Companion

- Bc1. The enemy who gains the upper hand in battle
- Bc2. The duo of warriors of which a warrior cannot fight
- Bc3. The reason a warrior cannot fight
- Bc4. The warrior who blames another as a coward
- Bc5. The call to compete side by side or on the same chariot
- Bc6. The warrior who explains why he could not fight
- Bc7. The acceptance of the excuse
- Bc8. Fighters who encourage each other to battle
- Bc9. Weapons, often shields, or drivers being exchanged
- Bc10. The duo that goes to battle in an orderly manner

Bd1–10: The Cowardly Archer

- Bd1. The archer who is far behind the battle zone
- Bd2. The great hero who takes the archer to the fierce battle
- Bd3. The archer who follows the great hero closely
- Bd4. The great hero's shield that serves as a shelter
- Bd5. The archer who shoots arrows from hidden positions

- Bd6. The archer who hits the enemy in clumsy places
- Bd7. The archer who fails to kill an enemy
- Bd8. The bow of the archer that breaks
- Bd9. The archer fleeing from the fierce battle
- Bd10. Paris, Pandaros, or Apollo as the cowardly archer

Be1–9: The Withheld Honor Gift

- Be1. The warrior who will perform a great act of war
- Be2. The warrior who expects a significant honor gift
- Be3. The clan leader who solemnly promises an honor gift
- Be4. The warrior who goes into battle without a gift
- Be5. The warrior without a gift of honor who is displeased
- Be6. The warrior who dies or does not get his gift of honor
- Be7. The warrior who decides to stop fighting
- Be8. The clan leader who sees his mistake
- Be9. The solemn delivery of the honor gift

Bf1–10: The Resentful Warrior

- Bf1. The warrior who holds grudges
- Bf2. The warrior who refuses to fight
- Bf3. The warrior who isolates himself
- Bf4. The warrior who even refrains from sexual intercourse
- Bf5. The woman who can still touch the warrior's heart
- Bf6. The comrades of war oppressed in the fight
- Bf7. Relatives who try to persuade the warrior in vain
- Bf8. The woman who succeeds in persuading the warrior
- Bf9. The warrior who fights again
- Bf10. The warrior who has sexual intercourse again

Bg1–22: Fame for the Father

- Bg1. The father who was a brave and famous warrior
- Bg2. The son too young to fight
- Bg3. The son training for battle
- Bg4. The young son nursing the wounded during the fight
- Bg5. The father hiding the weapons and chariot for the son

- Bg6. The son begging to go to war with his father's weapons
- Bg7. The son who goes to war
- Bg8. The father who predicts the death of his son
- Bg9. The father who advises against fighting in the front lines
- Bg10. Avoiding the enemy's greatest hero
- Bg11. The return to the father
- Bg12. The gifts from the father for the son
- Bg13. The father who hands his own weapons to his son
- Bg14. The son who goes to war on a chariot
- Bg15. The son who gains great fame on the front lines
- Bg16. The son who challenges a great hero to a duel
- Bg17. Dueling fighters who boast about their origins
- Bg18. The son killed by a great hero
- Bg19. The fellow fighters who recapture the son's corpse
- Bg20. The father who mourns his dead son
- Bg21. The large ransom for the body of the son
- Bg22. Nestor, Patroklos, Menelaos, and/or Antilochos

G1–68: The Aeolian Gamma Tradition

- G1. The close relationship with the Mykenaian Alpha tradition
- G2. Gamma-specific proper names
- G3. The gods who interfere, divided over two camps
- G4. Achilleus
- G5. Diomedes
- G6. Aineias
- G7. The fall of Troy
- G8. Paris and Pandaros
- G9. Apollo, Poseidon, and sometimes Artemis
- G10. The environment of Troy
- G11. Herakles
- G12. The mixture with the European Beta tradition
- G13. Local nature gods and nymphs
- G14. Defensive walls with a history
- G15. Eponyms
- G16. Destruction of cities
- G17. Injuries
- G18. Typical interactions between god and human

- G19. Rivers
- G20. Bow and arrow
- G21. The name Xanthos
- G22. Clusters of oral characteristics
- G23. Precious, special horses
- G24. The Lykians
- G25. The fate and wishes of the gods
- G26. Duels and quarrels that often end peacefully
- G27. The wrath of Poseidon
- G28. Taking care of the dead and wounded
- G29. The war between two camps
- G30. The god who envelops a person in a cloud
- G31. Immersing a body in a river or the sea
- G32. Three times the same action
- G33. Predicting death or downfall
- G34. Medicine, magic, and mysteries
- G35. The supreme command of Zeus
- G36. Sea gods and sea monsters
- G37. Centaurs and Amazons
- G38. Nymphs and gods as one's mother or father
- G39. Precious, divine weapons
- G40. Corpses that are often mutilated
- G41. The strife between Hera and Zeus
- G42. Lineages to an ancestor
- G43. Insulting the gods, who avenge themselves cruelly
- G44. Seafaring, storms at sea, and islands
- G45. Mount Ida
- G46. Mighty mothers, women, and goddesses
- G47. Phantoms, dreams, and false appearances
- G48. Fatal marriages and romances
- G49. Priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods
- G50. Huge, composite, evil monsters
- G51. Twins
- G52. Parallels with Eastern oral traditions
- G53. Contests and solemn games
- G54. Snakes
- G55. The founding of cities and colonizations
- G56. Madness, crazy deeds, and suicide

- G57. Seers and oracles
- G58. Difficult wanderings in far-off places
- G59. The stories of the Trojan Cycle
- G60. Immortality, the underworld, and the hereafter
- G61. The leader followed by a large group
- G62. The inexperienced, desirable juvenile in action
- G63. Revealed conditions for an expedition to succeed
- G64. House as home, family, or family tree
- G65. The son raised by an animal
- G66. The mother goddess Cybele
- G67. The woman in love who betrays her father or hometown
- G68. The sorrowful queen who dies of suicide

Gd1–21: The Destruction Story

- Gd1. The theme of godliness
- Gd2. The wickedness of townspeople
- Gd3. Insulting the god(s)
- Gd4. The punishment of the god(s)
- Gd5. The destruction of the city
- Gd6. The threatening monster
- Gd7. Petrified people
- Gd8. The individual who is spared
- Gd9. The beautiful, special woman in the city
- Gd10. The king of the city
- Gd11. The hero's wanderings
- Gd12. The envoys entering the city
- Gd13. Providing hospitable shelter
- Gd14. The return to the city
- Gd15. The death of a woman
- Gd16. The human in a small, enclosed space
- Gd17. Perverted acts
- Gd18. Narrowly avoided human sacrifices
- Gd19. A thread for recognition
- Gd20. Ruins of cities
- Gd21. The hero as ancestor of a people

Gm1–9: The Monster Story

- Gm1. The monster that has existed since the beginning of time
- Gm2. The monster that regularly needs human flesh
- Gm3. The people sacrificed to the monster
- Gm4. The hero who kills the monster
- Gm5. The helper who helps the hero
- Gm6. The exceptional weapons used against the monster
- Gm7. The monster that has people in its stomach
- Gm8. Gratitude or ingratitude to the helper
- Gm9. The helper who dies or commits suicide

Gs1–13: The Savior Story

- Gs1. The evil-doer that has existed since the beginning of time
- Gs2. The snake-like monsters or evil gods
- Gs3. The creator who makes a new generation of beings
- Gs4. The new generation from clay or from evil beings
- Gs5. The savior with special gifts, origins, and weapons
- Gs6. The savior who acquires forbidden, divine knowledge
- Gs7. The savior assisted by good-natured gods
- Gs8. The savior who destroys the evil-doers
- Gs9. The horrifying corporal punishment of the evil-doers
- Gs10. The savior's weapons from remains of evil-doers
- Gs11. The savior who comes into contact with the dead
- Gs12. The resurrection of the savior or of the dead
- Gs13. The savior who gains eternal life

Gt1–11: The Telestory

- Gt1. The prediction about a hero who ends a dominion
- Gt2. Gods and seers who keep repeating the prediction
- Gt3. The ruler who wants to undo the prediction
- Gt4. The hero who washes ashore on a remote island
- Gt5. The unbearable suffering of the hero
- Gt6. The woman who provides support, healing, and knowledge
- Gt7. The unmarried woman who has a strong bond with the sea
- Gt8. Seers who predict the hero's future and goal

- Gt9. The chain of helpers who help the hero achieve his goal
- Gt10. The hero who is recognized on his arrival by a sign
- Gt11. The hero who shows himself to the ruler and kills him

D1–51: The Narrative Delta Tradition

- D1. The diversification from the fight
- D2. Councils of war
- D3. Dialogues
- D4. Oppositions
- D5. Meals with much meat and wine
- D6. The repetition of the same oral characteristic
- D7. The cooperation with the European Beta tradition
- D8. The type scene of the brave scout
- D9. Ramparts, a ditch, gates, towers, and the battlefield
- D10. (Mentioning) “words” or “war”
- D11. Oaths and treaties
- D12. Themes and motifs
- D13. The somewhat austere materialism
- D14. Heralds
- D15. The symmetry between the two enemy camps
- D16. Gifts and valuables
- D17. The alternation of day and night
- D18. Odysseus, Idaios, and Odios as heralds
- D19. Nestor, Hektor, and Achilleus as captains
- D20. Sentries
- D21. Wine
- D22. The safe return within the ramparts
- D23. Young antiheroes
- D24. Zeus and sometimes Athene or Apollo
- D25. Agamemnon and Priam as clan leaders
- D26. Fire and firewood
- D27. Wiles and deceit
- D28. Machaon, the physician who nurses the wounded Greeks
- D29. Women, children, young men, and old men
- D30. Burial mounds, cremation, and urns
- D31. To arm and the transition between rest and battle
- D32. To wash and to anoint

- D33. The enumeration of a group or a retinue
- D34. Bird augurs, seers, and the priestly role
- D35. The sacrifice of cattle and wine
- D36. The scepter
- D37. Mourning and funeral care
- D38. Boilers, bathtubs, and water for washing
- D39. Snakes, birds of prey, and lightning as divine signs
- D40. The joint applause of a proposal or a long silence
- D41. Poulydamas, Hektor's friend and counselor
- D42. Driving, (un)yoking, and feeding the horses
- D43. Old versus young fighters
- D44. References to the Trojan Cycle
- D45. Ransom
- D46. Tears, weeping, and lamentation
- D47. Successfully invoking a god
- D48. Blood and dirt
- D49. Ah me, why does my heart debate these things?
- D50. Now would (persistence of A), if not (twist B)
- D51. So long as (A), so long (B), but when (A'), then (B')

Da1–15: The Anger of Achilles

- Da1. Achilles, the tragic main character
- Da2. The anger of Achilles
- Da3. Aias, the greatest hero after Achilles
- Da4. Patroklos, the bosom friend of Achilles
- Da5. Agamemnon, the leader who took Achilles's girl
- Da6. Thetis, Achilles's mother
- Da7. The heavily besieged camp of the Greeks
- Da8. The prediction that Achilles will die
- Da9. The gifts for Achilles
- Da10. The joint funeral of Achilles and Patroklos
- Da11. Phoinix, who trained Achilles and Patroklos
- Da12. The many people who try to persuade Achilles
- Da13. Briseis, the girl taken away from Achilles
- Da14. Menelaos, the inexperienced but brave hero
- Da15. Antilochos, who persuades Achilles to fight

Dc1–41: The Compassion of Achilles

- Dc1. The compassion and ruthlessness of Achilles
- Dc2. Troy and the Trojans
- Dc3. Hektor, whose death leaves Troy unprotected
- Dc4. The impending fall of Troy
- Dc5. The wealth of Troy
- Dc6. Hektor's family
- Dc7. To gain fame in the fight for the father and for the people
- Dc8. The signs of Zeus
- Dc9. Hektor's pride
- Dc10. The prehistory of Achilles against the enemy
- Dc11. Priam's many sons and their mothers and deaths
- Dc12. Begging for pity
- Dc13. Accurate geographic references around Troy
- Dc14. Poulydamas predicting Trojan defeat
- Dc15. Selling the captured Trojans for ransom
- Dc16. Loved ones' care and mourning for a corpse
- Dc17. Getting unarmed, losing the last spear
- Dc18. The encirclement and siege of Troy
- Dc19. Fast feet and knees in pursuit and flight
- Dc20. The river along the battlefield
- Dc21. The spear and the sword
- Dc22. Washing after the fight
- Dc23. The invulnerable Achilles, who is scraped at the most
- Dc24. The danger of being outside the ramparts
- Dc25. Tying the prisoners with straps
- Dc26. The mother who gave birth to Priam's child
- Dc27. Self-pity
- Dc28. Tree species
- Dc29. Lykaon
- Dc30. Knees
- Dc31. The knowledge, or lack thereof, of the plot
- Dc32. A heart of iron
- Dc33. The Mykenaian Alpha context of Achilles's captures
- Dc34. Troy's neighboring cities, regions, and islands
- Dc35. The earlier encounter with Aineias
- Dc36. Selling prisoners as slaves

- Dc37. The integration with the family tree of Priam
- Dc38. The divine Skamandros
- Dc39. Allies' replacement of the Trojans
- Dc40. The faded glory of Troy
- Dc41. The mixture with the Aeolian Gamma tradition

Dh1–17: The Abduction of Helen

- Dh1. Oaths and treaties
- Dh2. The dishonest, corrupt Trojans who violate the treaties
- Dh3. Zeus, who watches over the oaths and treaties
- Dh4. The opposites of cowardice and bravery in battle
- Dh5. Excelling in war assemblies
- Dh6. Diomedes, the youth who turns out to be the greatest hero
- Dh7. Helen, languishing in Troy
- Dh8. Odysseus, the brave herald and companion of Diomedes
- Dh9. The type scene of the brave scout
- Dh10. Agamemnon, the leader who is outclassed in the councils
- Dh11. The impending fall of Troy
- Dh12. Paris and Pandaros, cowardly archers
- Dh13. Nestor, the captain who takes care of practical matters
- Dh14. Antenor, the righteous among the Trojans
- Dh15. Wounded fighters and the physician Machaon
- Dh16. Snakes as inauspicious omens
- Dh17. Menelaos, the hero whose wife was abducted

Ds1–34: The Brave Scout

- Ds1. The brave scout(s) entering dangerous territory
- Ds2. The god or man who gives an order
- Ds3. The god or man who gives advice, support, or a sign
- Ds4. The reassurance
- Ds5. The transformation: A change of role or appearance
- Ds6. The role of herald, beggar, or old man
- Ds7. Odysseus
- Ds8. The person who is filthy and dressed in rags
- Ds9. Clothes and getting them or losing them
- Ds10. Emphasis on outward appearance

- Ds11. The god who constantly assists the scout
- Ds12. Silence and the silent, hidden approach
- Ds13. The nighttime action
- Ds14. Mules and horses
- Ds15. The person who lies down or jumps up
- Ds16. Objects or persons hidden in vegetation
- Ds17. The ambush
- Ds18. Sentries
- Ds19. The questioning
- Ds20. Scepters, swords, and magic staffs
- Ds21. The person who is anxious, sad, or in distress
- Ds22. Lies, wiles, evil, and bold plans
- Ds23. Solemn oaths
- Ds24. Killing enemies during a mission
- Ds25. The scout who reaches the wanted person
- Ds26. (Not) recognizing somebody
- Ds27. The scout who is made clean and recognizable
- Ds28. The amazement
- Ds29. Begging for pity
- Ds30. The hospitable reception
- Ds31. The silence about the arrival of the scout
- Ds32. The information, objects, or persons obtained
- Ds33. The flight to one's own camp
- Ds34. The safe return to one's own camp