

ABSTRACT

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The Erotic Surrogate: The Conflated Images of Achilles, Patroclus and Hector in the *Iliad*.
(Under the Direction of DR. NICHOLAS RYNEARSON)

This paper reexamines the relationships between Achilles, Patroclus and Hector in the *Iliad*, and aims to demonstrate how analogous diction and narrative similarities align Hector and Patroclus. In the first chapter, I characterize the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus in terms of intimacy and eroticism through close readings of pertinent passages and summary of the existing scholarship on the topic. I then explore how Patroclus acts as a surrogate or "ritual substitute" for Achilles, and argue that when Patroclus dons Achilles' armor, it is the tangible sign that he assumes his identity and that when Hector, in turn, dons the same armor, it is the external sign that Hector assumes the role of Patroclus. I support this in the second chapter when I examine the conflated image of Patroclus and Hector, particularly in their death scenes.

The third chapter discusses parallels between Achilles and Hector in order to further support the connection between Hector and Patroclus, since Hector "looks" most like Patroclus when Patroclus "looks" most like Achilles. The fourth chapter discusses the erotic themes and diction in Hector's monologue in book 22, suggesting that the text invites us to see a suppressed erotic relationship between Hector and Achilles which further conflates the image of Patroclus and Hector. Additionally, I consider how Lycaon's death scene imitates the deaths of Hector and Patroclus, and I explore how my reading of these parallels develops our understanding of Achilles.

INDEX WORDS: Homer, *Iliad*, Achilles, Patroclus, Hector

THE EROTIC SURROGATE: THE CONFLATED IMAGES OF ACHILLES,
PATROCLUS AND HECTOR IN THE *ILIAD*

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Honors Council of the University of Georgia
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

BACHELOR OF ARTS

in CLASSICS

with HIGH HONORS

Athens, Georgia
2009

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Tibi, Magisteo Clay Kelsh, gratias ago.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Nicholas Rynearson for his expertise, guidance, and patience. If ever reading draft after draft made him want to scream, he never let me know. I would also like to thank my reader, boss, teacher, and mentor, Dr. Naomi Norman for inspiring me always to be the best Classicist I can be. I should also note that I owe a vast majority of my knowledge and skills to all my professors from the Classics Department. Thank you all for your enduring support. Additionally, I should not forget Alex, my best friend, my companion, and my source of energy for life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTERS	
1 PATROCLUS AND ACHILLES.....	2
Intimacy and Eroticism.....	2
Surrogacy and Doubling.....	9
2 HECTOR AND PATROCLUS.....	15
The Armor.....	15
Death Scenes.....	17
3 HECTOR AND ACHILLES.....	25
4 HECTOR AND ACHILLES AS LOVERS.....	28
5 LYCAON.....	34
CONCLUSION.....	36
WORKS CITED.....	38

INTRODUCTION

When Hector kills Patroclus, Achilles' grief over his loss incites his return to battle, where he exacts his revenge by killing Hector and mutilating his corpse. The deaths of both Patroclus and Hector foreshadow Achilles' own death which occurs outside the *Iliad* and build emotional suspense which makes the concluding redemption scene, when Achilles' returns Hector's corpse to Priam, so cathartic. Thus, it is not implausible to say that it is the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus itself which propels the narrative of the entire epic. The *Iliad* characterizes this relationship in two principal ways: one as an intimate, even erotic, relationship, and the other as a surrogacy or doubling. In this paper, I propose that, through the *Iliad's* narrative structure, poetics, and diction, we can see ways in which Hector's relationships with both Achilles and Patroclus parallel the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus. I argue that Hector, like Patroclus, becomes a surrogate of Achilles by putting on Achilles' despoiled armor, and that he, therefore, also becomes a strange double of Patroclus in his role as Achilles' lover.

CHAPTER 1 PATROCLUS AND ACHILLES

Intimacy and Eroticism

αἶ γὰρ Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίῃ καὶ Ἀπολλων
μήτε τίς οὔν Τρώων θάνατον φύγοι ὅσσοι ἔασι,
μήτε τίς Ἀργείων, νῶϊν δ' ἐκδύμεν ὄλεθρον,
ὄφρ' οἶοι Τροίης ἱερὰ κρήδεμνα λύωμεν (16. 97–100)

Father Zeus, Athena and Apollo, if only
not one of the Trojans could escape destruction,
not one of the Argives, but the two of us could escape destruction
so that we, alone, could loosen the hallowed coronal of Troy.¹

Achilles speaks these lines after giving his detailed instructions to Patroclus about entering battle. The intense relationship, suggested by the dual form, νῶϊν, and by οἶοι, bothered the scholiast, Aristonichus, to the point that he hypothesized that they had been added by someone who believed Achilles and Patroclus to be in love.² Many scholars since have grappled with the authenticity and implication of these lines, with few admitting any connotation of a romantic or erotic relationship.³ More recently, however, James Davidson has noted the emotional intensity of the passage and the significance of Achilles and Patroclus' relationship to the plot of the *Iliad*.⁴ Achilles' prayer for an intimate and isolated moment with Patroclus perhaps only hints at an erotic relationship,

¹ All translations are my own.

² Schol. A. Atheteses. “ἀθετοῦναι στίχοι τέσσαρες, διότι κατὰ διασκευὴν ἐμφαίνουσι γεγράφθαι ὑποτινος τῶν νομιζόντων ἐρᾶν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα τοῦ Πατρόκλου; τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ λόγοι. Πάντες ἀπόλουντο πλὴν ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς οὐ τοιοῦτος, συμπαθὴς δέ” Bolling 1994.

³ Clake 1978 for a bibliographic history.

⁴ Davidson 2007, Chap. 10.

but there are several other passages which also suggest an intimate connection, some more explicitly.

Patroclus first appears in book 9, when the embassy arrives at Achilles' tent. He sits in the tent with Achilles, listening to his lyre playing (9. 190) and mimicking his actions as the guests arrive (9. 195). These actions demonstrate that his focus revolves around Achilles. W.M. Clarke notes that Patroclus performs for Achilles the duties of a wife as he prepares drinks at Achilles' request (9. 200–205) and directs the slaves to prepare a bed for Phoenix (9.568ff.).⁵ These domestic, wife-like actions set the scene for Phoenix's story of Meleager, who, like Achilles, refuses to fight on account of his anger (9. 525–99). This story is perhaps the most striking suggestion of an intimate connection between Patroclus and Achilles because of the extensive verbal and thematic parallels between Achilles and Meleager and Patroclus and Meleager's wife, Cleopatra.⁶ The events of the Meleager story are analogous to the plot of the *Iliad*: Meleager withdraws from battle and stays with Cleopatra because his mother cursed him, just as Achilles withdrew and stayed with Patroclus because of his feud with Agamemnon; Meleager's mother, father and friends implore him to return, just as the embassy supplicates Achilles; Cleopatra, crying as she describes the sufferings in the war, begs Meleager to return, as Patroclus comes to Achilles in tears describing the suffering of the Achaeans and beg Achilles to return.⁷ Gregory Nagy observes that Cleopatra and Patroclus' names further link them. Each have a compound name which includes κλέος "glory" and πατέρες

⁵ Clarke 1978, 390 also says that Patroclus' silence during the embassy is indicative of wife-like behavior.

⁶ This is a topic thoroughly treated by Rosner 1976, Nagy 1979, Swain 1988, Kakridis 1987, Held 1987, and Rabel 1997.

⁷ Redfield 1994, 105 says, "Meleager's weeping wife foreshadows the weeping Patroclus, who, the next day, appeals to Achilles like a crying girl to her mother to be picked up (16.7-11)."

"ancestors."⁸ Thus, based on the verbal and thematic evidence, the story establishes a correlation between husband and wife, Meleager and Cleopatra, and comrades, Achilles and Patroclus. Also indicative of a husband-wife relationship is the similarity in the way that Achilles cradles the head of dead Patroclus in book 23 (136) and Andromache cradles dead Hector in book 24 (724).

There are several additional places in the narrative which characterize the intimate relationship between Achilles and Patroclus. First, Grace Ledbetter observes the echoes between Patroclus and Achilles' exchange at the beginning of book 16 (1–100) and Achilles and Thetis' in book 1 (1.357–427):

Homer prefaces Patroclus' reply to Achilles with the same formula he used to describe Achilles' response to Thetis. . . (16.20) (1.364). . . This repetition not only evokes the former scene between Achilles and Thetis, but it also reverses the role played by Achilles; instead of the child seeking comfort, he is put into the role of the parent, or more precisely, the role of his mother. Patroclus, on the other hand, is put into Achilles' former role as the child in distress.⁹

While this mother-child connection belies any erotic connotation, it does enhance our understanding of the emotional depth and intimacy behind Achilles' relationship with Patroclus.

By the time Patroclus enters battle, we are aware of at least a deep friendship between the two, but it is not until we see Achilles' grief over Patroclus' death that the *Iliad* reveals the more erotic aspects of their relationship. The appearance of Patroclus' ghost, which appears in book 23, begins to reveal this:

στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·
εὖδεις, αὐτὰρ ἐμείο λελασμένος ἔπλευ Ἀχιλλεύ
οὐ μὲν μευ ζώντος ἀκήδεις, ἀλλὰ θανόντος (70)
θάπτέ με ὅττι τάχιστα πύλας Αἴδαο περήσω.

⁸ Nagy 1979, 105. Nagy also expounds on how the story establishes Patroclus as the "most dear by far" to Achilles (Chap.6). For further discussion of the parallel, see Sinos 1975, Kakridis 1987.

⁹ Ledbetter 1993, 483-484

τῆλέ με εἵργουσι ψυχὰι εἴδωλα καμόντων,
 οὐδέ με πῶ μίσγεσθαι ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο ἔωσιν,
 ἀλλ' αὐτῶς ἀλάλημαι ἀν' εὐρυπυλῆς Ἄϊδος δῶ.
 καὶ μοι δὸς τὴν χεῖρ' ὀλοφύρομαι, οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' αὖτις (75)
 νίσσομαι ἐξ Ἀΐδαο, ἐπὶν με πυρὸς λελάχητε.
 οὐ μὲν γὰρ ζῶοί γε φίλων ἀπάνευθεν ἐταίρων
 βουλὰς ἐζόμενοι βουλευσομεν, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν κῆρ
 ἀμφέχανε στυγερή, ἣ περ λάχε γιγνόμενόν περ·
 καὶ δέ σοι αὐτῶ μοῖρα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ, (80)
 τείχει ὑπὸ Τρώων εὐηφενέων ἀπολέσθαι.
 ἄλλο δέ τοι ἑρέω καὶ ἐφήσομαι αἵ κε πίθηαι·
 μὴ ἐμὰ σῶν ἀπάνευθε τιθήμεναι ὅστε' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
 ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ . . . (23. 68–84)

The ghost stood over his head and spoke to him this narrative:
 "You sleep, Achilles, but you have forgotten me,
 you did not disregard me living, but having died.
 Bury me as quickly as possible so that I might pass through the gates of Hades.
 The souls, the images of the dead, hold me at a distance,
 they will not yet allow me to mingle across the river,
 but, just as I am, by the broad-gated house of Hades.
 Give to me your hand; I lament. No longer will I
 return from Hades, when you grant me the right of a funeral fire.
 We, living, sitting far away from dear companions
 will not deliberate on plans, but hateful fate
 gaped, which fell upon me when I was born.
 And there is a fate for you yourself, Achilles, resembling a god,
 to be killed under the walls of the prospering Trojans.
 I will say to you another thing, and I will ask you, if you will persuaded:
 Achilles, do not set my bones far from yours,
 but together

In this scene, Patroclus characterizes his relationship with Achilles by scolding him for being forgetful of him and stating that Achilles never neglected him in life. After describing his circumstances, he asks that Achilles bury their bones together with a few emphatic lines. For example, in the line which anticipates this request, Patroclus states that he is going to "tell," "ask," and "persuade" Achilles (23. 82). Then, addressing Achilles in the vocative and giving a negative command, he builds his request by first asking that his bones not be far from his, then, in an enjambed phrase, stating specifically that he wants them actually together. Patroclus reiterates this request at the end of his

speech: ὧς δὲ καὶ ὅστέα νῶϊν ὁμῇ σορὸς ἀμφικαλύπτοι/ χρύσεος ἀμφιφορεύς, τόν τοι πόρε πότνια μήτηρ, "Thus, let same vessel shelter the bones of the two of us, the golden amphora which your queenly mother gave to you" (23. 91–92). Here, the description of the vessel which will contain them and the dual form, νῶϊν, emphasizes their intimacy. Nicholas Richardson notes that the emotional intensity of the Patroclus' speech increases when Patroclus instructs Achilles to hold his hand; the syntax shifts from simple sentences, conveying the main message, to more complex sentences with enjambment.¹⁰ He also explains that hand-holding is expression of affection and farewell, as depicted in Greek art.¹¹

When Achilles responds to Patroclus' ghost, his words and actions further characterize the relationship. Davidson comments that Achilles' response to Patroclus is reminiscent of his earlier diction (16.97–100), observing that he, again, uses dual forms:¹² ἀλλά μοι ἄσσον στήθι· μίνυνθά περ ἀμφιβαλόντε/ ἀλλήλους ὀλοοῖο τεταρπώμεσθα γόοιο. "But stand closer to me, and embracing one another, if only for a little while, let us enjoy fatal weeping" (23.97–98). Achilles acts on his desire to embrace Patroclus as he reaches for his shade in vain. Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας ὠρέξατο χερσὶ φίλησιν/ οὐδ' ἔλαβε· "Thus, having spoken, he reached his hands out to his beloved, but could not take him" (23.99–100). This line is striking because it describes Patroclus as Achilles' "beloved," and suggests the presence of a physical intimacy between them. As Achilles grieves, the characterization of their relationship becomes even more orientated around the physical and erotic.

¹⁰ Richardson 1993, 172.

¹¹ Richardson 1993, 173.

¹² Davidson 2007, 257.

The height of Achilles' grief occurs after the funeral games for Patroclus, at the beginning of book 24. While everyone sleeps, Achilles alone is awake and weeps in longing for Patroclus:

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς
κλαῖε φίλου ἐτάρου μεμνημένος, οὐδέ μιν ὕπνος
ἦρει πανδαμάτωρ, ἀλλ' ἐστρέφετ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα
Πατρόκλου ποθέων ἀνδροτῆτά τε καὶ μένος ἦν (24.3–6)

Only Achilles
wept still remembering his beloved companion, nor did sleep
who subdues all come over him, but he tossed from one side to the other
in longing for Patroclus' manliness and his great vigor.

Achilles longs for the attributes of Patroclus, namely his ἀνδροτῆτά and μένος, which describe his physique and physical energy, as opposed to his form. Aristarchus believes ἀνδροτῆτά means "manhood" and refers to a living being and the physical strength of the living being as opposed to the more abstract quality of "courage." Additionally, in Archilochus (fr.196a.52) and in Solon (fr.9.1), μένος has means "semen."¹³ These words, then, not only suggests a physical relationship between them, but also gives the passage a sexual tone. Later, Thetis attempts to consol Achilles, encouraging him to eat, sleep, and have sex with a woman: ἀγαθὸν δὲ γυναικί περ ἐν φιλότῃτι μίσγεσθ,' "It is a good thing to have intercourse even with a woman" (24.130–131). Although some scholars have debated the translation of the particle, περ, Denniston cites five other examples from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which show that the particle is determinative and emphasizes a word and not a phrase.¹⁴ This means that Thetis recommends that Achilles copulate with a woman, despite the fact that what he sexually desires is Patroclus, a man.

¹³ Davidson 2007, 258

¹⁴ Denniston 482. See Clarke 1978 for a discussion of the history of the disputes about the translation of this passage and other general comments.

The reception of the Homeric texts in the fourth and fifth centuries also provides evidence for an erotic relationship between Achilles and Patroclus. Aeschylus, in his now mostly lost *Myrmidons*, clearly regarded the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus as sexual. In one of the surviving fragments, Achilles, visiting Patroclus' corpse, criticizes him for getting killed and speaks of a "devout union (*homilia*) of thighs."¹⁵ The debate in Classical Greece concerning Achilles and Patroclus' relationship often was not a matter of whether or not it was erotic, but rather the nature of their eroticism. In Plato's *Symposium*, Phaedrus believes the two were lovers, but argues that Aeschylus erred when he reversed the pederastic roles of Achilles and Patroclus.¹⁶ The orator Aeschines also considers their erotic relationship self-evident, in his *Against Timarchus*. In this speech, he states that although Homer does not explicitly define the love between Achilles and Patroclus, the greatness of their affection should be manifest to educated people.¹⁷ Like the Classical Greeks, modern scholars continue to debate the nature of Achilles and Patroclus' relationship. For the purposes of my argument, however, I am not interested in precisely defining the nature of their relationship or deciding what the narrator intended the relationship to be. I wish, rather, to establish, on the basis of literary evidence, the general intimacy of the relationship and its erotic quality.¹⁸

¹⁵ Aeschylus fr. 135-7 Radt.

¹⁶ *Symposium* 180a. See Davidson 2007, 261 for a more in depth discussion of Phaedrus' take on the nature of the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus. Also, Bernard Sergent 1986 has argued that the relationship is pederastic, though it was not reflected in Homer. He asserts that ritualized man-boy relations were widely diffused through Europe from prehistoric times. For more information, generally, see Dover 1978, 1980.

¹⁷ Aeschines 1. 141-2.

¹⁸ Halperin 1990, Chapter 4, responds to the modern and Classical debates about the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus by providing a different theoretical framework in which we should evaluate it. He argues that the lens of Greek and modern culture is not the proper way of interpreting their relationship, and that the intimate friendship they shared was "parasitic" in the sense that it borrowed vocabulary from other realms of human relations. While Halperin's point is important and valid, this does not influence how we should read the textual cues which signal their intimacy.

Surrogacy and Doubling

The *Iliad* describes Patroclus as Achilles' θεράπων, or attendant/companion.¹⁹ In book 23, the ghost of Patroclus recalls how he and Achilles met, and how he became the θεράπων of Achilles. He says,

παῖδα κατέκτανον Ἀμφιδάμαντος,
νήπιος, οὐκ ἐθέλων, ἄμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι χολωθείς.
ἐνθα με δεξάμενος ἐν δώμασιν ἵππότηα Πηλεὺς
ἔτραφέ τ' ἐνδυκέως καὶ σὸν θεράποντ' ὀνόμηνεν (23. 87–90)

I, being young, unwillingly killed the child of Amphidamas,
having become angry over a game of dice.
Then, Peleus, the horseman, receiving me in his house,
raised me carefully and named me your companion.

Patroclus describes his anger as an unwitting act (οὐκ ἐθέλων) due to his young age (νήπιος). The latter not only tell us that Patroclus actually was a child, but also recalls how he was characterized as νήπιος by Achilles in book 16.8. This juvenile folly thematically likens Achilles' anger to Phoenix's story about the anger of Meleager from Book 9.²⁰ The close association with Peleus in the story also reinforces Patroclus' and Achilles' close connection, epitomized by the verb τρέφω, "to bring up/rear/raise." Thus, as Patroclus narrates to Achilles how he was named (ὀνόμηνεν) Achilles' θεράπων, the verbal nuances of his words summarize Patroclus' close connections with Achilles. The semantic range of θεράπων, however, includes more than a definition of a close companion. Its definition reveals another facet of Patroclus' relationship with Achilles entirely, where he is not only Achilles' friend, attendant, and lover, but, as I will show, an alter-ego or double of Achilles.

¹⁹ Davidson 2007 notes θεράπων also has connotations of worshipping and devotion (259). This is supported by Archilochus fr. 1 "εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ θεράπων μὲν Ἐνυαλίοιο ἄνακτος."

²⁰ As observed by Lowenstam 1981. He also points out that since Achilles is younger than Patroclus (11.786), "Achilles was also νήπιος when he acquired his θεράπων" (62-63). See 9. 447-80, 524-99 for the anger of Meleager

Nadia van Brock tracked the origins of the word *θεράπων* through morphological borrowing from the Anatolian form **tarpan-*, which means "ritual substitute."²¹ While the linguistic evidence is sufficiently convincing, as Chantraine points out, the most compelling aspect of the proposal is that it provides an explanation for the semantic range of *θεράπων* in the *Iliad*.²² In Hittite culture, a ritual substitute (*tarpalli*) attempted to deceive the gods by dressing in the clothes or sitting on the throne of cursed or polluted royalty and then being sacrificed in his place as an alter ego.²³ Van Brock demonstrates that although the Greek *θεράπων* lost the original Anatolian meaning and changed to more general definition of "attendant" or "servant," the epic channels the original meaning in the story of Patroclus. Cedric Whitman, independently of this argument, also observed that Patroclus becomes Achilles' surrogate when he enters the battle field. He says, "For the moment, [Patroclus] has become Achilles, and acts much more like the great hero than like himself."²⁴

Indeed, there are a number of narrative parallels that further demonstrate that Patroclus becomes a double of Achilles. In Book 11, Agamemnon leads the Achaeans into battle and they drive the Trojans back to the city gates. Although they prevail at first, soon they incur many losses and the Trojans regain the ground they lost. Achilles has continued to observe the progress of the battle and his growing curiosity causes him to send Patroclus to Nestor for information (11. 598ff). Nestor gives Patroclus a lengthy account of the day's events and convinces Patroclus to persuade Achilles to return to battle or, perhaps, to put on Achilles' armor himself and join the battle. He reasons that if

²¹ Van Brock 1959 proposes that *θεράπων* was borrowed from **tarpan-* as in *tarpanalli*.

²² Chantraine 1968 and Lowenstam 1981. Van Brock 1959 for the detailed morphology.

²³ Kummel 1967 and Lowenstam 1981.

²⁴ Whitman 1958, 199-203. Sinos 1975, 46-52 discusses the limitations of Patroclus surrogacy.

he wears Achilles' armor, the Trojans may fear that Achilles has settled his dispute with Agamemnon and that this fear alone may be enough to save the day:

ἀλλὰ σέ περ προέτω ἅμα δ' ἄλλος λαὸς ἐπέσθω
Μυρμιδόνων, αἳ κέν τι φόως Δαναοῖσι γένηαι
καί τοι τεύχεα καλὰ δότω πόλεμον δὲ φερεσθαι
αἳ κέ σε τῷ εἴσκοντες ἀπόσχωνται πολέμοιο
Τρῶες (11. 796–800)

But let him send you out, at least, and let the rest of the people of the Myrmidons follow you, so you might be some light for the Danaans:
and let him give to you his beautiful armor to wear in battle,
so perhaps the Trojans supposing you are him might keep away from the fight.

In these lines, Nestor builds the foundation for us to see Patroclus as Achilles' double. When Patroclus asks Achilles to let him fight, he repeats Nestor's words almost verbatim (16.38–43), with grammatical adjustments for the first person. The repetition emphasizes the importance of the surrogacy which will soon be consummated with the arming scene. When the Trojans first see Patroclus they are alarmed:

But the Trojans, when they saw the strong son of Menoitios,
Himself and his attendant, sparking with armor
The heart was stirred in all, the ranks were moved
Expecting that by the ships, the swift-footed son of Peleus
Threw away his wrath and took up friendship. (16. 278–282)

These lines suggest that the Trojans mistook Patroclus for Achilles, at first, as Nestor intended. Soon after, however, Sarpedon suggests that he does not know exactly who the warrior is, when he says he will encounter this man, so that he may discover who has inflicted so much destruction on the Trojans (16. 423–425). This means that Sarpedon is already aware that the warrior is not Achilles. Later, Glaucus knows that the man is Patroclus, since he refers to him by name when speaking to Aeneas and Hector

(16.543).²⁵ Despite the fact that Nestor intends for the Trojans to mistake Patroclus for Achilles, how the Trojans actually perceive Patroclus' external "disguise" is not as important as the internal surrogate identity he assumes which the epic's audience perceives. That is to say, when the text suggests that Patroclus becomes a double of Achilles, the external guise is only a cue to the internal transformation.

Nestor's instructions lay the groundwork for Patroclus to assume the surrogate role of Achilles in book 11, but Patroclus does not truly adopt his identity until book 16, when he has his *aristeia*. From a retrospective vantage point, many aspects of Patroclus' *aristeia* are similar to Achilles.' These parallels are particularly apparent in the struggles between Patroclus and Sarpedon and between Achilles and Hector. For example, Patroclus kills Sarpedon, who is described in book 12 as the second most valuable Trojan next to Hector, and Achilles kills Hector; Zeus considers saving both Sarpedon and Hector; Patroclus wins the armor of Sarpedon as Achilles wins his armor back from Hector; Sarpedon and Hector both speak after the death blow; both bodies face mutilation, and the Trojans fight a battle over both corpses.²⁶

In addition, some particular scenes within their *aristeias* are similar. For example, when Achilles encounters Hector in book 20, he attacks him three times, but fails because Apollo hides Hector in a thick mist:

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
ἐμμεμῶς ἐπόρουσε κατακτάμεναι μενεαίνων,
σμερδαλέα ἰάχων· τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξεν Ἀπόλλων
ρεῖα μάλ' ὥς τε θεός, ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἥερι πολλῇ.
τρίς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρουσε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς
ἔγχρ' ἡλκεῖα, τρίς δ' ἥερα τύψε βαθεῖαν.

²⁵ Janko 1994, 310-311 believes the reason for the fact that Patroclus' disguise is not developed is because it goes against heroic ethos. If this is to be Patroclus' *aristeia*, for example, then the warrior needs to be recognized as himself.

²⁶ Fenik 1968 and Janko 1994, 312 provide detailed descriptions of the battle between Patroclus and Sarpedon.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος,
δεινὰ δ' ὁμοκλήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα (20.441–448)

Meanwhile Achilles,
eagerly rushed upon him, desiring to kill
shouting terribly; but Apollo caught up to Hector
easily, since he is a god, and covered him with a deep mist.
three times, swift-footed, divine Achilles rushed up on him
with a bronze spear, three times he struck the deep mist.
But when he rushed a fourth time, equal to a *daimon*,
having called out terribly, he addressed him with winged words.

This resembles Patroclus' actions just before Apollo knocks off his helmet, moments before his death:²⁷

τρὶς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρουσε θεῶν ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηι
σεμρδαλέα ἰάχων, τρὶς δ' ἐννέα φῶτας ἔπεφνε.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος,
ἐνθ' ἄρα τοι Πάτροκλε φάνη βιότοιο τελευτή·
ἦντετο γάρ τοι Φοῖβος ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὕσμινῃ
δεινός· ὁ μὲν τὸν ἰόντα κατὰ κλόνον οὐκ ἐνόησεν
ἥερί γάρ πολλῇ κεκαλυμμένος ἀντεβόλησε· (16. 784–90)

Three times he rushed, equal to the god, Ares,
shrieking terribly, three times he struck nine men.
But when he rushed a fourth time, equal to a *daimon*,
there, Patroclus, the end of your life was shown.
For, Phoebus met you in strong battle,
being terrible, and Patroclus did not see him going through the throngs,
for covered in a thick mist he came against him.

In these passages, both Achilles and Patroclus shriek terribly, rush three times at their opponent, are "equal to a *daimon*,"²⁸ and are hindered by Apollo.

Before these events, however, Patroclus, after convincing Achilles to let him join battle, puts on Achilles' armor. This is the tangible sign that he assumes Achilles' role:

As he spoke, Patroclus was equipping himself with gleaming bronze. First, he placed the beautiful greaves around his legs, joined with silver hooks. Then, he put the breastplate around his chest, multi-colored and starry of the swift-footed son of Aeacus. Around his

²⁷ The verbal and formulaic similarities between passages should not necessarily be considered intentional. Segal 1971, 5-6 explains, "It is not that Homer felt a similarity between two situations (the deaths of Patroclus and Hector, let us say) and then got the idea of using the same formulas to call the similarity to our attention. Rather, the parallels in the narrative situation themselves evoke the formulaic repetitions; and, conversely, the repetitions allow the parallels (or divergences) of situation to clarify and develop."

²⁸ Nagy 1979, 143 for discussion of the phrase "equal to a *daimon*."

shoulders he threw the silver-studded bronze sword, and then a shield, great and strong. On his stout head he placed the well-wrought helmet with the horse hair crest, and the terrible crest was nodding from above. He took two strong spears which fit in his palm, only he did not take the spear of noble Achilles, heavy, great, and sturdy, which not any other of the Achaeans were able to handle, but Achilles alone was able to wield it- the Pelian ash which Chiron gave to his dear father from high on Pelion to be death for fighters. (16.130–144)

Janko notes that this arming scene is similar to others in the epic which foreshadow an *aristeia* of the arming hero, following a standard formulaic and metrical pattern. This scene, however, is unusual in that it emphasizes Achilles more than Patroclus.²⁹ Achilles' genealogy is woven into the passage with the mention of Aeacus and the story about Chiron giving the spear to his father.³⁰

Thus far, I have attempted to establish that the *Iliad* encourages the audience to understand the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus in two ways, namely, that they had intimate relationship, made manifest by erotic diction, and that Patroclus assumes the surrogate identity of Achilles and becomes his double when he puts on armor and enters battle. In the next section, I will show how the conflated image of Patroclus as Achilles transfers to Hector when he dons Achilles' armor, and how Hector, then, assumes the identity of Patroclus.

²⁹ Janko 1994, 311.

³⁰ Janko 1994, 134. The text also reminds us that Patroclus is not truly Achilles by noting that Patroclus is not able to wield Achilles' spear. For discussion on this see Armstrong 1958, Fenik 1968.

CHAPTER 2 HECTOR AND PATROCLUS

The armor

Nagy proposes that the implication of Patroclus as the "ritual substitute" for Achilles,³¹ is that he becomes, at the moment of his death, aligned with Ares, and that the word θεράπων "identifies god with hero through death."³² To show this, Nagy traces the epithet ἴσος Ἀρηι" or "equal to Ares." It is first applied to Patroclus when he leaves the tent of Achilles and seeks Nestor, which sets in motion the sequence of events which leads to his death. He is then called "equal to swift Ares" at the climactic moment of his death (16. 784). Achilles, too, is assigned the epithet "equal to Ares," but even more striking is the fact that Hector also has this epithet (12. 295, 13. 802). When he puts on Achilles' armor, the poet says that "Ares entered him" (17. 210).³³ Thus, Homer uses the epithet to form a link not only between Patroclus and Achilles, but also between Patroclus and Hector. This connection is first evident when Hector puts on the armor:

στὰς δ' ἀπάνευθε μάχης πολυδακρύου ἔς τέ ἄμειβεν
ἦτοι ὁ μὲν τὰ ἅ δῶκε φέρειν προτὶ Ἴλιον ἱρὴν
Τρῶσιν φιλοπτολέμοισιν, ὁ δ' ἄμβροτα τεύχεα δύνε
Πηλείδew Ἀχιλῆος ἃ οἱ θεοὶ οὐρανίῳ
πατρὶ φίλῳ ἔπορον· ὁ δ' ἄρα ᾧ παιδί ὅπασσε
γηράς· ἀλλ' οὐχ υἱὸς ἐν ἔντεσι πατρὸς ἐγήρα.
Τὸν δ' ὥς οὖν ἀπάνευθεν ἶδεν νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς
τεύχεσι Πηλείδαο κορυσσόμενον θείοιο,
κινήσας ῥά κάρη προτὶ ὃν μύθησατο θυμόν·

³¹ Nagy 1979, 292-296.

³² Nagy 1979 also conjectures that as the generic warrior is a θεράπων of Ares, the generic poet is the θεράπων of the Muses, and by doing so "assumes the ritual dimensions of a cult hero" using evidence from Hesiod's *Theogony*, 296-300.

³³ Nagy 1979, 293-295.

ἂν δαίλ' οὐδέ τί τοι θάνατος καταθύμιός ἐστιν
 ὅς δ' ἄν τοι σχεδὸν εἴσι· σὺ δ' ἄμβροτα τεύχεα δύνεις
 ἄνδρὸς ἀριστῆος, τὸν τε τρομέουσι καὶ ἄλλοι·
 τοῦ δ' ἑταῖρον ἔπεφνες ἐνὲά τε κρατερόν τε,
 τεύχεα δ' οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἀπὸ κρατός τε καὶ ὤμων
 εἴλεν· ἀτὰρ τοι νῦν γε μέγα κράτος ἐγγυαλίζω,
 τῶν ποινῆν ὅ τοι οὐ τι μάχης ἐκνοστήσαντι
 τῶν ποινῆν ὅ τοι οὐ τι μάχης ἐκνοστήσαντι
 δέξεται Ἀνδρομάχη κλυτὰ τεύχεα Πηλεΐωνος.
 Ἥ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων.
 Ἐκτορι δ' ἤρμοσε τεύχε' ἐπὶ χροί, δῦ δέ μιν Ἄρης
 δεινὸς ἐνυάλιος, πλήσθεν δ' ἄρα οἱ μέλε' ἐντὸς
 ἀλκῆς καὶ σθένεος·

Standing away from the mournful battle, he was exchanging the armor,
 and he gave his original armor to the fighting Trojans to bring
 to sacred Troy, and he put on the divine armor
 of Achilles, son of Peleus, which the Uranian gods
 gave to the dear father, who, growing old, gave to his son,
 but the son was not growing old in the armor of his father.
 When cloud-gathering Zeus saw him far away,
 equipping himself with the armor of godlike Peleus,
 moving his head, he addressed his soul:
 "Oh wretched one, there are no thoughts of death in you,
 death, which is indeed near to you, and you putting on the immortal armor
 of the best man, and others tremble before him.
 Indeed, you have killed his companion, gentle and strong,
 and the armor, not according to order, from his head and from his shoulders
 you have taken, but for now, I will grant great strength to you,
 in return for these things, that Andromache will not receive from you, not
 returning from the battle, the glorious arms of the son of Peleus."
 He spoke, and the son of Cronus nodded with dark brows.
 The armor was fitted to Hector on his skin, and terrible war-like Ares
 entered him, and his inside body was filled
 with strength and might. (17. 192–212)

Mark Edwards observes that this arming scene is different from those of Paris,
 Agamemnon, Patroclus and Achilles "in content, tone, and position within his *aristeia*,"³⁴
 largely because the passage is not expanded by a description of the armor, but by Zeus'
 foreboding monologue. Although it is unique, it recalls the description of Patroclus
 donning the same armor, since that passage too focuses a great deal on Achilles and how
 he acquired the armor. Both passages note that the armor was a gift to Achilles' "dear

³⁴ Edwards 1991, 80

father" from the gods. In Patroclus' arming scene, we learn that it was Chiron specifically, and in Hector's arming scene we learn that Peleus passed it on to Achilles when he grew old. The descriptions of Patroclus and Hector arming themselves link the two heroes since both passages make it clear that neither can truly become Achilles: Patroclus cannot lift Achilles' spear, and Zeus says that Hector has taken the armor οὐ κατὰ κόσμον. In addition, the way Zeus ponders the fate of Hector here recalls his contemplation about Patroclus just before he dies (16. 644–56); particularly striking is the fact that he agreed to allow each of them a bit of glory before death.³⁵ For Patroclus, the armor was an external symbol of his attempt to become the double of Achilles. When Hector acquires the same armor after killing Patroclus, this, in my view, is also an external sign that Hector becomes a double of Patroclus. The abundance of parallels between Hector's death and the death of Patroclus further supports this view, as I will demonstrate next.

Death Scenes

The final conflict between Hector and Achilles in book 22 is the *Iliad's* climax. After a brief description of Hector standing outside the walls of Troy and Achilles approaching the city, Priam and Hecuba beseech Hector not to fight Achilles. Hector then debates whether or not he should fight, and, after a long soliloquy, resolves to stand firm. Despite his resolution, he flees from Achilles, who pursues him around Troy three times. Athena, disguised as Deiphobus, tricks Hector into facing Achilles, and his doom is sealed. Achilles drives a spear through his neck, and Hector falls:

ἦριπε δ' ἐν κονίῃς· ὃ δ' ἐπεύξατο δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς·
 "Ἔκτορ ἄτάρ που ἔφης Πάτροκλῃ' ἐξεναρίζων

³⁵ Edwards 1991, 81

σῶς ἔσσεσθ', ἐμὲ δ' οὐδὲν ὀπίζω νοσφιν ἔοντα
νήπιε· τοῖο δ' ἀνέυθεν ἀοσητήρ μέγ' ἀμείνων
νηυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῇσιν ἐγὼ μετόπισθε λελείμμη,ν,
ὅς τοι γούνατ' ἔλυσα· σὲ μὲν κύνες ἦδ' οἰωνοὶ
ἐλκήσουσ' αἰκῶς, τὸν δὲ κτεριοῦσιν Ἀχαιοί.
Τὸν δ' ὀλιγοδρανέων προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ·
λίσσομαι ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς καὶ γούνων σῶν τε τοκῆων
μὴ με ἔα παρὰ νηυσὶ κύνας καταδάψαι Ἀχαιῶν,
ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν χαλκὸν τε ἄλῃς χρυσόν τε δέδεξο
δῶρα τά τοι δώσουσι πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ,
σῶμα δὲ οἴκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν, ὅφρα πυρός με
Τρώες καὶ Τρώων ἄλοχοι λελάχωσι θανόντα.
Τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·
μὴ με κύον γούνων γουνάζω μὴ δὲ τοκῆων·
αἱ γάρ πως αὐτόν με μένος καὶ θυμὸς ἀνήη
ὦμ' ἀποταμνόμενον κρέα ἔδμεναι, οἷα ἔοργας,
ὥς οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅς σῃς γε κύνας κεφαλῆς ἀπαλάλκοι,
οὐδ' εἴ κεν δεκάκις τε καὶ εἰκοσινήριτ' ἄποινα
στήσωσ' ἐνθάδ' ἄγοντες, ὑπόσχωνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα,
οὐδ' εἴ κέν σ' αὐτόν χρυσῷ ἐρύσασθαι ἀνώγοι
Δαρδανίδης Πρίαμος· οὐδ' ὥς σέ γε πότνια μήτηρ
ἐνθεμένη λεχέεσσι γοήσεται ὃν τέκεν αὐτή,
ἀλλὰ κύνες τε καὶ οἰωνοὶ κατὰ πάντα δάσσονται. (22. 330–354)

He fell in the dust and god-like Achilles boasted
"Hector, I supposed you were thinking that killing Patroclus
you would be safe, and you were not considering me, being away,
fool. I, an avenger, much greater than he
by the hollow ships, away and behind him, I was left,
having loosened your knees. Dogs and vultures
will tear you up foully, but the Achaeans will bury Patroclus."
And Hector, with a gleaming helm, being weak addressed him,
"I beseech you by your soul, by your knees, and by your parents,
Do not let dogs devour me by the ships of the Achaeans,
but you, take the bronze and abundant gold,
gifts which my father and the queen, my mother, will give to you,
and give my body back homeward, in order that
Trojans and the wives of Trojans might grant me, dead, the right of a funeral fire."
But swift-footed Achilles answered, looking grimly at him:
"Don't beseech me, dog, by knees nor by parents,
for if, somehow, my force and spirit might drive me myself
to eat your flesh raw, slicing it, for the things which you have done.
So there will not be one who might ward off the dogs from your head,
not if bringing ten or twenty times the ransom,
they set it before me, even if they promise more,
not if Priam, son of Dardanos should order to weight
you yourself out in gold, if the queen, your mother,
who herself bore you wails, having put you on a death bed,
but dogs and vulture will divide you for all."

This passage closely resembles Patroclus' death scene (16. 827–63) in theme, diction, and formula.³⁶ Both victors, Hector and Achilles, address their victims "boasting" with a form of the verb ἐπευχόμαι (22. 330, 16. 829). Hector's address to Patroclus differs from Achilles' address to Hector, in that he speaks with "winged words," καὶ οἱ ἐπευχόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα. This variation, however, actually links Patroclus and Hector further. Richard Martin observes that "winged words" between enemies are rare, and signify highly marked passages. Out of 61 speeches which are "winged words," only four occur between enemies: the death of Patroclus, Hector's encounter with Achilles in book 20(quoted above), the death of Lycaon, and Priam's encounter with Achilles in book 24.³⁷ Martin says:

Much of the powerful effect in these scenes comes from their inclusion in the conventional pattern of fighters addressing comrades-in-arms with "winged words." For here, the fighters are paradoxically bonded by their very determination to kill one another.³⁸

The "winged words," then, connect Hector and Patroclus on two levels; first, the "winged words" formula forces Hector and Patroclus into a "comrade-in-arms" model, as if they were allies, and second, Hector addresses Patroclus before his death in the same way that Achilles addresses Hector when he attempts to kill him.³⁹

When Achilles addresses Hector, his words match what Hector says to Patroclus in structure and in theme (16.830–42).⁴⁰ Both Achilles and Hector address their victims by name in the vocative, describe what they assume to be their opponent's hubristic

³⁶ Schadewalt 1959, Fenik 1968, Richardson 1993 for observations on the death scene parallels.

³⁷ Martin 1989, 33 says "winged words" in the *Iliad* highlight only 'directive' speeches between those sharing a social bond."

³⁸ Martin 1989, 33.

³⁹ Apollo thwarts Achilles' attempt to kill Hector, mirroring when he knocks off Patroclus' armor. It should also be noted that Hector and Patroclus meet twice in book 16, and the second encounter is the decisive one, just as the second encounter between Achilles and Hector is the decisive one.

⁴⁰ Fenik 1968 and Richardson 1993 discuss the parallels

thoughts, using a form of the verb φημι, and then close by addressing their victim, with another vocative, νήπιε, "fool." There are only four instances of this word in the vocative in the epic, and only Hector and Achilles use it. In each instance, the word is enjambed and occurs at the beginning of a line, emphasizing its importance and power.⁴¹ In addition, both Achilles and Hector threaten to mutilate their victims' corpses; Hector threatens to feed Patroclus' body to the vultures (16.836), as Achilles threatens to let birds and dogs devour Hector.⁴² In fact, the theme of corpse mutilation in the *Iliad*, in general, demonstrates a correlation between Hector and Patroclus. For example, Achilles says that he will bring back Hector's "arms and head," (18. 175–7), just as Hector threatens to cut off Patroclus' head (17. 125–7).⁴³ Further, Andromache, after hearing of Hector's death, fears that worms will eat his body when the dogs have had their fill (22. 509). The only other mention of worm in the *Iliad* is when Achilles fears that "worms and maggots" will invade Patroclus' body (19. 25–7).⁴⁴ In the end, however, both bodies are properly mourned and buried, and their funerals, just like their deaths, share elements of narrative and diction.⁴⁵ Although Hector's funeral rites are far more succinct than Patroclus', the events are the same: funeral feast, gathering of wood, building a pyre, burning and burial of the corpse.⁴⁶ Some of the imagery is also shared, such as Andromache cradling Hector's head (24. 724) just as Achilles cradles Patroclus' (23.136).

⁴¹ I will return to the significance of νήπιε later

⁴² Segal 1971 for treatment of corpse mutilation.

⁴³ On decapitation see Friedrich 1956, Segal 1971, 21.

⁴⁴ Note in both cases, it is the beloved spousal partner who worries about worms. Recall the previous discussion about Patroclus' domestic role in book 9.

⁴⁵ See Redfield 1994, Chapter 5 for discussion of the funerals and Loudon 2006, 50ff.

⁴⁶ Edwards 1986, 84–92 for discussion on the order of ceremonies, and Richardson 1993 for general commentary on the funerals of Patroclus and Hector.

After Achilles threatens Hector with mutilation, the similarities to Patroclus' death continue. Hector and Patroclus both speak after their death blows, prophesying their killers' imminent deaths. Hector tells Achilles to beware of divine anger:

Τὸν δὲ καταθνήσκων προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ·
ἦ σ' εὖ γιγνώσκων προτιόσσομαι, οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλον
πείσειν· ἦ γὰρ σοί γε σιδήρεος ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός.
φράζεο νῦν, μή τοί τι θεῶν μήνιμα γένωμαι
ἡματι τῷ ὅτε κέν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων
ἔσθλόν ἐόντ' ὀλεσώσιν ἐνὶ Σκαίῃσι πύλῃσιν.
ὣς ἄρα μιν εἰπόντα τέλος θανάτοιο κάλυψε,
ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἄϊδος δὲ βεβήκει
ὅν πότμον γοόωσα λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην
τὸν καὶ τεθνηῶτα προσήυδα δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς·
τέθναθι· κῆρα δ' ἐγὼ τότε δέξομαι ὅππότε κεν δῇ
Ζεὺς ἐθέλῃ τελέσαι ἢ δ' ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι (16.355–366)

Then Hector of the shining helm, dying, spoke to him:
"I look upon you knowing you well, I would not persuade you-
for there is an iron soul in your chest.
Beware now, lest I be a cause of bringing wrath of gods upon you
on that day when Paris and Phoebus Apollo
destroy good you in the Skaian gates."
As he spoke, the end of death covered him,
And the soul having flown from the limbs went down to Hades,
which, mourning the destiny, left behind manliness and youth.
Divine Achilles addressed him, dead:
"Die, I will take fate whenever
Zeus and the other immortal gods wish to accomplish it."

These lines are analogous to Patroclus' prediction that Hector will soon die at the hands of Achilles:

ῥ' θην οὐδ' αὐτὸς δηρὸν βέη, ἀλλὰ τοι ἤδη
ἄγχι παρέστηκεν θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή
χερσὶ δαμέντ' Ἀχιλλῆος ἀμύμονος Αἰακίδαο (16.852–854)

Truly, you yourself will not live very long, but now already
death and powerful fate stand near you,
overpowered by the hands of brilliant Achilles, son of Aeacus.

Hector and Patroclus both utter these predictions with their last breath, and the lines which follow their last words, which describe the moment of death, are exactly the same.⁴⁷ When Patroclus dies:

ὣς ἄρα μιν εἰπόντα τέλος θανάτοιο κάλυψε· (855)
ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἄϊδος δὲ βεβήκει
ὃν πότμον γοόωσα λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην.
τὸν καὶ τεθνηῶτα προσήδα φαίδιμος Ἑκτωρ· (16.855–858)

As he spoke, the end of death covered him,
And the soul having flown from the limbs went down to Hades,
which, mourning the destiny, left behind manliness and youth.
Glorious Hector addressed him, having died.

The only difference between these lines are the formulaic names. These two passages also contain two of three occurrences of ἀνδροτῆτα, or "manliness" in Homer, with the other in a passage from book 24.3–6, already discussed, when Achilles is longing for the dead Patroclus. After the dying men announce the imminent deaths of their slayers, both Hector and Achilles respond to the prediction, with the former saying he may well kill Achilles, and the latter saying that he will accept the fate the gods have in store for him (16. 859–61).

The sequence of events which occurs immediately following Hector and Patroclus' death scenes are quite different, but the image of Hector's dusty hair recalls a moment just before Patroclus dies. Achilles drags Hector's corpse behind his chariot, befouling his head with dust:

τοῦ δ' ἦν ἐλκομένοιο κονίσσαλος, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
κυάνεαι πίτναντο, κάρη δ' ἅπαν ἐν κονίῃσι
κεῖτο πάρος χαρίεν· (22. 401–403)

There was a cloud of dust from the one being dragged, and the dark
hair was falling around, and the head was lying in the dust

⁴⁷ Janko 1994, 420 says, "its repetition stresses the uniquely important link between the deaths of Sarpedon, Patroclus and Hector."

formerly beautiful.

This scene echoes Apollo knocking off Patroclus' helmet off so that its plumes are spoiled with dust:

τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κρατὸς κυνέην βάλε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·
ἣ δὲ κυλινδομένη καναχὴν ἔχε ποσσὶν ὑφ' ἵππων
αὐλῶπις τρυφάλεια, μίανθησαν δὲ ἔθειραι
αἶματι καὶ κονίησι· (16. 793–96)

Phoebus Apollo struck the helmet away from his head,
rolling, it was making a clatter under the feet of horses
four horned, hollow-eyed, and the hair was defiled
with blood and dust.

Richard Janko observes that hair fouled in dust is a standard battle motif, but that this echo stands out because Hector's "head re-enacts the fate of Achilles' helmet."⁴⁸ Achilles also defiles his hair with dust when he learns of Patroclus' death:

ἀμφοτέρησι δὲ χερσὶν ἔλῳν κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν
χεύατο κακ κεφαλῆς, χαρίεν δ' ἦσχυνε πρόσωπον·
νεκταρέω δὲ χιτῶνι μέλαιν' ἀμφίζανε τέφρη. (25)
αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κονίησι μέγας μεγαλωστὶ τανυσθεὶς
κεῖτο, φίλῃσι δὲ χερσὶ κόμην ἦσχυνε δαΐζων (18. 23–7)

Having taken up the sooty dust with both hands
he poured it over his head and fouled his beautiful continence.
And on his divine frock, black ashes were settled.
And he himself, being great in his might, stretched out, was lying in
the dust, and he defiled his hair tearing with his hands.

The dust motif, then, links both Hector and Patroclus to Achilles, since the dust in Hector's hair recalls Achilles' mourning over Patroclus, which, in turn, recalls the moment before Patroclus' death.⁴⁹ These similar images suggest a conflated identity among the three. The parallels between the death of Hector and the death of Patroclus, in my view, show that Hector's donning of the despoiled armor makes him an alter-ego of

⁴⁸ Janko 1994, 412.

⁴⁹ The scenes with dust in Hector and Achilles' hair juxtapose the befouled head with its former glory. Schein 1984, 130 suggests that these lines contains phrases which evoke death and burial practice, and this suggests that Patroclus' death foreshadows Achilles'.

Patroclus, just as the same armor made Patroclus an alter-ego of Achilles. Since Hector also shares similarities with Achilles, perhaps we can read another layer into the armor exchange. Since Hector resembles the Patroclus who wears Achilles' armor and acts as Achilles' surrogate, Hector, then, becomes a double of Achilles through Patroclus as an intermediary.

CHAPTER 3 HECTOR AND ACHILLES

Many have noted that the *Iliad* invites us to view Achilles and Hector as both antithetical and parallel based on the narrative and the poetics of the epic. According to James Redfield,

Achilles is the great hero of the *Iliad*, and the *Iliad* is the story of a death of a hero; but Achilles does not die in the *Iliad*. The death of Achilles—or rather, his mortality—is a ruling fatality of the *Iliad*, but the pathos of the poem is concentrated in the death of Hector.⁵⁰

In fact, the last line of the poem, ὥς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἑκτορος ἵπποδάμοιο, or "thus, they were attending to the burial of Hector, tamer of horses," although it concerns Hector, develops our understanding of the story of Achilles and the repercussions of his disposition. Further, the last line recalls the first line of the poem, μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος, which identifies the principal topic of the narrative, establishes the poetic genre, and singles out the main character. Achilles' name, accompanied by the patronymic, appears in the standard formulaic structure for a noun in genitive case, preceded by a masculine caesura. The last line contains Hector's name in an identical construction, and it seems an appropriate and almost necessary conclusion.

Achilles and Hector represent the best warrior of their respective sides, so it is natural that they would play similar roles. In book 9, Achilles demonstrates his fundamental similarity to Hector when he describes the life he would have in Phthia should he return from the war (9. 393–400), mentioning that there would be a wife and a

⁵⁰ Redfield 1994, 29.

kingdom in which he could enjoy the possessions won by his father. In essence, he describes the life which Hector enjoys at Troy. It is of particular importance that Achilles mentions his aged father as one of the things he misses being at war, since his nostalgia for Peleus is manifested in the ransoming scene in book 24. Many who have studied the relationship between Achilles and Priam have pointed to the surrogate identities they take on, including Seth Schein who argues, "the two virtually adopt one another as father and son."⁵¹ Priam comes to Achilles and asks him to think of his own father and to pity him (24.503), and in doing so, as Nancy Felson argues, appeals to Achilles' desire to repay *θρέπτρα*.⁵² When Priam assumes the role of Achilles' father, this puts Achilles in the role of Priam's son, and since Achilles is the counterpart of Hector, the encounter between Priam and Achilles further aligns Hector with Achilles.

A few scenes in particular further exemplify the similarities between Achilles and Hector. Franco Ferrucci considers the chase around the walls of Troy as a role reversal between the two:

Now that [Hector] wears Achilleus' armor, the similarities between their destinies is made manifest, and will be made still clearer in the episode of the final duel between them. After the two heroes have met and exchanged threats, Hektor is overcome by an unexpected terror which compels him to flee, and three times he races round the walls of Troy, like one who besieges a city and fails in his attempts to enter it; each time he is forestalled by Achilleus, who momentarily becomes Troy's defender.⁵³

Ferrucci observes that it is the armor which causes Hector to become like Achilles and allows for this role exchange between the roles of defender and offender. As I observed

⁵¹ Schein 1884, 159. Other bibliography on Priam and Achilles includes, Finlay 1980, Macleod 1982, Lynn-George 1988, Richardson 1993, Crotty 1994, Zanker 1998, and Felson 2002.

⁵² Felson 2002, 47

⁵³ Ferrucci 1980, 27.

earlier, the armor is the tangible sign for the doubling in book 16 between Patroclus and Achilles, and later, between Hector and Patroclus

Arming scenes and despoiling corpses are common motifs in the *Iliad*, but when Hector puts on Achilles' armor, the diction of the passage emphasizes its oddity and significance. Hector "exchanges" (ἀμειβεν) his own armor for the armor of Achilles (17.213–14). This not only describes the literal action taking place in the scene, but echoes the earlier friendly armor exchange between Diomedes and Glaucus (6.235). Although on opposite sides of the war, Diomedes and Glaucus, upon realizing that their fathers were guest-friends, extend a gesture of friendship to one another by trading their armor, reinforcing each other's heroic worth with the trade. The echo between this scene of "exchange" and Hector's scene of "exchange" would, then, suggest a bond of friendship and affection between Achilles and Hector. Achilles, however, denies Hector this kind of bond in book 22, when he states that there can be no oaths between wolves and lambs, and that there can be no friendship between them: ὥς οὐκ ἔστ' ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ φιλήμεναι, οὐδέ τι νῶϊν/ὄρκια ἔσσοντα (22. 265–266). The explanation for this inconsistency lies in Hector's relationship to Patroclus.

CHAPTER 4 HECTOR AND ACHILLES AS LOVERS

If, as I have argued, the relationship between Achilles and Patroclus is erotically charged, I believe that we can view Hector as further parallel to Patroclus because cues in the text invites us to imagine a suppressed erotic relationship between Hector and Achilles. The text first plays with the idea of eroticism between Achilles and Hector in Hector's monologue in book 22, after Priam and Hecuba beseech him not to fight Achilles. Hector debates whether he should remain outside Troy's walls and wait for Achilles, or whether he should flee into the city (22.99–110). He explores a third possibility of setting aside his weapons, offering Achilles compensation, and returning Helen (22.110–121). He then rejects this as a possible plan:

ἀλλὰ τί ἦ μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός;
μή μιν ἐγὼ μὲν ἴκωμαι ἰών, ὃ δέ μ' οὐκ ἐλεήσει
οὔδέ τί μ' αἰδέσεται, κτενέει δέ με γυμνὸν ἑόντα
αὐτῶς ὥς τε γυναῖκα, ἐπεὶ κ' ἀπὸ τεύχεα δύω.
οὐ μὲν πῶς νῦν ἔστιν ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὔδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης
τῷ ὀαριζέμεναι, ἃ τε παρθένος ἠΐθεός τε
παρθένος ἠΐθεός τ' ὀαρίζετον ἀλλήλοιν.
βέλτερον αὖτ' ἔριδι ξυνελαυνέμεν ὅττι τάχιστα·
εἴδομεν ὀπποτέρῳ κεν' Ὀλύμπιος εὖχος ὀρέξῃ. (22.122–130)

But why has my dear soul debated these things?
I fear that if I approach him as a suppliant, he would not pity me
nor would he regard me, but he would kill me naked, being,
as I am, just as a woman, after I had taken off my armor.
There is not anyway now from a tree or from a rock
To converse with him, as a young maiden
And a young man converse with one another.
Better to meet him in combat as soon as possible,
Let us see which one the Olympian grants glory.

This imagined situation includes Hector, naked and woman-like, supplicating Achilles, and whispering to him in a pastoral scene of lovers meeting. Although Hector ultimately rejects the scenario, it is still odd and striking that Hector momentarily imagines himself in an intimate moment with Achilles. Thematically, the scene resembles the first meeting of Odysseus and Nausicaa in *Odyssey* 6, which is charged with erotic potential.⁵⁴ When Odysseus first sees Nausicaa, he debates whether he should supplicate her with physical contact or with words to ask her if she will show him her city and lend him clothing, (*Od.* 6. 142–44). He chooses the latter in fear that she would be angry. This resembles Hector's consideration of approaching Achilles as a suppliant and his decision against it for fear that Achilles would reject his request and kill him, presumably out of anger over Patroclus' death. Additionally, when Hector fears that Achilles would not pity him at all (οὐδέ τί μ' αἰδέσεται), and would kill him, naked (γυμνὸν ἔοντα αὖτως), it resembles Odysseus' shame (αἰδώς) at being naked (γυμνός) in front of women (*Od.* 6.221). Redfield observes that αἰδώς has connotations of shyness in addition to being linked with pity and shame. He notes the example of Odysseus' αἰδώς about his nakedness, Nausicaa's αἰδώς to speak with her father about her marriage (*Ody.* 6. 66), the goddesses' αἰδώς to witness the affair of Ares and Aphrodite (*Ody.* 8. 324), and Penelope's αἰδώς to be alone with men (*Ody.* 23.184).⁵⁵ The erotic theme of these examples suggests that the word can have a connotation of shyness about sexual behavior. On account of the other potentially erotic nuances of the passage, I think that the verb, αἰδέσεται, may have such a connotation in this case.

⁵⁴ Nausicaa, whom Athena instructed to wash clothes for an impending marriage to an unidentified groom, encounters the naked Odysseus. The two are clearly attracted to one another as Nausicaa says she would like to marry such a man (6.244-45), and both of them admire each other's beauty (6.160-169, 6.276-280). Stanford 1964, 54 identifies the amorous and erotic qualities of the scene. Also Gross 1976.

⁵⁵ Redfield 1979, 115. Dodds 1951 about "shame culture" in general.

Even more convincing of an erotic scene is Hector's almost wistful statement that there is no possibility that he and Achilles will be able to converse as a young girl and a young boy whisper to one another. He uses the verb ὁαρίζω, which implies an exchange between lovers and a lovers' dalliance,⁵⁶ and the use of the dual emphasizes the intimacy of the conversation. This verb is also used to describe Hector and Andromache's conversation (6. 516), and to describe Hera seducing Zeus, "whispering allurements that steal away the heart even from the thoughtful" (14. 216–17). The repetition of the formulaic phrase, παρθένος ἡΐθεός, emphasizes the imagery of the courting ritual. Critics, long puzzled by Hector's imagined flirtation with Achilles, have produced a wide range of theories to explain its significance.⁵⁷ While I find many of these arguments rather convincing, I would add that the monologue's significant could lie in the fact that it recalls Patroclus.

Hector imagines himself as γυμνός and "like a woman." These words not only put a sexual spin on the passage, but also recalls Patroclus' naked corpse.⁵⁸ Patroclus is γυμνός just before he dies:

ὃ μὲν αὖτις ἀνέδραμε, μίκτο δ' ὁμίλῳ,
ἐκ χροὸς ἀρπάξας δόρυ μείλινον, οὐδ' ὑπέμεινε
Πάτροκλον γυμνόν περ ἑόντ' ἐν δηϊοτήτι. (16. 813–15)

[Euphorbus] ran away again, and he mixed in the crowd,

⁵⁶ Cunliffe 1963 for definition. Cook 1901, 325 shows that the very ὁαρίζω was often used for parley between lovers.

⁵⁷ For example, Willcock 1978, vol 2 argues Hector's mind reverts to peacetime in the stressful circumstance; Burnett 1991, 288 suggests that Hector's unconscious influenced his imagination; Rabel 1997, chapter 6, section 4 states that the scene imitates the depiction on Achilles' shield, which is his visual point of view.

⁵⁸ Janko 1994 tells us that γυμνός, in Patroclus' case must mean "unarmed" rather than naked, since warriors wore tunics under their armor. Despite the literal meaning, I do not believe this limits the symbolic image as it relates to Hector. The neuter plural adjectival form of αἰδέσεται, αἰδοῖα, means "male genitals." In *Odyssey* 6.129, Odysseus even covers his genitals because he is ashamed to be naked in front of the young girls. Thus, the presence of a form of the verb αἰδέομαι with γυμνός in Hector's fantasy still suggests an erotic image despite whether or not Patroclus was clothed.

snatching his ash spear from the body, he did not endure
Patroclus, even being naked, in combat.

Other repeatedly report that his corpse is γυμνός. When Menelaus reports the news of
Patroclus' death to Ajax:

Αἶαν δεῦρο πέπον, περὶ Πατρόκλοιο θανόντος
σπεύσομεν, αἶ κε νέκυν περ' Ἀχιλλῇι προφέρωμεν
γυμνόν· (17. 120–122)

Come here, gentle Ajax, let us hasten for dead Patroclus,
so that we might carry to Achilles his body
which is naked.

When Menelaos speaks to Antilochus:

ἀλλὰ σύ γ' αἶψ' Ἀχιλλῇι θέων ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
εἰπεῖν, αἶ κε τάχιστα νέκυν ἐπὶ νῆα σαώσῃ
γυμνόν· (17. 691–93)

But you, running quickly to Achilles, near the ships of the Achaeans
tell him, so that he might rescue back to the ships his corpse
which is naked.

When Menelaus speaks to both Ajaxes:

οὐ γάρ πως ἂν γυμνός ἔων Τρώεσσι μάχοιτο (17. 711)

There is not anyway he could fight against the Trojans, being naked.

When Antilochus reports the news to Achilles:

κεῖται Πάτροκλος, νέκυος δὲ δὴ ἀμφιμάχονται
γυμνοῦ· (18. 20–21)

Patroclus has fallen, and they are fighting over his corpse,
which is naked.

Additionally, Achilles threatens that Hector will be naked when he feeds him to the dogs
and the birds, and this is yet another way in which Hector is made parallel to Patroclus:

αἰόλαι εὐλαὶ ἔδονται, ἐπεὶ κε κύνες κορέσωνται
γυμνόν· (22.509–510)

Wriggling worms will eat you, when they dogs have had their full of you
naked.

Since γυμνός is rare in the *Iliad*, save descriptions of Hector and Patroclus, I believe Hector's imagined nudity recalls Patroclus specifically, and further, that the presence of erotic innuendo recalls the intimate relationship between Patroclus and Achilles.

In his fantasy, Hector conjectures that he will be "like a woman," and this reversal of gender in a simile aligns him with Patroclus. When Patroclus first approaches Achilles in book 16 to report the status of the battle and to ask him to enter battle, Achilles describes him as a young girl:

τίπτε δεδάκρυσαι Πατρόκλεες, ἥύτε κόρη
νηπίη, ἣ θ' ἄμα μητρὶ θεοῦσ' ἀνελέσθαι ἀνώγει
εἴανού ἄπτομένη (16.7–9)

Why do you cry, Patroclus, just like a young
Girl, who running after her mother, begs to be picked up
Clinging to her dress.

Achilles figuratively compares Patroclus, who is presumably on his knees supplicating Achilles, to a child who clings to her mother's knees. Thus, Hector imagines himself in a similar role to Patroclus in this passage, since he envisions himself supplicating Achilles, being in a female role and being particularly vulnerable.⁵⁹ Achilles also calls Patroclus, νηπίος, the same word he uses for Hector after he strikes him with the death blow (22.333).⁶⁰

As Hector ponders his next move, Achilles begins to bear down upon him, and, frightened, Hector flees (22. 138–42). The fact that Hector, the best Trojan warrior, who chastised Paris for being absent from battle, runs away from his enemy is atypical and strikingly odd.⁶¹ We can begin to explain his uncharacteristic behavior by observing Hector's imagined scenario, where he assumes a role of a woman flirting with a lover

⁵⁹ Richardson 1993 notes, “αὐτως (“just as I am”) is often used with an implication of helplessness.”

⁶⁰ Recall that Hector also calls Patroclus νηπίε (16.833). For further discussion on this word see Ledbetter 1993.

⁶¹ Owen 1946 is surprised that Hector flees.

(22.122–130). In light of this, the chase scene begins to look more like the pursuit of a female by a male. This is also bolstered by the ecphrasis which describes the two springs of Skamandros, and the stone washing hollows, where the Trojan women washed their clothes before the war (22.145–55). The vocabulary which describes the washing place and the garments, namely, πλύνοι and εἴματα σιγαλόεντα, respectively, only appears here and in *Odyssey* 6, when Nausicaa washes her clothing (*Od.* 6. 2640, 86). For Nausicaa, washing clothes means preparation for her marriage, and the recurrence of the same diction in the *Iliad* could suggest the same kind of sexualized scene from the *Odyssey*.

Thus, I believe that there is a presence of erotic diction and theme in Hector's monologue and in Achilles' pursuit of Hector around Troy, and I propose that these same scenes recall Patroclus because of their eroticism and the evocation of the image of Patroclus' naked corpse. The echoes to Patroclus and erotic diction and theme invite us to view Hector as parallel to Patroclus as Achilles' lover.

CHAPTER 5

Lycaon

Thus far, I have argued for the presence of a strong parallel between Hector and Patroclus in the *Iliad* through the similarities in their death scenes, the analogous characteristics between Hector and Achilles (which is pertinent because Patroclus adopts Achilles' identity), and the erotically charged interaction between Achilles and Hector in book 22 (which is pertinent because of the suggestion of an erotic relationship between Achilles and Patroclus). Another minor character, however, echoes characteristics of Patroclus and Hector. In book 21, Achilles sees Lycaon, a son of Priam, emerging from the river and kills him. Richardson tells us, "This famous scene has been described as 'the climax of the set of supplications in battle' although one should really reserve his description for Hector's plea at 22.337–60. It is also the climax of all contests involving lesser warriors."⁶² Richardson goes on to note similar motifs between this scene and the interaction between Aeneas and Achilles (20.89–96, 187–94) and between Achilles and Polydorus (20. 401–18). The most striking aspects of this scene, however, are the abundance of connections to the deaths of Patroclus and Hector. For example, Lycaon is γυμνός at 21.50, emphatic at the beginning of the verse (recalling the descriptions of Patroclus and Hector, discussed on pages 30–33); he is without his spear, οὐδ' ἔχεν ἔγχος at 21.50 (cf. 22. 293, Hector); he supplicates Achilles (cf. Hector's supplication at 22. 337–60); Achilles calls him νήπιε at 21. 99 (cf. Hector to Patroclus 16.833; Achilles to Hector 22.333); Achilles stabs Lycaon in the same location as he does Hector at

⁶² Richardson 1993,56. In this quotation he cites Griffin 1980 and Strasburger 1954.

21.116–117, and Achilles throws him in the river so that fish will 'lick his blood' at 21.122 (cf. corpse mutilation threats to Patroclus and Hector).⁶³ Perhaps the most interesting connection lies in the fact that Achilles calls Lycaon φίλος (21.106), which recalls the relationship which Achilles shared with Patroclus and foreshadows the suppressed intimacy between Achilles and Hector in book 22. Additionally, when Lycaon addresses Achilles with "winged words," this is one of the four instances in the *Iliad* of enemies addressing one another with such a formula (discussed on page 19), as noted by Martin. On the topic he suggests, "It must be noted that the four passages in which this occurs are not casual encounters, but rather highly charged events important to the outcome of the plot and, furthermore, that they are given lengthy, elaborate ornamentation by the poet."⁶⁴ In light of these textual parallels and the fact that the enemy/friend (or lover) line is blurred, Lycaon's death echoes Patroclus' death and rehearses Hector's death.

⁶³ Richardson 1993, 64 says, "Usually an unburied body suffers mutilation from dogs and birds (1.4-5 etc.). This is a grim variation on the theme, in which the effect is made more eerie by the vivid picture of the fish darting through the dark waves, just under the rippling surface of the sea, as the pallid corpse floats among them."

⁶⁴ Martin 1989, 33.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have argued that the *Iliad* likens Hector to Patroclus and that this is made manifest through the armor exchange, death scene parallels, and erotic undertones between Achilles and Hector in book 22. I believe my reading of the similarities between Hector and Patroclus and Lycaon's imitation of them can add to our understanding of Achilles in general. Lycaon supplicates Achilles before his death, arguing that Achilles should spare him since he is not from the same womb as Hector, the one who killed Patroclus (21. 95–96). Achilles, however, denies his request and reports that before Patroclus' death he would spare Trojans, but now no Trojan, especially the sons of Priam, can escape death. He goes on:

ἀλλὰ φίλος θάνε καὶ σύ· τί ἡ ὀλοφύρεαι οὕτως;
κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὃ περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων.
οὐχ ὄρας οἶος καὶ ἐγὼ καλὸς τε μέγας τε;
πατὴρ δ' εἴμ' ἀγαθοῖο, θεὰ δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ·
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοι καὶ ἐμοὶ θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή·
ἔσσεται ἢ ἡὼς ἢ δαίτηρ ἢ μέσον ἡμᾶρ
ὅππότε τις καὶ ἐμείῳ Ἄρη ἐκ θυμὸν ἔληται
ἢ ὅ γε δουρὶ βάλων ἢ ἀπὸ νευρῆφιν ὀϊστῶ. (21. 106–113)

But friend, you die also. Why, then, do you lament thusly?
Even Patroclus died, who was much greater than you by far.
Do you not see what sort I am, I, beautiful and big?
I am born of a good father and a goddess mother.
But indeed there is death and strong destiny even for me.
There will be a dawn or an afternoon or noontime
when someone in war will grasp my soul from me,
either throwing a spear or an arrow from bowstrings.

With this statement, Achilles outlines the mortal condition: all men, even the greatest, must die. Momentarily, Achilles sees beyond the scope of Greek versus Trojan,

enemies versus friends, and considers all men united under a single fate. Although in this scene Achilles is still far too fixated on revenge and anger to see the big picture, his words anticipate the end of the poem when he releases Hector's body to Priam and acknowledges the uniting condition of mortals. He tells Priam, ὥς γὰρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι/ ζῶειν ἀχνυμένοις· (24. 525–526), "Thus, the gods spin fate for wretched mortals to live in grief." Achilles relinquishes his anger and finally understands the human experience beyond the confines of war. In my view, the conflated images among Achilles, Hector, and Patroclus, justify Achilles' realization of the mortal condition and enhance the audience's understanding of him.

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