Divine Intervention and Disguise in Homer’s *Iliad*

Senior Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Undergraduate School of Arts and Sciences

Brandeis University

Undergraduate Program in Classical Studies

Professor Joel Christensen, Advisor

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts

By Joana Jankulla

May 2018

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor, Professor Joel Christensen. Thank you, Professor Christensen for guiding me through this process, expressing confidence in me, and being available whenever I had any questions or concerns. I would not have been able to complete this work without you. Secondly, I would like to thank Professor Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow and Professor Cheryl Walker for reading my thesis and providing me with feedback. The Classics Department at Brandeis University has been an instrumental part of my growth in my four years as an undergraduate, and I am eternally thankful to all the professors and staff members in the department.

Thank you to my friends, specifically Erica Theroux, Sarah Jousset, Anna Craven, Rachel Goldstein, Taylor McKinnon and Georgie Contreras for providing me with a lot of emotional support this year. I hope you all know how grateful I am for you as friends and how much I have appreciated your love this year. Thank you to my mom for FaceTiming me every time I was stressed about completing my thesis and encouraging me every step of the way. Finally, thank you to Ian Leeds for dropping everything and coming to me each time I needed it. You have been there for me through all the highs and lows of this process, and I cannot express how much I love you for that. I hope this thesis makes you proud.
Abstract

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A thesis presented to the Undergraduate Program in Classical Studies

Undergraduate School of Arts and Sciences
Brandeis University
Waltham, MA

By Joana Jankulla

Homer’s *Iliad*, a 24-book epic detailing the events of the Trojan War, is a critical work which raises questions and themes about the relationship of divine beings and mortals in literature. The intervention of gods and goddesses in this work presents them as major plot devices. Two types of interventions occur: non-disguise interventions and disguise interventions. Non-disguise interventions are when divine beings come down to a mortal as their recognizable selves. Disguise interventions are when divine beings appear to a mortal undercover in disguise. These disguise interventions fall into two categories: unrecognized disguises (when mortals do not know that a god or goddess is in disguise) and recognized disguises (when mortals have the revelation that a god or goddess is speaking to them in disguise).

This thesis will analyze most non-disguise and disguise scenes in the *Iliad*. I reach the conclusion that deities have different reasons for intervention and disguise, in ways that both affect the plot of the epic and insinuate to a higher purpose of intervention in Greek religion.
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Introduction

Divine disguise is an important plot element in many mythological stories and pieces of literature. Although motivation for the disguise is specific to each divinity and situation, gods are often seen using disguise to their advantage. One typical example is the behavior of the king of the gods, Zeus. He disguises himself many times to seduce women, both mortal and divine. He is just one of many divine examples that use disguise amongst mortals. Homer uses the motif of divine disguise as a device that develops the plot throughout his epics. Homer’s *Iliad* is a prominent example of divine disguise impacting the plot, as well as a way of understanding Greek religion and literature. First, I will analyze another work of Homer that includes disguise – his hymns to Demeter and Aphrodite. Next, I will look at secondary scholarship on disguise.

Before delving into divine disguise in Homer’s *Iliad*, it is useful to consider divine disguise in the Homeric hymns to sketch out an idea of how divine disguise works in Greek epic poetry. The *Homeric Hymns* to Demeter and Aphrodite are beneficial to our understandings of disguise. These are shorter and have a less developed plot than the *Iliad*, and may therefore provide smaller case studies to comprehend the reasons behind divine disguise. They allow us to think about the relationship between myth and literature, and later apply this to our findings in Homer’s *Iliad*.

*Homeric Hymns of Disguise*

In the *Hymns* to Demeter and Aphrodite, we find two separate occasions in which divine beings use disguise for their own personal motivation. These personal motivations
also lead into a larger purpose beyond the story. Homer’s *Hymn to Demeter* outlines the goddess’s grief after losing her daughter Persephone to Hades, the god of the Underworld. Through her struggles, we learn the story about the creation of the seasons. Homer’s *Hymn to Aphrodite* sketches out the story of her seduction of Anchises. This story explains Zeus’ control of the cosmos, by humiliating Aphrodite for sleeping with a mortal man. Both hymns showcase disguise in Homer as a method for deities to act on their own accord and for their intrinsic needs, while simultaneously causing an outcome that would impact the future.

*Homer’s Hymn to Demeter* centers around Demeter’s loss of her daughter Persephone to Hades. The story goes that Persephone is plucking flowers one day when the Earth splits open and Hades comes in his chariot to take her to the Underworld to be his wife and queen. Demeter is not with Persephone while this happens, but hears her screams; she runs to her but it is too late. For nine days Demeter does not eat, drink, or bathe but roams the Earth holding torches in her hands. Finally, Helius tells her the whereabouts of Persephone. After this, Demeter is angrier than ever before and disguises her appearance to wander amongst the mortals (1–90).

One day, she comes up to Eleusis, disguises as an old woman who looks like a nurse. Her transformation into an old woman is only briefly described (94), but her motivation for continuing the disguise and her gains from her disguise contribute to the rest of the hymn. Who she disguises as is not as important as being in disguise, so that no one may recognize her. The daughters of Celeus and Metaneira find her sitting by the Maiden Well and ask her where she comes from. Demeter lies to the daughter of Celeus about who she really is, calling herself Doso. She is invited into the home of Celeus, refusing to eat or drink, but only laughing to the jokes of the servant Iambe. Demeter soon begins taking care of Demophoon,
Metaneira’s son. Every night, she nourishes him with ambrosia with the intentions that he became invincible like a god. One night, Metaneira walks in on Demeter taking care of Demophoon. She is shocked that Demeter put him into the fire, and cries out in fright. Demeter reveals herself to Metaneira and gives instructions to Eleusis about their future. Before disappearing, she orders the people of Eleusis to build her a great temple and altar and she says she would teach them her rites. Demeter wreaks havoc on the world by causing a year of a bad harvest. Eventually, she strikes a deal with Hades and has her daughter Persephone for half of the year (the seasons of spring and summer) while Hades has her for the other half (the seasons of fall and winter).

Demeter chooses to assume a disguise in the mortal realm after Zeus allows for the ambush of her daughter. She finds a new home with Celeus and Metaneira but keeps her disguise, symbolically showing her starting over in a new place. By beginning to take care of Demophoon, she has another child that she can take care of, to make up for her loss of Persephone. When Metaneira discovers her disguise, Demeter turns from a quiet nurse to a raging goddess. It is in her loss of disguise and protection from the outside world that she needs to overcompensate her vulnerability with fury. Demeter is not the one to reveal her disguise, Metaneira walks in on her while she is undisguised. She does not plan for this; therefore, she is angry that she is exposed by Metaneira. Now, she must act like a goddess, one who cannot be taken advantage of, by acting high and mighty over Metaneira. Unlike what I will later discuss, Demeter’s disguise does not correlate with Homer’s use of disguise in the *Iliad*. Furthermore, Demeter’s depiction is less literary and more religious, because she releases her divine rage on Metaneira, showcasing just how powerful she is. In the *Iliad*,

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divine beings come down in disguise for a local purpose (ultimately helping either the Greeks or the Trojans). In this hymn, Demeter’s disguise brings about the creation of the seasons.

The story of Demeter as Doso is one example of how gods use disguise for their own needs and in a selfish manner. Demeter disguises for no one else but herself, therefore this disguise shows us that unlike the Iliad where gods disguise to help mortals, this hymn is about a goddess disguising in response to Zeus’ actions. Zeus does not give Demeter help when she asks him the whereabouts of Persephone. He, as Persephone’s father, allows for her rape and therefore Demeter is unhappy. One pattern seen in both this hymn and the Iliad is that Doso has a local purpose of remaining hidden from the mortals, and a larger cosmic purpose of beginning the seasons. The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite will outline how she uses disguise for her own different personal needs, and ultimately how this disguise forces her to reap the repercussions of sleeping with a mortal man.

In Homer’s Hymn to Aphrodite, the narrator begins by stating that there were only three goddesses that could not be persuaded by Aphrodite’s charm and influence. One day, Zeus puts in her the desire to make love to a mortal man so that he can boast about how he makes even Aphrodite sleep with a mortal man. Aphrodite sees Anchises herding cattle on Mt. Ida and falls in love with him. She goes down to his hut on Mt. Ida but does not want him to be scared by her presence so when Anchises asks her who she is, saying she looks like a goddess, she says she is a mortal daughter of Otreus. She creates a story for herself, saying she was abducted by Hermes at a festival of song and dance in honor of Artemis. The two sleep together and afterwards Aphrodite reveals to him that she is immortal. She reveals to him that they will have a child together called Aeneas. She leaves Aeneas with him and warns him to never say he slept with a goddess because Zeus’ anger would kill him.
Aphrodite’s use of disguise helps her keep her identity from Anchises a mystery. Like the disguise of Demeter, both stories involve a disguise followed by an epiphany and consequences following this epiphany. Aphrodite’s consequence comes because of her characteristics and her ability to make even Zeus be led astray by her beauty. Zeus causes Aphrodite to fall in love with Anchises as a way of establishing power over her, rather than yielding to the power he has over her. Once again, this disguise is different from the disguises in Homer’s *Iliad*, because Aphrodite disguises so she could fulfill her wish and her love for Anchises, rather than disguising to help a mortal. The pattern we are seeing in both hymns of disguise, followed by epiphany and consequence is important for religious reasons, meaning Zeus’ establishing his control over the cosmos.

This pattern is established as such:

1. Motivation related to Zeus
2. Disguise Acquired
3. Appearance to Mortal
4. False Narrative
5. Activity
6. Revelation of Identity
7. Mortal Consequences
8. Establishment of Larger Purpose

First, the story begins with a motivation related to Zeus. Demeter’s motivation comes when Zeus, the father of Persephone, helps Hades abduct his daughter. Aphrodite’s motivation
comes after Zeus causes her to fall in love with a mortal man. Next, comes the disguise. Demeter’s disguise as Doso helps her remain hidden in the mortal world to mourn the loss of her daughter, and later take care of Demophoon. Aphrodite’s disguise as a daughter of Otreus allows her to sleep with Anchises. Both disguises involve backstories that seem believable to the mortals. After some activity, specifically Demeter taking care of Demophoon and Aphrodite having sex with Anchises, the identity of each goddess is revealed. This causes many consequences for the mortals (the people of Eleusis and Anchises) who discovered the goddesses. Finally, this disguise reveals a purpose higher than the small selfish reason behind disguise. Demeter’s story establishes the seasons, and Aphrodite’s story reveals her vulnerabilities and allows Zeus to maintain his power over all the gods and goddesses on Mt. Olympus in his humiliation of Aphrodite.

After looking at early examples of poetry and myth besides the *Iliad* that showcase the role of disguise in a story, I will now survey some relevant scholarship on the role of disguise in Homer. This research helps broaden my understanding of disguise before looking closely into its role in Homer’s *Iliad*.

*Scholarship on Disguise*

Before considering the extensive list of divine disguises in the *Iliad*, I conducted research on scholars’ understanding of disguise in Homer. Scholarly responses fall into three categories: disguise as a plot device, disguise and aid as a way of ensuring sacrifices, and the practice of disguise along with its poetic contributions. Each category provides insight into
the different methods of disguise that are found in the *Iliad*, and helps to frame my observations as part of one of these categories.

Many scholars emphasize the importance of disguise as a plot device. This use of disguise as a plot device draws people into a consideration of Greek religion. It allows the reader to understand what the role of each deity is in the plot, and how that deity acts as they are normally characterized. B.C. Dietrich (1979) writes,

“On one side the gods clearly felt superior to man on moral and all other grounds, continually admonishing one another not to quarrel for the sake of base mankind. However, on the other hand every one of the Olympians was deeply involved in the doings and events of the plot... It has been suggested that the free and irresponsible behavior of the gods in the *Iliad* may have been the poet’s way of throwing the more serious consequences of comparable human action into stronger relief. In other words, the gods in their vast superiority carelessly engaged in actions which on the human scale would and did have disastrous effects” (Dietrich: 1979, 136).

Dietrich focuses on the nature of the gods and what that means for the plot of the *Iliad*. Although he is not specifically talking about disguise, he is broadly talking about divine intervention and the effects of it on the plot of the *Iliad*. Dietrich believes that the ungodlike Olympian conduct of the gods in the *Iliad* is a part of the legend of Troy. This means that in the composition of the *Iliad*, the depiction of the gods as well as their actions are purposefully included in the story. He writes about the Homeric gods in a separate dimension from where they normally would be, in which they acted like men but without acknowledging any responsibility to the world of men. Hence, Dietrich believes that Homeric theology concludes that the gods acted in a new and unique way in the *Iliad*, that they had not been identified to
act like in any other stories. This unique way, then, contributed to the plot of the *Iliad* and made it evident that the struggles in the Trojan War were not only between mortals. In my analysis of god’s roles in the *Iliad*, I will find evidence that suggests that the gods acted as an extension of themselves in their disguise scenes. They held the same characteristics they were known for as gods, as humans.

Wolfgang Kullmann (1985), also writes about divine intervention in the form of relationships amongst gods and men. He states,

“Divine intervention mostly takes place indirectly, by way of exhortation, often in the shape of a person who is to be thought to be present anyway. This intervention does not clear people from being responsible for their doings, even if they sometimes blame the gods for their predicament. It does, however, account for the fact that people have to suffer quite disproportionately for their delusions, their wrong decisions” (Kullmann: 1985, 15).

Kullmann focuses on motives behind divine intervention. He specifically addresses the judgement of Paris in determining how Athena and Hera acted in the *Iliad*. Humans accept divine intervention in the *Iliad* as fateful. There are many instances in the *Iliad* where divine intervention causes a human to act a certain way, as in the case of Pandarus when he breaks the truce after being tricked to do so by Athena, but they cannot blame the gods on their actions because they did not know the gods caused them to act a certain way and even if they did, they still went through with the specific act at hand. Divine intervention, whether in disguise or not, alters the plot and forces the humans to live with these consequences of their actions. Understanding what Kullmann says, it is not always the case that mortals must suffer consequences for their doings after a god has intervened. Sometimes, as in the case of when
gods help mortals on the side of the war they favor, mortals are rewarded with aid from gods and positive consequences instead. Disguise puts many kinds of consequences on mortals.

The second kind of disguise that is described in literature is disguise as a way of ensuring fame, particularly by gaining sacrifices. A.W.H. Adkins (1972), discusses the importance of *timê* (“honor”) in the epic. Using the example of Poseidon, he writes that fame is a driving motivation for the gods to intervene and help the humans when necessary. He writes,

“Poseidon is afraid that if it is seen that the Phaeacians can transport not only travelers in general safety of the sea... it will be concluded that Poseidon has not the power to harm them; and if men conclude that Poseidon has little power, they will not suppose him worth placating with offerings” (Adkins, 7).

Adkins writes that divine intervention is important because if humans recognize that they do not need divine assistance to carry out matters such as building walls, like the one Poseidon and Apollo built, then they will realize they do not need the gods. If this is the case, the gods will lose their fame. If the gods lose their fame, Adkins argues, then other gods will treat them as one without *timê* and send them forth in a condition deprived of *timê*. Furthermore, if gods lose their fame, again on the example of Poseidon, then they are no longer feared. If they are no longer feared, then humans do not need to sacrifice to them anymore. Therefore, a god can fear that if he does not assert himself and show his strength, he will not receive his time and no longer stay famous amongst the mortal gods. Therefore, interventions happen so that the gods can keep their fame and reputation amongst the mortals.
This is an interesting take on disguise, however, this is not always the case in Homer’s *Iliad*. Although this motivation does make sense in some capacity, specifically Poseidon’s involvement in the *Odyssey*, this does not apply to many examples in the *Iliad*. The conclusion I gain from this piece is that gods work to help mortals so that they are higher beings than mortals. Mortals learn to respect them, and the gods earn sacrifices as a result. However, this motivation is not always a reason for gods helping; gods mainly help in the *Iliad* so their sides (either Greek or Trojan) will win the war.

The third general approach I have found in scholarship covers the practice of disguise along with its poetic contributions. Daniel Turkeltaub (2007), writes that only the greatest heroes ever experience epiphanies by the gods. To the common soldiers, the gods remain mysterious and distant. He continues states,

“With this caveat in mind we can distinguish five modes of recognizing the divine Iliadic epiphanies, each of which will be examined in more detail shortly #1) the mortal perceives the disguised god and deduces the god’s divinity only after the god has left (post factum recognition), #2) a god who is disguised or has hitherto not been explicitly recognized announces his true identity (verbal recognition), #3) the mortal recognizes the god’s voice (aural recognition), #4) the mortal sees the god (visual recognition) and #5) the mode of recognition is taken for granted and not so specified by the immediate text (unspecified recognition).” (Turkeltaub, 56).

Turkeltaub poses a model for how to distinguish divine intervention within levels of interaction and human importance. He distinguishes Iliadic epiphanies into categories, with each category having a specific reason why epiphany occurs. Aside from these five categories, he continues to distinguish perception into two larger sets: the lowest two modes
the mortal must rely upon his own deduction to understand a god has intervened, and in the three higher modes the mortal perceives some aspect of the god directly. Therefore, if a mortal sees a god or recognizes a certain feature of the god, it says something about the greatness of the mortal themselves. This is important to keep in mind in my analysis of divine intervention and disguise in the *Iliad*, because often when it is clear gods are intervening to those whom they believe are the true heroes of the plot.

These scholars contribute ideas which have helped me reach conclusions in my analysis of the *Iliad*. I consider Dietrich’s argument that gods act in new ways in the *Iliad*, along with Kullmann’s argument that the way gods act in disguise causes consequences. However, I keep in mind that the gods in the *Iliad* act in ways that are harmonious with their divine characterization, with their disguises not always causing negative consequences for the mortals they intend to help. I also consider Adkin’s argument that gods act in a way that ensures sacrifices, but instead adapt this to mean that gods act in disguise in a way that would help the Greeks and Trojans in war. Although, it is also sometimes the case that in helping the Greeks or Trojans, the gods have their own personal gain in the matter. Finally, Turkeltaub’s arguments regarding the different levels of divine intervention apply greatly in my analysis of the *Iliad*, in terms of who can see the gods in their recognizable form and who is not.

After reading these secondary sources, I gained a better understanding of types of disguise and purposes of disguise. Specifically focusing on intervention, I categorize the types of divine intervention found in Homer’s *Iliad* into proactive and reactive. A proactive intervention is an intervention that occurs because the god wants to help the human carry out a plan. A reactive intervention is an intervention that occurs because of a human action.
I use this distinction in my upcoming chapters as a way of understanding why the gods came down to intervene, and concluding what that means for the plot.

Outline of the Thesis

I began my research trying to understand why divine beings assume disguises. Disguises, I soon realized, are part of the motif of divine intervention. So, I divide my analysis into two chapters which survey divine intervention and then intervention with disguise. The first chapter is about divine beings disguising as themselves and the second chapter is about divine beings disguising as mortals. I am looking at all divine beings across the story of the *Iliad* to try to reach the best conclusion possible as to why the gods disguise.

Chapter 1 will focus on gods in their recognizable form. I will go through the gods in the order of Athena, Apollo, Poseidon, Iris, Thetis, and Aphrodite. Chapter 2 will focus on the gods in disguise, looking first at disguises that go unrecognized by mortals and continuing to disguise that are recognized by mortals. In much of my analysis, I write about gods’ “favorites”. This term is meant to describe those heroes that the gods have a preference to amongst all the other heroes in the Trojan War. I also write about familial intervention and how that affects the plot. Turkeltaub’s analysis of the different types of epiphanies found in the *Iliad* apply in my analysis of mortals realizing gods are intervening, specifically the post factum recognition in disguise. Most times, mortals know the god has appeared to them in disguise after they leave, because of a specific mark that the mortal notices (such as Ajax the Greater noticing Poseidon’s footprints in Book 13). The *Iliad* also has a role in describing the differences between religion and poetic composition. There are times in which gods
intervene and continue their characteristics as a god, and times when gods intervene and change the plot in an intended way. Through my analysis of divine intervention and disguise, I come to the conclusion that gods often act as plot devices. In their disguise scenes, gods and goddesses help the Greeks and Trojans, sometimes without the mortals not recognizing that a god is helping them. The purpose of their disguise is that their goals of helping their side of the war are most effective when they are in disguise.
Chapter 1: Gods Without Disguise

In the first chapter of my work, I will discuss divine intervention without disguise—when gods come down to mortals in their true form. This is a rare and compelling phenomenon. It causes many shifts in the plot, and has theological ramifications. Divine epiphany, however, occurs mostly for those who are special to the gods. According to Jenny Clay, “The highest form of divine epiphany is granted only individually – usually at crucial moments – to the elect, the heroes, who are, after all, the children and grandchildren of the gods” (Clay 1999, 174). To fully understand the importance of divine intervention without disguise, we must delve into the typology of the work and see how it occurs.

There are two aspects to this kind of intervention: (1) gods coming down to their favorite heroes and (2) gods coming down to those with which they have a familial connection. The purpose of this chapter is to explore why gods come down to these specific heroes in their true form, and to provide a point of comparison when the gods visit the same characters or others in disguise. As I discuss in my introduction, I describe divine intervention in two ways: proactive and reactive. An example of a proactive intervention is when Athena intervenes in Book 5 to help Diomedes on her own accord. An example of a reactive intervention is when Athena intervenes because of a call for help from Diomedes. In general, then, a proactive intervention is an instance where a deity appears to a human to carry out a plan. A reactive intervention is an instance where a deity comes down to a human because a human action prompted them to come down.

I will be examining the actions of Thetis and Aphrodite, Athena, Apollo, Poseidon, and Iris in this chapter. Each god has specific reasons for intervening in their true form. I start my analysis by delving into familial interventions by Thetis and Aphrodite. Then, I look at all
the other non-familial interventions. Athena intervenes as herself to speak to her favorite heroes: Odysseus, Diomedes, and Achilles. Apollo, unlike Athena, allows for others besides his favorite heroes to see him if it is necessary to the outcome of the story, or in his case the battle. One aspect of intervening as themselves that Athena and Apollo have in common is that they have similar motivations: to help their side (either Greek or Trojan) progress in the war. Poseidon and Iris, who both only intervene as themselves once, do so towards the end of the *Iliad*, in urgent matters. Poseidon intervenes to help Aeneas, who was about to be killed by Achilles, because Aeneas’ fate lied beyond the Trojan War. Iris intervenes to give Priam clear instructions on how to get the body of Hector back from Achilles to bury it. In the following sections, I analyze many examples of each god or goddess intervening as themselves and outline the significance of these interventions.

**Familial Interventions**

Divine intervention in the *Iliad* comes in many forms and for many reasons. There is one reason for intervention that is easier to explain than all the others: familial relation. First, I discuss the sea nymph Thetis, Achilles’ mother. Then, I discuss Aphrodite, Aeneas’ mother. In these scenes, I examine how their interventions to their sons occur because of the maternal duties they have to their sons, the demi-gods. They intervene to protect their sons. In the case of Thetis, she uses her words to ease Achilles. In the case of Aphrodite, she uses actions to physically remove Aeneas from battle. Both deities have unique relationships with their children and showcase it in their interventions with them.

First, let us look at Thetis’ interaction with Achilles in Book 1, and then in Book 19. In Book 1, Achilles prays to Thetis to ask Zeus to punish the Greeks, because of Agamemnon’s
seizure of his concubine, Briseis (1.365-412). Thetis later asks Zeus to help the Trojans and he agrees to do so (1.503-510). Book 19 begins with Thetis coming down to Achilles, pleading to him that he must put Patroclus to rest, take the armor Hephaestus made for him, and go into battle (19.12-39). Jonathan Burgess states, “All these stories have a common theme: that Thetis tries to prevent an early death of Achilles at Troy. It would seem that her obsessive concern results from prophetic knowledge of the destiny of Achilles” (Burgess: 2004, 32). Both intervention scenes showcase her coming to the rescue of her son, and using her connections with other deities to help him. She uses her powers as a goddess to ask Zeus for help in Book 1. She gains aid from Hephaestus to help Achilles in Book 19. Thetis is the protector of Achilles, and goes to any end to appease her son.

The intervention in Book 1 is a reactive intervention, because Achilles calls for help from his mother. This scene presents the notion that even the greatest of heroes call for their mothers in times of need. Typically, Achilles is known as a strong Greek warrior, the best of them all. However, by calling for his mother he humanizes himself and displays the relationship that Thetis has with him. Thetis asks Zeus for help, which is a great length to go to just for Achilles. The matter is trivial because Achilles is merely upset about the loss of his concubine to Agamemnon. Thetis, however, will ask for help for Achilles no matter the circumstance. Burgess states, she knows that Achilles’ fate is to die in the Trojan war, so in having the favor be on the Trojan side, Achilles’ death is delayed. Comparing this to the intervention in Book 19, which is a reactive intervention, Thetis takes it upon herself to come aid Achilles. She comes down to convince him to go back to battle, knowing the Greeks need him. Once again, knowing his fate, she knows that he will not be fulfilled until he goes back into war and avenges the death of Patroclus. Thetis uses her words to help Achilles rather
than any action, because she knows the best way to interact with Achilles when he is upset. Achilles’ relationship with Thetis is unique because of the trust between them, a connection that is unlike his connection with any other divine being.

Next, let us look at Aphrodite’s interaction with Aeneas in Book 5 (5.311-345). Book 5 outlines Diomedes’ fight with many divine beings as well as mortals. Aphrodite witnesses the struggle between Diomedes and Aeneas and carries Aeneas out of battle. She does this so that Diomedes would not hurt him. After this, Sthenelus, the charioteer of Diomedes, takes Aeneas’ horses and gives them to Deipylus (5.330-345).

This intervention is a reactive intervention because Aphrodite sees that Aeneas needs help and decides to intervene to help him. The story identifies that Aeneas would have died, which means that had Aphrodite not intervened, Diomedes would have killed Aeneas and destroyed his future fate of founding the city of Rome. Aphrodite recognizes that Aeneas needs help in battle and she goes to help him, which shows that she is willing to do anything, to save Aeneas, especially intervene to help her son in battle (5.312-320).

Overall, familial interventions show us that goddesses that have children fighting in the Trojan War go to all lengths to help them, including asking other gods for help and directly intervening to remove them from battle. Familial interventions are only one type of non-disguise intervention; it is self-explanatory why these goddesses allow their sons to see them in their recognizable form. Next, I focus on the deities that are not related to the heroes who see them in their recognizable form, and why that is a special gift for those heroes.

“I Know It’s You, Goddess” - Athena’s Relationships with Her Favorites
The Greek goddess Athena, daughter of Zeus and Metis, is widely known in Greek religion as being the goddess of wisdom and warfare. Athena plays a prominent role in Homer's *Iliad* as the divine protector of the Greeks\(^1\). This section is dedicated to instances in which Athena intervenes in a recognizable form to Greek heroes. She is very specific about who she allows to see her in her full glory. Only three heroes have the chance to do so in the *Iliad*: Odysseus, Diomedes, and Achilles. I will refer to these heroes as her "favorite heroes". Every intervention of hers to her favorite heroes has a purpose not only to help them but a larger purpose because helping them ultimately helps the Greeks in battle.

This section is dedicated to the relationship between Odysseus and Athena. Their relationship is most famous from the *Odyssey*, but we see in *Iliad* how it begins to develop. One characteristic that Athena and Odysseus have in common is that they are both clever. Odysseus is also known as being persuasive, and this scene matches that. Although this is the only scene in which Athena comes down to Odysseus as herself, it exemplifies the faith she has in Odysseus. She comes to Odysseus instead of Achilles or Diomedes because he is the one from her favorites who is the best with his words, and she believes he can carry out her orders the best.

Book 2 begins with a misleading dream that is sent to Agamemnon in his sleep by Zeus (1-30). This dream, which comes to Agamemnon in the form of Nestor, advises him to storm the walls of Troy. Agamemnon, believing his dream to be a sign from Zeus, orders the Greeks to storm the walls of Troy. Hera notices the scene that is about to happen and speaks to Athena, saying that they cannot just sit back while the Greeks are defeated. At that time,

\(^1\) Athena was born from the head of Zeus, she sprang out fully grown and in armor. This was the beginning of her close relationship with Zeus, a fact that the *Iliad* emphasizes.
Athena comes down from Olympus, finds Odysseus standing by his ship, and tells him to stop the Greeks from attacking Troy. Odysseus immediately recognizes Athena’s voice, although he does not respond to her. He runs to the Greeks and cries out that they should not listen to Agamemnon’s orders (2.169–181).

This scene is good example of a proactive intervention, where Athena goes down to help the Greeks upon Hera’s request and without the hero’s prayer. Even though the scene centers around Agamemnon and his decision to lead the Greek army to battle, Athena goes to Odysseus. This might seem odd or a slight to Agamemnon. Athena does not come down in her true form to Agamemnon for multiple reasons. First off, because Agamemnon is not one of her favorite heroes. Secondly, because Agamemnon is not trusted by the deities. In this scene, he is being deceived by Zeus and there is no way to convince him without Athena revealing her true form to him, an act he is not yet worthy of. Anton Bierl has makes an interesting point about the relationship of Athena and Odysseus, writing, “By presenting Athena as a director who is permanently ready to step into the action through an epiphany, Homer succeeds in creating a certain kind of suspense with regard to the divine. He gives a mysterious touch to his artful plot, which is full of delay and retardation. There is somebody behind the curtain, a divine figure partially showing herself. Even if Odysseus’ whole mission seems impossible, we are given the mysterious assurance that the plot will not fail and that we will reach the end of the traditional pattern” (Bierl: 2004, 49). The epic also shows that Athena and Odysseus have a significant god to favorite hero relationships2. It becomes clear that Athena is Odysseus’ protector. This instance in the Iliad is the first in which we see her intervening to advise him on the right thing to do. Athena can only reveal herself to Odysseus.

2 Athena and Odysseus’ relationship is outlined in detail in Homer’s Odyssey.
Odysseus, being one of the most respected Greek commanders in battle, has more of a chance to persuade Agamemnon and the Greeks than anyone else.

Let us now look at Athena’s speech to Odysseus more closely. The intervention begins when “Athena with gleaming eyes stood near him...”. (ἀγχοῦ δ᾿ ἱσταμένη προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, 2.172). Athena invokes Odysseus’ identity by calling him son of Laertes, and describing him as wily. She then starts asking Odysseus many questions that are meant to invoke emotion in him. By asking these questions, Athena is hoping to rouse Odysseus and help him see that the Greeks should not be going into battle with the Trojans right now. She mentions his homeland, Ithaca, implying that he may as well head home if he decides to go into battle, because the Greeks will lose. The last person Athena mentions is Helen. This is the most important question in this series because Helen is the reason the Trojan War happened, and so by using the right approach, Athena wants him to stop the Greeks from going into battle. After these questions, Athena gives Odysseus orders to go down along the ships of the Greeks and with his mild words, and restrain each man from going into battle. Odysseus, instead of answering Athena recognizes her voice, and went on to do as she asked. This is the only reason that the text gives for how Odysseus recognized Athena; however, earlier descriptions of Athena may also note how Odysseus recognized her. Specifically, the description of her eyes like owls, which channels her epithet “grey-eyed” (ἀγχοῦ δ´ ἱσταμένη προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, 2.172). This is a notable feature of hers, which is a possible reason why Odysseus recognized her. Athena’s speech to Odysseus becomes a template for how she addresses mortals and it is important to identify these patterns because she speaks to all mortals like this, whether she is in disguise or not.
One of this passage’s final themes is that of reciprocity. Odysseus, and many others as we will see later, know that it is an unspoken rule that you obey the gods when they advise you, no matter what the case is. That way, as the mortal you establish or participate in a system of exchange. The gods come to help you and in return, you will help them. This develops not just a good relationship, but one where trust and faith is apparent. This is because you are confident that the person you are doing a favor for will return that favor to you. From this section and her intervention of Odysseus, we have learned that Athena, in coming down to Odysseus, is not only asking him to do a favor, but is in the end helping him and the Greeks with their struggle against the Trojans.

Now that we have seen Athena’s relationship with Odysseus, next we will look at her relationship with Diomedes. There is a famous reason why Athena chooses Diomedes as her favorite: he is the son of Tydeus, a Greek who fought in the Seven Against Thebes and whom Athena favored greatly.

Book 5 begins in the middle of a battle scene where many Greeks and Trojans are fighting and some are slain (1-26). The deities of Mount Olympus begin to intervene in this battle. Diomedes suffers a wound from Pandarus’ arrow. He cries out to Athena for help, and Athena responds. She comes down to him, gives him strength, and advises him not to fight any immortal except Aphrodite. Diomedes then proceeds to wreak havoc on the battlefield and eventually wound Aphrodite (lines 121–132).

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3 The theme of reciprocity is a mutual exchange between two parties. This is one of many instances where it occurs in the *Iliad*, amongst a mortal and a god.

4 The relationship of Athena and Tydeus is complicated. During the Seven Against Thebes expedition, she would have given him a medicine that made him immortal, had she not seen him eating the brains of Melanippus. Seeing this, she turned away from him in disgust and let him die.
This scene the first instance in the *Iliad* for Athena to exhibit a *reactive intervention*, in that she responds to Diomedes’ call for help. The way that Diomedes appeals is important: He mentions his father, Tydeus, a member of the Seven Against Thebes, who was one of Athena’s favorite heroes when he was alive. Diomedes cries out “If ever you stood by my father’s side, stand by me now” (εἴ ποτὲ μοι καὶ πατρὶ φίλα φρονέουσα παρέστης / δηῶ ἐν πολέμῳ, νῦν αὖτ’ ἐμὲ φίλαι Ἄθηνη, 5.117–118) hoping that his patronage will gain him favors from Athena. Note how Diomedes’ request (παρέστης) recalls the language of the narrative introduction of Athena described above (ἄγχοῦ δ’ ἰσταμένη προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἄθηνη, 2.172). Here Diomedes seeks the physical proximity the narrative describes in the earlier intervention. And when Athena responds to his prayer successfully, the narrative confirms that she speaks *standing near to him* (ἄγχοῦ δ’ ἰσταμένη ἐπεα, 5.123). This outlines the favoritism Athena has for Diomedes; her willingness to be close to him in a recognizable form reveals the close relationship she has with him as her protector.

Although Diomedes isn’t directly related to a divine being, like Achilles is, he descends from one whom Athena favors, which gives her a reason to want to help him. Another point of interest is Diomedes’ prayer to Athena. He requests aid from her. Athena sees this, and proceeds to go down to him in her true form. She reassures him that he has the strength to fight the Trojans because she instills in him his father’s “ancestral might” (μένος πατρόιον, 5.125) and that she removes the mist from his eyes so he can tell god from man. The ability to see all the gods shows the trust she feels in Diomedes, thanks to his father. Athena and Aphrodite are on different sides of the Trojan War, and they have multiple instances in which they fight or argue in the *Iliad*. Diomedes becomes Athena’s tool in this conflict.
This interaction between Athena and Diomedes is very brief. It is unclear if Diomedes knows that Athena comes down to him or if he feels the power she instills in him. After Athena speaks into his ear, Diomedes’ anger increases (δὴ τὸτε μιν τρὶς τόσσον ἔλεν μένος, 5.136), and he proceeds to kill many Trojans and wound Aphrodite. Another question about this scene is whether Diomedes is alone or not. Before he calls out to Athena, his charioteer Sthenelus has pulled out Pandarus’ arrow from his shoulder. Although it is ambiguous, we can assume that Sthenelus either disappears or Athena is only visible to Diomedes. This is because Athena only appears to her favorite heroes and does not allow anyone to see her in a recognizable form.

Looking at these two scenes together allows us to understand differences between proactive and reactive interventions. These interventions relate to the plot differently because they show when a deity feels they need to intervene versus when a mortal needs a deity to intervene. For proactive interventions, such as the intervention of Odysseus and Athena, Athena knows that the Greeks cannot go into battle and so she chooses a hero she trusts to carry out this task. However, in this intervention with Diomedes, Athena heeds Diomedes’s call for help. This juxtaposition of proactive and reactive interventions show that the theme of reciprocity is an integral part of this story, and more specifically the relationships of mortals and gods. Through different interventions the gods can either request something from a mortal, who then carries out the task, or help a mortal, who then later helps them when they need a task to be carried out.

The next intervention that Athena has with Diomedes, where she is in a recognizable form, can be found later in Book 5(792-834). Book 5 continues in massive battle. Athena returns to Diomedes’ side, who was recovering from the wound from the arrow of Pandarus
beside his horses and car. As she grasps the horses’ yoke, she begins speaking to Diomedes, about how Diomedes is not like his father Tydeus who has a lot of heart and challenges others and beats them. Diomedes first responds to her with “I come to know you, goddess, daughter of Zeus” (γιγνώσκω σε, θεά, θυγατέρ Διός, 5.815), and goes on to say that he retreats from battle because he knows that Ares is controlling the battle. In Athena’s response to Diomedes, she tells him she will stand beside him in battle, and goes forth to guide Diomedes’ arrow to wound Ares.

This scene is a proactive intervention, in which Athena decides that it is necessary to go down and help Diomedes. It is a more detailed interaction between the goddess and her favorite hero. Athena’s initial speech to Diomedes is in a disappointing tone, because of how great his father was and how he is not living up to his father’s reputation. This is a technique in which Athena is using her words to inspire Diomedes to get back into battle.

In mentioning Tydeus, Athena solidifies the fact that her relationship between her and Diomedes because of a hero she previously favors and helps when he needs it. Diomedes responds to her by saying he is only respecting her orders that she gave to him earlier. Thanks to the power she gave him to see the gods in their true form on the battlefield, he knows Ares is controlling the battle. Since Athena is doing Diomedes a favor here, this continues the theme of reciprocity. In the last scene, Athena comes down to Diomedes because he calls out for her. In this scene, it is necessary for her to intervene because he is in a situation where he is in a moment of defeat, and to keep the Greeks progressing, she needs Diomedes to gain strength again. In this interaction, she also guides Diomedes’ arrow to wound Ares, which shows reciprocity because she comes down to help Diomedes, and then she uses Diomedes to wound Ares, which helps her with her cause to stop the Trojans.
winning the battle. This interaction is interesting because Athena not only advises Diomedes, but also physically helps him while he attacks. There is also a hint as to Athena using Diomedes for her own advantage, because she allows him to attack all deities, such as the ones whom she may be bickering with currently. By wearing the helmet of Hades, she is making herself invisible to anyone who may see her, including Ares. This way, it cannot be traced to her that she is the one responsible for the deities’ wounds by Diomedes. Overall, this scene is another example of how Athena treats Diomedes as a favorite. She is not only intervening to give him advice, but also physically helping him while he is in battle. By helping him not just with words but also with her strength, she brings reciprocity to a new level and shows the extent to which she goes to help those she favors.

Thus far, we see Athena helping Diomedes both proactively and reactively. She engages in the theme of reciprocity to help her favorite Diomedes. The final time Athena helps Diomedes in her recognizable form is in Book 10 (10.482-514). In this scene, Odysseus and Diomedes go into the Trojan camp and kill any Trojan they encounter. While in the camp, they seize the Trojan Dolon and persuade him to give them all the Trojan secrets. Dolon tells them that the Thracians had just arrived at Troy. The king of the Thracians was Rhesus, a man who owned very beautiful and powerful horses. Odysseus prays to Athena to guide them to where the Thracians and horses sleep. Once they find the horses, Athena breathes into Diomedes and he finds the strength to kill many Thracians. After this, when he is contemplating his next move, Athena addresses him, telling him to continue killing before another god notices that they are wreaking havoc on the Trojan camp and decides to intervene. Diomedes recognizes Athena and at once mounts his horses and continues to move.
In this divine intervention, Odysseus prays to Athena, but Diomedes is the one whom she inspires to fight. We can label this intervention as a *reactive intervention*, with the added twist the one who called for Athena was not the one who received her. In looking at the previous interactions where Athena comes down to Odysseus and Diomedes in a recognizable form, there is one distinction amongst the two. As Coleman-Norton writes about this scene, “The delineation of his character is consistent throughout the *Iliad*. He is the wisest of counselors, the least dependent, the staunchest of men, the special favorite of Athene. Faithfulness, firmness, and devotion to public weal are his chief moral attributes. Odysseus is at his best in the Doloneia. All his powers are there brought to play, displaying the boundless diversity and many-sidedness which mark the man. His is the head which directs the enterprise throughout and carries it to a successful issue. In him a powerful and versatile intellect works with ...” (Coleman-Norton:1927, 78). Athena comes down to Odysseus and advises him to use his words to help the Greeks, but in both interactions that Athena has had with Diomedes, she advises him to go back into battle. Therefore, a pattern where Athena advises Odysseus to use his words and Athena advises Diomedes to use his strength helps to explain why she responds to Odysseus by employing Diomedes; because he is the one to go to for battle. This scene occurs when Odysseus and Diomedes are on a night raid expedition to try to gain an edge over the Trojans. Diomedes specifically picks Odysseus because he is a favorite of Athena. Odysseus is the brains behind the operation, and Diomedes is the brawn.

Athena herself may believe that anything physical can be best taken care of by Diomedes, who has already earned distinction by the Greeks as being a warrior second to Achilles. When Athena intervenes, she once again addresses Diomedes as “son of great
hearted Tydeus” (μεγαθόμου Τυδέος υἱέ, 10.509), showing how much value patronage has on Athena. Another thing to note in this scene is that Diomedes is with Odysseus and no one else. Athena comes down in her true form because the only other person who could have seen her is another one of her favorite heroes, Odysseus. This is a recurring theme: Athena going to Diomedes and telling him to continue fighting even though he is either tired or contemplating his next move.

The biggest pattern in Athena’s recognizable interventions with Diomedes is that it begins with Diomedes asking for help, transitions into Athena proactively coming to Diomedes without him asking, and finishing with Odysseus asking for help. This follows the theme of reciprocity once again because Athena does something for Diomedes, and in return Diomedes does something for Athena, and Athena does something for Diomedes again. Athena’s main goal is to help the Greeks, and in choosing thus far to help Odysseus and Diomedes, her goal continues to be in motion. Athena is quick to intervene when she sees it necessary and does so only to a select number of heroes.

Finally, the last hero to whom Athena shows her recognizable self is Achilles. Achilles is the son of Peleus and Thetis. He is a demi-god who is the strongest soldier of all the Greeks. Athena, being the protector of the Greek camp, has a strong relationship with Achilles because of his special distinctions, meaning a combination of being a demi-god which allows him to be the strongest soldier. Athena proactively intervenes to help Achilles through much of the Iliad, showing that she knows when he needs help. She advises him on important matters that ultimately aide the Greek camp.

Book 1 of the Iliad opens with a heated debate between the top two Greek chieftains, Agamemnon and Achilles, because of a plague that struck the Greek camp, arguing on how
to best proceed to get rid of it (1.101-187). This plague was sent to the Greeks by Apollo, because of Agamemnon’s abduction of Chryseis, the daughter of a priest of Apollo. On the tenth day of the plague, Hera inspires Achilles to call for an assembly, during which Calchas reveals the cause of the plague brought upon the Greeks (1.188-220). In a pivotal moment during which Achilles is contemplating either drawing his sword on Agamemnon or walking away and controlling his anger, a divine intervention occurs. Athena, sent by Hera, comes down to Achilles to reassure him that he will get his chance to fight and gain glory in the war (στῆ δ’ ὅπιθεν, ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης ἔλε Πηλείωνα οἶω φαινόμενη· τῶν δ’ ἄλλων οὐ τις ὁράτο 1.197-198). No one else besides Achilles sees Athena, which is why she can come down in her true form. She advises him to use his words against Agamemnon rather than his sword. She tells Achilles that he will get three times the magnificent gifts as Agamemnon if he is patient (1. 213-215). Achilles knows that he had to listen to the goddess Athena, and so he put away his sword. With that, Athena disappears and heads back to Olympus.

This scene appears initially as insignificant because it is the first intervention by Athena to one of her favorites, but it sets the expectation for the interventions to follow. This scene spearheads the bigger theme of gods helping their favorites. In the case of Achilles, it also shows the respect he receives from Athena because he is a demi-god, not just one of her favorites. It is hard for modern audiences to recognize some of this scene’s most salient features because it comes at the beginning of the epic. Athena’s role in the plot is overlooked because it is the first instance, and it is not until later that the audience notices the effects of the deities interventions. However, this not only establishes a pattern for Athena’s relationship to Achilles, but also her relationship to all her favorite heroes. In this scene, Athena is not called by Achilles but instead intervenes at her, or rather Hera’s, own
discretion; *proactive intervention*. This significant because Athena knows that there is a greater plan for Achilles in Troy. Although Achilles did not call for Athena, he is still responsive to her request, stating “It is necessary, goddess, to listen to the word of both you, / even though I am really angry in my heart. This way is better. / Whoever obeys the gods, they really listen to him.” (χρὴ μὲν σφωτερὸν γε θεὰ ἐπος εἰρόσασθαι / καὶ μάλα περ θυμὸ κεχωμένον· ὃς γὰρ ἄμεινον· / ὃς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθηται μάλα τι ἐκλυον αὐτοῦ, 1.216-218). This also introduces the theme of reciprocity to the *Iliad*. Achilles describes exactly how reciprocity works, and why it is important in this quote. This system of exchange is an important factor in the relationships of gods and heroes. From the opening book, the reader/listener understands that Athena is willing to come down in her recognizable form. Since she does, it shows that Achilles is important to her because he is one of three heroes she does this for.

Athena comes to Achilles in a time of need for him, where he could change the course of the Trojan War if he chooses to attack Agamemnon. The fact that Athena comes down without him calling her in this scene shows the level of protection she gives him, understanding that the situation would escalate with extreme consequences should he attack Agamemnon. This is because in a *proactive intervention*, a god or goddess comes down to a hero to help them with their fate. In helping Achilles with his fate, which is to help the Greeks defeat the Trojans, she shows that it is important for her to protect him. Not only this, but she knows that in helping Achilles, he will do the same for her later, which shows the theme of reciprocity.

An additional point of interest in this scene is that Hera was the one who sent down Athena. Hera, as the wife of Zeus, holds a certain authority over the gods, and Athena acts as
her messenger by going down and speaking to Achilles. The goal of this intervention, and ultimately all of Athena’s interventions, are to keep the Greeks on a path to the sack of Troy. As the first example of the *Iliad*, the goals of both Hera and Athena become clear, with Athena intervening to help carry out these goals. This also brings up a bigger theme of gods intervening to change the plot of the *Iliad* to work in the favor of the greater “fate” of each mortal in the epic.

After this intervention, Athena does not come to Achilles again until close to the end of the war. The next time she intervenes to Achilles in a recognizable form, it is in Book 19. At this point in Book 19, Achilles is mourning the death of Patroclus. Zeus is speaking to Athena, telling her that she needs to give Achilles nectar and ambrosia so that he is not weak from hunger. After Athena does this, Achilles slowly begins to arm himself and prepare himself for battle. This scene is unlike her previous intervention to Achilles because although she is being encouraged by a different god to go down and help Achilles, the god she is being influenced by is very important. Hera is on the Greek side, but Zeus is neutral throughout the whole of the *Iliad*, and often tips the scales in one sides favor. This scene is also different because, in the previous scene, Achilles was at the height of his strength, ready to kill Agamemnon. Now, he is at one of his weakest points and needs divine help to proceed in battle.

This intervention is a *proactive intervention*, Achilles does not call for Athena, but Zeus sends her down to help him, when he scolds “My child, do you keep aloof from your man? / Do you no longer have any thought for Achilles?” (Τέκνον ἐμόν, δὴ πάμπαν ἀποίχεαί ἄνδρός ἐσοίο./ ἂν νῦ τοι οὐκέτι πάγχυ μετὰ φρεσί μέμβλετ’ Ἀχιλλεύς; 19.343-344). This shows that even though Achilles is a demi-god, he still benefits from physical help. This scene humanizes
him and shows the audience that he is always ready to fight, but is sometimes physically incapable of fighting. This can only be fixed by divine help. Athena appears to Achilles when he is not surrounded by other people, making her comfortable to go down in her recognizable form. Although this is not a speaking interaction, it characterizes the relationship between Athena and her favorite heroes because she is instilling in him the power he will need to fight the Trojans. The motive of intervention remains that in helping Achilles, Athena is also helping the Greeks gain their best soldier back that will help them in their fight against the Trojans.

The final time Athena intervenes in her recognizable form to Achilles comes in Book 22. Book 22 details the fight between Achilles and Hector that leads to Hector’s eventual death. Athena comes down to Achilles in her true form to reassure him that it is time for Hector to die, and then she immediately goes to Hector in the form of Deiphobus, convincing him to fight Achilles. This intervention by Athena is a proactive intervention. Achilles did not call for her, but she came down with Zeus’ permission to carry out the fate the gods had determined for Hector. Although Athena acts as both Zeus’s and Hera’s messengers, she is doing whatever helps the Greeks. She comes down to Achilles in her recognizable form when he is isolated so no one else would see her. Athena’s speech to Achilles could be described as having a tone of power when she calls Achilles “radiant Achilles” (φαίδρι Ἀχιλῆ, 22.216).

A significant aspect of Athena’s interactions with Achilles is that they are all proactive interventions. In Book 1 (1.365-412), Achilles pleads to his mother to allow the Trojans to be in victory, because he is upset that Agamemnon stole his concubine Briseis. Achilles begins the Iliad by asking for interventions and help, but this is a rarity. Nevertheless, he is still helped by gods and goddesses because he is an important player in the game between the
Greeks and Trojans. In each instance, it is not just one deity, but many deities working together to secure the safety and fate of Achilles. In the first instance, Athena is sent by Hera to help Achilles. In the other two instances, Athena is sent by Zeus. The common denominator in these scenes is that Achilles is reassured after each intervention of his fate, being told each time his fate is not for him to die by the actions that he sets his mind on to do. He is the one who is destined to kill Hector, the best of the Trojans, and therefore needs to remain safe and ready for his battle with Hector. He helps carry out the goals of divine intervention more so than the other Greeks because of his rank as demi-god and his fate.

To conclude this section, there are many patterns that I notice with Athena’s interventions and her heroes. She has a specific reason why she intervenes, but her goal in mind is all the same: to help the Greeks proceed in their pursuit of Trojan defeat. She comes down to Odysseus to advise him to use his words. She comes down to Diomedes when he needs help in battle, or he needs to carry out a task by fighting. She appears to Achilles, without him ever calling for her, to help him continue living to carry out his fate. Both with Odysseus and Diomedes, Athena only appears to help in one way. However, with Achilles, she helps him stay out of battle, gives him strength to go into battle, and advises him that he will be victorious in battle. Athena’s relationship with Achilles is special because he has the biggest influence over the Greeks both when he is and is not fighting. Athena shows, in her protection of all three warriors, that she is a divinity who will help the Greeks, one way through her use of her favorites.

“He Shriveled Their Hearts”- Apollo’s Unique Methods of Non-Disguise
Apollo showcases a different pattern in intervening in a recognizable form than Athena. The Greek god Apollo\(^5\) plays an important role in the *Iliad* for the Trojans; he is their main divine protector, and as an antagonist of the Greeks. In the following sections, I will discuss the instances in which Apollo comes down to mortals in his recognizable form. Unlike Athena, Apollo does not restrict who can see him to just his favorites, he allows others to see him as well. Most of the time he does not allow insignificant heroes to see him, unless it is necessary to the outcome of a battle. However, he is also loyal to his father Zeus. He not only listens to him but also completes any tasks that is given to him by his father. The following sections show his interactions with those he considers his favorites. Furthermore, it shows his interactions with the ones he wants to protect the most such as Hector, and several Greeks. These Greeks are either dear to Athena, such as Diomedes and Achilles, or stand in the way of Trojan victory, such as Patroclus.

I divide Apollo’s interventions as himself into two categories: conversational and non-conversational. The purpose of this is to show that Apollo chooses when it is necessary to intervene with his actions and words (conversational) and when it is necessary for him to intervene with just actions (non-conversational). Both have significance to the plot in different ways, but show that he is more selective than Athena in the type of intervention he does in his recognizable form.

First, I will examine all of Apollo’s conversational interventions. In Book 5 of the *Iliad*, Apollo intervenes on the battlefield to tell him to stop fighting the gods (5.440-442). Diomedes, thanks to Athena, currently possess a power that allows him to see the gods in

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\(^5\) Apollo is a son of Zeus and Leto and twin of Artemis. He is commonly known in Greek religion as the god of the sun, the god of healing, and the god of prophecy.
their true form on the battlefield. Diomedes starts by fighting Aeneas, knowing that Apollo's hands were above Aeneas. Then, Apollo warns Diomedes that the gods are stronger than him, and he backs off only a little. Diomedes, knowing that Apollo was speaking to him, still chooses to not run away because he has his sights on defeating Aeneas and continuing to defeat the Trojans.

This intervention, a reactive intervention, prompted by Diomedes' attack of Aeneas (5.431-459) is interesting to the epic's plot because it not only shows the resilience of Diomedes but also shows the willingness of Apollo to help his favorite. The scene begins when Diomedes is attacking Aeneas, showing his bravery even though he knows that Apollo is right above him. Diomedes knows that Aeneas is protected by Apollo and still chooses to attack. After picking off Diomedes three times, on the fourth Apollo finally speaks to him. Apollo is angry in this scene, and shows Diomedes this by stating "at some time you follow the race resembling /immortals and you seeing men coming on the ground", (ἐπεὶ οὕτος ὁ μῖον ἀθανάτων ἐρχομένων τέ άνθρώπων, 5.439-442). Diomedes backs up out of the range of the wrathful god but still close enough where he can continue fighting other Trojans. This interaction shows that one of Apollo's main purposes for his interactions in his true form are to protect those he favors and help the Trojans win battles. He is not as particular about who sees him in his true form, and in this case, does not have a choice because of the power Diomedes possesses to see all deities in their recognizable forms.

One final theme to note is that Apollo often acts after Athena acts, when he knows he needs to help the Trojans. In this instance, Athena has just aided Diomedes by giving him this power, so Apollo must react quickly to help the Trojans in some way so that they are not
defeated. Beyond just proactive and reactive to mortals, Apollo is also intervening reactively to a god or goddess. This is the first instance where Apollo reacts to Athena’s actions, but it happens several times when he appears in his recognizable form. This shows how much of a hand gods have in the plot of the *Iliad*, because they can act quickly one after the other to help their side succeed.

Apollo’s next conversational intervention occurs in Book 20. Book 20 begins with Zeus allowing the gods and goddesses to intervene in battle. Apollo previously disguises as Lycaon and tells Aeneas to attack Achilles. Poseidon stops Aeneas from attacking Achilles by telling him that his fate lies beyond the Trojan War. In turn, Apollo comes down to Hector in his recognizable form and tells him not to challenge Achilles. He is *reacting* to Poseidon’s actions to maintain his goal of helping the Trojans win. This is a unique dialogue between Apollo and Hector because it is evident that Apollo wants to protect Hector, showing that he is one of Apollo’s favorites.

This intervention can be labelled a *proactive intervention*, because Apollo senses (20.375) that Hector wants to fight Achilles and must put a stop to it. Apollo intervenes right after Hector has just told the Trojans that he is going to go after Achilles. Almost immediately, “Phoebus Apollo dropped upon Hector, saying” (τότ’ ἄρ’ “Εκτορα εἶπε παραστάς Φοίβος Ἀπόλλων’ 20.375-376) and tells him not to challenge Achilles, but rather wait for him in the crowd of people to lessen the chance of him being hit by his spear or his sword. Once again, the closeness of a god to a mortal is outlined, but it is not clear if Apollo appears to Hector or simply whispers these directions in his ear and is not visibly seen by Hector. The only indication we are given of him knowing a god was in his presence is when “frightened when he heard the voice producing a sound” (ταρβήσας, ὅτ’ ἀκουσε θεοῦ ὅπα φωνήσαντος,
Hector knows that he has the divine favor of Apollo, and therefore knows that he must listen to his advice. Hearing Apollo's voice terrifies him because it reinforces that he cannot attack Achilles, because it will have negative consequences on him. In the previous conversational interaction Apollo has with Diomedes, he is also telling Diomedes to stop fighting. However, he wants Diomedes, a Greek, to stop fighting because of the havoc he was causing. He wants Hector not to fight because he does not want him to be hurt by Achilles. He wants to keep him safe for as long as possible, before his inevitable death at the hands of Achilles. An injured Hector would mean less help for the Trojan camp, which would not help Apollo's goal of intervention – to help the Trojans win.

The last conversational intervention of Apollo happens in Book 22 with Achilles. Book 22 opens in the middle of a battle, with Hectors destiny being determined; he would die in the hands of Achilles. Hector is by the Western Gate as Apollo calls out to Achilles to lure him away from the gate (22.15-22.20). Apollo criticizes Achilles saying that he could never catch him. Achilles responds, knowing that Apollo purposefully took him from the Western Gate so that he could give the Trojans enough time to enter back into the city.

This intervention is a proactive intervention because Apollo knows the fate of Hector but is trying to put off his fate. Apollo speaks to Achilles, taunting him because he is running after him, an immortal (αὐτὰρ Πηλείωνα προσήδα Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων· τίπτε με Πηλέος υἱὲ ποσίν ταχέος διώκεις αὐτός θυτός ἐὼν θεὸν ἄμβροτον; οὐδὲ νῦ πώ με ἔγνως ὡς θεός εἶμι, σὺ δ' ἀσπιρχές μενεάνεις 22.7-22.10). This first part of his speech to Achilles is interesting because he states that he has not yet recognized that he is being tricked by a god. Although Achilles is a divine favorite, he cannot always immediately see the gods in their recognizable form. He can recognize Athena, but Apollo is a different story perhaps because
Apollo does not favor him in the same way. This scene shows how much trust Achilles receives from the gods because Apollo reveals his true form to Achilles. This is evident when Achilles directly addresses him “You hindered me, whole nine deadly god, hither now turning about from the wall” (ἐβλαψάς μ’, ἐκάεργε, θεῶν ὀλοώτατε πάντων / ἐνθάδε νῦν τρέψας ἀπὸ τείχεος· 22.15-16), expressing his frustrations with Apollo’s intervention because it delays defeating the Trojans. This is the only instance in which Apollo outwardly talks to anyone like this, by taunting them like he did to Achilles. This has significance because it outlines that Apollo, an important god, does not have the power to change the fate of heroes. Since he cannot do this then, he must do all he can to garner a reaction from Achilles and pause the obvious fate of Hector for as long as possible.

The conversational interventions Apollo has had, two with Greeks and one with a Trojan favorite showcase that one method he uses to help the Trojan cause is intervening and using the power of his words and methods of distraction to continue the goal of Trojan victory. He has no choice in being seen by Diomedes in his recognizable form because of Diomedes’ power, but he chooses to show himself to Achilles. It is not as farfetched that he shows himself to Achilles because of Achilles’ status as a demi-god. He shows himself to Hector in an imperative moment where he must stop Hector from attacking Achilles, because he knows it would bring about his death. Therefore, he only comes to one of his favorites in his recognizable form using conversation only in a moment of necessity for the plot and his goals.

This next category of Apollo’s interventions include his non-conversational interventions. A pattern that is evident in Apollo’s non-conversational interventions is that his character traits are shown without him needing to speak; his actions speak for his
character. One aspect of his character that is exhibited is his war-like attitude in the *Iliad*. He causes immediate change in battle when he intervenes and uses his actions to help the Trojans. He also causes a battle in Book 10 when he awakes Hipocoon, so that he realizes the damages Diomedes and Odysseus have caused on the Trojan camp. Another aspect of his character that is shown is his theological importance to the Greek world. These non-conversational interventions show that Apollo does not need to use his words to change the plot of the story, he can do it with his actions alone.

Book 10 features Odysseus and Diomedes’ night raid on the Trojan camp. Right after Odysseus and Diomedes kill Rhesus and his men and steal his horses, Apollo awakens Hipocoon, one of Rhesus’ kinsmen. Hipocoon begins to look around the camp and see the bodies of dead men as well as the horses of Rhesus missing. He immediately calls his old friend, realizing what the Trojans had done, and calls for help. At this point, Odysseus and Diomedes make it safely back onto their ships (10.515-536).

This scene can be labelled as a *reactive intervention* because it was the actions of Odysseus and Diomedes that causes Apollo to want the Trojans to wake up and realize the disaster that occurred. This scene begins with the lines “he saw Athena following among the son of Tydeus; / bearing there he sinks in anger in the many the throng of Trojans” (ὡς Ἰθαήνη μετὰ Τυδέως υἱὸν ἐπούσαν· / τῇ κοτέων Τρώων κατέδυσε το πουλύν ὁμιλον, 10.515-518). This scene shows that Apollo is a passive deity who only comes to help when he is needed, due to him only intervening after Athena intervenes first to help the Greeks. He must act after Athena acts, meaning that while he cannot stop her helping her favorites, but he can try to help the Trojans after the consequences she causes them. Apollo whispers into the ear of Hipocoon to wake him up, but it is unclear if Hipocoon knew that Apollo intervened.
This demonstrates that Apollo does not reveal himself to those warriors who are not significant to either him or another deity. In this example, he is intervening to help the Trojan side. Hipocoon does not directly see Apollo, but he does leap out of sleep. Apollo does a good job of intervening but keeping himself a secret from Hipocoon. This minor intervention is important to the plot of Book 10 because the Trojans wake up to see the tragedy soon after it happens and can react quickly to Diomedes and Odysseus. If Hipocoon had not woken up, the Trojans would not have known until the morning and this would have caused the Greeks to gain a greater advantage on the Trojans than they already had.

Apollo's actions continue to affect the plot, but now more aggressively. He next intervenes directly in battle, to help Trojan victory. In Book 15, Zeus sends Apollo to intervene in battle and help the Trojans win. He works alongside with Hector, and wearing his aegis, he can discourage the Greeks and send them into a panic. This is effective as the Trojans can take many Greek victims and perform well in the battle. The Greeks, however, lose the battle (15.236-15.280). This intervention can be labelled a proactive intervention because it was the fate determined by Zeus that the Trojans would win the battle and not the Greeks. Zeus sends Apollo down to help bring the Trojans to victory, recognizing that he is a clear advocate for the Trojan side. Although in this scene Apollo is proactively intervening, he is sent by Zeus to do so, since Apollo favors the Trojans.

This scene is peculiar because it seems that Apollo is in his recognizable form and can be seen by all the Greeks: "but coming upon the face of the Greeks with fleet seeing / upon himself he shouts exceedingly with might and spirit" (αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατ’ ἐνώπια ἰδὼν Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων / σεῖσ’, ἐπὶ δ’ αὐτὸς ἄυσε μάλα μέγα, τοῖς δὲ θυμόν, 15.320-321). Since Apollo is directly in battle with the Trojans, he no longer feels the need to shield himself from the
Greeks because by not shielding himself, he is able to scare them and help the Trojans win the battle. This tactic is unlike those Athena uses, because she protects herself from being seen by those who are not her favorites. However, Apollo is different from Athena in the sense that he will go to the length of letting the Greeks see him in his true form if that means that it will help the Trojans. This is unique to just Apollo, who intervenes in a very specific scene in battle when he knew that the Trojans could use his help.

The next non-conversational intervention from Apollo distinguishes itself as being the only one where the god is not coming down with the purpose of helping the Trojans win the war. This scene of Book 16, Patroclus kills Sarpedon in combat. Zeus calls on Apollo to take the body of Sarpedon out of range, clean his wounds, and give him to sleep and death. This command comes after the battle ends; Sarpedon is long dead and Patroclus strips him of his armor. Zeus gives Apollo these orders, and Apollo goes down to Troy from Ida and does as Zeus requests (16.676-16.683).

This intervention is a as a reactive intervention; Apollo comes down to clean Sarpedon’s wounds because Zeus asks him to. This intervention is unique because it is a non-conversational intervention that has no effect on the plot. However, it is relevant because it discusses the theological importance of gods in the Trojan War. This scene is important to Apollo’s character because it shows a bigger theme of Apollo dealing with sudden deaths. This is not the only instance where Apollo cares for Trojan bodies; he also cares for Hector’s body in 23.188. Zeus may have chosen Apollo because of this in his character, and because he supports the Trojan side and Sarpedon was a Trojan. Apollo shows that beyond the outcome of the Trojan War, he keeps his theological values and intervenes when it is necessary (like him sending the plague to the Greeks in Book 1 as a punishment for the
abduction of Chryseis, and him caring for Hectors body in Book 24). This scene itself is thought-provoking because “he walks downwards from the hills of Ida into the dread din of battle” (βῆ δὲ κατ’ Ἰδαῖων ὄρεων ἐς φύλοπιν αἰνήν, 16.678), to take Sarpedon’s body away and clean his wounds. It is unclear if the mortals saw Apollo in his recognizable form, however since there was no indication made in the text about it, we should assume that either he was not seen or his recognition did not cause a significant episode.

Apollo continues to intervene in the same book, this time back in battle. Book 16 continues to describe the death of Patroclus. Patroclus is fighting in battle, when suddenly Apollo appears behind him. Apollo is the first to take a shot at him, making him fall to the ground. After Apollo, Euphorbus puts a spear through Patroclus and immediately runs off. Then Hector comes by and finishes the job by ramming his spear through his belly (16.818-16.822).

This intervention is a proactive intervention. This is because Apollo begins to carry out the final fate of Patroclus. Apollo once again intervenes directly in battle. It is unclear if Patroclus sees Apollo but due to the way the scene is described, with the closeness that comes with “Phoebus Apollo stood away from him” (τοῦ δ’ ἀπὸ μὲν κρατὸς κυνέην βάλε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, 16.793), the reader can assume that Patroclus knows someone is near him and attacking him. It is also interesting to note that Apollo does not make it clear to Patroclus he was coming to attack him, but rather he comes to him from behind and strikes him when he is not expecting it. This is how Patroclus’ death would have forever been known – killed by a god and his companions. Patroclus’ strength is proved because it takes Apollo intervening to final bring about his death. He is too mighty in battle for a single human to kill alone, so it takes multiple men after Apollo’s initial strike. It also shows that although Hector
is the best Trojan warrior, he still needs to be helped by others to kill him. Book 16 begins with Patroclus begging Achilles to come back into battle, or at least let him borrow his armor so he could fight in battle. Achilles allows Patroclus to fight with his armor, thinking that he would only be in battle long enough to save the Greek ships. Zeus gives Achilles a wake-up call to join the Greeks once more in battle by killing Patroclus.

This non-conversational intervention of Apollo characterizes him as the type of god who intervenes in battle to act, not to persuade others to do the fighting for him. It is significant that Apollo is the first to strike Patroclus because with Patroclus’ death comes the downfall of one of the more prominent Greek chieftains at Troy, and the man who is the closest to Achilles. The Trojans desire to bring about the death of Achilles, because with the death of Achilles comes the fall of the Greek camp. Patroclus’ death is the first step into causing Achilles’ death because his reaction will be to eventually go back into battle and avenge his friend (19.12-19.39).

Tuncer Yilmaz makes an important point about the power of the gods. He writes, “In fact they are superior to human beings since they are more than human; they can be wounded in the battle but can recover immediately, they know the future before it happens, because “they have the capacity to see everything and know everything” so they can change the fate of the human beings. In other words, the control of the human life is in the hands of the gods” (Yilmaz: 2012, 5). This is relevant to this scene because it shows the power the gods have amongst the mortals. Zeus is ultimately the god who decides the fates of both the Greeks and Trojans. He chooses to send Apollo to cause the plot twist of the death of Patroclus, because he is anti-Greek. Zeus sends Athena to help the Greek cause and Apollo to help the Trojan cause, so Athena would be the wrong divine to intervene in this scene.
Overall, Apollo’s interventions where he is recognizable to humans are unique to his character. In many of these, it is unclear if Apollo’s presence was recognized by those around him, because in a lot of his interventions he intervenes in scenes where there are a lot of people. The main difference between his conversational and non-conversational interventions is that he acts rather than using persuasion and having others do his work for him. Unlike Athena, who takes great care to not be seen by those that aren’t her favorites, he proves he will intervene if it is necessary, regardless of who is around him. He makes himself especially known to either a favorite hero of his, or a hero who is important (such as Diomedes). His interventions change the plot and affect it in different ways than Athena’s interventions have.

“Close To His Side Came Poseidon” – Poseidon’s Moralistic Use of Non-Disguise

Poseidon is widely known in Greek religion as the god of the sea and earthquakes. As a son of Cronus, he is a brother of Zeus who often engages in power struggles with him. The Iliad showcases one of the biggest power struggles he has with Zeus. He does not have as great of a presence in the Iliad as Athena and Apollo, and this is the only time he intervenes in his recognizable form.

In Book 20 of the Iliad, Zeus allows the gods to join the fighting. After seeing Aeneas fighting Achilles, Poseidon sheds a mist over Achilles’ eyes and comes down to Aeneas. He tells him not to fight Achilles, and continues to say that after Achilles dies, he may fight the Greeks. After this, Poseidon leaves and removes the mist from the eyes of Achilles. Achilles sees that Aeneas has disappeared and recognizes that Aeneas is dear to the gods.
This intervention is a *reactive intervention* because Poseidon comes down to help Aeneas after he notices that Aeneas is attempting to fight Achilles. Poseidon exclaims that it is unfair for Aeneas to die fighting Achilles, when all he did was obey Apollo’s orders. This intervention continues the theme of reciprocity. Aeneas obeys Apollo and begins fighting Achilles, but Poseidon comes to protect him when he recognizes that he is in danger. Although Poseidon mainly helps Greek warriors, in this instance he helped Aeneas. The reason for this is a combination between Aeneas’ fate lying beyond the Trojan War, and perhaps the fact that he is the son of the goddess Aphrodite and should be protected. M.M. Willcock writes, “At the other end of the scale are occasions when a god acts as a totally independent agent in the human sphere, anthropomorphic, just like a human being and with human motives; often doing something completely unconnected with the particular power of function of that god. For example, when Aphrodite spirits Paris away in Book III, or Poseidon does the same for Aeneas in Book XX, they are acting with superhuman strength, but their particular functions of love and the sea (or earthquakes) are not relevant to their actions. It is a question of divine favor to an individual…” (Willcock: 1970, 3). Although Poseidon’s intervention does not relate to his characterizations as a god, it in a different way shows his powers because of the divine favor he shows to Aeneas. He recognizes that although he is a supporter of the Greeks, he still holds a divine favor on the other side to a Trojan.

One thing to note in this scene is that it is not clear if Aeneas knows Poseidon is intervening, or if Poseidon even shows his face at all. However, there is the same closeness that has been a factor in direct interventions, “exceedingly Poseidon shaker of the Earth came to speech/ and spoke coming near him with feathered words” (τῶ δὲ μάλ’ ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε
Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων / καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἐπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα, 20.330-331). The fact that he sheds a mist over the eyes of Achilles is so that Aeneas is not seen by other people, and that Poseidon could speak with him. The scene immediately shifts to the mist being lifted from the eyes of Achilles and Aeneas nowhere to be found. This scene paints Poseidon as a deity who is moralistic because he decides to save Aeneas. Since Aeneas hasn’t acted negatively to Poseidon, Poseidon respects him by helping him escape the wrath of Achilles.

“Zeus’ Messenger” – Iris Executing Zeus’ Commands in Non-Disguise

The deity Iris is a daughter of Thaumas and Electra and a sister of the Harpies. Iris serves as a messenger for Zeus throughout the Iliad. Her interventions only occur when she is sent by a god or goddess, most of the time Zeus. This is the only intervention in which Iris comes to a mortal in a recognizable form, further explaining the brevity of the situation at hand. Lucinda Coventry claims about Iris, “Both the parallel and the sense of divine compassion are enhanced by the introduction of Iris as intermediary, since she, unlike the winds but like Aphrodite and Apollo, gives her aid unasked. In the very giving of aid, however, the gods reveal their distance from men” (Coventry: 1987, 179). Iris bridges the gap between the gods and goddesses, and in her interventions, shows how there is a clear gap between the two kinds of characters.

In Book 24 of the Iliad, Iris comes down to Priam in her recognizable form saying she is a messenger of Zeus. She tells him to go to the Greek ships, and bring Achilles gifts alone. Priam is assured by Iris that Achilles will not kill him. Iris finishes her speech and disappears into the air, while Priam orders his sons to ready the mule cart (24.169-2187). This
intervention is a *reactive intervention* because Zeus reacts to Hector’s body being desecrated by Achilles and sends Iris to advise Priam how he may retrieve his son’s body. The beginning of Book 24 chronicles Achilles defiling Hector’s body by dragging it around the grave of Patroclus. (24.14-24). Frank B. Tarbell writes, “In classic antiquity . . . it was the most sacred of duties to give the body its funeral rites, that the shade should not flit moaning near the gates of Hades, nor wander in the dismal crowd along the banks of Acheron (Tarbell:1884,38). Funerary rites were very important to both the Greeks and Trojans, and so Zeus believes that Hector should be given a proper funeral, especially for all his services in the Trojan War. Iris comes down to Priam in her true form, which is interesting because she does not do so for any other intervention. This could be a way of Zeus to show that no matter the outcome of the Trojan War, he wants to respect proper funeral traditions. She explains to Priam step by step what will happen when Hermes comes to take him to the tent of Achilles so he could ask for Hector’s body.

Iris describes herself specifically as “a messenger from Zeus” Although this is the only instance in which she comes down undisguised to a mortal, Iris is described as “Zeus’ messenger stood close to Priam”. (στῆ δὲ παρὰ Πρίαμον Διὸς ἄγγελος, 24.169-170). After she gives Priam this advice, she at once disappeared leaving Priam to prepare for Hermes’ arrival.

Overall, Iris’ sole non-disguise intervention, which is the last of her interventions in the *Iliad*, summarizes her most important intervention that not only plays a role in the Trojan War, but in Greek religion as a whole. Priam gains the pity of Zeus, and therefore the pity of Iris, so much that she does not disguise when she comes down to him because the situation is too serious for disguise. She needs to send Priam a message that he must retrieve the body
of Achilles. Another important note about this passage is that Iris only prepares Priam for Hermes’ arrival, her purpose is only to serve as a liaison between Zeus and Hermes to Priam. Hermes’ will not have time to waste in helping Priam, so he must prepare beforehand. Her role as a messenger ends with this scene in the *Iliad* and immortalizes her as Zeus’ subordinate.
Chapter 2: Gods in Disguise

After exploring the gods who appear to mortals in a recognizable form, I will now shift to gods who intervene in disguise. According to Turkeltaub, “The different means by which heroes perceive gods suggest instead that the metaphorical mist that marks their mortality has degrees of transparency, and hence that the modes of perception in divine epiphanies correlate with heroic levels or grades” (Turkeltaub, 2007: 52). Throughout this section, I will be exploring the different disguises of divine beings in the Iliad. These disguises fall into two categories: unrecognized disguises and recognized disguises. It is necessary to classify these disguises because they present key differences in the mortals who have the honor of recognizing disguises of gods, an honor that is lesser than mortals who see gods in a recognizable form, but greater than mortals who do not know they are interacting with gods. In the last chapter, I distinguished why each deity allows certain mortals to see them in their recognizable form. Now, I will shift my focus to why deities are in disguise and how it affects the plot. I find that those that interact with a divine being in disguise and do not recognize them either do not see them because they have not earned divine favor from gods or goddesses or the plot calls for the mortal to not recognize the god because the unrecognized disguise effect is better than the recognized disguise effect.

Unrecognized Disguises

In this section, I will focus on all the disguises that mortals fail to recognize in the Iliad. The divine beings who have unrecognized disguises are: Athena, Apollo, Poseidon, Hera, Ares, and Iris. Athena’s unrecognized disguises to Agamemnon, Pandarus, and Menelaus
continue the pattern that she only shows her recognizable form to her favorites. Apollo's unrecognized disguises to Hector, Aeneas, and Achilles continue the pattern that he does not show his recognizable form unless completely necessary. Poseidon's unrecognized disguises to Idomeneus and Agamemnon showcase that he is more active under disguises than he is in a recognizable form. Hera's unrecognized disguise to the Greeks, her only disguise in the *Iliad*, demonstrates that although she does not actively intervene in the *Iliad*, this one instance was necessary for her to come down to inspire the Greeks. Ares' unrecognized disguise to the sons of Priam, his only disguise in the *Iliad*, exposes his characteristics of being the god of war to the audience in the epic. Iris' unrecognized disguise to Helen continues the pattern of her interventions at the behest of Zeus. This section of unrecognized disguises builds on the patterns of deities who intervene as themselves, and introduces new patterns for those deities who do not intervene as themselves, but only in disguise.

Disguises in the *Iliad* tell us a great deal about religious belief because we learn about the gods on a deeper level than in many mythological stories. The *Iliad*, a 24-book epic, has numerous moments of gods interacting with humans, interacting with each other, and disguising, so much so that we learn about not only how they act in the epic, but also how Greeks viewed them at the time the work came to being. In normal myths, they are only shells of what we are exposed to in the *Iliad*, in that they do not have the same personality to an extent that they do in the work. These disguise scenes specifically present the gods as humanized versions of how they normally appear in Greek religion due to the many interactions they have with multiple individuals while in disguise. In some instances, gods disguise and act how they are characterized in Greek religion (such as Hera in Book 5 disguising as Stentor to scream at the Greeks, or Ares in Book 5 disguised as Acamas to
engage in battle). In other instances, however, gods disguise and don’t necessarily act in accordance with their characterizations in Greek religion, but rather to change the outcome of the plot in their favor (such as Poseidon in Book 13, disguising as Thoas to inspire Idomeneus to go back into battle so the Greeks would be on the winning side of the war). This shows the wide range of personalities gods and goddesses have in the *Iliad* while in disguise, a matter that can only be granted to the gods in disguise because of the multiple personalities they take.

*Athena's Unrecognized Disguise Methods*

Athena’s unrecognized disguises illustrate the nature of her character. The first part of understanding Athena’s character in divine intervention emerges from her divine interventions as herself. The commonalities between these interventions are that Athena shows her recognizable self only to her favorite heroes. Next, Athena builds her character in her unrecognized disguises. In general, she intervenes in disguise in instances where her intervention is necessary for the plot of the story to shift in a direction which benefits the Greeks. The disguises she picks for each situation guide the men she speaks to, to undertake the task which she is in disguise telling the characters to do.

The first of these unrecognized disguises comes in Book 2, when Athena disguises as a herald to speak to Agamemnon. Previously in this book, she tells Odysseus to make sure the Greeks do not fight the Trojans. As Odysseus is trying to convince the Greeks and specifically Agamemnon, Athena intervenes disguised as a herald to speak to Agamemnon. She silences the troops so that the entire Greek army hears her, and begins a long speech to
Agamemnon (2.284-2.332). The purpose of her speech is so that the Greeks remain in their camp and do not attempt to capture Troy.

This intervention can be identified as a *reactive intervention*. Athena has previously intervened in her recognizable form to Odysseus, telling him to convince Agamemnon not to proceed into battle (2.173-2.181). Odysseus is not successful in persuading the Greeks, so Athena finds a way to carry out her plan. She comes down in disguise as a herald to persuade Agamemnon to remain in the Greek camp. She intervenes to finish the task which Odysseus does not finish, even though no one calls for her. She has one main goal, to help the Greeks defeat the Trojans, and with this intervention, she intends to do so.

This interaction between Athena and Agamemnon is unlike her interactions with Achilles, Odysseus, or Diomedes, because Agamemnon is not one of her favorites and she also is intervening in a big crowd of Greeks. Athena’s character in her interventions is unique in that she only intervenes in her recognizable form with her favorites and privately, meaning that no one is around besides the person she is addressing. Her speech to Agamemnon, however, echoes the speech patterns she uses in addressing her favorite heroes. For example, she addresses Agamemnon as “son of Atreus” (Ἀτρείδη, 2.284), just as she addresses Odysseus as “son of Laertes” (διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, 2. 173) earlier in Book 2. However, unlike how she treats her favorite heroes, she is not comfortable showing herself to Agamemnon and the rest of the Greek army. She ends the speech stating, “But come, stay all well-greaved Achaians / just there, sit until we grasp the empty town of Priam” (ἂλλ᾽ ἄγε, μὴνε πάντες, ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαῖοι / αὐτοῦ, εἰς ὁ κεν ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμου ἐλωμεν, 2.331-332). This is a very triumphant way to end this speech and in doing so, it is her last effort to make sure Agamemnon does not go into battle with the Greeks.
Although she is unidentified in her disguise, this lack of distinguishable disguise shows that the power of her speech is more important than a specific disguise. It is unique because she is said to take on the guise of an unidentified Greek herald, “beside him gleaming eyed Athena / appearing as a herald in silence” (παρὰ δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη / εἴδομένη κήρυκι 2.79-2.80). A potential reason for her wanting to do this is that she is she wants to take an insignificant voice to convince Agamemnon against fighting. Agamemnon does not have any suspicion that Athena is in disguise or that he is talking to a deity. Another potential reason for this disguise could be that although the Greeks should not go into battle, the intensity of this situation is not as dire as some of the future disguise scenes. Perhaps she wants to stay unidentified because she believes she could convince Agamemnon to stay put and not need to put a lot of emphasis on it.

This unrecognized disguise is just one kind of disguise that Athena takes, in which she disguises as an unidentified person. In her next two unrecognized disguises, she takes disguises of soldiers who are on the same side as the people she is trying to convince to do a certain task. For example, Athena disguises as the Trojan Laodocus, son of Antenor, in Book 4. Zeus sends her to Pandarus, urging him to break the truce between the Greeks and the Trojans (4.85-4.103).

This is only one instance in the Iliad in which Athena acts as a messenger goddess either for Zeus or Hera [4.68]. Athena is sent to intervene by Zeus in this scene (4.70-4.72). This is a proactive intervention because she is not called upon, but rather goes on her (or rather Zeus’) accord. Note the Greek “near him rousing after with winged words” (ἀγχοῦ δ’ ἱσταμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα 4.92). She is described as coming up to Pandarus, which indicates a certain level of proximity between them. She is unafraid to be discovered and
stands next to him to speak to him, as a Trojan ally of his would. Her speech to Pandarus paints an image of glory that he would receive if he were to shoot Menelaus [4.85-4.103]. One speech from Athena is all it takes for Pandarus to be convinced (Ὣς φάτ’ Ἀθηναίη, τῷ δὲ φρένας ἁφρονι πεθέν, 4.104). This quote alone shows the power of her words, and it represents how powerful her words are, if she can persuade a Trojan to put his men in danger.

There are many reasons behind Athena’s disguise in this scene. Athena’s goal is to have Pandarus break the truce between the Greeks and Trojans. Since Pandarus is a Trojan, Athena needs to disguise also as a Trojan, to not appear suspicious. Athena uses the connection of Laodocus and Antenor to make her disguise more plausible; Laodocus was a guest friend of Antenor. Her reason for disguise is because she is a patron deity of the enemies of the Trojans, the Greeks. The Trojans would not listen to her advice because of her connections to the Greeks. We cannot compare Athena’s speech as Laodocus to Laodocus’ own speech because he has no speaking parts in the *Iliad*. Therefore, we do not know how she went about being disguised as Laodocus, whether she mimicked his speech or not.

Finally, there is a predetermined fate and outcome that is played out in this scene. Unlike any other intervention, where the outcome is unclear, this intervention has a specific reason for occurring. This plays into the theological role that disguise holds in the *Iliad*. In non-disguise scenes with Athena, an outcome is never as certain as this one, where she is clearly successful in her actions. That is the power that disguise holds for gods in the *Iliad* – they change the plot almost immediately with only one disguise, because they can

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manipulate mortals into trusting the person they are disguised as. Another aspect to note about this intervention is that it is determined by the gods that the Trojans will break the truce, and Athena is the one who carries out the order from Zeus. This is another theological aspect of the *Iliad* that is put on display, namely the relationship and trust between Zeus and Athena. Athena, being the daughter of Zeus, is an extension of Zeus himself in the *Iliad*. This scene is one of many examples where she carries out Zeus' orders, and with this she causes a plot shift so important it changes the course of the Trojan War.

The final unrecognized disguise Athena has in the *Iliad* comes in Book 17. She disguises as Phoenix, urging Menelaus to defend the body of Patroclus (17.565). In response, Menelaus tells Phoenix that he wishes Athena would give him strength. Athena, pleased with Menelaus' wish, gives him the strength necessary to defend Patroclus' body [17.560-566]. Note that “So he said, and the goddess Athena with gleaming eyes rejoiced / he prayed for most to her of all the goddesses / She put bodily strength in his shoulder and knees” (Ὣς φάτο, γῆθησεν δὲ θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθηνῆ, / ὡτὶ ρά οἱ πάμπρωτα θεῶν ἦρησατο πάντων. ἐν δὲ βίην ὤμοια καὶ ἐν γούνεσσαν ἔθηκε (17. 567-570). Before delving into the purpose of this disguise, it is important to note the theological ramifications of Menelaus' prayer.

This divine intervention is a *proactive intervention*, because Athena is not called upon but rather once again sent by Zeus to help the Greeks in battle (17.545-546). These proactive interventions illustrate how in the *Iliad* the gods truly have a hand in regulating the fate of the Trojan War. Concerning at the disguise itself, Athena chose to disguise as Phoenix. Phoenix was a son of Amyntor, and one of the Myrmidons that went to the Trojan War with Achilles. He is also known for being Achilles' advisor/caretaker and although he does not have a big presence in the Trojan War, he is always there for Achilles. Her motive for disguise
could be because she wants to persuade the Greeks, specifically Menelaus, to obtain Patroclus' body so that they could give it proper funeral rites, as well as not allowing the Trojans to gain the honor of keeping his body. Disguising as someone who is so close to the situation (Phoenix is Achilles' caretaker and Patroclus was Achilles' best friend), demonstrates the urgency in the situation as well as the personal stakes that Athena feels she has with Achilles in making sure that he shows up to fight the Trojans. Menelaus does not know that Phoenix is really Athena in disguise, but it is convenient that he prays to have Athena give him strength. This is most likely a coincidence but it shows how much impact Athena has on the Greeks in the Trojan War. Although Menelaus is not one of her favorite heroes, he still prays to her and asked her for help when necessary because he knows that she is the protector of the Greeks and therefore would send help to him.

One might wonder whether Athena makes it obvious that she is in disguise, or if she really does trick Menelaus. Phoenix is identified in only one part in the *Iliad*, Book 9, when he accompanies Odysseus and Ajax the Greater in an assembly to Achilles to convince him to come back into fighting [9.223]. In this speech to Achilles, Phoenix addresses his relationship with Achilles all the way from the beginning of it to now, addressing how Peleus had sent him with Achilles to Troy. Phoenix tells Achilles that no one can blame him for being angry. In his final words of this speech he says, “If then without gifts you plunge in the destroying war / you will not have the same honor even though you are warding off the same war” (εἰ δὲ κ᾽ ἄτερ δῶρων πόλεμον φθισήνορα δύης /οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς τιμῆς ἔσεαι πόλεμόν περ ἄλαλκὼν, 9.604-605). With this speech ending, Homer has clearly established the character of Phoenix as one that is sentimental and poignant, especially since he is talking to Achilles, the man whom he is caring for.
Athena’s speech in disguise as Phoenix [17.553] sets a different tone than the speech of Phoenix to Achilles in Book 9. For example, the entirety of her speech to Menelaus “For you then, Menelaus, there will be shame and rebuke, if the swift dogs drag the trusted comrade of a noble Achilles is dragged about from under the Trojan wall. But be strong, raise up the entire army” (σοὶ μὲν δή, Μενέλαε, κατηφεί καὶ ὄνειδος ἔσσεται, εἰ κ’ Ἀχιλῆος ἀγαυοῦ πιστὸν ἔταϊρον τείχει ὑπὸ Τρώων ταχέες κύνες ἐλκήσουσιν. ἀλλ’ ἔχεο κρατερῶς, ὑπονυμὸν ἄπαντα. 17. 556-559). Athena’s speech does not echo the speech patterns of Phoenix’, as it is according to Book 9, because of her emotionless approach to direct him to urge on the men. Even in his response to Phoenix, Menelaus is shocked with how he spoke to him, stating “Phoenix, old father of many years” (Φοῖνιξ, ἄττα γεραιὲ παλαιγενές, 17.561). This is because of the pressing tone in his voice, one that is not characteristic of him.

Phoenix, in his speech in Book 9, evokes the past as his tool to convince Achilles to fight once more. He uses words that summon different kinds of mental states to the reader – happiness, anger, sadness, and establishes his character as an old man who reminisces of past experiences quite often. In Athena’s speech, she is not trying to be the character of Phoenix, but rather continues her own character’s speech patterns. Note the Greek at the end of her speech “But be strong, raise up the entire army” (ἀλλ’ ἔχεο κρατερῶς, ὑπονυμὸν ἄπαντα 17.599). This is reminiscent of her words to Diomedes’ in Book 5, when she tells him he is not brave like his father once was, “Thereupon you are certainly not born of Tydeus, battle-minded son of Oeneus” (οὐ σὺ γ’ ἐπείτα Τυδέος ἐκγονὸς ἐσσὶ δαῖφρονος Οἰνεΐδαο 5. 812-813). She uses the speech tactic of being tough in speaking to those she is trying to help, so that they are roused to do as she requests. Her tone of voice is demanding, while the real Phoenix has a calmer, more affectionate tone of voice.
Athena, successful in her disguise to Menelaus, displays the role that disguise has on the plot. Understanding Athena’s disguise and the effects on the plot first raises the question why she disguises to speak to Menelaus. As it is already established, Athena only shows her recognizable form to her favorite heroes. Next, looking at the nature of the disguise. Since Athena's goal was for Menelaus to acquire the body of Patroclus, she picks a character who is close enough to the situation, but not a prominent figure in the Iliad, which is why she picks Phoenix. Then, inquiring if her words and actions in her disguise make it obvious that Phoenix is not the one speaking to Menelaus. Although she does not mimic the speech patterns of Phoenix, her disguise is still effective since Menelaus does not know it is Athena in disguise. The significance of this passage to the analysis is that it establishes Athena’s character in disguise as one that does not mimic speech patterns, data that is impossible to collect in her previous disguise as Laodocus because he does not speak in the Iliad. Although her exterior changes, Athena remains the same deity who uses the power of her words to incite those she is speaking to into fighting in battle.

“Apollo May Give You a Vow” – Apollo’s Disguise Interventions

While Athena uses unrecognized disguises to heroes who are not her favorite, Apollo does not follow the same pattern. First, referencing his divine interventions as himself, it is important to note the situation that arises in Book 20, when Apollo shows his recognizable form to Hector, Hector becomes full of fear, (Ἐκτωρ δ’ αὖτις ἐδύσετο ὄνλαμον/ ἀνδρῶν / ταρβήσας, ὅτε ἄκουε θεοῦ ὀπα φωνήσαντος, 20.378-380). This situation shows Apollo’s disguise interventions are not limited to just those who are not his favorites, like Athena,
because his favorites understand that when he does show himself to them, it is for very urgent matters. In Book 20, Apollo speaks to Hector as himself, and Hector is occupied by fear because of the rarity of this situation. Apollo's interventions fall on a scale of urgency, the more urgent the matter the more likely he is to show himself. Since the matter is not urgent, he comes down in disguise. As I will explain later, Apollo is equally as clever in the person he disguises as, like Athena.

At this point in Book 16, Patroclus has killed many Trojans including Sarpedon, Zeus' favorite offspring [16.678]. Apollo goes down to Hector in the form of Asius, Hector's uncle. He tells Hector to go after Patroclus. It is not clear if Hector knows that Apollo is in disguise as Asius. This intervention is a *proactive intervention* because Patroclus' fate was to be killed by Hector, so Apollo in disguise is trying to carry out this fate. It is interesting that Apollo is disguising to speak to Hector because it is different from what Athena would do; she typically does not disguise for her heroes, except for special circumstances. Apollo appears to Hector in a recognizable form at a different point [20.378-380], but in this circumstance Hector knows that it is a very urgent matter if Apollo is intervening. Since the urgency of the situation is not high enough for Apollo to expose himself, he chooses this disguise to aid in his persuasion techniques to Hector, so that he goes to fight Patroclus. It is interesting that Apollo in disguise tells Hector "Apollo may give you a vow" (δώῃ δέ τοι εὖχος Ἀπόλλων, 16.725), because it indicates he is purposefully keeping his disguise a secret and does not have an intention of revealing his recognizable self to Hector. One important factor of this disguise is that Asius, Hector's uncle, does not speak anywhere else in the *Iliad*. This is notable because it means it is impossible to compare the speech tactics of Asius, to Apollo's disguise as Asius. This detail is important to the external audience because we cannot
analyze the speeches of the two and see if Apollo intends to keep his disguise a secret from Hector, or if he waivers from his disguise. It is unclear if Apollo’s speech patterns are reminiscent of the real Asius. Overall, from this unrecognized disguise we learn that Apollo does not always come down to his favorites in his recognizable form, and deals with every situation differently and in a way, he thinks would be most beneficial to carry out his plan in the scene.

The next unrecognized disguise of Apollo comes in Book 17, when Apollo intervenes on the battlefield to inspire Hector to go after Menelaus [17.72-81]. Taking the form of Mentes, the Ciconian commander, Apollo orders Hector to attack Menelaus, because he killed Euphorbus, the Trojan warrior. Hector does not know Apollo is speaking to him in disguise.

This intervention is as a reactive intervention because the human actions of Menelaus and others prompted Apollo to inspire Hector to fend for himself and fight against them. It is interesting that Apollo is continuing to disguise with Hector, even though he is is Hector’s patron god. This establishes a trend in the relationship of Hector and Apollo because he shows that it is better to disguise to convince Hector in battlefield scenes typically to persuade him to do as he wishes. Another point to note is that both situations are not so critical that they need Apollo in his true form. Due to this, he remains in disguise. Note that when Apollo tells Hector he will never catch what he is chasing (δὲ ῥὰ οἱ ἔκτορ᾽ ἐπῶρσε θοῶ ἀτάλαντον Ἀρη, 17.73), indicates that Apollo is not afraid to be direct with Hector, meaning he is not afraid that Hector will realize it is Apollo disguised. The man he disguises as, Mentes, has no other speaking part in the Iliad so no comparison can be made as to whether Apollo was obviously disguised or if he made it seem like he was Mentes.
In considering the character of Mentes further, there is no clear reason as to why Apollo chooses to disguise as him, other than he is a random Trojan chieftain. It may very well be that Apollo does not want to be discovered by Hector and because of that he chooses to disguise as a random warrior. Another possibility is that he hopes by disguising as a commander, he would garner some respect from Hector and Hector would listen to him in disguise. Some other important aspects of this scene are that Apollo comes down in the middle of battle, so that means Hector is surrounded by warriors. Similarly, to Athena, he does not want to be seen by those whom he does not consider his favorites. His purpose of disguise is like his disguise as Asius, he does not see the situation urgently and therefore does not need to come down in a recognizable form, but rather decides to change the plot through intervening in disguise and knowing that it will be enough to arouse Hector. Finally, the effect on the audience of the poem should be considered. The audience, like Asius, does not have any indication as to whether Apollo follows the speech patterns of Mentes, or is obviously in disguise. With this information, the audience could investigate further Apollo’s role in disguise as Mentes.

Continuing Book 17, Apollo comes down to Hector again, this time in the disguise of Phaenops, the son of Asius, his mother’s uncle whom he had recently disguised as in Book 16. [16.720]. These disguises of Apollo are cleverly chosen because of the similarity in disguises directed at Hector. These disguises all have familial connections with Hector. Apollo speaks to Hector, stating that he does not believe any Greek will fear him anymore because Menelaus took the corpse of Patroclus away from him, and then killed his true friend Podes, a son of Eetion[17.590]. Hector was inspired by this speech, and went on to attack the Greeks. Hector did not recognize Apollo was speaking to him in disguise.
This intervention is a *proactive intervention*, because it is in the Trojan’s fate that the battle is going to shift in favor of them. Phaenops has no other speaking parts in the *Iliad*, so no comparison can be made on the potential difference of speech between Phaenops and disguised Apollo. However, Apollo directly mimics his speech from the last time he disguised for Hector as Mentes. For example, when Apollo disguises as Mentes, he ends his speech stating that Patroclus has killed the best man they have, Euphorbus (Πανθοΐδην Εὔφορβον, ἔπαυσε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκής, 17.80-81). When he disguises as Phaenops he ends his speech by saying his true friend is dead (ἔσθλον ἐνὶ προμάχωσί, Ποδῆν, νιὸν Ἡετίωνος, 17.590). It is interesting that he ends his speech with this because it evokes an emotion in Hector that causes him to go forth into battle. Unlike the Asius disguise scene, however, this time Homer makes the note of closeness between Phaenops and Hector (Ἐκτορα δ᾿ ἐγγύθεν ἵσταμενος ὄτρυνεν Ἀπόλλων 17.582), which also indicates that he was confident enough in his disguise that he was not going to be discovered by Hector. The relationship between Phaenops and Hector also makes it not strange that Apollo as Phaenops invokes Hector’s emotion that a friend of his is killed. In both instances, he begins speaking to Hector by telling him he needs to make the Greeks fear him, and then continues by playing to his emotions and mentioning a friend of his that the Greeks had killed. Overall, this scene is important because it solidifies the pattern between Hector and Apollo that he does not reveal his recognizable form to him unless the situation is critical and requires it. Apollo’s disguises as mortals who have familial connection to Hector is interesting because although the audience cannot compare the speeches of Apollo as the character and the character themselves, to see if Apollo kept up the disguise well by continuing speech patterns, or if he wanted Hector to notice it may be him. However, we have a hint in the fact that he does disguise as familial members often, since
Hector should have a good knowledge of his family member’s characteristics. This could either mean Apollo does not care if he is recognized by Hector, or that he does a good job in disguising and imitates Hector’s family members well.

Apollo shifts the recipient of his disguise from Hector to Aeneas in Book 20.83-20.109. Apollo gives Aeneas courage to fight Achilles, as opposed to Hector. He disguises himself as Lycaon, a son of Priam, and starts a dialogue with Aeneas. He successfully inspires Aeneas to fight Achilles so he goes forth with his armor to him. Aeneas does not know that Apollo is disguised as Lycaon.

This intervention is a reactive intervention, because Apollo chooses to have Aeneas go after Achilles to save Hector, the one whom Achilles really wants to fight. He knows that Aeneas is protected by the gods because his fate is to survive the Trojan War and establish the city of Rome. Apollo’s decision could either be smart or as a way of tricking Aeneas to fight Achilles so that Hector had longer to live. Aeneas does not know that Apollo is intervening to convince him to fight, which means that this is intentional possibly because it is more convincing to Aeneas to be spoken to as Lycaon or it is easier to trick him to fight Achilles by disguising as a Trojan chieftan. Lycaon does not speak in the Iliad until after this scene, and to Achilles (Book 21.79). In this scene, Lycaon is begging Achilles to spare him because he was about to be killed, speaking about all the children he has that he would leave. There is no real way to compare the speeches directly because Lycaon is desperate in this speech because he does not want to die. This is a rare instance in which the god disguises before the human makes an appearance in the Iliad, an appearance that is a significant part of the Iliad. One aspect to take away from the scene in Book 21 is that he is a compassionate man, and Apollo does not act compassionate in his speech to Aeneas. Regardless of this
situation, it continues to become evident that Apollo does not reveal himself to his favorite heroes unless the situation is necessary.

Finally, Apollo makes one final unrecognized disguise in Book 21, when he disguises as Agenor to chase Achilles. First, Apollo removes the real Agenor from battle, and then he disguises himself as Agenor and continues to be chased by Achilles. He stays just far enough away from Achilles but Achilles is not able to catch him [21.544-551]. There is an interesting point made by the author Robert J. Rabel, who writes that Apollo and Achilles have such a power struggle because they are similar minded. He writes, “As the theme of the Iliad, the wrath of Achilles is appropriately mentioned first in the poem, but its derivation from the wrath of Apollo is referred to immediately thereafter... There is abundant evidence that Apollo and Achilles are linked in elaborate pattern of ring-composition uniting the opening and the closing of the Iliad...” (Rabel: 1990,431). This intervention outlines a moment between Achilles and Apollo that is like no other because of the anger that Apollo holds to Achilles. This is because Achilles is the fiercest of the Greek warriors, and Apollo knows that he is one of the Trojan’s biggest foes.

This intervention is a reactive intervention, because it is the actions of Agenor and Achilles that causes Apollo to intervene. Earlier in the scene, Apollo inspires Agenor to fight and test Achilles’ strength. Agenor goes forth to fight Achilles but at just the right moment, Apollo removes him from the battle and places himself disguised in his place so that no harm would come to Agenor. It seems almost that Agenor had done Apollo’s bidding, because he was trying to figure out how strong Achilles was and when he should put in Hector in battle against him. Note that “as whole Agenor” (Ἄγνορι πάντα ἐούκως 21.600-601) indicates that Apollo at once removed Agenor from battlefield and disguised as him. He does not speak as
Agenor or do anything special that would require a character analysis, he leaves it as Achilles chasing him. Achilles did not realize that Apollo had swapped himself in and Agenor out, and just continues to chase him. Overall, the conclusion that we should take away from this disguise scene is that Apollo will directly intervene to save Trojan lives, but will not intervene as himself unless it’s crucial. Since this scene made it possible for him to disguise as Agenor, he did this instead of revealing his true self to Achilles.

As I conclude this Apollo section of my discussions, it is important to note why Apollo's unrecognized disguises are important plot devices in the *Iliad*. He uses a variation of methods to provide the most effective help possible to the Trojans. His unrecognized disguises are one method in which he controls the plot by intervening as Trojans that are, for the most part, close to or related to in some way, to the recipient of his disguise. He disguises as characters that either have no speaking roles, minimal speaking roles, or major speaking roles that do not come until after his intervention. He does not disguise as a main character, but rather as an extra character that does not play a big role in the plot. His disguises are similar in that they all contain similar speech patterns, but unclear if he mimics any speech pattern of the person he is disguising as. One major difference between his and Athena's disguises is that Athena disguises specifically for her non-favorite heroes, while Apollo uses different methods and does disguise for his favorites as well as non-favorites. Overall, his unrecognized disguises are important to the *Iliad* because they fulfill a role that could not be fulfilled by any other method of recognized self or recognized disguise by Apollo.

*“He Took Him By His Right Hand” – Poseidon's Disguises*
Apollo establishes his speech patterns as invoking emotions and reasons why the recipients of his disguise should do as he is telling them to. Poseidon takes a different approach in his speeches and the reasons for his disguises. The Iliad outlines a struggle between Poseidon and Zeus, so much so that Poseidon disguises to hide from Zeus. Tamar Nelson writes, “In the intervening lines, the poet tells us that Poseidon is angry at Zeus over Akhaian losses, but that since the latter was first born, he knows more and because of this Poseidon will not give aid openly. It is interesting that the poet specifically tells us that Poseidon is here taking on a mortal form, not to hide his true self from the humans but from Zeus” (Nelson: 1996, 194). Poseidon disguises not to hide himself from the humans, but to hide himself from Zeus. Therefore, these unrecognized disguise scenes that follow outline Poseidon helping the Greeks, which goes against Zeus current wishes because he has tipped the scale in the favor of the Trojans.

The first unrecognized disguise of Poseidon in the Iliad comes in Book 13. Poseidon was furious because of the death of “a son’s son” and he wanted to inspire the Greeks to continue fighting. As he was searching for Greeks, he ran into Idomeneus who was escaping to his hut because of anxiety of war. Poseidon disguises as Thoas, the son of Andraemon, who was honored as a god by the Aetolians in Pleuron and Calydon. Poseidon tells him to get his armor and go back to war, and he will accompany him. Idomeneus put on his armor and is met by his second-hand man, Meriones.

This intervention is a reactive intervention, because Poseidon did not believe the Greeks were fighting well enough to defeat the Trojans. He chose to inspire Idomeneus to fight Hector because Hector had just killed someone very important to him. The disguise of
Thoas itself is interesting because other than being a good Greek warrior, Thoas does not have a connection with Idomeneus. Thoas speaks one more time in the *Iliad*, later in Book 15.291. These speeches are similar because the way Poseidon as Thoas and Thoas himself go about giving advice is by being direct. In Poseidon’s case, he states “Fetch your armor hither and come here” (ἀλλ’ ἄγε τεῦχεα δεῦρο λαβὼν ἵθι· ταῦτα δ’ ἀμα χρή / σπεῦδειν, 13.235-236). In Book 15, Thoas states “Stay in the throng on the side of the ships, I will command the departure” (πληθὺν μὲν ποτὶ νῆς ἀνώξομεν ἀπονέεσθαι, 15.295). They both use imperatives to get their words across. Poseidon establishes a pattern of speaking similarly to the man he disguises as. This will either be confirmed or denied the more disguises of his we look at. Overall, the importance of this disguise is to show that Poseidon disguises to persuade the man he is disguising for, and that he mimics the speech patterns of the man to be as effective as possible.

The next unrecognized disguise by Poseidon comes in Book 14. Agamemnon, Odysseus, and Diomedes discussing how to move forward, seeing as they are all wounded. Poseidon comes down, in the disguise of an old man, grabs Agamemnon by the hand and begins speaking to him. He told him that the gods weren’t angry with him and there’s still a chance to beat the Trojans. After this, he shouted a war cry to inspire the Greeks to go into battle (14.135-146).

This intervention is a *reactive intervention*, because it is through the actions of the three Greek warriors that Poseidon decides he needs to intervene. The first point to mention here is that Poseidon’s disguise is indistinguishable, like Athena’s unrecognized herald. As in Athena’s disguise, one potential reason for why Poseidon might take this disguise is because he believes in this situation, to resolve the power struggle that is happening between
Agamemnon, Odysseus, and Diomedes, it is best to disguise as someone that has no bias. The R.M. Frazer argues that Poseidon’s intervention is pivotal to stop the negative energy being put forth by these three heroes. He writes, “I hope to make clear an important fact about these scenes which I think has not been sufficiently appreciated before: that the Council of Chiefs highlights a crisis of leadership among the Greeks which is resolved only by the intervention of Poseidon” (Frazer: 1985, 1). He does not think that it is important for his disguise to have an identity because his words are more important. Note that “He took Agamemnon, son of Atreus, by his right hand” (δεξιτερῆν δ᾿ ἔλεχεν Χείρ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρείδαο, 14.137), indicates a close physical proximity and implies further that he is not afraid of being recognized because he is confident in his disguise. This gesture is an important gesture because it outlines the steps Poseidon is willing to go to persuade the hero to listen to his words. He strategically plans when is best to intervene to help the Greeks come together.

“Shame, Argives” – Hera’s Disguise Interventions

As we move forward into the unrecognized disguises, we delve into the divine beings that only disguise once in the Iliad. In this next section, it is difficult to discuss patterns amongst divine beings because they only disguise once. Hera only directly intervenes once in the Iliad, in a way that characterizes her as a deity of fierce power. Although she is known as the wife of Zeus and goddess of marriage, Hera also possesses some other well-known traits that establish her position in the Iliad, such as her temper, which emerges in her disguise as well. Her disguise comes in Book 5, as Stentor, who had the loudest voice of all
the Greeks (5.785). She yells at the Greeks to get their fighting spirit up and soon after, Athena goes down to Diomedes to inspire him to continue fighting.

This intervention is a reactive intervention brought on by the lack of effort in battle the Greeks had. Hera, an avid supporter of the Greeks, decides to come down herself and rouse them, rather than sending Athena (or even her messenger Iris) which she does in the Iliad. The fact that Hera comes down disguised instead of sending another divine being shows the audience that she believes the battle was serious and needed to inspire the Greeks to fight before they lost the battle to the Trojans. She screams “Shame, Argives, wretched insults, captains in appearance” (αἰδώς, Ἀργεῖοι, κάκ’ ἐλέγχεα, ἔδος ἂγητοί, 5.788-789) to inspire them. One important aspect of this scene to note is that Hera does not directly address a Greek, but rather just addresses them all. This is her only disguised intervention in the Iliad, which indicates that she did not have any intention of risking being recognized by the Greeks and did not want to interact one on one with them. Her usage of language reflects her character as a goddess because she is not afraid to act vicious to get her point across. Her disguise as Stentor helps her carry out her task in keeping her disguise but also arousing the Greeks, since Stentor had the voice of 50 men.

Ares’ Disguise In Battle

Just as Hera disguises in a way that correlates with her character, Ares does the same. Ares is known as the god of war, and in his unrecognized disguise in the Iliad, his only disguise, he keeps with this theme of his character. In Book 5, Diomedes was on a rampage fighting both men and gods. Ares comes down to speak to the sons of Priam in the form of
Acamas, the Thracian commander. He tells them not to let the Greeks continue to fight in front of the Trojan gates. He tells them to go help Aeneas, who had just been wounded. This sparks a speech out of Sarpedon who inspires Hector to go back into battle [5.460-469].

This intervention is a reactive intervention because Ares notices that the Trojan spirits were down and decided to come arouse them. This comes right after Apollo asked him to take Diomedes out of battle because he had wounded both Cypris and the god himself. Therefore, Ares’ intervention is done as a favor to his brother Apollo. It is interesting that rather than going down to stop Diomedes himself, he rouses the Trojans so that one of them could take him out of the battle. This could be because Ares does not want to intervene in the battle so much so that he takes out one of the best warriors out of battle, but also wants to help Apollo. “For the adjective αιδηος – meaning “destructive and consuming” or even “hateful and abominable” – has a special association in Archaic poetry with Ares and the destruction he represents metonymically... From these perspectives, the adjective indicates Ares’ devastation in war, and his socially disruptive behavior” (Christensen: 2012, 233).

Ares, in his disguise intervention, establishes himself as the deity of war in the story. His intervention is enough to rouse the Trojans but not enough for him to take credit for taking Diomedes out of battle. The nature of Ares’ character is important to note here because this is the only instance in which he disguises. Therefore, this means that he disguises to help a battle which correlates with being the god of war.

*Zeus’ Messenger Unrecognized Disguise*
Like Ares, Iris’s disguises also help contribute to her characterization. Book 3 of the *Iliad* outlines a single combat fight between Paris and Menelaus. Iris comes to Helen as Laodice and tells her to go watch the fight between Paris and Menelaus. These words gave Helen a desire for Menelaus and so she dressed herself and went to the Western Gate [3.121-140].

This intervention is a *reactive intervention* because Iris is sent down by Zeus, to bring Helen to watch the battle. Iris once again disguises as a child of Priam, this time as Laodice. She disguises as Polites, a son of Priam, in Book 2. Laodice is known as the loveliest of Priam’s daughter’s. There could be a correlation between Iris choosing to disguise as the loveliest of Priam’s daughters and Helen’s beauty. Note that Iris stood near Helen (ἄγχο ὀ ἴσταμένη προσέφη πόδας ἰκά Ἱρίς 3.129) which shows the closeness of Helen to Iris and how even though a deity was that close to her she was still unable to recognize it was Iris [3.120-138]. Another reason why she may have disguised as Laodice is that Laodice does not have any other speaking roles in the *Iliad*, so it is hard to distinguish what is Laodice's true speech and what her speech disguised is. Overall, from this disguise scene, we can conclude that Iris’ role in the *Iliad* is to intervene as she is sent by Zeus or Hera, and that her choice of disguise tries to correlate with the person to whom she is intervening.

Overall, unrecognized disguises are important plot devices in the *Iliad* because they teach us that mortals do not recognize the gods, even though beyond a physical disguise, they do not do much else to conceal their identities. Gods have the power to reveal themselves when they want, if they choose to. This communicates a theological relationship amongst mortals and gods because they give the mortals the honor of seeing them in a recognizable form. Note that Warren Smith writes, “An attractive alternative to the idea that disguises are
invariably intended to deceive, is the possibility that human garb and appearance are meant to soothe the mortal’s fright, somehow make the visit more bearable” (Smith: 1988, 168). The gods going unrecognized is not unintentional to the plot. Although they do not do much to conceal themselves, they still do not make it clear that they are in disguise Athena, for example, disguises as many different characters. Although she maintains the same language pattern throughout her recognizable self and unrecognized disguises, she ultimately does not make it outright clear she is intervening. The same goes for Apollo, who is careful about when he reveals himself to a mortal, because he does not reveal himself unless it is necessary. Although Poseidon disguises not from the mortals but from Zeus, he nevertheless remains unclear about who he really is. Finally, figures such as Hera, Ares, and Iris show that even in disguise, they maintain their same characteristics that classify them as the god or goddess they are.

**Recognized Disguises**

After looking at unrecognizable disguises, the focus of my thesis now shifts to recognized disguises. Recognized disguise means that the mortal whom the god or goddess is trying to conceal themselves from identifies the disguise either during or after the disguise intervention happens, as the god or goddess. The text provides us with few clues as to why the mortal can recognize the divinity, but the main feature is that the physical aspects of each god gives them away to the mortal. In the following scenes, I delve into Athena’s recognized disguise to Hector, Apollo’s recognized disguise to Aeneas, Poseidon’s recognized disguise to
Ajax the Greater, Aphrodite’s recognized disguise to Helen, Iris’ recognized disguise to Hector, and Hermes’ recognized disguise to Priam. Each scene holds different underlying causes for the reason for disguise, and demonstrates the use of recognized disguise as plot devices.

The first of the deities recognized disguises I will discuss is Poseidon. Poseidon, as we know, is in disguise to keep himself concealed from Zeus (ἔνθ᾿ ἄρ᾿ ὑ᾿ ἔξι ἀλὸς ἔξετ᾿ ἰὼν, ἐλέαιρε δ᾿ Ἀχαιοὺς/ Τρωσὲν δαμναμένους, Δὶ δὲ κρατερῶς ἐνεμέσσα 13. 15-16). Book 13 of the *Iliad* begins with Poseidon overlooking the war, pitying the Greeks for being currently defeated by the Trojans. Poseidon comes down from Mount Olympus disguised as Calchas to speak to Ajax the Greater and Ajax the Lesser. In his speech to the two Ajaxes, Poseidon tells the soldiers that they will save the Greek army if they summon their strength together and don’t panic. He continues to predict the following battle, but assured them that they would win. After his speech, he disappeared, and Ajax Oileus turned to Telamonian Ajax and said that a god had just gone down to them, noticing this because of the tracks he left behind, stating that gods are easy to recognize (ἀρίγνωτοι δὲ θεοὶ περ, 13.71-72). Poseidon continues to intervene and give strength to the troops. He next addresses all the Achaeans to arouse them into battle, and they continue to fight the Trojans [13.55-60].

This disguise is a *reactive intervention* because Poseidon intervened once he saw that the Greeks were struggling. This intervention is interesting because Poseidon mimics Calchas’ speech to an extent, including a prophecy while speaking to the two Ajaxes. Calchas speaks once in the *Iliad*, at the beginning of Book 1 when he is telling the Greeks the reason for Apollo’s anger. Although he is frightened at first, he goes on to say that the gods don’t find fault in their sacrifices but rather what happened with Chryseis. In Poseidon’s speech to both
Ajaxes, he tells them that they will save the Greek army if they do as follows. According to Ajax, he noticed that a deity had come to them in disguise because of “for footprints of feet from behind and of legs he ran” (ἰχνια γὰρ μετόπισθε ποδῶν ἢδὲ κνημάων / ῥεῖ· ἔγνων ἀπιόντος, 13. 71-72).

Another reason for why Ajax the Greater was able to recognize Poseidon comes from the commentator Porphyry, who states “The explanation is that the poem often shows the demigods reading the forms of the gods in disguise as when Poseidon, appears similar to Kalkhas and Aias says “this is not the prophet Kalkhas, for I easily recognized....” (Porphyry, Quest. Homer. 396-7). Ajax the Greater, being the son of the Oceanid Periboea and the mortal Telamon, is a demi-god. The Iliad shows many demi-gods who can recognize divine beings, such as Achilles and Aeneas. The reasoning behind why Ajax could recognize Poseidon but Idomeneus and Agamemnon could not, supports the evidence that Ajax the Greater recognizes Poseidon because of his abilities as a demi-god. The fact that he can recognize the footprints he leaves behind as a god, shows that he is able to distinguish the footprints of a mortal and the footprints of a divine being, which indicates that he has a special knowledge for these matters.

Book 21 shows Achilles’ rage in battle, while he is killing many Trojans. As he is battling the river Scamander, he calls out to Zeus, saying no god is helping him in his battle. Immediately after that, Poseidon and Athena appears to him in human form, clasping hands. Poseidon speaks to him, saying that he and Athena are with him. He tells him not to stop fighting until he has defeated every Trojan and killed Hector. After giving him this reassurance, both deities disappear and Achilles continues to battle [22.284-297].
This intervention is a reactive intervention. Although Achilles did not call for any deity in specific, he did ask Zeus to send him gods to help him. Rather than sending one god, Zeus sends two [22.284], perhaps signifying the intensity of this battle and how much reassurance Achilles needed. Athena and Poseidon go down to Achilles in disguised form, as he is surrounded by others who he is fighting. They do not keep their identity from him a secret, however, because they want him to know that his fate is to eventually kill Hector. The only explanation for their disguise, then, is that they did not want others to see that Achilles was getting help from divine beings. The nature of their disguise, in a mortal form, as Homer explains it, is also worth noting (δὲ μας ἄνδρεσσιν ἐκτης 22.285). They do not make their disguises significant enough for them to be named. Does this mean they were disguised as two Greek soldiers that were not significant enough to name, or were they disguised as two complete strangers that neither the Greeks nor the Trojans would recognize? What does the human form of Poseidon and Athena look like? No one except Achilles thinks anything of two humans coming to talk to him, meaning they were successful in disguising so others around him wouldn’t notice.

The biggest element worth noting is that this is the only instance in the Iliad where two divine beings intervene together. This level of intervention is very difficult because they are truly inspiring Achilles to carry out his fate of killing Hector, reassuring him that they will be around. Gods and goddesses either act alone, one sends the other into battle, or come down together but then separate. There is no other instance in which two deities pledge their support to a Greek warrior, like Athena and Poseidon did. Note the detail in this passage that Athena and Poseidon were “clasping their hands, pledging support” (χειρὶ δὲ χεῖρα λαβόντες ἐπιστῶσάντι ἐπέέσσαι, 21.286). There are many possible explanations for this, but the most
prominent is that Achilles is the hero of the *Iliad*, more than any other Greek or Trojan. He is also a demi-god, meaning all gods have a connection to him where they do not to others. If there was ever a time in which Achilles needed extra reassurance, this is now the time. He has been fighting in battle for a long time and he is beginning to lose his strength. He calls for gods to come and help him, and Zeus sees the urgency of the situation and down come two gods. Poseidon is the only one to speak in this interaction with Achilles, Athena remains silent. This is the only instance where these gods intervene together, or where any gods intervene together.

Following the theme of recognizing a divine being based on qualities, Helen recognizes Aphrodite based off her physical features. Book 3 of Homer’s *Iliad* outlines a single combat fight between Paris and Menelaus. After some fighting has gone on, Aphrodite covers Paris with a mist and removed him from battle [3.374-375]. She then continues to cover Helen with a mist and take her to Paris. In the disguise of an old woman, one who had spun wool for her back in Lacedaemon. Helen immediately recognized it was Aphrodite; (καὶ ῥ’ ὦς ὁν ἐνόησε θεᾶς περικαλλέα δειρήν / στήθεα δ’ ἰμερόεντα καὶ ὄματα μαρμαροντα, 3.396-397). Aphrodite proceeds to get angry with Helen and threatens her by saying she can make both the Greeks and Trojans hate her. First, Helen, the daughter of Zeus and Leda, can also be considered a demi-goddess. These physical aspects of the gods are only noticed by demi-gods thus far.

This intervention is a *reactive intervention*, because Aphrodite takes Paris away from the battle once she saw that he was going to lose to Menelaus. It is interesting that she chose to disguise as a human whom Helen should be able to recognize, rather than a Trojan woman. An explanation for this is that she wanted to trick Helen and hoped that the disguise she
chose would do it, but Aphrodite herself is too beautiful to disguise as an old woman. This is because an old woman is stereotypically thought to have wrinkled skin, ancient features, and so on. Aphrodite is characterized as the essence of beauty, and is the opposite of an old woman. M.M Willcock comments, "Consider the scene between Aphrodite and Helen at the end of Book III. Here it is not a question of gifts of Aphrodite, but of her support and favor... The disturbing effectiveness of this scene is caused by our realization that Aphrodite is simultaneously two things – the force of sexual attraction and a willful goddess. She is both a part of Helen’s personality and a being quite independent of Helen. These are two extremes mentioned above – the force and the independent god. This scene is difficult and uncomfortable because the two aspects are not integrated, but seem to be working against each other. (Willcock:1970, 5) I do not agree with Willcock’s statement that Aphrodite is a personification of Helen’s desire because Helen does not want to be in Paris’ bedchamber. Aphrodite tries to control the scene, but Helen defends herself and her stance on not desiring Paris.

After Helen recognizes her disguise, she begins arguing with Aphrodite, which is something that no other human had done with a divine being that was their protector. This outlines a power struggle between Aphrodite, a goddess, and Helen, a demi-goddess. This intervention is insignificant to the main plot of the Iliad because it has no weight on the struggle between the Greeks and the Trojans. It is important to the subplot in the beginning of the Iliad, especially Book 3, when the relationship between Helen and Paris is outlined. Since Helen is the one who is considered to have started the Trojan War, this argument between her and Aphrodite indicates a struggle of power between the two and shows that Helen is able to think for herself and not be tricked by Aphrodite. The audience sees this
struggle between Helen and Aphrodite and recognizes two powerful women going head to head. Aphrodite seemingly has an advantage because she is a goddess, but Helen has no fear in standing up to her.

Thus far, we might argue that only demi-gods recognize when gods are intervening. However, this claim is contradicted with Hector. Book 2 of the *Iliad* opens with Zeus sending a misleading dream to the Greek army. Later in this book, Zeus sends Iris to inform the Trojans that the Greeks were marching to fight them. Iris takes the disguise of Polites, a son of Priam, and tells Priam to send his troops out to battle. Hector knowing that it was a goddess speaking to Priam, dismisses the assembly, and the Trojans rush into battle [2.807-810].

This intervention is a *reactive intervention*, in which Iris shows her role as the messenger of Zeus in the *Iliad*. At this point of the war, Zeus is favoring the Trojans, and as such he sent Iris to inform the Trojans that the Greeks are coming. Iris is very clever in her disguise as Polites, because Polites’ job is to keep lookout for any Greek movement. Polites does not speak anywhere else in the *Iliad*, so Iris chose a character that was relatively silent in the Trojan war. Although she has a clever disguise, Hector recognizes it is not Polites but a goddess. Warren Smith says about this scene, “As often, the god only goes through the motions of a disguise, and recognition seems to follow almost inevitably, the recognition seeming to reflect a kind of tacit understanding between gods and men; by it the poet lets the reader know that the divine message has been fully received, has had its desired effect. Thus in 2.791 Iris likens herself to Polites but Hector ‘does not fail to know’ the word of the goddess, i.e. it registers on him that he must do as she orders, and make sure that proper battle stations are assigned to each of the allies” (Smith: 1988, 170). Iris’ disguise is most
effective in Hector recognizing that a goddess was speaking to him in disguise. Like Apollo coming down to him in a recognizable form, which comes later in 20.378-380, Hector understands the importance of a deity ordering him to undertake a task.

Hector is not a demi-god; however, he is a favorite of the gods. Since this is the case, Hector has powers being a favorite of the gods, that normal mortals do not have. There are no details as to how Hector figured it out, which does not help us understand how he knew. One indication could be that Polites is a brother of Hector’s and Hector could very well have sensed that something about him was not the same as usual. Either way, this intervention is mainly there to show that Iris is a messenger of the gods. No matter the case, it is important to note that Hector understands a goddess is intervening, and takes it in a sense of urgency to move the Trojans to battle.

Iris’ disguise is interesting because she cleverly places herself in a scene where the Trojans would expect Polites to give them news. This could indicate that she wants to remain undercover in disguise because she does not disguise as someone who would never come to the Trojan camp. She keeps up the narrative of the story, while also delivering an important message for the Trojans. Willcock says about this scene, “We turn to the goddess Iris coming to the Trojan assembly in the likeness of Polites. The position is critical for them too. The assembly is waiting, expectant, for the news that the Greeks are on the move. The figure of Polites appears, and there is a hush. It is no wonder that the poet can describe this as the divine messenger herself in the likeness of Polites. And (interestingly) the words that Polites speaks are in part suitable to the prince and in part to the goddess” (Willcock: 1970, 8). The scene explains that Iris intervenes at a part of the story that the Trojans are waiting for someone to come. Unlike most intervention scenes where they are unexpected for its
recipients, this time the Trojans are expecting something to happen. This makes it all the riskier to intervene, because of the higher chance that she may be recognized.

This intervention of Iris to Priam is not the only time a deity comes down to Priam. In Book 24, Hermes comes to Priam initially disguised as a son of Polycottor (24.345-348). After keeping up the ruse for some time, Hermes reveals himself to Priam and tells him that Zeus sent him down to bring him to the hut of Achilles to retrieve the body of Hector [24.389-395].

This intervention is a *proactive intervention* because Priam was told that Hermes was going to come to help escort him to Achilles’ tent. It is interesting because Iris is usually the one that is delivering all the messages between gods and mortals, but she does not ever take the mortals to carry out a big duty such as getting the body of Hector back. One important indication is that one of Hermes’ epithets is Psychopompos, meaning the conveyor of souls through the Underworld. For Hector to receive entrance into the Underworld, he must first be buried. That is why he is sent by Zeus to Priam, because one of his major importance’s to Greek religion is that he carries out this task. Hermes reveals his identity to Priam, since this intervention goes beyond the normal intervention to change the course of the war. This intervention, which is the only intervention by Hermes, shows us the theological significance of the gods in the Trojan War. Hermes, just as he is characterized in his mythology, carries out his tasks for the dead in the *Iliad*. Once again, this scene illustrates the importance of burial for the dead in Greek religion, exceedingly so that even divine beings are involved in the process of this to ensure it happens.

Moving forward from Hermes’ intervention, I come to the intervention of Apollo that is recognized by Aeneas. In Book 17, The Greeks have Ares on their side and are currently winning the battle. Apollo, to help the Trojans, comes down to Troy and spoke to Aeneas. He
disguises as the herald Periphas, who worked for Anchises and begins speaking to Aeneas [17. 323-325]. In his speech, he tells Aeneas that Zeus wants victory for the Trojans and as such he should go into battle with courage and defeat the Greeks. Aeneas, when he considered his eyes, knew it was him and called the Trojan troops to continue fighting and beat the Greek warriors.

This a proactive intervention because Apollo tells Aeneas that it is the Trojan fate (decided by Zeus) that the Trojans should win the battle over the Greek warriors, regardless of what gods are on their side. Periphas does not have any other speaking roles in the Iliad. Due to this, no comparison of the speeches between real and disguised Periphas can be made. Aeneas is a demi-god, and like I have established in other recognized disguises, demi-gods have the knowledge to recognize the physical aspects of gods. Note that “Aeneas recognized Apollo who strikes from afar when he saw his face” (Ὣς ἔφατ᾿, Ἀἰνείας δ᾿ ἐκατηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα / ἔγνω ἐσάντα ἰδὼν 17.334-335) implies that Aeneas could pick out features of the disguised gods face that were different from Periphas himself. This ability helps Aeneas understand the brevity of the situation, since Apollo does not allow himself to be seen in a recognizable form, unless it is necessary. Apollo makes it so that he is distinguishable enough to Aeneas, so that Aeneas could tell Hector that the gods told him Zeus is on their side and inspire them even more to continue into battle.

Finally, I arrive at the most dramatic recognized disguise scene of the Iliad [22.224-231]. Athena, at the most pivotal moment of Hector’s life, disguises as Deiphobus, to inspire Hector to fight Achilles. After briefly speaking to Achilles, she disguises as Deiphobus and speaks to Hector. Hector goes forth and battles Achilles, but in a crucial moment, he calls for Deiphobus. Deiphobus does not come to save him, and Hector knows that Athena has tricked
him. He knows that this is his fate, and although Zeus and Apollo had been on his side, he knew that they too chose this fate for him. Achilles kills Hector, who in his dying words asks him to return his body back to the Trojans [22.338-344].

This is Athena’s final proactive intervention of the Iliad. In one of the most pivotal scenes of the Iliad, she contributes to death of Hector. Athena’s disguise to Hector is so that she can persuade him to fight Achilles and seek out his doom. Athena would not have been able to persuade Hector if he initially knew that she was disguising to trick him to go fight Achilles and meet his death [22.232-237]. This fate, which Athena helps Achilles carry out, showcases her powers that her disguise has over the plot in the Iliad. They help shift the plot when possible to either change it in their favor or to carry out the fate of characters. Note that Hector does not fare well when he sees gods in recognizable form [20.378-380], because similarly to the Apollo section, he knows that it means doom is coming. Hector, understanding that Athena was intervening, knows that it is his time to die in battle against Achilles. Even though he knows this, he is still willing to fight Achilles to the death.

The character of Deiphobus speaks two other times in Book 13, and the one aspect of his character we can take away from both speeches is his loyalty. In his first speech to Hypsenor, he states that Asius is avenged (οὐ μᾶν αὐτὸς ἄτιτος κεῖτ᾿ Ἀσιος, 13.414). In his second speech to Aeneas, he states that he must rescue his sister’s, noting in particular the important relationship of kin (νῦν σε μᾶλα χρή / γαμμάσθῳ ἀμνέμεναι, εἴ πέρ τί σε κηδος ἵκανεν, 13.464-465). In Athena’s speech to Hector, she states “There I see whether Achilles / indeed slaying us the gory spoils he brings / on the hollow ships” (ἳνα εἶδομεν εἰ κεν Ἀχιλλεὺς / νῶι κατακτεῖνας ἔναρα βροτόεντα φέρηται / νήας ἐπὶ γλαφυράς, 22.244-246), which continues this pattern of loyalty to the Trojans.
Athena’s disguise for Hector is more effective than her disguise for Menelaus in that she can speak like the character she is disguised as (Ὡς φαμένη καὶ κερδοσύνη ἡγήσατ’ Ἀθήνη· 22.247). Once he calls for Deiphobus, and he was nowhere to be found, he understands that Athena has tricked him and that it was his time to die. [22.294-305]. Although it is unclear why he assumed it was Athena, one potential reason is that she is the biggest protector of the Greeks and the deity that intervenes the most to help them. Like Hector knows that Apollo is on the Trojan side, he knows that Athena is on the Greek side.

Once more in this section, Athena is a proactive deity. She intervenes before anyone else can call for her, but this time since these are not her favorites, she has more of a reason to intervene proactively, since they would not normally call for her. Since the ones, she disguises for are either not a favorite of hers, or are surrounded by those who are not her favorites, she feels the need to disguise to reach her overall goal of helping the Greeks. Although she is sometimes told by Zeus to intervene, her intentions never change. Her clear goal is for the Greeks to win the Trojan war.

**Disguise Conclusions**

Divine disguise in the *Iliad* presents the following conclusions to the audience. The biggest conclusion that disguise interventions give us are that they affect the plot in ways which divine beings intend for them to. Unrecognized disguises show us that at times, gods and goddesses choose to keep their disguise a secret, either because the mortals they disguise for are not their favorite mortals, they don’t usually disguise and disguise as a way of keeping their religious characterization, or the disguise effect on the plot keeps the
recognized disguises demonstrate that, in only a few scenes, gods and goddesses are discovered by demi-gods, or mortals who are favorites of divinities. This shows the special relationship that these select humans have with gods, and shows the extent to which they relate to one another. Disguise, in acting as a plot device for the Iliad, adds drama and mystery to the epic and outlines the importance of gods and goddesses undercover for the purposes of Greek religion.
Conclusion

Divine intervention in Homer’s *Iliad* is an important topic of research because of the major effects it has on the plot. Divine beings act as plot devices, and with each intervention have an impact on the plot. There are two types of interventions in the *Iliad*: non-disguise interventions and disguise interventions. My interest lies in this thesis has been in the disguise interventions. However, to understand the reasons behind disguise interventions, it has been necessary to examine non-disguise interventions too. I started my work by discussing the various non-disguise interventions by the gods and considering the reasoning behind each next disguise. I then examined the various disguise interventions by the gods and acknowledged the ways in which they are unique. I will close this thesis by first reviewing overarching conclusions on non-disguise interventions. Next, I will discuss the conclusions I reached on disguise interventions and the importance they hold overall in the *Iliad*. Finally, I will look at future research that can be conducted on this topic and see how it is relevant to the conclusions I have reached.

*Non-Disguise Interventions*

Non-disguise interventions in the *Iliad* reveal a few very particular patterns. One of these patterns that is applied across each god is that mostly each mortal who is the recipient of the non-disguise intervention is a divine favorite of the gods. For example, Athena has a clear distinction of who her favorites are: Odysseus, Diomedes, and Achilles. She specifically always mentions Diomedes’ father Tydeus (also a favorite of hers) in her non-disguise
interventions, which explains how Diomedes earns the favor of Athena. Apollo, being on the side of the Trojans, favors Hector, the greatest Trojan warrior of them all. Each deity acts in the interest that either helps or hurts a divine favorite of theirs or another god. Deities also act in accordance to their already known characterizations in the *Iliad*. For example, Athena is known to be a clever goddess. She uses clever and cunning when she comes down to Diomedes in Book 10 in her recognizable form, after Odysseus called to her for help, to advise Diomedes to fight. This shows her clever nature because she does not go down to her favorite who calls upon her, but rather her favorite whom she knows will change the situation to help both mortals.

First, I look at a specific type of non-disguise intervention I label as a familial intervention. This type of intervention involves deities helping their children. First, I look at Thetis helping her son Achilles. Next, I look at Aphrodite helping her son Aeneas. These instances are in their own category because they involve a mother to son relationship, which is the reason behind the non-disguise intervention.

Other non-disguise interventions in the *Iliad* tell us that gods do not need a familial connection to mortals to come down and help them in their recognizable form. Athena, in a recognizable form, gives aid to her favorite heroes: Odysseus, Diomedes, and Achilles. Apollo, in a recognizable form, intervenes to both give aid to his favorite heroes (Hector), and hurt other’s divine favorites (Diomedes and Achilles, divine favorites of Athena). Apollo’s interventions in his recognizable form are different from Athena’s in that he has two types of interventions: conversational and on conversational. Apollo’s conversational interventions in his recognizable form only occur when they are necessary. The most prominent of these examples comes in Book 20 when Apollo comes down to Hector in a
conversational intervention, to tell him he must not fight Achilles. Hector, at once, understands that Apollo coming down to him is serious and proceeds to follow his advice. Otherwise, he intervenes in a non-conversational way to aid the Trojans. In most of his interventions, he interacts with a divine favorite. In one of his non-conversational interventions, when he awakens Hipocoon (Book 10) he is not present in a recognizable form, but simply whispers to Hipocoon's ear to awaken him to notify the Trojans of what the Greeks have done to their camp. The significance behind Apollo's different levels of non-disguise exemplify that he keeps his conversational non-disguise events to a minimum so the mortals he does speak to understand the brevity of the situation. His conversation with Hector in Book 20 contrasts with his non-conversation with Hector in Book 15 when he intervenes to help Hector fight in battle. Although he has a goal of helping the Trojans win the war, his conversational non-disguise interventions also show that he has other underlying goals that he shows when he comes down to speak to mortals in his recognizable form.

Next, Poseidon's non-disguise intervention involves a divine favorite, Aeneas. Although Aeneas is not a divine favorite of Poseidon's specifically, he is protected by the gods both because he is the son of a deity, and because his fate lies beyond the Trojan War. Finally, Iris acts as a messenger of Zeus in all her interventions but specifically in her non-disguise intervention, she acts both in respect to the elder Trojan, Priam, and to the Greek religion. This is a plot specific non-disguise intervention. Normally, Iris is disguised. However, her last intervention comes in a non-disguise form because of the situation. Priam, although not necessarily a divine favorite, garners a lot of respect from Zeus because of his status as a Trojan elder. She carries out Zeus' bidding and does so in a way that shows respect to Priam.
In these non-disguise interventions, I learn mainly that the pool of mortals who see gods in their recognizable forms is few, but this keeps it as a special instance in the *Iliad* when gods do come down in their recognizable form. They act with goals in mind to help their side win the Trojan war, and do so in a way that also reveals who their favorites are, and what morals they keep in their interventions.

*Disguise Interventions*

Disguise interventions in the *Iliad* contribute to the plot in different ways. I divide the disguise interventions into two categories: unrecognized and recognized disguises. The purpose behind my division of these disguises is to observe if there is a difference amongst the unrecognized and recognized disguises. In the first category of unrecognized disguises there are many patterns including, heroes who are not divine favorites do not recognize gods as they intervene, gods who disguise rarely show other character traits while in disguise, and gods disguise not only from humans but from other gods.

First, I look at Athena’s unrecognized disguises to mortals. Her disguises are aimed towards mortals who are not her divine favorites. Athena wants to help the Greeks, and by disguising she does not have to show herself to anyone who is not her favorite. Next are Apollo’s unrecognized disguises. Apollo’s agenda is different from Athena’s in that he fights to help the Trojans. Apollo’s disguises occur in situations in which he disguises in are not urgent. It is a greater effect to the plot that Apollo keeps his disguise to help the Trojans. Next, come the unrecognized disguises of Poseidon. Poseidon disguises not to hide himself from the mortals, but to hide himself from Zeus. Poseidon and Zeus are feuding and Poseidon
doesn't want Zeus to see that he is intervening to help the Greeks. Finally, Hera and Ares’ disguises act in correlation to their characters as gods. They disguise to try to rouse their side (Greeks for Hera, Trojans for Ares) and do so in ways that keep their characterization intact. Hera disguises as Stentor and yells to the Greeks to fight harder. This continues in line with who we know Hera to be, because there are often when her anger is shown in mythology (such as later in the *Aeneid* when she holds a grudge that Aeneas is going to ruin her favorite city of Carthage). Ares, being the god of war, intervenes to help in war.

One aspect of the recognized disguises that I find interesting is that for the most part, the mortals recognize the gods after they leave (Turkeltaub’s post factum recognition) because of a physical aspect of the gods. I start with Poseidon’s recognized disguise to Ajax the Greater. Ajax is a demi-god, the son of Telamon and Periboea. He holds divine favor to the gods, since he is a demi-god himself, and that is why he can recognize Poseidon. Helen has Aphrodite’s divine favor because of her relationship to Paris. In the judgement of Paris, Paris declared Aphrodite to be the fairest goddess and was awarded Helen as a prize. Therefore, Paris is protected by Aphrodite and Helen is protected because of Paris. Another interesting part of this disguise intervention is that Helen recognizes Aphrodite’s beauty and thus her intervention. This continues the trend we notice with Poseidon’s intervention. Hector also recognizes Iris’ disguise. Hector has divine favor from the gods. Hermes fulfills his duties, as *Psychopompus*, when he disguises initially to Priam and later reveals himself, intending to bring Priam to retrieve the body of Hector from Achilles so it can receive proper burial. Aeneas recognizes Apollo’s disguise, specifically recognizes his eyes, when Apollo intervenes intending to help the Trojans. Aeneas has divine favor from the gods so that is why he can recognize Apollo. Finally, Hector recognizes Athena’s disguise after he already
arouses Achilles into battle, realizing that his death is approaching. Hector recognizes Athena because he has divine favor and in recognizing her he knows that his death is approaching.

Overall, disguises are not revealed in the Iliad unless there are special circumstances that allow for the mortals to know gods are in disguise. Disguise serves as a way for the gods to change the plot in a way that would benefit them or advance their goals. Unrecognized disguise serves as a way for gods to interact with mortals because they cannot show themselves to mortals, either because they didn’t earn divine favor or the god wants to remain disguises from other gods. Each disguise scene, whether recognized or unrecognized, works to shift the plot in different ways and for various outcomes.

Future Research

The Iliad is only one of Homer’s epics involving disguise. The Odyssey, an epic outlining Odysseus’ journey home to Ithaca from Troy, involves many disguise scenes of Athena. The next step in my research would be to look at the disguise interventions of this epic and see if my conclusions of disguise continue to the Odyssey. The Odyssey is different from the Iliad in that, for the most part, it outlines only Athena’s disguises and interventions. The Odyssey’s different presentation of divine intervention makes us think more about the differences in the epics, etc. It seems that in each of his works, Homer has something different to say about divine intervention and disguise. Thinking back to his hymns, he outlines a story of gods using disguise for their own selfish gains. In the Iliad, he considers the gods as plot devices to help mortals in the Trojan War. In the Odyssey, however, he continues the relationship of Athena and Odysseus on a deeper level and does not give a range of disguises,
but simply teaches us more about the character of Athena and how she acts towards her favorites in interventions.
References


