

Homer's Iliad
The Basel Commentary

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Edited by
Anton Bierl and Joachim Latacz

Prolegomena

With contributions by
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René Nünlist, Magdalene Stoevesandt, Rudolf
Wachter, Martin L. West

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Benjamin W. Millis and Sara Strack

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Preface to the 1st Edition (2000)

The commentary commencing with this volume is meant not only to serve as a tool for professional scholars of classical antiquity, but also to make the earliest preserved major text of European literature somewhat more accessible to literary scholars and students of all disciplines, as well as to others interested in literary studies. Homer's era is removed from ours by about 2700 years. In human history, these approximately 80 generations are a mere blink of the eye. But given the structural social and cultural changes from Greece via Rome, Byzantium and the modern European national states, an adequate, spontaneous comprehension of this kind of poem cannot be taken for granted today. An important subsidiary goal of this project is thus to mitigate the impression of foreignness or even inaccessibility common among non-specialists. This is based on the hope that the commentary will contribute to integrating Homer anew, or at least in a new light, into our society's cultural memory.

The structure of organization and the internal composition are described in detail in the 'Introduction' (see COM 36–43). The work as a whole is composed of three parts: (1) the Prolegomena volume, (2) the text/translation volumes, and (3) the commentary volumes (line-by-line commentary). These three parts interlock and form a tripartite unity.

The present Prolegomena volume forms the basis of the commentary and serves to relieve it of repetitiveness. As detailed below (COM 40), it would have been uneconomical and tiresome to discuss indispensable basic information anew at every relevant point. Instead, the most important data regarding the history of Homer commentaries, the history of the text, formularity and orality, Homeric grammar, meter, the structure of the poem, Homeric poetics, the characters in the action (subdivided between gods and humans, and supplemented with an alphabetic index of characters), and the connections between Homeric and Mycenaean vocabulary, are summarized in ten 'blocks' of information. These blocks are designated by abbreviations (G = grammar, M = meter, etc.) and are organized by paragraph or (where more appropriate) alphabetized. In the line-by-line commentary, reference is made to these blocks by abbreviation + paragraph number (G 25, M 10, etc.) wherever a more detailed or systematic explanation appeared necessary or useful.

The central topics for a primarily philological commentary on the *Iliad* are largely covered by the ten blocks of information,¹ as can be seen by comparison

¹ This applies to the present English edition also in comparison to the Homeric compendia published in 1995 (*Homeric Questions*, ed. J. P. Crielaard, Amsterdam), 2004 (*The Cambridge Com-*

with the most extensive recent compendium of Homeric scholarship, the *New Companion to Homer*, published in 1997 (see the bibliography at the end of this volume). Sections from the *Companion*, such as ‘The Homeric Question’, ‘Epic as Genre’, ‘Homer and Hesiod’ and the like find their proper place in a handbook – as does the entire fourth section (‘Homer’s Worlds’: archaeology, history, sociology, ethics) – but will hardly be missed in a work of commentary. Only the lack of a separate block dedicated to ancient explications of Homer (scholia) is to be regretted.² Here, the notes in ‘Commenting on Homer’ (COM) and ‘History of the text’ (HT) may provide some temporary compensation.

The editor and authors have attempted to present the relevant results of Homeric scholarship in accord with the current state of knowledge. Over the course of the last approximately 100 years, Homeric scholarship has not only become international to an unexpected degree (active researchers today reside in about 45 countries), but has also become specialized to such an extent that an overview of the total output has been impossible for some time. Not to attempt this, however, would not only contradict the academic *ethos*, but would also miss the main goal of any commentary, which is to aid the advance of knowledge by collating what has been achieved to date. Accordingly, every attempt has been made to approach this ideal as closely as possible. The editor and authors are grateful for comments and amendments, even more so since an update of the current Prolegomena volume, after a reasonable span of time, is part of the project plan.

The blocks of information are offered in diction as generally comprehensible as possible, with the exception of G and MYC, where prior knowledge is indispensable; a renewed interest in Homer will not be aroused by the use of insider jargon. As for content, on the other hand, every effort has been made to serve even experts as well as possible, particularly by means of information offered in footnotes and abundant bibliographical references. The needs of this second group of users are further addressed through innovations such as the extensive Homeric grammar, specially developed for this volume by Rudolf Wachter, and the narratological premiere of a ‘Homeric poetics in keywords’ by René Nünlist and Irene de Jong. A further innovation can be found in the Mycenaean index by

panion to Homer, ed. R. Fowler, Cambridge) and 2011 (*Homer-Handbuch. Leben–Werk–Wirkung*, edd. A. Rengakos/B. Zimmermann, Stuttgart), as well as to the *Homer Encyclopedia* (3 vols.), ed. M. Finkelberg, Chichester; Malden, MA. – The ten blocks are here supplemented by an eleventh, containing an overview of the most recent scholarship on Homer, by A. Bierl (‘New Trends in Homeric Scholarship’ [NTHS]).

² A welcome temporary filling of the gap has since been published: René Nünlist, *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia*, Cambridge 2009.

Rudolf Wachter, similarly formulated specifically for this volume, which for the first time illustrates via concrete examples the breadth and depth of the current linking the Mycenaean period of Greek history linguistically with the ‘Homeric’ period approximately 700–450 years later. The extensive collation and explanation of all characters featured in the *Iliad* (deities, humans, peoples) in two types of survey (‘Cast of characters’ and ‘Character Index’) by Fritz Graf and Magdalene Stoevesandt will likely be welcomed not only by friends of literature but by professional Homeric scholars as well, for whom the previously available lists of this kind, generally incomplete and inaccurate, have long been a source of annoyance. The ‘History of the text’ by Martin West converts the tremendous command of the material exhibited by the latest editor of the text of the *Iliad* (in the *Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*) into a masterful yet readable overview.

Every information block draws on the *entire Iliad* for attestations, and frequently also on the *Odyssey*, the works of Hesiod and the Homeric hymns. The Prolegomena volume thus emerges as a reference work meant to serve as a companion volume for the duration of the commentary project. It is hoped that the enormous expenditure of time required to compose it will be rewarded by a similarly long life for its contents.

*

Completion of this volume was only possible thanks to the collaboration, energy and perseverance of all those involved, especially the permanent associates of the project in Basel, René Nünlist, Magdalene Stoevesandt and Claude Brügger, at different times diligently supported by student assistants. Much patience, tolerance and commitment, often approaching the limits of human endurance, has been asked from the permanent associates in particular. Special thanks are due the authors, both project staff and external associates, for their endless readiness to cooperate, which has found its most efficient expression in repeated mutual reading and subsequent revision of manuscripts. The administration of the University of Basel has generously and actively supported the project from the very beginning, making spacious premises available for it and providing indispensable electronic infrastructure. The Basel university library and its staff are due thanks for their regular, engaged support in the procurement of academic literature. We thank the *Freiwilligen Akademischen Gesellschaft Basel (FAG)* for a significant contribution toward the cost of books. In a field as intensively worked as Homeric studies, the overview of printed output and the task of remaining up to date present particular challenges; here we are indebted to Prof. Dr. Françoise Létoublon for providing us with current information from her Homeric research

center in Grenoble, and especially for sending us the extremely helpful current bibliographies on Homer compiled by Dr. Martin Steinrück.³

Of crucial importance for the gradual emergence of the concept of the project, which goes back to conversations at the 9th Congress of the *Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Études Classiques (FIEC)*, held in Pisa in August 1989, was the enthusiastic approval and active support of Dr. h.c. Heinrich Krämer, managing director of the Stuttgart Teubner-Verlag at the time. After Teubner's transition to Saur publishers in November 1999, Prof. Dr. h.c. mult. Klaus Gerhard Saur also showed acute interest in the project. To thank all those mentioned above is more than the mere performance of a duty. But the greatest thanks are due the *Schweizerischer Nationalfonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung*, without whose generous financing the project would never have begun.⁴

Basel, October 2000

Joachim Latacz

³ Cordial thanks are now also due Prof. Dr. Edzard Visser, who provided us with access to the first two parts of his extensive report on Homeric studies in *Lustrum* (see bibliography) when they were still in manuscript form.

⁴ Subsequent additional support by Swiss and German private foundations (see Impressum) allowed gradual expansion from the original two to five younger scholars (see COM 37). We are grateful and happy that the tradition of patronage, including in the field of Classical Studies, is still at home in Europe today.

Preface to the English Edition

The *Basel Homer Commentary* (*Basler Homer-Kommentar*), established by Joachim Latacz (Chair of Greek Language and Literature at the University of Basel, 1981–2002), can already look back on two decades of successful work. Progress on the commentary continues thanks to a research team, attached to the professorship for Greek philology at the University of Basel (Department of Classics), supported by the University of Basel and funded by the *Schweizerischer Nationalfonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung* (*Swiss National Science Foundation, SNF*), its main sponsor. After Joachim Latacz became Professor emeritus, I joined the team of editors in 2002 when I succeeded him as professor; since then we have jointly managed the project.

Project publications since 2000 are a volume of Prolegomena to lay the groundwork and six double volumes of commentary (*Iliad* Books 1, 2, 3, 6, 19, and 24; each in two fascicules: fascicule 1, text and new translation; fascicule 2, commentary). Two of these volumes (Prolegomena and Volume I: commentary on Book 1) appeared in a third edition in 2009, and another volume (Volume II: commentary on Book 2) in a second edition in 2010. Three more double volumes of commentary (on *Iliad* 14, 16, and 18) compiled in the most recent project phase (2009–2015) are due to be published in 2015. Another three volumes of text, translation and commentary on *Iliad* Books 7, 9, and 22, will be added at yet-to-be-determined dates (ca. 2016/17). Twelve books of the *Iliad* – that is, half of the entire poem, focused on its structural pillars – will thus have received treatment in the commentaries within the near future. A grant application for continuation of the project is currently under consideration by the *Swiss National Science Foundation*.

The research team producing the commentaries currently consists of five post-doctoral ‘Homeric specialists’, each holding a PhD. Four of them (Claude Brügger, Marina Coray, Martha Krieter, Katharina Wesselmann) are producing a commentary on a complete Book of the *Iliad*; Magdalene Stoevesandt serves as the general editor.

Funding in the first phase of the project (1995–2003) was provided solely by the *Swiss National Science Foundation*, joined in the second (2003–2009) and third (2009–2015) phases by the private *Freiwillige Akademische Gesellschaft (FAG)*, the private *Max Geldner-Stiftung*, the private *Frey-Clavel-Stiftung* (all Basel), and the *Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur*, all of which we would like to warmly thank again for their support.

To our delight, the commentary was well received in international professional circles. This is shown by the detailed German- and English-language reviews,¹ as well as by the necessity for second and third printings within a mere ten years. The sole fact regretted by all was that the commentary was only available in German, the rise of English as the academic *lingua franca* does of course not exclude the field of Classical Studies.

Early 2011 provided the occasion for a memorable meeting in Princeton between myself and Michiel Klein-Swormink, who had at that time just begun his tenure as *De Gruyter's* general representative in the United States, when I was spending a year at the *Institute for Advanced Study (IAS)*. With the desirability of an English edition of the commentary already in mind – I had just published an English translation of my book on the comic chorus – I spontaneously suggested at the end of our exchange publishing the Homer commentary in English as well. Michiel Klein-Swormink received the suggestion with similarly spontaneous enthusiasm. We quickly became friends over dinner and immediately began to plan the project in greater detail, and he promised to campaign for the project's swift realization at the publishing house.

In early summer of 2011, our publishers *Walter de Gruyter* (Berlin/Boston) officially decided to translate the Basel commentary into English and to distribute the English-language version throughout the world via the various modern means available (including digital versions with interactive features for acquisition in university libraries).

Michiel Klein-Swormink had made clear in our very first discussion that the publishing house would not be able to shoulder the substantial financial expenditures involved in producing the translation – which would, of course, have to be produced by native speakers with a high level of competence in Classical Studies. We were asked to raise third-party funds, with Michiel Klein-Swormink offering his help in developing the concept. While still at the *IAS*, I approached a variety of potential sponsors in the United States. My letter was accompanied by a detailed description of the commentary and the project design by Michiel Klein-Swormink, together with cost estimate provided by the publishing house. After several disappointments, in the fall of 2011 we found an open ear at the *Stavros Niarchos Foundation*, which has provided and continues to provide significant support to promote Hellenism world-wide. At the same time, the *Stavros Niarchos Foundation* set the condition, in line with practices common to major American founda-

¹ Reviews available digitally can be found at: <https://klaphil.unibas.ch/graезistik/griech/bk/rezensionen/>. – In the meantime, our commentary has also been evaluated by Edzard Visser in *Lustrum* 54 (2012) 208–343 (see III.3.a).

tions, that the sum they were willing to grant be matched by further donations of at least the same amount within the space of one year. Shortly before the deadline, two Basel foundations stepped in: the *Freiwillige Akademische Gesellschaft (FAG)* and the *L. & Th. La Roche Stiftung*. *De Gruyter* guaranteed the defrayal of the remaining funds. Both foundations as well as *De Gruyter* are due our sincere thanks.

The next steps were to establish the project infrastructure, find a Coordinating Manager/Editor for the English edition, and identify suitable translators. This turned out to be an enormous challenge. As directors of the *Basel Homer Commentary*, we began our search before the official start of the project on 3 December 2012. Already in January 2013, we held a meeting in Basel with Michiel Klein-Swormink, who had now advanced to the position of Senior Editorial Director for Classical Studies and Philosophy and director of the US branch of *De Gruyter*, and had taken over responsibility for the project on the publisher's side. A thorough discussion took place regarding various practical matters of organisation and management, as well as specific questions concerning the design of the translation in detail. These negotiations resulted in an Editorial Publication Agreement between *De Gruyter* and the editors of the *Basel Homer Commentary* (including all team members).

Over the next few months, we intensified our efforts to find an editorial and translation team that could meet our conditions of linguistic competence in both German and Ancient Greek and experience in Homeric scholarship, and could work within the budgetary restraints resulting from the aim of finishing as many of the thirteen volumes as possible in the time allotted and with the sum available. After a series of meetings and intense negotiations from July to October 2013, we managed to win as General Editor of the English Edition S. Douglas Olson, Distinguished McKnight University Professor at the University of Minnesota. As a specialist in Greek Philology with a particular interest in the commentary-writing process and, among many other accomplishments, the author of a monograph on the *Odyssey* and a commentary on the *Homeric Hymn of Aphrodite*, he is familiar with Homer, a native speaker of English with competence in German and currently, as a result of his association with the Heidelberg Academy-supported *Kommentierung der Fragmente der griechischen Komödie* project, a resident of Freiburg im Breisgau near Basel. The complex series of negotiations between the publishing house, *Basel Homer Commentary* team, Douglas Olson, and the various other persons involved, yielded a happy agreement that Douglas Olson would form and work with his own team of translators, Sara Strack and Benjamin W. Millis, each holding a PhD in Classics. In late fall 2013, they began translating the first batch of three volumes, the Prolegomena and the commentaries on Books 3 and 6.

In concept, there was rapid agreement between our team and *De Gruyter* not simply to translate the volumes that had already appeared in German, but to publish a thoroughly revised new edition. From the start, we made it a point to include supplementary information directed specifically at an Anglophone audience. In addition, the English-language version omits the accompanying text volume with our own translation; the lemmata are instead drawn from Richard Lattimore's popular translation of the *Iliad*.²

Since summer 2013, the authors of the *Basel Homer Commentary* have been revising and updating the German volumes previously produced. I have also written an additional chapter for the Prolegomena that deals with the current trends and developments in international, especially Anglophone, Homeric scholarship.

We now present the Prolegomena volume as the basis for the new *Homer's Iliad: The Basel Commentary*, expanded and updated in the fashion described above. The authors have once again revised their contributions and, where appropriate, made additions, particularly to the bibliography. The volumes on Books 3 and 6 will follow shortly. In the future, approximately three new volumes are projected per year.

We wish to thank once again our sponsors and the individuals who have supported us within the various foundations, namely Dr. Caspar Zellweger (Chairman of the *FAG*), Stefan Schmid (Chairman of the *L. & Th. La Roche Stiftung*), Prof. Dr. Jan Philipp Reemtsma (Founder and Manager of the *Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur*) and Matthias Kamm (Director of the managing office of the Hamburg foundation), Oliver Ehinger (president of the *Frey-Clavel-Stiftung*) and Prof. Dr. Peter Blome (treasurer of the *Frey-Clavel-Stiftung*), as well as Dr. Peter Lenz (Chairman of the *Max Geldner-Stiftung*). In addition, we thank the *De Gruyter* publishing house, in particular Michiel Klein-Swormink, for their dynamic support and vision, both managerial and academic; also Dr. Anke Beck (Vice-president, Humanities Program) for guaranteeing the remaining funds, Dr. Serena Pirrotta (Senior Acquisitions Editor, Ancient Studies) for steady support from the Berlin central office, Katharina Legutke (Project Editor, Classical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies) for ongoing support, and the book production team for their problem-free and professional production. We further thank all contributors to the Prolegomena, who in addition to their administrative and

² See most recently R. Lattimore, R. Martin (trans.), *The Iliad of Homer* (new introduction and notes by Richard Martin; first published 1951), Chicago/London 2011, and the review by K. Chew in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2012.10.04.

research tasks at their home institutions completed the task of updating their texts in a timely fashion; our research team, who despite the heavy claims of their ongoing commentary work shouldered the substantial additional workload without recompense; all the experts, as well as all the associated collaborating projects and individuals; and not least, our *alma mater*, the University of Basel, which has generously provided us with infrastructure and has constantly supported us in the acquisition of bibliographic materials.

Particularly warm thanks are due to the two translators, Benjamin W. Millis and Sara Strack, and the General Editor of the English Edition, S. Douglas Olson, with whom this project allowed me to reconnect 25 years after our collaboration as young colleagues at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (USA) in 1989/1990, for a smooth and collegial collaboration.

At a time when German is unfortunately declining in importance within the humanities and when many academics are only aware of publications in English, the publishing house and the Basel team are convinced that the current effort represents a significant contribution to the study of Classics, literature, and the humanities in general, by providing anyone interested with access in English to our commentary on the *Iliad*, one of the great foundational texts of Western literature.

Basel, January 2015

Anton Bierl

The goal of my team has not been to produce a new Basel commentary on the *Iliad* – although the English-language version has been updated in numerous small but important ways by the commentators themselves – but to offer a faithful, clear translation of the original. Our efforts should accordingly be judged on that basis alone; we claim no credit for the insights the Prolegomena and the individual commentary volumes offer, only for the rendering of the work into English. But we hope that this in itself will be seen as a significant contribution to scholarship, by breaking down some of the artificial linguistic boundaries that separate students of the *Iliad* working in different national and regional traditions.

Texts are fundamentally shaped by the syntax and vocabulary of the language in which they are produced, making translation (as is often observed) as much an art as a science. In addition, the Basel *Iliad* commentary is full of highly specialized linguistic and literary concepts, and engages with a wide variety of academic subdisciplines in the field of classical studies. I accordingly take the occasion of this preface to express my thanks and admiration for the members of my translation team, Benjamin W. Millis and Sara Strack, who have done a

superb job of rendering the original German into clear, colloquial English that nonetheless allows something of the individual voices of the various contributors to be heard.

Those who know Joachim Latacz and Anton Bierl personally will instinctively understand precisely how easy and collegial our collaboration up to this point has been. We look forward to the production of further volumes in the series.

S. Douglas Olson

Freiburg, 22 January 2015

Abbreviations

1. The following abbreviations are used for cross-references within the Prolegomena volume:

CG/CH	Cast of Characters of the <i>Iliad</i> : Gods/Human Beings
COM	Introduction: Commenting on Homer
FOR	Formularity and Orality
G	Grammar of Homeric Greek
HT	History of the Text
M	Homeric Meter (including prosody)
MYC	Homeric – Mycenaean Word Index
NTHS	New Trends in Homeric Scholarship
xxx ^p	Superscript ‘P’ after a term refers to the definition of the term in ‘Homeric Poetics in Keywords’.
STR	The Structure of the <i>Iliad</i>

2. References to the commentary volumes:

n.	Lat. <i>nota</i> (‘1.15n.’ refers to the commentary on Book 1, verse 15).
R	refers to the ‘24 Rules relating to Homeric Language’ found in each commentary volume.

3. Additional abbreviations and symbols

(Abbreviations in general use are not listed here. – For special abbreviations used only in G and MYC, see pp. 66 and 236 respectively. – For bibliographic abbreviations, see pp. 259 ff.)

*	reconstructed form
<	developed from
>	developed into
	marks verse beginning/end
~	approximately corresponds to
≈	approximately the same
A 1, B 1 (etc.)	indicates caesurae in a hexameter (cf. M 6)
AN	Animal name
<i>Chrest.</i>	<i>Chrestomathia</i> (Proclus’ summary of the ‘Epic Cycle’)
<i>Cypr.</i>	<i>Cypria</i> (in the ‘Epic Cycle’)
DN	Divine name
<i>fr.</i>	fragment (<i>fragmentum</i>)
Gr.	Greek
Hes.	Hesiod (<i>Op.</i> = <i>Opera</i> , ‘Works and Days’; <i>Th.</i> = Theogony)
‘Hes.’	works ascribed to Hesiod

<i>h.Hom.</i>	Homeric Hymn (<i>h.Cer.</i> : to Ceres/Demeter; <i>h.Merc.</i> : to Mercury/Hermes; <i>h.Ven.</i> : to Venus/Aphrodite)
HN	Human name
IE	Indo-European
imper.	imperative
loc.	locative
Myc.	Mycenaean
OH	Officeholder
PN	Place name
POxy	Oxyrhynchus Papyri
sc.	<i>scilicet</i>
schol.	scholion, scholia
schol. A (etc.)	<i>scholion</i> in ms. A (etc.)
<i>s.v.</i> , <i>s.vv.</i>	<i>sub voce</i> , <i>sub vocibus</i>
VB	verse beginning
VE	verse end
<i>v.l.</i>	<i>varia lectio</i>
voc.	vocative

4. Additional notations used in this volume

In order to avoid confusion and facilitate cross referencing between this edition and the German edition, the former paragraph and footnote numbering have been preserved. Where new paragraphs and footnotes have been added to this edition, this has been indicated with the addition of a, b, etc., especially in FOR.

Introduction: Commenting on Homer. From the Beginnings to this Commentary (COM)

By Joachim Latacz

1. **Preliminary Remarks (1)**
2. **Commenting on Homer in Antiquity and the Middle Ages (2)**
 - 2.1 Oral Commentaries (3)
 - 2.2 Written Commentaries (4)
 - 2.2.1 Early School Exegesis (the so-called D-scholia) (5)
 - 2.2.2 Linguistic Studies of the Sophists (6–8)
 - 2.2.3 Exegesis by the Philosophers, especially Aristotle (9–13)
 - 2.2.4 Commentary Work of the Alexandrians (14–17)
 - 2.2.5 Compilation Commentaries in the Roman Imperial and Byzantine Periods (18–20)
3. **Commenting on Homer in the Modern Period (21)**
 - 3.1 Before and after 'Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer)' (22–27)
 - 3.2 'Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer)' (28–35)
4. **The Present Commentary**
 - 4.1 Institutions and Authors (36–37)
 - 4.2 Intended Readership and Objectives (38)
 - 4.3 Arrangement and Presentation (39–41)
 - 4.4 Summary (42–44)

1. Preliminary Remarks

A history of commenting on Homer has yet to be written.¹ Given the unusual quantity and diversity not only of Homer Commentaries proper (begin-

¹ For the present, guidance can be found in the relevant sections of Rudolf Pfeiffer's *History of Classical Scholarship: from the Beginning to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (PFEIFFER 1968). Georg Finsler's *Homer in der Neuzeit von Dante bis Goethe* (FINSLER 1912) remains useful as a supplement. The instructive collective volume *Homer's Ancient Readers. The Hermeneutics of Greek Epic's earliest Exegetes*, edited in 1992 by Robert Lamberton and John J. Keaney (LAMBERTON/KEANEY 1992), with chapters on e.g. Aristotle (N. J. Richardson), the Stoics (A. A. Long), Aristarchus and the Pergamenes (J. I. Porter), the Neoplatonists (R. Lamberton), the Byzantines (R. Browning) and the reception of ancient readings of Homer in the Renaissance (A. Grafton), examines not philological commenting (the 'philological tradition': vii) but rather 'readings' (viii), i.e. various interpretational appropriations (or better, monopolizations) of Homer. – The present sketch is restricted to philological matters, in line with the objectives of the work as a whole.

ning with the ancient scholia) but also of observations and interpretations of Homer embedded in other works since the 6th c. BC (e.g. Aristotle's *Poetics*, Stoic interpretations, the tract *On the Sublime*, interpretations of the Neoplatonists, Church Fathers and Byzantines, Renaissance poetics, the literary debate 'Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes', interpretations by poets and philosophers in the German Classicism), a comprehensive work of this sort may need to remain a desideratum.² Each new commentary must nevertheless provide an account of the scope and nature of the intellectual tradition in which it stands, if only in broad strokes; past achievements can only be maintained and surpassed when their scope, method, emphasis and research focus are kept in mind. The following sketch accordingly attempts to record at least an outline.

2. Commenting on Homer in Antiquity and the Middle Ages

- 2 The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* represent the highpoint and conclusion of an ancient living oral tradition of song that goes back centuries and perhaps millennia.³ The introduction of writing around 800 BC made the perfect conservation of this tradition possible, but brought with it the tradition's demise as well: *after* the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, epic as a living art form belongs to the past (see FOR 45). Epic as a 'national', ever-changing poetry of the elite, supporting the social status quo, is replaced in the wake of the general societal change of the 8th/7th c. BC by lyric poetry, which with its new diversity and colorfulness, characterized by individuality and widely scattered in locale, is taken to be 'modern' in contrast to the monolithic nature of epic. Epic poetry continues to exist; it is no longer produced, however, in the moment by singers (*oidoi*) spontaneously combining and inventing before an audience, but is recited by rhapsodes on the basis of a fixed text. The Homeric epics come to occupy a special position. Always admired for their superior artistic quality, they are increasingly used for the purpose of education, thanks to their universal potential to instruct;⁴ promoted to educational texts, they fossilize as an intellectual heritage. Homer as 'school text' forms the

2 An account of Homer commentaries in modernity (since the *editio princeps* of the *Iliad* in 1488), planned for inclusion in the present commentary, had to be postponed for the moment in favor of the running commentary.

3 LATACZ (1998) 2006; LATACZ (2001) 2004.

4 'There are [in antiquity] very few dissenting voices to the proposition that Homer's goals were educational': LAMBERTON 1992, xxi.

common basis⁵ of the new intellectual class, centered in Miletus in Ionian Asia Minor, that starting around 600 BC initiates the Greek enlightenment and later continues in the sophistic movement of the 5th c., particularly in Athens. A need for commentaries on both epics naturally arises in connection with this didactic function of Homer.

2.1 Oral Commentaries

The first commentators on the Homeric epics were their performers, the rhapsodes. The (original) *Homeridai*⁶ were a special group, perhaps the nucleus of the rhapsodic craft; they seem to have traced themselves back to Homer himself and to have restricted themselves to performing *his* epics. As is evident in Plato's *Ion*, Platonic irony notwithstanding, for the rhapsodes commenting meant explication on all levels; the basis (as is still the case for us today) of this work was the elucidation of unusual words and phrases that were often no longer understood, the so-called *glōssai*.⁷ On this basis, a multi-tier complex of layers and directions in interpreting of the content developed; this becomes tangible to us only after its transfer to a written form.

2.2 Written Commentaries

As long as the person-specific commentaries of the rhapsodes, subject to time, location and competence, remained oral and thus unfixed, no merger of different insights and methods and thus no continuous growth of knowledge beyond the individual was possible. Theagenes of Rhegion (last quarter of the 6th c. BC) appears to have made the move to written form, crucial for all subsequent commentaries on Homer; he supposedly 'was the first to write about Homer',⁸ namely 'about his poetry, his genealogy and his life-time',⁹ and later commenta-

⁵ See Xenophanes of Colophon *VS* 21 B 10: '... from the beginning onward, they all learned from Homer ...'; on the development as a whole, see LATACZ 1991b, 512–595 (for the quotation: 547).

⁶ LATACZ (1998a) 2006.

⁷ PFEIFFER 1968, 5, 12f.

⁸ Porphyry, *Quaestiones Homericae ad Il.* 20.67sq. = Theagenes *VS* 8 A 2.13f.: ... από Θεαγένους τοῦ Ῥηγίνου, ὃς πρῶτος ἔγραψε περὶ Ὀμήρου. On Theagenes, see PFEIFFER 1968, 9 ff.

⁹ Tatian 31 p. 31,16 Schwartz = Theagenes *VS* 8 A 1: περὶ γὰρ τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως γένους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ χρόνου καθ' ὃν ἤκμασεν προηρεῦνησαν πρεσβύτατοι μὲν Θεαγένης τε ὁ Ῥηγίνος κατὰ Καμβύσην [529–522] γεγονῶς καὶ Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος ...

tors¹⁰ numbered him among the founders of *allegorical* interpretation. Theagenes' contemporary, Pherekydes of Syros, will have been part of the same direction in interpretation.¹¹

2.2.1 Early School Exegesis (the so-called D-scholía)

5 In school teaching, Homer was required reading from the earliest period (see 2 above). The rhapsodes' fundamental explications (*glōssai*) were integrated into education in the form of word lists, arranged in the order of the Books (likely already in use – see HT 18 – as they still are today). The examination in Homeric *glōssai* administered to a wayward son transmitted in a fragment (*fr.* 233 K.-A.) of Aristophanes' comedy *Daitalēs* (staged 427 BC) probably reflects Athenian school education in the 5th c.: 'Explain Homeric *glōssai*: What does *kórumba* mean?¹² [...] What does *amenēná kārēna* mean?'¹³ Such 'vocabulary tests' will have formed part of the curriculum from the 7th century on. The earliest 'Homeric-Attic' 'dictionaries' of Homer (in part contained even in the elementary section of the present commentary [see 41 below] in curtailed form) presumably developed from corresponding lists. They represent the basis for the word-explanations erroneously attributed to the Augustan period philologist Didymos (hence 'D'-scholia).¹⁴ In most cases, these seemingly simple glosses could not be dealt with as 1:1 renderings, but required excursions into Homeric grammar, realia, religion and the like (as in the two Aristophanic examples), and assumed an ability to make meaningful sense of the passage in question.¹⁵ They consequently represented a constant challenge to further commenting on Homer.

2.2.2 Linguistic Studies of the Sophists

6 The development of written explication takes place within the framework of the first European educational movement, the Greek sophistic of the 5th c. BC.

10 Theagenes VS 8 A 2

11 Pherekydes VS 7 A 9; cf. PFEIFFER 1968, 10.

12 *Il.* 9.241 (= decorations at the stern of a ship).

13 *Od.* 10.521 (= 'powerless heads' = the souls of the deceased in the underworld); PFEIFFER 1968, 14 f.

14 ERBSE 1965b, 2724 (C 2).

15 These 'translations' were thus ongoing and were elevated to a higher level after the transition to written form. The learned poets Antimachus of Colophon (PFEIFFER 1968, 93 ff.), Philitas of Cos and Simias of Rhodes (PFEIFFER 1968, 88 ff.) were known in their time as authors of such dictionaries, *glōssai* (cf. Engl. 'glossary').

This initially encompasses the problematization of linguistic and factual details. The direction and level of enquiry of these early ‘commentaries’ are basic at first, as might be expected; much of the content is bizarre by modern standards.

The sole preserved example of a sophistic interpretation of poetry can be seen as the beginning of the line along which these ‘explanations’ developed: Plato’s staging in the dialogue *Protagoras* of a – still oral – ‘interpretation contest’ between the sophist Protagoras and Socrates (who calls in the sophist Prodicus for support) regarding a poem by the lyric poet Simonides (Plat. *Prot.* 338e6–347a5). Even granting Plato’s aim of ironically exposing interpretations of poetry as useless gimmicks in this ‘performance’ (347c3–348a6), the core of these early interpretations is clear: a grasp of the overall sense of the passage is less relevant than control of the meanings of individual words (which are therefore tenaciously and ‘sophistically’ contested).¹⁶ As Rudolf PFEIFFER showed,¹⁷ this is due less to a lack of explanatory *ability* than to the explanatory *aim*. At the very beginning of the interpretation of the poem, Plato has Protagoras say: ‘I am of the opinion that the major part of a man’s education is his knowledge of literature.’¹⁸ But the same Protagoras had just made Socrates define the aim of his instruction as *politikē téchnē*, statesmanship, and describe his curriculum as an education for becoming a good statesman (319a3–7). The sophists are thus not concerned primarily with poetry *per se* but rather – aside from their own theoretical insights into the structure of language – with its ideal instrumentalization via (1) a logico-linguistic cognitive training of their students that is as efficient as possible, and (2) the students’ ability to use literature in argument. For their students were meant to become not literary scholars, but intellectually dexterous citizens and politicians. (School commentaries have faithfully retained this aim in European education, which is also still primarily literary.)

16 Does ‘to become’ (γενέσθαι) mean the same as ‘to be’ (ἔμμεναι), does ‘difficult’ (χαλεπόν) mean ‘not easy’ (μη ῥάδιον) or ‘bad’ (κακόν), etc. In a book entitled ‘Truth’ (Ἀλήθεια), Protagoras had discovered on the basis of the Homeric texts four discrete categories of sentences (plea, order, question, response) as well as the three genders of nouns (with the corresponding standard endings), and had demanded strict observance of differences in linguistic use; Aristophanes ridiculed this in *Clouds* (658 ff.), suggesting that instead of ‘trough’ (τὴν κάρδοπον), one would have to say ‘trough-ess’ (τὴν καρδόπη), since, as the word was feminine (τήν), no masculine ending (-ον) could be used. Remarkable grammatical reflections, prompted by Homeric reading, shine through these witticisms.

17 PFEIFFER 1968, ch. II (‘The Sophists ...’), esp. 30–47; cf. RICHARDSON 1975; RICHARDSON 1992, 32–34.

18 Ἠγοῦμαι ... ἐγὼ ἀνδρὶ παιδείας μέγιστον μέρος εἶναι περὶ ἐπῶν δεινὸν εἶναι: *Prot.* 338e6–8.

- 8 The sophists Prodicus and Hippias seem to have continued this line in their writings,¹⁹ and Diogenes Laertius transmits a long list of book titles on Homeric themes by Antisthenes.²⁰ To the latter as well, poetry in and of itself was of no concern: ‘The Sophistic explanations of poetry foreshadow the growth of a special field of inquiry, the analysis of language; *the final object is rhetorical or educational, not literary.*’²¹

2.2.3 Exegesis by the Philosophers, especially Aristotle

- 9 The restriction to questions of language, in contemporary terms philological and especially linguistic matters, is retained by the philosophers. Where they do not aim at an ethical or allegorical reading of Homer, as did e.g. Anaxagoras of Clazomenae or Metrodorus of Lampsacus,²² they chiefly remain in the traditional field of word explanation, like e.g. Democritus,²³ but also Plato and Aristotle.
- 10 Plato’s most influential contribution to commenting on Homer lies in his implicit deterrence from engaging in it. His deep-seated skepticism toward poetry – as toward the written word in general (*Phaedrus* 275d3–277a5) – is well known. It has been demonstrated elsewhere (VICAIRE 1960, esp. 81–103) that Plato could not have dared to exempt Homer in this regard. Had his direct and indirect students followed their master’s forceful verdict in *Protagoras* (347e1–7) – ‘gatherings of respectable men do not require an alien voice, not even that of the poets, since, on the one hand, they cannot be consulted regarding their statements, while on the other hand, among the majority of those citing them, one group claims that the poet means this, the other group that, exchanging words about a matter they cannot prove either way’ (the classic denial of any point to literary studies) – the present commentary would not exist. Fortunately, however, Plato’s students

19 Aside from ‘On Nature’ and ‘Horai’, no further book title referring to linguistic issues is transmitted for Prodicus; given his prominence and the influence of his linguistic studies (Plato, Aristophanes), this must be chance. His lessons on the ‘correctness of denomination’ (περὶ ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος; Plato, *Cratylus* 384b6) were famous, expensive and clearly established; they represent the beginning of the study of synonyms, see MAYER 1913. – Nor are publications on linguistic or literary topics known for Hippias of Elis, renowned for his learning in many fields; given the frequency of relevant citations (see PFEIFFER 1968, 52ff., 60f.), however, these are probably to be assumed.

20 PFEIFFER 1968, 36f. He may have already written ‘On Homeric interpreters’ (Περὶ Ὀμήρου ἐξηγητῶν).

21 PFEIFFER 1968, 37 (italics: J. L.).

22 On these two, see PFEIFFER 1968, 35.

23 Περὶ Ὀμήρου ἢ ὀρθοεπειῆς καὶ γλωσσέων; see PFEIFFER 1968, 42f.

instead took up the challenge of the following cry for help from him, trapped in his own system: ‘Still let it be said that we at any rate, if poetic imitation directed toward pleasure could give any account why it ought to be in a well-governed city, that we should receive it gladly, since we are aware that we are charmed by it [...]. For indeed, my friend, are not even you charmed by it, most of all when you view it in the form of *Homer*?’ (*Republic* 607c3–d1). Plato’s *Cratylus* could be seen (namely by his students) as a bridge to addressing this call to defend poetry and Homer, since here, despite all buffoonery, a fondness for language, and once more for Homer in particular (391c8–393b6), results in the presentation and discussion of an impressive catalogue of ‘linguistic’ insights (see LATACZ [1979] 1994, 646 f.).

Aristotle, in heeding Plato’s cry for help, accomplished more regarding 11
Homeric philology as a whole, and commenting on Homer in particular, than is generally realized today. On the one hand, he brought together on a large scale and partially systematized findings regarding Homeric word use and problems of interpretation that had previously been collected for the purpose of instruction or were scattered across the works of individual sophists and philosophers. This much at least is clear from the 40 fragments²⁴ of his six books on *Homeric Problems* (Προβλήματα Ὀμηρικά or Ἀπορήματα Ὀμηρικά or Ὀμηρικά ζητήματα), together with chapter 25 of his *Poetics*, which appears to have been intended as a summary.²⁵ It is clear from this chapter that Aristotle designed a systematic defense against attacks, often ridiculous by today’s standards, mounted by a critique of Homer²⁶ that had turned into a kind of popular game operating in numerous areas, the ethical in particular (a critique that likely also affected Aristotle’s teacher, Plato, after it was first formulated by Xenophanes of Colophon). Aristotle’s defensive structure solved problems ‘in three ways: by assessing the intent of the portrayal [...], by recourse to purely linguistic aspects, or finally by arguments that render an error irrelevant from an aesthetic point of view’ (FUHRMANN 1982, 137 n. 2, transl.). His solution regarding *Iliad* 20.234 can serve as an example: (*problem*) How can the poet state that Ganymede ‘pours wine’ for Zeus [οἶνοχοεύειν], even though the gods drink not wine but nectar? (*solution*) This is based on word usage (τὸ ἔθος τῆς λέξεως, *Poet.* 1461a30) (there simply being no alternative verb for ‘serve as a cupbearer’).

²⁴ Aristotle *fr.* 142–179 Rose + Ps.-Aristotle *fr.* 20a (145), 30a (156), 38 (165) Rose. It is of course impossible to accurately determine how much originated with Aristotle himself, how much derived from his predecessors and how much is from later members of the Peripatos; see LAMBERTON 1992, xi n. 12.

²⁵ RICHARDSON 1992, 36 f.

²⁶ In Aristotle’s time, the main proponent was Zoilus of Amphipolis, who had published a work *Against Homer’s Poetry* (Κατὰ τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως, 9 books), see PFEIFFER 1968, 70.

- 12 Aristotle's efforts at solving problems prepared the way for the later Alexandrian Homer commentaries with their largely linguistic and factual orientation;²⁷ at the same time, his 'tidying' provided the basis for his rescue of Homer,²⁸ which explored very different dimensions and runs as a theme throughout the *Poetics* as a latent answer to Plato's appeal for help (see **10** above). This aspect of Aristotle's interpretation of Homer is discussed in the chapter on 'Structure' below (STR 4–8).
- 13 The preceding was intended to highlight Aristotle's major role in laying the practical and theoretical foundation for the philology, and Homeric philology in particular, that arose in Alexandria later. The contribution to Homer commentaries in a strict sense by Hellenistic philosophical schools that developed from the Academy and the Peripatetics – the Stoa and Epicureanism in particular – but also by later Imperial schools of thought such as neo-Platonism and Christian apologetics, is more peripheral compared with the Alexandrian tradition. These schools were not concerned with poetry for its own sake, but with using poetry to confirm their own specific ideologies. One means was allegory, which had Homer mean something other than simply what he said. Apologetics in particular could not otherwise utilize Homer's authority, which could not be ignored, as it was the Greco-Roman counterpart to the authority of Judeo-Christian scripture. This kind of instrumentalization of Homer was initiated by the Stoa, which conceived of Homeric epic as a conscious or unconscious anticipation of Stoic cosmology and ethics in particular: 'Interpretation of the meaning and composition of Homer or Hesiod *per se* was not their concern. [...] the Stoics treated early Greek poetry as ethnographical material and not as literature in, say, an Aristotelian sense' (LONG 1992, 64 f.). Literary commentary could not come into being this way. Instead, the path led from Aristotle straight to Alexandria.

27 PFEIFFER's (1968, 67) polemic against the idea of Aristotle as the founder of literary criticism and grammar, common from Dio Chrysostomus' pre-Christian sources onward (*Oration* 53 [36] §1), has not found favor (cf. LAMBERTON 1992, xi f. n. 13), especially since Pfeiffer here appears to contradict himself: Strato 'was called [...] to Alexandria from Aristotle's school, to which he returned as Theophrastus' successor in 287 B. C.' (PFEIFFER 1968, 92), and Demetrius of Phaleron, 'one of Theophrastus' prominent pupils', lived for ca. 10 years, ending in 283, 'highly esteemed by his royal host' at the court of Ptolemy I (ibid. 96). The Peripatetics' direct influence from the beginning on the community of scholars at the Museum can hardly be more clear; its powerful continuation and later renewal, particularly by Aristarchus, has been demonstrated by PORTER 1992, 74 f.

28 'The *Homeric Problems* constituted a preliminary ground-clearing exercise of a practical kind in preparation for the more theoretical approach of the *Poetics* as a whole': RICHARDSON 1992, 37.

2.2.4 Commentary Work of the Alexandrians

Beginning in the 3rd century BC, literary explanation in its own right developed in the *Museion* at Alexandria from the above-listed sources as one of the disciplines of the newly conceived ‘philology’. The work of Alexandrian philologists from Zenodotus to Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus, which focused time and again on Homer, is too extensive to discuss in detail in this context. Reliable information regarding the institutional framework can be rapidly and easily obtained e.g. in GLOCK (2000) 2006; on the explanatory efforts of individual scholars, see HT 9–15. Here only the key points will be taken up. 14

Editions of texts (ἔκδοσις, διόρθωσις) are complemented by two types of explanatory material: (1) the so-called ‘*On XY-literature*’ (Περί-literature), i.e. the treatment of individual linguistic and factual problems in dedicated accounts, which continue to be produced to the present day in the shape of monographs, articles and miscellanea in our philological ‘secondary literature’; (2) beginning at the latest with Aristarchus (2nd century BC), the *Hypómnēma* (ὑπόμνημα), a comprehensive running explanation of the text that proceeds line by line and word by word,²⁹ as has been obligatory for all primary commenting since then in the shape of so-called ‘line commentaries’. (The focus on textual criticism, linguistic and factual explanation, privileged by the Alexandrians, has essentially been retained as well; while ‘aesthetic’ explanation was also already part of Aristarchus’ commentaries, in particular as a result of his debate with Crates of Mallos, the master of the rival school of grammarians in Pergamum,³⁰ it began to occupy more space only during the Imperial period).³¹ 15

29 ‘Running commentaries had to follow the text of the author line by line, while the Περί-literature was at liberty to select aspects and problems of text, language, and subject’: PFEIFFER 1968, 218.

30 On the core of this debate, see PORTER 1992. Crates considered the Alexandrine style of commentary ‘micro-philology’, and its representatives ‘grammarians’, while he himself was a ‘critic’ (κριτικός) setting out to advance into more elevated spheres – a stance that (since it seems inherent in philology) survives today (e.g. in the opposition between Oxford and Cambridge and their respective commentary practices). Aristarchus, who as a staunch follower of Aristotle was able to introduce ‘higher’ aspects as well (PORTER 1992, 74 f.), rejected Pergamene practices in particular due to their propensity toward overly free-floating mental gymnastics and accompanying paternalism in regard to users of the commentaries.

31 PFEIFFER 1968, 210–231, on Aristarchus’ textual criticism, linguistic and factual explanations (not limited to *Homer* commentaries); Pfeiffer (231) is probably overly disparaging toward Aristarchus’ approaches to aesthetic explanation. Nonetheless, given the development of ancient literary theory (FUHRMANN [1973] 1992), it may be regarded as certain that the *consolidation* of aesthetic explanations did not occur until the later Hellenistic and Imperial periods (‘exegetic scholia’); for an introduction to this challenging complex of issues, see ERBSE 1965b, 2725.

5th cent. BC	Glossographi (γλωσσογράφοι): Homeric → Attic (earliest content of the D scholia); sophists (σοφισταί), e.g. Prodicus, 'On synonyms' (Περὶ τῶν συνωνύμων [?])	↔	scholia	
4th	Aristotle; Zoilus; Antimachus of Colophon; Philitas, 'Glössai' (Γλῶσσαι) ↓	↔		
3rd	Museum (Μουσεῖον): Zenodotus, 'Glössai Homērikai' (Γλῶσσαι Ὀμηρικαί); Aristophanes of Byzantium	↔		
2nd	ARISTARCHOS of Samothrace, 'Hypomnēmata' (ὑπομνήματα)	↔		
1st	↓	↓		
1st cent. AD	Didymus; Aristonicus → Epaphroditus	↔		
2nd	Herodian; Nicanor → Pius ↓	↔		
3rd	↓	Porphyry		↔
4th	↓			
5th	↓			
6th	↓			
7th	↓	↓		
8th	↓			
9th	↘	↙		
10th	Viermännerkommentar (VMK; 'four-man-commentary')		↔	
11th	↓			
12th	Eustathius		↔	
13th	↓			
14th	↓			
15th	(1488: <i>editio princeps</i>)	↓		
16th	↓			
17th	↓			
18th	<i>Inter alios</i> : Joshua Barnes 1711; Samuel Clarke 1729–40			
19th	<i>Inter alios</i> : Heyne 1802; Ingerslev 1830/34; Spitzner 1832/36; Crusius 1842; Lécluse 1845; Faesi 1849–52; Lefranc 1852; Düntzer 1866/67; Paley 1867			
	AMEIS-HENTZE (<i>Odyssey</i> : 1856–68; <i>Iliad</i> : 1868–86)			
	La Roche 1870–78; Merry–Riddell (<i>Od.</i> 1–12) 1876; LEAF 1886. ²1900/02			
20th	<i>Odyssey</i> : Heubeck and others 1981–86 <i>Iliad</i> : KIRK et al. 1985–93		ERBSE 1969–88	

chart Joachim Latacz, Basel

Fig. 1: Sketch of the development of commentaries

Not a single book has been preserved in its entirety from all this commentary literature. But we know enough titles to be able to assess the breadth of the problems discussed, and in the form of the extensive *scholia* (σχόλια, originally ‘school-explanations’) that have reached us (in grammatical and philosophical works of later scholars, in ancient lexica, in the form of comprehensive marginal and interlinear *scholia* [= explanations written between the lines of the main text] in the medieval manuscripts of Homer; see Fig. 1), we possess immeasurably rich material to illustrate the explanatory efforts of the Alexandrians.³² Aristarchus of Samothrace, who served as the director of the library of the Museum and as tutor of the eventual Ptolemy VII during the first half of the 2nd century BC, played a leading role here.³³ His extensive³⁴ line-by-line commentary on Homer, discussing textual criticism (based on a comparison of mss. [see HT 11/12; PFEIFFER 1968, 214 f.], close observation of Homeric word usage and a thorough familiarity with the Homeric world view), grammar, semantics and realia, as well as issues of content and structure (see HT 12), formed the basis for all subsequent commentaries, and was scarcely unsurpassed until Friedrich August Wolf’s refounding of Homeric philology in 1795 (see STR 12). It is significant that Wolf’s refounding was inspired by the publication of the Homeric manuscript ‘Venetus A’ (10th cent.) in 1788 by J.-B. d’Ansse de Villois on. (Brought to Venice by Giovanni Aurispa at the beginning of the 15th century, the manuscript had not been appraised further before this.) The manuscript contains extensive *scholia* in the margins and between the lines, which largely go back to Aristarchus via the so-called Viermännerkommentar (‘Four-man-commentary’; see 19 below).³⁵ In this way, Aristarchus, the *éminence gris* of ancient Homeric philology, again

32 The bulk of material regarding the *Iliad* was first made accessible in its entirety by the magisterial work of Hartmut Erbse. The D-scholia, not included by Erbse, were published digitally by H. van Thiel (<http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/1810/>); a 2nd edition is available (<http://kups.ub.uni-koeln.de/5586/>); both retrieved 9. 1. 2015.

33 F. A. Wolf’s instructive *laudatio* of Aristarchus remains worth reading (WOLF 1795, *cap.* XLV); based on ancient testimonia, he highlights the fact that Aristarchus was idolized as their master by his ca. 40 students in Alexandria and Rome, as well as by the even more numerous students of the next generation. Aristarchus’ contemporary Panaetius, head of the Stoa, called Aristarchus a ‘seer, because he easily divined the point of poems’ (μάντιν, διὰ τὸ ῥαδίως καταμαντεύεσθαι τὰς τῶν ποιημάτων διανοίας; at Athenaeus 14.634d).

34 The *Suda* ascribes 800 volumes of *commentaries* alone to him (λέγεται δὲ γράψαι ὑπὲρ ὧ βιβλία ὑπομνημάτων μόνων); even if the number itself (which does not refer only to *Homer* commentaries) is exaggerated or distorted, the emphasis on the *hypomnemata* reflects Aristarchus’ fame as a commentator; PFEIFFER 1968, 213, probably correctly, surmises 48 volumes of *Homer* commentaries alone (i.e. one volume per book of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*).

35 PFEIFFER 1968, 213 f., with relevant bibliography; PFEIFFER 1976, 48.

became the founding father, this time of *modern* Homeric scholarship, some 2000 years after his death.

- 17 A particularly momentous issue from this period should be stressed in this context: with the invention of the *hypómnēma*, the accompanying running commentary, literary explication became subject to the scholarly compulsion to strive for perfection by filling in gaps and surpassing the findings of predecessors. This created an opportunity to progressively improve comprehension. Although no one in antiquity after Aristarchus had the ability to outdo his Homer commentary as a whole, later scholars isolated individual problems where advances could be made by adding depth to earlier work (see 18–19 below). They also continued and extended the commenting done by the Alexandrians, which was by no means limited to Homer but treated numerous poets of all genres. This opened up the path on which we hope to make further progress with the present commentary: by not merely explaining but revealing what is *not* explained, each subsequent commentary opens up new layers of the work and new possibilities for consideration. Each commentary, provided it does not merely repeat its predecessors, thus calls for the next. In this way, the reception and use of the text are kept alive, and commenting acquires the function of preserving culture. The beginning of this path was located in Alexandria.

2.2.5 Compilation Commentaries in the Roman Imperial and Byzantine Periods

- 18 Alexandrian philologists from *Zenodotus* to *Aristarchus*, in Pfeiffer's words, 'had been moved by their love of letters and by their own work as writers to preserve the literary heritage of the epic, Ionic, and Attic ages; they firmly believed in its eternal greatness' (PFEIFFER 1968, 279). The motivation of their philological successors in Alexandria was different and is already represented in the earliest notable Alexandrian scholar of this new generation, namely *Didymus*, who was active at the *Museion* in the 2nd half of the 1st century BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD and who, because of his almost inexhaustible productivity, was known among his colleagues as 'The man with bronze guts' (Χαλκέντερος) and 'Forgetter of (his own) books' (Βιβλιολάθας). Given his supposed output of 3500 to 4000 books, one would not expect much originality, and the remains of *Didymus*' writings in fact already display the stamp of the entire era that follows to the end of antiquity and beyond, to the end of Byzantine culture: a propensity for compilation. 'Didymus [...] was moved by the love of learning to preserve the scholarly heritage of the Hellenistic age; he had a sincere admiration for the greatness of scholars and a firm belief in their authority, although he was not totally devoid of critical judgement' (PFEIFFER 1968, 279). '[N]ot totally' in the last half-sentence sufficiently clarifies the difference. This difference was nonethe-

less instrumental in preserving the work of the great Alexandrian philologists for posterity. Didymus' own commentaries on Homer have been forgotten. What is not forgotten is his 'On Aristarchus' edition [of Homer]' (Περὶ τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως).³⁶ In this text, Didymus summarized Aristarchus' work on Homer by collating both the notes relating to textual criticism and those pertaining to the content of individual passages in Homer, as presented in the *hypomnemata* and the 'secondary literature'; here and there he also added his own comments ('its weakest points': PFEIFFER, *loc. cit.* 275). This compilation, made up of excerpts, was centuries later joined with three other compilations (and likely additional material as well) in a new arrangement (see 19 below) that formed the basis of the A scholia (see 16 above).

The three other compilers were Didymus' contemporary *Aristonicus* (with a book on Aristarchus' 'critical signs'; like his predecessors, Aristarchus had used particular signs – asterisks and crosses, similar to the ones we use today – to mark the verses and words in his text of Homer he meant to annotate, which he then picked up in his commentary by means of matching signs),³⁷ and later *Herodian* (with a treatise on Aristarchus' accentuation of the Homeric text) and *Nicanor* (with a treatise on Aristarchus' punctuation).³⁸ At an unknown date, but apparently still in antiquity, a learned compiler united excerpts from these four works, together with further material produced by later scholars, into a single volume, the so-called *Viermännerkommentar* ('Four-man-commentary'). This volume survived into the Middle Ages and was itself excerpted at various points. One of these excerpts is found in the form of the above-mentioned *scholia* (see 16 above) in Venetus A.

Homer was also read and commented on in the Byzantine Empire, the heir of the culture of antiquity after the fall of the Roman Empire. Transmitted explanatory literature was faithfully consulted, but was barely expanded by new insights. This can be seen in the work of two well-transmitted Byzantine commentators on Homer, (1) *Johannes Tzetzes*, author of an 'Exegesis of Homer's *Iliad*' dated 1143 and 'Homeric allegories' dated 1145, and (2) *Eustathius*, archbishop of Thessalonica, the author of two voluminous commentaries (written before 1175), one on the *Iliad* and the other on the *Odyssey*, that are actually preserved today as autographs. Eustathius is of use to us because he frequently cites commentaries

³⁶ A detailed account of the contents is found at PFEIFFER 1968, 275 f.

³⁷ The signs are explained by VAN THIEL 1996, xvii (who also inserts them into the text); cf. ERBSE 1965, 301.

³⁸ On these scholars (who lived two centuries after Didymus and Aristonicus), see PFEIFFER 1968, 218 f.

no longer extant. ‘However he knew no method, and in particular eschewed any consequence’ (ERBSE 1965a, transl.).

3. Commenting on Homer in the Modern Period

21 In antiquity, truly intense research on the Homeric epics was limited to a single extended phase of only ca. 200 years’ duration (Aristotle to Aristarchus, ca. 350–150 BC). Similarly in the modern period, systematic Homeric scholarship has thus far been concentrated in a single 200-year period, beginning with Friedrich August Wolf and continuing to the present day, via the analytic-unitarian dispute, Parry’s theory (see FOR 27–35) and structural analysis as initiated by Wolfgang Schadewaldt (see STR 14). In both phases, knowledge initially increased in particular in the areas of language, style, verse construction and realia. Structure, narrative technique, the intention of the work vis-à-vis its first audience, its significance for the formation of a European culture of written literature and general literary aesthetics – these and similar extended components and reverberations of the works (so-called ‘higher criticism’) at first remained in the background in the modern period as well, due to concentration on the explication of individual passages. A gradual reorientation took place only around the middle of the 20th century and has constantly gained in breadth and depth. This development in the history of research is reflected in the history of commenting.

3.1 Before and after ‘Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer)’

22 At the beginning of the modern period, the addition of ancient *scholia* to text editions is predominant; after the *editio princeps* of 1488 (HT 28), this is the main procedure for commenting for nearly two centuries. Subsequently, around 1700, the first attempts at emancipation emerge in *Latin* (Joshua Barnes 1711; Samuel Clarke 1729–1740). These continue into the 19th century from commentary to commentary in the form of *editiones cum notis variorum* – often without mention of the originator of an idea. Toward the end of the 18th century, and particularly in the first half of the 19th century, the extent of original explanation increases markedly. But compelling methodology is a rarity; individual interest remains the determining characteristic.

23 Only in the middle of the 19th century do the demands of *schools* compel a new type of explication in commentaries: the accumulation of individual knowledge by the respective compiler is no longer required, but rather a purposefully factual effort to clarify the meaning of words and the work as a whole on the

basis of an overall view of the Homeric epics that is well thought out in advance (Fig. 1, from Ingerslev 1830 to Merry-Riddell 1876). A constant characteristic of these school commentaries is their limitation (seen in relation to the students' supposed prior knowledge) to little more than minimal explication of aspects of grammar, semantics and realia – rendered as notes in small print below the Homeric text itself – as well as their 'cross-contamination' in successive editions, which hinders the identification of individual achievements of specific commentators, while simultaneously (of greater importance for progress in commenting) the *dimension* of commenting becomes codified for decades by the practice of always circling around the same categories. The commentary of Ameis and Hentze breaks free of this practice; originally written as a school commentary, it at first persisted in the old tradition, but via several editions increasingly developed into an academic commentary. This work, which accompanied German-language Homeric scholarship throughout the last three decades of the 19th century, and which both digested and stimulated this research by continually including and summarizing its main findings, is discussed separately (see 28–35 below).

The special role gradually acquired by Ameis-Hentze in German-speaking areas was matched for a long time by the position held in the Anglophone world by the commentary on the *Iliad* by Walter Leaf. Here too the force of inspiration emanating from Ameis-Hentze is apparent: as Leaf observes in detail in his preface to the first edition, published 1886/88, and to the second edition, published 1900/02, his commentary at its core can be seen as derived from Ameis-Hentze;³⁹ the second edition is enriched largely by the integration of the second edition of Monro's Homeric grammar (MONRO [1882] 1891), CAUER'S *Grundfragen* (1895), ERHARDT'S *Entstehung der Homerischen Gedichte* (1894), SCHULZE'S *Quaestiones epicae* (1892) and VAN LEEUWEN'S *Enchiridium dictionis epicae* (1894). A comparative use of Leaf and Ameis-Hentze rapidly makes clear that, although Leaf's own achievements are by no means insignificant, they are less than is occasionally assumed. (Conversely, Leaf's additional insights are

³⁹ 'Unfortunately for the English student, the works which he must study if he wishes to pursue these lines of inquiry [i.e. beyond 'the strict limits of a verbal commentary'] are almost entirely in German [...]. Where the acumen and industry of Germany have been for nearly a century so largely devoted to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, it is not to be expected, or even desired, that in a commentary for general use a new editor should contribute much that is really original [...]. Prominent among these [i.e. the 'previous authors'] I must place Ameis's edition of the *Iliad*, and more particularly Dr. Hentze's Appendix thereto; the references given in it are of inestimable value to the student': LEAF (1886) 1900, vii f.; cf. the bibliography accompanying the 2nd edition (LEAF [1886] 1900, xxxiv) under 'Ameis'.

Commentary, vol. I:

I 1: 1-3	A. ¹ 1868	H. ² 1872	H. ³ 1877	H. ⁴ 1884	H. ⁵ 1894	H. ⁶ 1903	C. ⁷ 1913	C. ⁷ 1930 (f)
I 2: 4-6	A. ¹ 1870	H. ² 1874	H. ³ 1882	H. ⁴ 1891	H. ⁵ 1900	H. ⁶ 1908	H. ⁷ 1922 (f)	H. ⁸ 1927 (f)
I 3: 7-9	A. ¹ 1875	H. ² 1880	H. ³ 1886	H. ⁴ 1894	H. ⁵ 1907	H. ⁶ 1922 (f)	H. ⁷ 1930 (f)	
I 4: 10-12	A. ¹ 1877	H. ² 1882	H. ³ 1888	H. ⁴ 1896	H. ⁵ 1906	H. ⁶ 1921 (f)		

Commentary, vol. II:

II 1: 13-15	H. ¹ 1878	H. ² 1885	H. ³ 1896	H. ⁴ 1905	H. ⁴ 1922 (f)
II 2: 16-18	H. ¹ 1880	H. ² 1885	H. ³ 1894	H. ⁴ 1908	H. ⁴ 1924 (f)
II 3: 19-21	H. ¹ 1883	H. ² 1887	H. ³ 1896	H. ⁴ 1905	H. ⁴ 1922 (f)
II 4: 22-24	H. ¹ 1884	H. ² 1888	H. ³ 1897	H. ⁴ 1906	H. ⁴ 1922 (f)

Anhang (Appendix):

1: 1-3	A. ¹ 1868	H. ² 1877	H. ³ 1896
2: 4-6	A. ¹ 1870	H. ² 1882	
3: 7-9	H. ¹ 1875	H. ² 1887	
4: 10-12	H. ¹ 1878	H. ² 1888	
5: 13-15	H. ¹ 1879	H. ² 1897	
6: 16-18	H. ¹ 1881	H. ² 1900	
7: 19-21	H. ¹ 1883		

- A. = Ameis
- H. = Hentze
- C. = Caer
- (f) = reprint of the preceding edition
- = last revised edition

8: 22-24	H. ¹ 1886	'with index to the entire edition': I words, II subjects (Wähmer, transl.)	
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Fig. 2: 'Ameis-Hentze(-Caer)': outline of editions

adopted by Cauer in the 7th edition [1913: Books 1–3] and Hentze in the 6th [1908: Books 4–6], 5th [1906/07: Books 7–12] and 4th editions [1905–1908: Books 13–24] of Ameis-Hentze (see Fig. 2). Cauer also incorporated Leaf's original essay *Troy: A Study in Homeric Geography* (LEAF 1912) (see Cauer's preface to the 7th edition of Books 1–3, Leipzig/Berlin 1913, iv).

The most significant progress in commenting on Homer beyond Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer) / Leaf (aside from the commentary on the *Odyssey*, first published in Italian in 1981–1986 by Heubeck, S. West, Hainsworth, Hoekstra, Russo, and Fernández-Galiano; English edition: OUP 1988–1992) is represented by the commentary on the *Iliad* published 1985–1993 by G. S. Kirk and his colleagues (Books 1–8: Kirk; 9–12: Hainsworth; 13–16: Janko; 17–20: Edwards; 21–24: Richardson). While Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer) and Leaf may be considered (necessarily imperfect) representations of the state of knowledge in Homeric studies in the 19th century, Kirks's commentary largely represents the state of 20th-century scholarship – although with one considerable limitation: Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer) and Leaf could represent themselves as reflections of one and the same research environment (albeit in different languages), based on the essential unity of development of prior research. By contrast, Homeric studies in the second half of the 20th century – based on the 'Parry-Lord Theory' (FOR 35) – have split in two main directions, the German-speaking and (at least by and large) the Anglophone (particularly American), to such an extent that, despite an evident convergence in the meantime, the deep-seated influence of one or the other direction on contemporary commentators remains unavoidable, all conscious countermeasures notwithstanding. The preponderance of Anglophone traditions of research in the Cambridge commentary (as also compared to Italian, Dutch and French traditions) is therefore understandable (although already lessened considerably by Volumes 3–6). If a homogeneous picture of the current global state of research is to be reached, in the interest of the research itself and those engaged in it, an attempt at balance is called for (see 27 below).

Provisional conclusions: The main external characteristics of the development of commenting on the *Iliad* to this point are the facts that (1) Aristarchus' *hypomnema*, the original commentary on the *Iliad* in antiquity as far as we know, has been joined in the modern period by only two similarly original, complete academic commentaries: the commentary by Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer) 1868–1913, and the Cambridge commentary by G. S. Kirk and colleagues 1985–1993;⁴⁰ (2) the

⁴⁰ Although M. M. Willcock's commentary on the *Iliad* (1970–1984), which in its preface (x) expressly mentions 'Ameis-Hentze-Cauer' beside Pierron, Faesi and Leaf as its basis, accomplishes considerably more than is conceded by Kirk ('short commentaries like

intent of commentators on Homer, intrinsic to these studies and essentially⁴¹ adhered to from antiquity to Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer) and Leaf, to reflect scholarship in its *entirety* in their explicatory work, irrespective of location and native language, appeared to be under threat toward the end of the 20th century.

- 27 The present commentary continues from the latter point in a consciously defensive manner: the fact that modern international Homer commentaries have largely coalesced within *two* major traditions of commenting running parallel to Homeric studies generally – English (especially American) and German – is not accepted as a decree of fate. As early as 1979, in the preface to the ‘Wege der Forschung’ volume *Homer: Tradition und Neuerung*, in accord with many academic colleagues I programmatically pronounced the unification of these two traditions of research and commenting to be the most significant aim of contemporary international Homeric studies (LATA CZ 1979, 3). It has become evident in the meantime, however, in part through the Cambridge commentary on the *Iliad*, that this aim is not attainable in a single step. While a basic international perspective is self-evident, the unavoidable intermediate step for both sides is an initial compression, as complete as possible, of each tradition of scholarship from within. The Cambridge commentary has attempted to achieve this for the Anglophone tradition of scholarship; a similar achievement must be initially accomplished for its German equivalent. (In keeping with the bridge-building program, the Cambridge commentary is naturally utilized here as well.) Once the Cambridge

M. M. Willcock’s [...] can also contain, as his certainly does, useful insights’: KIRK 1985, xxi), its audience (and thus its level of explanation) is consciously limited to school and university students (WILLCOCK 1978, vii). – A list of the numerous commentaries, published in a range of languages, on individual books of the *Iliad* is here omitted (although these are, of course, taken into consideration in the commentary); only the excellent commentary on Book 24 of the *Iliad* by C. W. Macleod deserves highlighting (MACLEOD 1982). – On this, see the supplementary note in §44.

41 Where Ameis-Hentze themselves focused on their *own* linguistic region’s academic tradition, this was due to the distribution of research activities at the time (cf. n. 39, above); here one must consider in particular the stimulating and sometimes instigating function that, thanks to auspicious external circumstances, could be played by Prussian, and later German imperial, Greek philology in the 19th century (thus e.g. American classical philology was founded in 1876 in Baltimore by Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, who obtained his Ph.D. in Göttingen in 1853, Japanese Greek philology in Tokyo since 1893 by Raphael von Koerber, who studied in Jena and Heidelberg; on this and on further influences – in England, Italy etc. – see LATA CZ 1995, 49, 79 f., 53 f., 64–66). Today, these facts of the history of scholarship in the discipline of Greek philology are mere history, thanks to an internationalization of the discipline that is now largely complete (Greek philology today being taught in about 45 countries); to the great benefit of research, modern Greek philological studies can thus draw on a wealth of national traditions that cannot be taken for granted in all disciplines.

commentary has been joined by a German counterpart in the same spirit – based on the fundamental idea of overcoming a latent threat of one-sidedness – subsequent scholarship can, where necessary, undertake to improve understanding and explication of the primary text even further.

3.2 Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer)⁴²

It may seem surprising that a commentary project with this orientation is still 28 based on Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer) (see prefatory material), given that, despite its merits, the latter no longer provides an up-to-date approach to Homer (see 31–35 below).

Merits: Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer)'s commentary on the *Iliad* nonetheless repre- 29 sents a good *basis* for a German-language *Iliad* commentary because of the history of its development, its overall conception and the standard of its achievement. The three main criteria for any good commentary – (1) stability of the theoretical underpinnings, (2) accuracy in the identification of issues in need of explanation, (3) general intellectual level – are still satisfied, as has been illustrated elsewhere (LATA CZ [1996/97] 1997). In its successive editions, up to seven depending on the Book (see Fig. 2), the commentary reflects 45 years of research and imparting knowledge of Homer (1868–1913). Based on a continuous increase in knowledge, it developed over that time into a work of high academic standards in the hands of three individuals actively engaged in Homeric studies. Its basis is already – well before Parry – recognition of the formulaic nature of Homeric language as well as the oral nature of the underlying technique of versification. Its fundamental approach is practical in orientation rather than being derived from partisanship in favor of one or the other position in the dispute between analysts and unitarians. These qualities alone would require the use of Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer) in the preparation of a new German-language commentary on the *Iliad*. They are joined by numerous individual qualities (see LATA CZ [1996/97] 1997) that actually function as a methodological model.

Among these, the treatment of repeated verses (*iterata*) should be high- 30 lighted. *Iterata* are listed frequently (though not exhaustively throughout) to call forth comparison of passages by the user and thereby bring about a greater precision in understanding. This technique of implicit commenting renders redundant lengthy presentation and explication of material by the commentator. The present commentary has adopted this explanatory aid and deliberately expanded

42 A detailed description is offered at LATA CZ 1997a.

it through diligent completion of *iterata* statistics, in light of the significance these have recently gained via oral theory (FOR 12).

- 31 *Deficits*: Regardless of its merits, Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer) is no longer sufficient for a deep contemporary understanding of the *Iliad* as an artistic achievement. It naturally remained untouched by the insights and discoveries of Homeric studies since the 1920s, but these insights and discoveries in particular have provided a new cultural-historical perspective on the *Iliad* and can therefore secure renewed general interest in Homer – not only among Classical scholars and literary connoisseurs, but among those interested in more general literary and cultural studies as well.⁴³
- 32 Insights into the norms and conditions of Homeric language (lexical, grammatical, semantic, linguistic, metrical), which have greatly increased in comparison to the state of scholarship in the 19th century, deserve prominent mention. Relevant examples include the publications of Schwyzer and Debrunner (SCHW., SCHW.-DEBR.), Chantraine (CH. I/II), FRÄNKEL (1926) 1960 and the *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos (LfgrE)*. Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer) had access to none of these.
- 33 Additional substantial findings and insights are tabulated in Fig. 3; these supplied a more sharply contoured picture of Homer and the *Iliad*, providing in particular a much broader and deeper context and background. They are joined by over 250 Linear B tablets of manifest historical significance, found in an archive of the Theban Kadmeia between November 1993 and February 1995 (ARAVANTINOS *et al.* 1995; LATACZ [2001] 2004, 238–247), which will revive the debate about the historicity of the Mycenaean background to the *Iliad*.
- 34 Data-blocks 4–8 in Fig. 3 relate to the *substructure* of the segmented narrative of Achilles' wrath and its consequences narrated in the *Iliad*. They accordingly seem marginal to the *Iliad* itself. But they are not so, when the *reception by the primary audience* is taken into account in interpreting the work. For this audience, all elements today termed the possible historical substructure of the narrative were not non-committal and interchangeable, as they are for audiences in later centuries and from different cultures. Rather, they represented the obligations of the audience's own past. We can only reproduce the primary audience's certainty of authenticity, by which the meaning of the artistic achievement the *Iliad* was constituted in the first place, through a detour via the autopsy supplied by archaeological and historical research. The historically oriented interpreter of the *Iliad*, attempting to revive the entirety of the text's original artistry and impact in as authentic a manner as possible, must thus be a scholar not only of linguistics

43 LATACZ (1985) 1996, Chapter I ('The New Relevance of Homer').

(1) Milman Parry:	Homeric formulaity (1928)	Norms of <i>ORAL POETRY</i>
(2) Wolfgang Schadewaldt:	General laws of narrative (1938) (→ Lämmert, Genette)	NARRATIVE norms (Narratology)
(3) Michael Ventris:	Linear B = Greek (1952)	New assessment of the LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT between Mycenaean and Homeric Greek
(4) Manfred Korfmann:	Discovery of the lower town of Troy VI (1993); Troy as part of the Hittite sphere of influence (1995/96)	New insights regarding the VENUE OF THE ACTION OF THE <i>ILIAD</i>
(5) <i>Dark Age</i> archaeology:	Lefkandi, Elatea, etc.	New stage of the CONTINUITY DEBATE
(6) Underwater archaeology:	Cape Gelidonya, Kaş	New reconstruction of the ECONOMIC HISTORY and HISTORY OF CONTACTS in the Mediterranean
(7) Gustav Adolf Lehmann:	Analysis of the Egyptian <i>Dana'ia</i> -inscription (14th cent. BC): Mukana / Thebais / Messana / Nauplia / Kuthera / (W)Elis / Amuklai	New stage in the HISTORICITY DEBATE regarding the Mycenaean-Ahhijawan background of the action of the <i>Iliad</i>
(8) Frank Starke / John David Hawkins	Identification of Hittite <i>Wilusa</i> with Homeric (W)Ilios	

chart Joachim Latacz, Basel

Fig. 3: Important current findings and directions of research (COM 33–34)

tic and literary studies, but also of realia (archaeology, ancient history, Oriental studies, Egyptology, and the like).⁴⁴

- 35 In regard to this background, which has increased tremendously in the past 80 years or so, Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer) emerges as too narrow conceptually, due to its focus primarily on the text and its consequent superficiality, as well as being outdated in many instances. A new German-language commentary on the *Iliad*, deliberately using the old Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer) as its foundation, not least for the sake of continuity in scholarship, but also as a foundation only, thus became inevitable.

4. The Present Commentary

4.1 Institutions and Authors

- 36 This commentary is a research project of the ‘Schweizerischer Nationalfonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung’ (Bern). The director of the project is the Chair of Greek Philology at the University of Basel. Funding is provided largely by the Schweizerischer Nationalfonds (SNF), supported by the University of Basel and private sponsors.
- 37 The research team’s initial permanent members were the Greek philologists René Nünlist M. A. (Basel/Oxford/Amsterdam), Magdalene Stoevesandt M. A. (Basel), Claude Brügger M. A. (Basel), and the present author, supported by research assistants. Today, in 2014/15, the team consists of the project director (Prof. Dr. Joachim Latacz until 2002, since 2002 jointly with Prof. Dr. Anton Bierl) and the permanent members and volume authors Dr. Claude Brügger, Dr. Marina Coray, Dr. Martha Krieter-Spiro, Dr. Magdalene Stoevesandt and Dr. Katharina Wesselmann. Arranged around this core as associated researchers on the basis of fixed agreements are the Basel professors Edzard Visser (Classical Philology), Jürgen von Ungern-Sternberg (Ancient History), Martin-A. Guggisberg (Classical Archaeology) and Rudolf Wachter (Greek, Latin and Indo-European Linguistics). The following associated scholars joined the project from elsewhere: Dr. Rudolf Führer (Hamburg), Prof. Dr. Fritz Graf (Ohio State University), Prof. Dr. Irene J. F. de Jong (UvA Amsterdam), Prof. Dr. Michael Meier-Brügger (FU Berlin), Sebastiaan R. van der Mije (Leiden), Prof. Dr. René Nünlist (Cologne) and Prof. Dr. Martin L. West (Oxford).

⁴⁴ LATA CZ 1987, 345; (2001) 2004, 74 f.

Firm academic connections have existed or still exist with the *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos (LfgrE)* at the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* project (University of Hamburg; completed 2010); with the ‘Projekt Troia’ at the University of Tübingen (under the direction of Prof. Dr. Ernst Pernicka [Prof. Dr. Manfred Korfmann until 1995]); and with the ‘Institut Universitaire de France, CNRS Recherches sur la Grèce Archaique’ (under the direction of Prof. Dr. Françoise Létoublon, Stendhal University, Grenoble).

The English-language translation was produced by a team consisting of Benjamin W. Millis and Sara Strack, directed by Prof. Dr. S. Douglas Olson (University of Minnesota), in close consultation with the Basel team. The Basel team has maintained the right of last decision in all matters touching on specific choices of language, formatting and the like.

4.2 Intended Readership and Objectives

This commentary is directed at Classical scholars of all disciplines and more generally at scholars of the humanities in all areas; a distinctly specialized commentary for Greek philologists, or even Homeric experts, was deliberately not aimed at (but is integrated; see 41 below). Dwindling familiarity with Homer is widely lamented not only within philological disciplines (German, Romance languages, English language studies, etc.), but also in disciplines such as history, art, music and cultural studies. One aim of this commentary is to enable renewed access to Homer by colleagues in different disciplines, access that over the course of 200 years of Homeric studies has often been lost. – Vertically, the target audience is envisaged as reaching from high school students to university teachers. 38

4.3 Arrangement and Presentation

In the face of the background of the development of Homeric studies and the history of commenting on Homer outlined above, on the one hand, and the stated aims of the commentary, on the other, an arrangement into an ‘edition with notes’ of the type represented by Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer) was out of the question. In the German edition, the text and translation are accordingly placed in a separate part of the volume (= fascicule 1); for the text, it proved possible to realize the ideal solution of adopting Martin L. West’s 1998/2000 edition of the *Iliad*, published in the *Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana* (with an *apparatus criticus* redesigned for the purposes of the commentary). The 39

German translation was produced by Joachim Latacz on the basis of the findings of the present commentary. – In the English edition, the separate fascicule (= fascicule 1) containing text and translation has been omitted. The edition of the *Iliad* by West nevertheless remains the basis for the commentary. Richmond LATTIMORE's translation (Chicago/London 1951; often reprinted) replaces Latacz's German translation for translated lemmata and passages.

40 A particular challenge for modern commentaries is the integration of basic information, which represents the foundation for the line-by-line commentary, into the commentary itself: since certain fundamental facts are present throughout the text, these would have to be noted repeatedly in connection with multiple passages. In the case of a literary text of the magnitude of the *Iliad*, this would have led to much repetition – an irritant to the reader and a needless waste of space. The summary of salient basic information in coherent sections, and their collection into a separate volume of 'Prolegomena', suggested itself as the most suitable solution. The present volume, containing eleven such sections (see table of contents), each divided into paragraphs, represents the foundation of the commentary and is continually referenced there by the relevant abbreviations. A division into paragraphs was consciously chosen to avoid tying the references in the line commentary to the pagination of the 'Prolegomena' volume, which will change in the inevitably necessary new editions of the latter. – 'Prolegomena' and commentary represent a two-part unit, interlocking internally and externally. The commentary will be used to greatest effect if both volumes are consulted together.

41 The commentary volumes utilize a novel and hopefully user-friendly form of presentation to keep separate different audiences and levels of explanation. The current common practice of classical philological commentaries of not distinguishing between audiences and levels of explanation, and thus offering all available information under a single lemma, has often been bemoaned by users. To better meet the different needs of different user groups, the following external form of commenting is here implemented experimentally:

(1) Regular type ('upper floor'): This compiles the most important information regarding lemma, verse, passage and the like for users of *all* types, including those *without* prior knowledge of Greek who may be looking for explanations based on the *translation*. Greek words, where unavoidable, are here rendered in *transliteration*. The sole exception to this rule involves citations from the best specialized dictionary on Homer, the *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos (LfgrE [Lexicon of Early Greek Epic])*: references including volume, column and line number would have been overly cumbersome and would have obstructed the flow of reading. Citations are accordingly maintained in the format 'LfgrE s.v. Ἀπόλλων', etc. In this way, those familiar with Greek, who are of course included

among the intended audience for this first level of explanation, will not be confronted with unfamiliar citation practices, whereas other users will scarcely want to consult a specialized dictionary in any case.

(2) Medium type ('ground floor'): This contains more detailed notes for classical scholars of all disciplines and Greek philologists in particular. This is the normal level of the commentary, which will be familiar from standard commentaries within the discipline of Greek philology.

(3) Small type ('basement'): This provides, where necessary and available (and thus with varying degrees of frequency from Book to Book), specialized information, information on current specialist discussions, and in exceptional cases questions from Mycenaean studies. (The 'Homeric-Mycenaean word index' [MYC], on the other hand, is designed to provide a *general* integration of Linear B vocabulary; see below, pp. 236 ff.)

Set *below* these three levels (which may be variously repeated within a given page), the 'elementary section' at the bottom of the page contains explanations of more complicated linguistic forms of Homeric diction, suggestions for translation, and the like. This continually available basic information is aimed at school and university students, as well as at users who no longer consider their knowledge of Greek current. This section contains much information of the type found in Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer); visually as well, therefore, Ameis-Hentze(-Cauer) represents at least in part the 'foundation' for the entire project.

4.4 Summary

The present commentary on the *Iliad* aims to take up the tradition of German-language Homeric scholarship and to unite it with the unique traditions of scholarship deriving from different academic communities. It is meant as a parallel, complementary work to the Cambridge commentary on the *Iliad*. It does not attempt to force a preconceived, particular interpretation on the text; at the same time, it strives to avoid the danger of becoming a faceless entity by merely listing snippets of information. The aim is to pursue a modern line of interpretation capable of supporting a general scholarly consensus. Academic controversies are not papered over, nor is an effort made to reach final conclusions at all costs. Rather, where appropriate, judgment is left to the readers or scholars of Homer themselves. 42

On a general level, the commentary is not meant to serve esoteric interests. Instead, the aim is to bring the artistic quality and effect of the first great work of European literature more emphatically to the attention of individuals interested in literature. Where the commentary goes beyond the usual aims of specialized 43

work in Greek philology in the course of this endeavor, it does so in the hope of aiding as efficiently as possible both Greek philology and its representatives' particular interests in universities and schools, and especially the efforts of literary and cultural studies for a revival of the awareness of cultural continuity by renewing public interest.

- 44 **Supplement to §26 n. 40:** Since the publication of the first German language edition of the present commentary, the following commentaries on individual Books of the *Iliad* have appeared: (1) The commentary on Book 1 by M. Girotto Bevilacqua, A. Trocini Cerrina, *Omero, Iliade, libro I*, Turin 1991; (2) also on Book 1, the commentary by S. Pulleyn, *Homer: Iliad, Book One*, ed. with intr., transl. and comm., Oxford 2000; (3) the commentary on Book 9 by J. Griffin, *Iliad: Book Nine*, New York 1995; (4) the commentary on Book 6 by Barbara Graziosi und Johannes Haubold *Homer: Iliad, Book VI*, Cambridge 2010; and (5) the commentary on Book 22 by Irene J. F. de Jong, *Homer: Iliad, Book XXII*, Cambridge 2012. All five of these are designed primarily for school and university students, but in addition to the usual basic information offer numerous excellent individual observations and insights that will also be of interest to professional scholars of Homer. Irene de Jong's commentary on Book 22 deserves special mention; beneath a surface of apparently simple text explanations, it reveals time and again a deep understanding of the narrative art and high poetic quality of the Homeric text. – For the first three commentaries listed, see the more detailed review in Edzard Visser's research report on Homer (VISSEr 2012, Nr. 553, 570 and 609). – All five commentaries are taken into account in the present version of this commentary.

History of the Text (HT)

By Martin L. West

1. The Early Stages (1–5)
2. Modernization of the Text (6–8)
3. Ancient Scholarship (9–15)
4. The Papyri (16–18)
5. The Medieval Tradition (19–27)
6. Printed Editions (28–30)

1. The Early Stages

The transmission of the *Iliad* begins at the moment when the poem was first committed to writing. Of course there had been a long period of oral epic tradition in which many of the persons and themes that we know from the *Iliad* had featured. Compositions that might have been recognizable as precursors of our *Iliad* may possibly have been current for a generation or two, though this is quite uncertain. But it was only with the act of writing that the *Iliad* took on the particular form in which we know it and became a stable text which could be ‘transmitted’ to posterity rather than continually recomposed.

This written *Iliad* was the work of one great poet. However, the peculiarities of its structure, as well as general probability, indicate that he did not produce it, complete and colossal, in a single outpouring of creative energy. It seems probable that he elaborated it over many years, first completing a shorter version (the analogy of Goethe’s *Ur-Faust* comes to mind) and subsequently expanding it by the incorporation of additional episodes. This will explain why older analytical critics were able – with a considerable measure of agreement – to distinguish different layers or strata of composition. They were able to point to passages which are now separated but which fit remarkably well together when the intervening matter is removed, and to parts of the epic that seem to have been composed without awareness of what has occurred in preceding episodes. But whereas they assumed that the different layers reflected the work of successive poets, we may see them (for the most part, at any rate) as reflecting the successive phases of the original poet’s work. If, therefore, we find what looks like an insertion that breaks the continuity of the original narrative, we need not automatically assume that it is an alien interpolation: we should first consider the possibility that it is an addition by the poet himself.¹

¹ I have made a detailed analysis of the poem from this point of view in *The Making of the Iliad*, Oxford 2011.

- 3 On the other hand, there is no doubt that the *Iliad* has also suffered interpolations by later rhapsodes. It would be astonishing if it had not. For however greatly the completed *Iliad* was admired and acclaimed, it would be quite unrealistic to suppose that the author's manuscript (which presumably took the form of a bulky collection of papyrus rolls) was immediately venerated as a sacrosanct document by which all subsequent copies and recitations had to be controlled. We do not know where he had kept it, or even *whether* he had kept it, nor what happened to it after his death. But the probability is that it came into the possession of rhapsodes, or of some wealthy patron for the use of rhapsodes. These rhapsodes were accustomed to changing and improving the songs they sang from occasion to occasion; and their aim in life was personal fame and success. Even if they decided to base their recitations on the *Iliad*, they were just as ready to 'improve' it with additional verses of their own as fourth-century tragic actors were ready to 'improve' Euripides.
- 4 It is generally agreed that one major interpolation is to be recognized: the *Doloneia*. For the rest, it is a reasonable view that interpolation is limited to short passages, single paragraphs or verses. Many single- or two-line interpolations are betrayed by their absence from some ancient manuscripts or from a part of the medieval tradition. But insertions made at an early stage of the transmission, when the number of copies in existence was still limited, had a fair chance of becoming rooted in the whole tradition. The presence of a verse in all known sources cannot be a guarantee of its genuineness. In many cases it is no longer possible for us to be sure what is genuine and what is spurious, especially when we have to take into account the possibility of authorial insertions. One situation in which we may see a strong indication of spuriousness is when the sense of a preceding line appears to have been misunderstood.²
- 5 Athens certainly played a leading part in the transmission of the *Iliad* throughout the Classical period. The evidence of vase painting shows that the poem was known there from the last quarter of the seventh century, though it suggests that certain episodes were more familiar and popular than others.³ A few passages, above all the Athenian and Salaminian entries in the Catalogue of Ships, look as if they have been added or revised to suit Athenian interests.⁴ Similar things may have happened in other cities too; but it was easier for Attic interpolations to affect the whole tradition, because of Athens' central role in the propagation of the Homeric poems from the sixth to the fourth century.

2 As may be argued to be the case at 2.491–492 and 12.449.

3 FRIIS JOHANSEN 1967; FITTSCHEN 1969.

4 2.547–51, 558; perhaps 7.334–5, 466–81.

From the time of Hipparchus (perhaps from 522 BC) the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were recited in their entirety by teams of rhapsodes at the Great Panathenaia, every four years.⁵ This is something that, so far as our knowledge goes, happened in no other city, and it must have done much to stimulate public interest in Homer. In all probability this institutionalized performance was responsible for the division of each epic into 24 ‘rhapsodies’, that is, recitations, a division firmly established in later tradition. The poems were studied at school by Athenian boys, which was bound to create a continuing need for more copies. Athens became, moreover, a favourite haunt of sophists, who liked to draw material from Homer for their discourses. It is no wonder if, as a result of all this, the pre-Alexandrian tradition of Homer was largely shaped by Attic exemplars. The language of the poems as they appear in the received text is marked by many traces of Attic dialect, as Jacob Wackernagel showed in a famous book:⁶ this is no doubt the consequence of Attic transmission rather than of Attic origins.

2. Modernization of the Text

It may be taken as certain, from our knowledge of the history of Greek 6 writing, that the Homeric text was at first written in a script that did not distinguish between short ϵ and the lengthened ϵ (later written $\epsilon\iota$) that resulted from contraction of $\epsilon\epsilon$ or from compensatory lengthening (as in $\xi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma < \xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$); nor between o and \bar{o} (later written ou). It is a more controversial question whether it was ever written in a script, such as the old Attic alphabet, that did not distinguish between ϵ and η or between o and ω .⁷ If the poems were first written down in Ionia, it is likely to have been in an Ionian alphabet in which these vowels were distinguished. However, this does not exclude the possibility that copies made at Athens before the adoption there of the Ionian alphabet (officially in 403) used the local alphabet familiar to the copyists. If so, errors might occasionally have arisen from later misinterpretation of ambiguous spellings in Attic copies. Alexandrian scholars assumed this as a possible source of corruption, and many modern scholars have followed them.⁸ There do seem to be a small number of

5 Ps.-Plato, *Hipparchos* 228b. This seems the most precise and credit-worthy of the many testimonia concerning a ‘Peisistratid recension’ of Homer. They have often been collected; see, most recently, MERKELBACH (1952) 1997, 1–23.

6 WACKERNAGEL 1916.

7 See JANKO 1992, 32–7.

8 See schol. T 7.238c², A 11 104a¹, A 14.241c, A 21 126–7b¹ (cf. Porphyry, *Quaest. Hom. ad Il. ad loc.*),

plausible instances. The number is small because people knew the poems well from hearing them, and this generally prevented misreading of the written text.

7 Changes in graphic conventions, and in the pronunciation of the language, led to various small changes in the text. A few examples must suffice. The Ionian contraction of εο into a diphthong continued to be written as εο, and thus distinguished from the inherited diphthong ευ, down to the fourth century BC, when it began to be written εν. Transmitted spellings such as μευ, ἐκαλεῦντο, are therefore modernizations, and if we want to recover the earlier form of the text we must restore εο. The old long diphthong ηυ also came to be replaced by ευ in the late Classical period; the correct spelling νηυσί prevailed in many papyri and in the medieval tradition, while some papyri show νευσί. For the augmented forms of verbs such as εὔχομαι and εὕρισκω, the tradition overwhelmingly offers εὔχοντο, εὔρεν, but some Ptolemaic papyri still give ηυρε, ηυχοντο, and there is a good case for restoring such forms everywhere, even though ευ- would be admissible as an unaugmented form. There is much inconsistency in the tradition as between η and ει before another vowel in the same word; thus we find τεθνηῶτα or τεθνειῶτα, θήηι or θείηι. This is again due to changing pronunciations (rather than to the ambiguities of an archaic alphabet), and it is difficult in this case to establish what is correct for the original poet.

8 From the beginning, rhapsodes had no doubt tended to make the text more euphonious, and easier, by adding redundant particles to eliminate hiatus or other metrical anomalies (often the result of the loss of digamma) and by replacing unfamiliar archaic forms with more modern ones. But this was no doubt a feature of the oral tradition even before the *Iliad* was composed. We cannot, as many nineteenth-century editors did, simply introduce reconstructed older forms into the text – for example the uncontracted *ἦῶ δῖαν in place of the transmitted ἦῶ δῖαν – when the poet himself may well have used the more recent form. On the other hand, when there are traces of the older form in the tradition, however slight, it may be suspected that the newer one is due to modernization in the course of transmission. For example, the old accusative plural form πολῦς (from *-ύνς), found as a variant in one or two places, seems generally to have been displaced by the more familiar πολέας, still scanned as a disyllable. There is evidence for the older πλεῦμων ‘lung’ beside the later, folk-etymological πνεύμων. In many places the tradition provides evidence for the insertion of particles, a process that continued into the Middle Ages. We should conduct our textual criticism in awareness of such historical processes.

21.363e (with P.Oxy. 221, p. 114 Erbse); schol. *Od.* 1.52, 1.254, 1.275; WACKERNAGEL (1878) 1979, 1518–28; HERZOG 1912; CAUER (1895) 1921/23, 99–110; CH. I §§ 1–4.

3. Ancient Scholarship

The scholia, especially those transmitted in the manuscripts A and T, 9 preserve numerous excerpts from the Alexandrian scholars Aristonicus and Didymus, both active around the time of Augustus. These two writers recorded much information about the readings which earlier scholars, above all Zenodotus of Ephesus (c.300–260), Aristophanes of Byzantium (c.230–180), and Aristarchus of Samothrace (c.180–144), had approved, or which had stood in their exemplars.

Modern writers often portray these scholars as producers of critical editions 10 who worked by collating the various copies available to them in the Alexandrian library and choosing between variant readings. This is a misleading picture – especially so in the case of Zenodotus, whose text, to judge from the readings attributed to him, was so eccentric and faulty, and sometimes even unmetrical or ungrammatical, that it cannot be considered as the product of rational judgment or choice.⁹ It can only be understood as a rhapsode’s text which Zenodotus happened to own (perhaps he had acquired it in his youth at Ephesus), and which he used as his working copy. His textual criticism seems to have been confined to the athetesis of verses which he judged unworthy of Homer: he marked these with the obelus in his copy. He did not in general concern himself with the merits of individual readings; he did not collate copies, or write out a new one of his own. His successors misunderstood the situation and assumed that the peculiar readings found in his exemplar had been consciously chosen by him. Most of them were evidently mere errors. But as we should expect from such an old manuscript (probably written in the second half of the fourth century), and from one of non-Attic provenance, it did preserve some good and ancient variants which we do not know from other sources.

Aristophanes of Byzantium used a copy or copies of much better quality. 11 He had Zenodotus’ exemplar to hand, and from time to time he adopted readings from it. A feature of Zenodotus’ text was that it omitted many lines, and sometimes the absence of a verse from that text led Aristophanes to question its authenticity and to find reasons why it might have been spurious. Aristophanes introduced several new marginal symbols in addition to Zenodotus’ obelus, and so far as we know he was the first to use written accents as an aid to comprehension and correct reading.¹⁰

⁹ On his work on Homer see especially DÜNTZER 1848; NICKAU 1972; NICKAU 1977; WEST 2001, 33–45.

¹⁰ See further NAUCK 1848; PFEIFFER 1968, 171–81; SLATER 1986.

- 12 We have much fuller information about Aristarchus' recension. For the most part he agreed with the judgments of his teacher Aristophanes, and he took over his system of critical symbols. He explained the meaning of these in commentaries, and criticized his predecessors' readings where he diverged from them. Didymus had two 'Aristarchean' exemplars before him, and found that they did not always agree. We cannot tell whether these were products of Aristarchus' own hand or later copies that claimed to reproduce his text, nor whether their discrepancies were accidental or reflected a change of mind by Aristarchus.¹¹
- 13 The earliest papyrus fragments (third and second centuries BC), and quotations from Homer in fourth-century authors such as Plato, Aeschines, Lycurgus, and Aristotle, show that many of the texts in circulation contained numerous interpolated lines (usually repeated from other contexts), and that they often diverged from one another in phrasing by substitution of equivalent formulae. This had come about, no doubt, because the poems were commonly copied by rhapsodes or by others who knew the text so well that they were able to write out whole sections from memory rather than by closely following the exemplar before them. After about the middle of the second century BC most of the interpolations disappear.¹² This is assumed to be due to the authority of scholars such as Aristophanes and Aristarchus: verses which were absent from their 'editions' were deleted from other copies, perhaps so that booksellers could advertise them as 'corrected according to Aristarchus'. But they did not go so far as to adjust the readings in the remaining verses so that they agreed with Aristarchus'. It often happens that what Didymus knew as the common reading, and what appears as such in the medieval manuscripts, differs from the reading favoured by Aristarchus. Sometimes the Aristarchean reading seems superior, sometimes the contrary.
- 14 Aristarchus sought to establish the best text, not by collecting as many manuscripts as he could and comparing their readings, but by careful and thorough observation of Homeric language and usage. Didymus, on the other hand, although his purpose was to record the readings of his two 'Aristarchean' texts, consulted (albeit intermittently) at least ten others. He cites some of them by the name of their owner or reviser (Euripides,¹³ Antimachus,¹⁴ Rhianus,¹⁵ Sosigenes, Philemon); he refers to another as 'the long text' (ἡ πολύστιχος); others again

11 See further LEHRs (1833) 1882; LUDWICH 1884/85; PFEIFFER 1968, 210–19.

12 See WEST 1967.

13 Hardly the tragic poet; possibly his son (or nephew), Euripides the younger.

14 Quite likely the epic poet from Colophon.

15 No doubt the epic poet from Crete.

are identified by city or country of provenance (Marseilles, Chios, Sinope, Argos, Crete, Cyprus), though some of these Didymus seems not have handled personally but to have seen readings quoted from them by other scholars.¹⁶ Elsewhere he uses more general expressions such as ‘all copies’, ‘most copies’, ‘the better copies’, and in contrast to them ‘the common copies’, ‘the more slipshod copies’.

Besides Aristonicus and Didymus, two other ancient scholars were excerpted 15 in the commentary (often called the *Viermännerkommentar*) that underlies the scholia in A and T. These were Herodian, who wrote on Homeric accentuation, and Nicanor, who discussed questions of punctuation. Both lived in the second century AD. Herodian’s doctrines on accents were taken as authoritative by later grammarians, but his frequent reference to his predecessors in this field of study, principally Aristarchus, Tyrannion, and Ptolemy of Ascalon, with whom he sometimes agrees and sometimes disagrees, warns us that there was in the late Hellenistic period a greater variety of opinion on accentual matters than we usually realize. To some extent the accents of poetic words, such as no longer existed in the spoken language, must have been preserved through the centuries by the tradition of recitation: there are some, certified as genuine by Indo-European philology, which could not have been reconstructed once the line of oral tradition had been broken. In other cases, however, we see the scholars arguing on purely theoretical grounds and coming to opposed conclusions.

4. The Papyri

Our knowledge of the state of the Homeric text in antiquity is greatly extended 16 by the existence of large numbers of fragmentary papyri. (By convention the term includes all ancient books in roll or codex form, whether made from papyrus or from parchment, as well as wooden tablets and ostraca.) The Homeric poems, especially the *Iliad*, were the most widely read and studied of ancient works, and the quantity of the papyri reflects this. Some of them are childishly written school assignments, others are beautifully penned manuscripts, sometimes furnished with accents and other lectional signs, occasionally with marginal scholia. They extend in time from the third century BC to the sixth or seventh century AD, the greatest number coming from the second and third centuries of our era. Some 1,550 papyri of the *Iliad* are so far known. Some are tiny scraps containing only a

¹⁶ On the ‘city editions’ see the 66 references collected by ALLEN 1924, 283–8; a new testimonium in P. Oxy. 4452 fr. 1.18. For Didymus cf. SCHMIDT 1854; PFEIFFER 1968, 274–6; WEST 2001, 46–85.

few letters from two or three lines; at the other end of the scale there are a few well preserved ones that extend over many rhapsodies.

- 17 It might be thought that 1,550 papyri would be enough to ensure that every part of the text was represented by at least one ancient manuscript. Unfortunately this is not so, because the distribution is very uneven. Most of the papyri do not come from complete texts of the *Iliad*; there are more from the first half of the poem than the second, and more from rhapsodies A and B than from the rest. So it comes about that at some places in the text there are as many as ten papyri available, whereas at others there is none. Not that papyri necessarily offer a better text than the medieval tradition, where they diverge. Very often they offer an inferior one. The best variants nearly always survived somewhere in the medieval tradition. But it is often enlightening to discover from papyri which readings were most widely current (at least in Egypt) in the Roman period.
- 18 Besides papyri of the poetic text itself, there are others, some 130 in number, which bear witness to the study of the *Iliad* in ancient schools. A few of them are learned commentaries; a far larger number are elementary glossaries, in which words no longer familiar in spoken Greek are listed in the order in which they occur in the text and provided with easier equivalents. Others contain plot summaries or prose paraphrase, or are fragments of the so-called Mythographus Homericus, who related in a straightforward manner various myths that were alluded to in Homer.

5. The Medieval Tradition

- 19 The number of extant medieval and renaissance manuscripts is also very large: not far short of two hundred. For most of them no complete or reliable collations exist (despite the imposing masses of sigla that inflate T. W. Allen's apparatus). But it is probable that a small selection of the older manuscripts is a sufficient basis for the recension and captures virtually all the ancient variants that found their way into the medieval tradition.
- 20 From the later ninth century we have a manuscript (Z) containing, not a continuous text (except for certain short portions), but numerous lemmata with scholia of the so-called D class, made up of glosses and paraphrase, of the sort known from the papyri, interspersed with excerpts from the Mythographus Homericus. The lemmata reflect a text independent of the main medieval tradition, yielding a number of good or ancient readings that are found in few or no other copies. The prolegomena in Z are the source of the 'Vita Romana' (WEST 2003, 432–9) and of the 'Anecdotum Romanum' published by F. G. Osann in 1851 (WEST 2003, 450–7),

which gives an account of Aristarchus' critical signs and records two alternative incipits for the *Iliad*.

The most wonderful of all Homeric manuscripts is the tenth-century A in the 21
Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. There is a magnificent published facsimile which allows its splendours to be admired.¹⁷ It is beautifully written and meticulously corrected, with careful attention to orthography and accentuation. Its text is often (though not always) superior to that of the other manuscripts. It is equipped with abundant scholia drawn from various sources, principally the *Viermännerkommentar* and the D scholia. The scholia were not just transcribed but studied with a view to improving the text, into which Aristarchean readings and Herodianic spellings were introduced as a result. The creation of this great book was not just a routine act of copying but a major scholarly enterprise. Its discovery and publication by Jean Baptiste de Villoison in 1788 threw a flood of new light on ancient scholarship, and it was this that inspired Friedrich August Wolf to write his epoch-making *Prolegomena ad Homerum* a few years later.

The other tenth-century manuscript is D, a much less imposing book, lacking 22
scholia apart from some interlinear and marginal glosses. The quires containing rhapsodies A–Δ were replaced in the twelfth century by a fresh copy, apparently made from the original, which had probably become difficult to read because of damp. Several other folios were replaced at various times. D is the oldest of a group of manuscripts which omit the Catalogue of Ships, perhaps following an ancient exemplar in which this was done; we have one third-century papyrus which made this omission. D sometimes shows an affinity with Z, but rarely produces ancient readings not attested in other copies.

Of the six eleventh-century manuscripts, one (Y) is fragmentary; it contains 23
only a selection of passages, written out as prose (but with the verse-divisions marked by the symbol +), and many of the original folia are missing. The spelling is deplorable, but a good source seems to lie in the background. – The other five are important for their scholia. B C E F are the chief representatives of Erbse's 'b' class of scholia, which are mainly exegetical and literary-critical in nature. They derive from a commentary that is now attested on a sixth-century papyrus (P. Oxy. 5095). T (dated to the year 1059) contains scholia drawn from a fuller recension of the b class, besides others which are drawn from the *Viermännerkommentar* and thus close to those of A. As regards the poetic text, B C E form a family, drawing (though not consistently) on a common hyparchetype *b*. This was a good source in which many ancient readings were preserved. F too drew often on *b*, but often on a separate source of good quality (or more than one). Sometimes it agrees,

17 COMPARETTI 1901.

almost alone, with A, or with variant readings noted in the margins of A. As for T, the composite nature of its scholia is matched by its inconstant textual allegiances: it sometimes stands with *b*, sometimes with A, sometimes with both, or neither.

- 24 A further source dating from the eleventh century (if not the tenth) is the lost hyparchetype *h*, from which a number of later manuscripts, including N M P, depend; or at any rate they drew from it some readings and a particular version of the scholia. It evidently represents a scholarly recension. The man responsible – unfortunately we cannot identify him – quarried the scholia for Aristarchean and other ancient readings, which he either put in the text or noted as marginal variants. He also made some emendations where the text was metrically faulty. But he must also have had a rare ancient source to hand, for this recension is remarkable for the number of ancient readings that were not to be found in the scholia. A number of them turn up in papyri.
- 25 Other manuscripts sometimes mentioned individually in the apparatus are R W of the twelfth century and G H O V of the thirteenth. G is notable for its rich scholia to 21.165–499, which come from an ancient commentary and are related to the scholia found under the name of Ammonius in a second-century papyrus (P. Oxy. 221).
- 26 Manuscript groupings are unstable, but it may be observed that the tradition has a tendency to divide between A *b* on the one side and (Z) D R W G O on the other, while F and T vacillate between the two streams. The group that omits the Catalogue of Ships is D T R G O.
- 27 There was no lack of Byzantine academic writing on Homer: allegorical exegesis by Demo, Psellus, and John Tzetzes, treatises by Isaac Porphyrogenitus, and so forth. Far exceeding these in extent and in importance are the commentaries of Eustathius. His life spanned the greater part of the twelfth century; he became Bishop of Thessalonica sometime around 1175. He seems to have used several manuscripts of Homer, as he cites variant readings, and he was able to draw on excellent sources, including a version of the *Viermännerkommentar*, which he refers to under the name of ‘Apion and Herodorus’. He also cites other grammarians whose work is no longer extant. Yet he is of little importance as a source for the text, and he exercised no discernible influence on its further transmission.

6. Printed Editions

The first printed edition of the Iliad was produced by Demetrius Chalcondylas at Florence in 1488, using some manuscript that is no longer extant but was not a particularly good one. The next important edition was that of Henricus Stephanus (*Poetae Graeci Principes Heroici Carminis*, Paris 1566); he based his recension largely on the manuscript G. The prestige of this edition led to its exercising a considerable influence on Homeric texts for many generations. From the time of Joshua Barnes, whose edition appeared at Cambridge in 1711, editors started to look more widely for other manuscript sources. Villoison's epoch-making discovery of A has been mentioned above; he found B at the same time, as both codices were together in Venice. Various other scholars were making collations, at least partial, of sundry manuscripts, and in 1802 all this material was brought together in the massive edition of Christian Gottlob Heyne. The second half of the nineteenth century brought a renewal of activity in the matter of collating manuscripts, especially by Jacob La Roche, Arthur Ludwich, Walter Leaf, and T. W. Allen. Ludwich's edition in particular (Leipzig 1902–1907, repr. Stuttgart/Leipzig 1995) has retained its value as a rich and reliable repository of information, not only on the manuscript sources (including papyri) known to the editor but also on ancient quotations and modern conjectures. 28

Allen's *editio maior* (Oxford 1930) refers to a much larger number of manuscripts, most of which he had seen but not collated word for word. His reports of them are often confused, sometimes manifestly contradictory. In any case his apparatus, imposing as it appears at first sight, is largely occupied with orthographical trivia. Helmut van Thiel's debonair edition (Hildesheim 1996), based on fresh collations of nineteen manuscripts, unfortunately goes to the other extreme from Allen, reporting too few variants. The editor pays too little attention to the evidence for the text in antiquity (ancient scholars, quotations, papyri), and ignores the need for critical revision of the medieval vulgate text in the light of historical linguistics. 29

In my Teubner edition of 1998–2000 the attempt is made to meet these requirements. The edition is again based on fresh collations of a selection of medieval manuscripts (Z A D B C E F T Y R W G O), but also on a thorough study of the papyri (over 800 unpublished fragments being used for the first time) and an extensive collection of quotations, extending from the Classical period to the ninth century. It is made on traditional critical principles. On its appearance it met with some criticism from certain persons who hold that the oral dimension of the Homeric tradition calls for editions made on a different principle. This is a misapprehension, since the editor is concerned strictly with the written tradition deriving from one original exemplar. As explained above, the variants that arose 30

in the early centuries of transmission were often of oral origin, but that trivial fact does not give them equal status with the original text. They are of interest for their own sake and are rightly recorded in a critical apparatus, but if the editor judges that they do not represent the original text, they will naturally be categorized as corruptions.¹⁸

18 For a fuller reply to the critics concerned see WEST 2011a, 176–181.

Formularity and Orality (FOR)

By Joachim Latacz

1. **Initial Observations in Antiquity: Aristarchus, Josephus, et al. (1–5)**
2. **Discoveries of the Modern Period (6)**
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1. Initial Observations in Antiquity: Aristarchus, Josephus, et al.

Already at an early date, Homer’s listeners/readers had apparently noted 1 passages such as the following (8.555 f.):

... ὡς δ’ ὄτ’ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ σελήνην
φαίνεται’ ἀριπρεπέα ...
... As when in the sky around the shining moon
the stars are seen, the *conspicuous* ones ...

Homeric philologists in antiquity used the rhetorical term *adynaton* (ἀδύνατον), ‘(something) impossible’, as a designation for this statement. The philosopher and scholar Porphyry (3rd c. AD) wrote (*Quaest. Hom. ad Il. ad loc.*): ‘This too is part of the category of *adynata*: how can the stars “be seen as conspicuous ones” around a *shining* moon?’ The difficulty was caused not by the moon’s epithet^p ‘shining’ but by its context: the statement ‘the stars are seen as conspicuous ones’ can logically only be true when the moon is *not* ‘shining’. Cases of this sort are common in the text of Homer. The river-god Skamandros says in 21.218: ‘For my *lovely* waters are crammed with corpses.’ In *Od.* 6.74, Nausikaa fetches the *dirty* (βερυπωμένα, 59) clothes from her chamber: ‘The girl brought the *radiant* clothing from her chamber’.

Since it seemed unimaginable that Homer would have failed to note the 2 contradictions in such cases, they were often explained as deliberate effects. An

explication of e.g. the Skamandros passage reads: ‘The epithet is well-chosen: in order to demonstrate (mournfully) “*such* streams are being sullied!”’¹ When the Achaian army spills out for battle by the thousands onto the plain of the Skamandros (which has already been the site of battle for nine years) from the encampment of ships (2.467), the Homeric text reads: ‘They took position in the *flowery* meadow of Skamandros, the immeasurably many combatants ...’ The commentator remarks: ‘... on the meadow that *used* to have flowers.’²

The guiding principle of these explications was ‘not for ornamentation but for a purpose’ (*sc.* is the epithet used).³ The influence of this principle remains widespread even today, not only in non-professional reading of Homer but also in the utilization of the poems in scholarly disciplines outside the narrow circle of Homeric specialists (although sometimes there as well), in attempts to wrest, by all means necessary, contextual sensitivity from even the most common epithets in each instance of their use.⁴ But the defensive manner of phrasing already identifies the principle as a rejection of another.

- 3 This second principle occurs in a well-considered form for the first time in the writings of the Alexandrian philologist Aristarchus (2nd c. BC). It runs: ‘not in the present case, but by nature.’⁵ The explication of the ‘shining’ moon passage in **1** is thus as follows (again using Porphyry, *Quaest. Hom. ad Il. ad loc.*): ‘The contradiction is resolved through [Homer’s] diction: “shining” does not refer to the moon in its current textual context, but to the moon in its essence – as in this passage: [*Od.* 6.74 with a reference to “radiant clothing” follows] ... and in this: [*Il.* 21.218

1 Schol. bT 21.218: καλῶς τὸ ἐπίθετον εἰς ἔνδειξιν τοῦ ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα ρεύματα μεμιάνται.

2 Schol. bT 2.467: τῶ πρώην ἄνθη ἔχοντι.

3 Οὐ κόσμου χάριν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς (τι) (schol. *Od.* 2.94).

4 The epithet *dios* (δῖος), generally rendered in English ‘divine’, provides the best known example: although it is used of 32 individual characters (PARRY [1928] 1971, 146f.), e.g. 102x of Odysseus and 57x of Achilles alone (PARRY [1928] 1971, 138), and thus clearly does not denote a distinctive feature of the character in question, attempts were and continue to be made to read the 14 instances in the *Odyssey* where it is used together with the noun ‘swineherd’ (ὑφορβός) as a distinction of *this particular* swineherd (Eumaios) (e.g. in the sense of him being characterized as especially distinguished or internally equivalent to aristocratic men, etc.). On this, PARRY 1928 (1971), 151f.: ‘Homer used δῖος for the swineherd, first because Eumaeus lived in the age of heroes, and second because it was the only epithet he could find, which, together with ὑφορβός (Εὐμαῖος would not work), made up a noun-epithet formula coming after the bucolic diaeresis and beginning with a single consonant.’ This explanation in effect already contains in its entirety the principle of the use of epithets in improvisational oral Greek epic (the workings of which can be reconstructed from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*).

5 Οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ φύσει (Apollonius, *Lexicon Homericum* 161.20–26; Eustathius 179.20–25; cf. schol. *Od.* 6.74; schol. AbT *Il.* 8.555).

with a reference to “lovely waters” follows].’ Aristarchus had thus realized that in Homeric diction epithets^P can denote inalienable characteristics (the moon is ‘shining’ in essence – otherwise we would not be able to see it at all) and can therefore be used independent of context. The fact that they are not suppressed even in cases where their retention creates glaring contradictions shows that (1) they are not meant to serve a *topical* purpose, but have a merely ‘decorative’ (‘cosmetic’, ornamental) function; and (2) neither singer nor audience perceived the contradiction between epithet and context, since the epithet and associated noun formed a traditional unit (which would later be termed a ‘formula’^P). (In modern English, an analogous effect may be represented by phrases such as ‘The good Lord has punished me severely’.)

But Aristarchus, as far as we know, seems to have been content to apply this principle of explication only in cases where epithet^P and context were in evident logical contradiction. It is uncertain whether he (or other ancient scholars) recognized that these contradictions are merely borderline cases of epithet usage – the motive of which is fundamentally removed from semantics (and located instead in meter). At any rate, there is to date no evidence for such broader insights.

Like its formularity, so too the orality of Homeric diction was only suspected in antiquity. In his work *Contra Apionem*, the Jewish historian Josephus (1st c. AD) argued that the Greeks had learned to read and write much later than the Jews; their earliest written text was Homer, who had not lived until after the Trojan War, and ‘the report goes that even he did not leave his poems in writing, but that [individual] songs – preserved by *memory* – were put together afterward, and that this is the reason for the large a number of variations found in them’ (1.12). Since the text’s addressee, the then-famous antisemitic Alexandrian grammarian Apion, was a Homeric specialist, Josephus would not have won support if he merely invented this story. Instead, it must have been based on a Homeric debate (likely Alexandrian) that already assumed that ‘orality’ was a factor in the formation and transmission of the epics.

2. Discoveries of the Modern Period

As far as we know, after this until the 19th century the peculiarities of epithet usage, formularity and orality, were at most noted occasionally as isolated phenomena, but were not studied systematically and in particular were not recognized as different manifestations of a single causal connection.

2.1 Orality and Improvisation⁶

2.1.1 From Parnell to Wolf

7 In the second half of the 18th century, a change in this isolationist approach became apparent in the ‘orality’ component of the system. Th. Parnell, Th. Blackwell and R. Wood, in particular, already grasped that the *diction* of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* could be understood only as the result of an oral, improvisational poetic technique.⁷ This insight became common knowledge through the work of J. G. Herder.⁸ In 1795, F. A. Wolf in his *Prolegomena ad Homerum* added the philological reasoning (although the present summary can offer only a few select quotations; for more detail, see LATACZ 1979a, esp. 29–32):

Nec vero nobis ipsis credibile esset, *Carmina a vatibus et memoriter composita et unius memoriae ministerio propagata esse* [...], nisi vulgatissimus olim mos recitandi et omnis historia rhapsodorum argumentationes et rationes nostras gravissime confirmaret.

(WOLF 1795, ch. 21, end)

We would not find it credible ourselves that *the epics were both composed by memory by poets and spread with the aid of memory alone* [...], if once it were not the most common mode of reciting and if the entire history of the rhapsodes did not emphatically confirm our arguments and reasoning. (Italics: J. L.)

Neque enim nobis opus est afferre singularia specimina validioris memoriae, ut Hortensii oratoris, quem Cicero narrat ea, quae secum commentatus esset, sine scripto omnia reddere potuisse iisdem verbis, quibus cogitavisset, sive poetarum, tum *αὐτοσχεδιαζόντων*, qui Italis *improvisatores* vocantur, tum aliorum multorum, quos constat, praesertim interdictos usu scripturae, plura millia versuum et fecisse in animo, et memoriae infixae saepius repetisse. Quippe non agimus de raris quibusdam miraculis naturae, verum de *ordine hominum, per totam vitam huic uni arti vacantium, ut vel pangerent Carmina, quae mox canendo divulgarent, vel divulgata ab aliis discerent.* (ch. 24, middle; italics: Wolf)

... also we have no need to offer individual examples of an especially powerful memory, such as that of the orator Hortensius, who Cicero reports was able to reproduce in the same

6 The majority of the following extracts, together with German translations, are collected in LATACZ 1979a, 29–37.

7 PARNELL (1715) 1967, 66: the singers Demodokos and Phemios in the *Odyssey* are ‘*Extempore-Singers*’. – BLACKWELL (1735) 1736, 110 f., 122 f. – WOOD 1769, lx and esp. lxvi: ‘but let us remember, that Homer addressed himself to the *ear* alone, that his Poems were *sung*’ (italics by Wood); xi (the Italian *open-air declamators* provide a comparison with the Homeric singers).

8 HERDER (1769) 1878, 197: ‘Homer’s language is not ours. He sang, as it did *as yet live only in the mouths* of the articulated individuals, as he calls them, as it was *not yet a book language*, nor a grammatical one, and least of all a scholarly language’ (transl.; italics: J. L.). Cf. HERDER (1795) 1998, 95: the Homeric singers’ recitals were *improvised* (these ideas had long been in preparation through Herder’s work on folk songs; Wolf’s accusation of plagiarism in the ‘Intelligenzblatt’ of the ‘Allgemeine Literaturzeitung’ [WOLF 1795a] was unfounded).

words everything he sketched out before without recourse to a script, or that of poets, either those who compose extemporaneously, whom the Italians call *improvisatori*, or many others, who clearly – particularly when precluded from the use of writing – composed many thousands of verses in their heads and very often recited those fixed in their memory. [These instances require no examples,] because here we are not dealing with a few rare miracles of nature, *but with a class of men who devote their entire lives to this one art: either to composing poems they then disseminate by singing, or to learning poems disseminated by others.*

In this way, Wolf had inferred both the *orality* and the guild-ensured *traditionalism* of the diction of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. From these two realizations, he further inferred the effects this technique must have had on the resulting *product*, the epic song:

... in quo tamen haud dubie plura per saecula nihil certum et constans fuit, quum res modo a locis ac temporibus recitandi, modo ab ingenio et iudicio rhapsodorum penderet.

(ch. 25, end)

... in which undoubtedly, however, over the course of many centuries, nothing was fixed or constant because everything depended sometimes on the place and time of the recital and sometimes on the ability and judgment of the rhapsodes.

Along with the orality and traditionalism of the technique, the *instability* of the products was thus also recognized, and consequently the continual *fluctuation* of form and content ‘over the course of many centuries’.⁹ These findings were widely accepted and until ca. 1850 formed the basis of German Homeric philology (quotations from contemporary Homeric studies in LATA CZ 1979a, 32f., 36–38). They were lost from view in mainstream Homeric philology only afterward, following the onset of the Analytic-Unitarian Controversy, especially in Karl Lachmann’s lectures at the Berlin Academy in 1837 and 1841.¹⁰

From a modern perspective, Wolf’s results, although objectively correct, 8
suffered from two deficiencies: (1) they were reached by *external* deduction (rather than *internal* induction) with regard to the text (namely through the assumption that writing was unknown in Homer’s time – an assumption called into doubt early on, see e.g. HUG 1801 [esp. 85–122]; NITZSCH 1830 [esp. 33–36] and that was conclusively disproven in 1871 at the latest [discovery of the inscription on the

⁹ Wolf’s statement regarding the ‘rhapsodes’ (i.e. the post-Homeric performing artists, who were largely only *reciting* from memory) must also apply at the same time – and to an even greater degree (e.g. regarding the stirring effect of their performances on the audience, as described in Plato’s *Ion*) – to the ‘aoidoi’ (i.e. the *improvising original creators* of performances active during Homer’s time as well as earlier), according to Wolf’s explicit statement in ch. 22, end.

¹⁰ LACHMANN (1837) 1847 and (1841) 1847; on this, LATA CZ (2000) 2006.

Dipylon oinochoë, dated ca. 740 BC]¹¹); and (2) they did not establish a causal connection between the orality of the singers' diction and its formularity (already known at this time *inter alia* on the basis of the use of epithets; see above 1–3).

2.1.2 Geppert and Hermann

9 Both deficiencies were rectified in 1840. Through close observation of the *textual structure* of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, two works from this year recognized the peculiarities of oral singers' diction and their consequences for the songs themselves.

10 The first of the two scholars, C. E. Geppert (who like his contemporaries assumed the orality of Homeric diction), although he offered correct observations, did not manage to go beyond them:

The poet of old epics did not have a free choice of expression, just as he did not have a choice of verse or word order. In Homer [...], epithets appear to be so closely connected to substantives that even changes in context do not have the power to change them; they are static. [...]. The same phenomenon is replicated in longer sections, in the case of beginning, transitional or closing verses, in speeches, descriptions and narratives that [...] are always repeated verbatim with the same detail. Once an expression had been found for something, this remained its constant designation. It is as if the objects themselves were speaking rather than being described by the poet. (GEPPERT 1840, 202f., transl.)

This anticipates both PARRY 1928 and AREND 1933, but the underlying reason for the diction's formularity (and thus iterativity) has not yet been recognized.

11 The first scholar to clearly comprehend the link between orality and formularity appears to have been Gottfried Hermann.¹² At the same time, Hermann already realized the fundamental precondition of the poetic form at the base of the Homeric epics: formularity (and thus also the individual phenomenon of epithet use) results from the *metrical* requirements of verse-making, and the basis for the

11 The inscription consists of one complete and one partial hexameter ('Whoever now of all the dancers here dances most delicately | ... [he ought to receive me as a prize' *vel sim.*]). 'The individual characters are fashioned relatively uniformly and carefully': HEUBECK 1979, 116 (transl.). The evident fluency in writing shows that reading and writing were normal already around 740 BC. – A similar conclusion can be drawn from the three-line inscription on the so-called Nestor's cup, found in 1954 on Ischia, which – written between 735 and 720 BC according to the most recent, exhaustive study by BARTONĚK/BUCHNER 1995 – already shows consonant gemination and metrical signs (on this, LATACZ [2007] 2014, 150–154; [2011] 2014, 55–57).

12 PARRY (1928) 1971, 124–126, accorded this honor to Heinrich DÜNTZER ([1863] 1872), as he apparently overlooked Hermann's treatise. Hermann in turn had several precursors (EBELING s.v. ἀμύμων), who did not achieve, however, Hermann's clarity.

metrical requirements of formulae^P (together with their special case of ‘epithets’^P) lies in the *orality* of the versification. The orality should not be deduced from external indications, however, but can and should be concluded from the type of diction itself:

Nam ignotum illis poetis fuisse usum litterarum non modo silentium eorum de scriptura testatur [...], verum etiam clamat tota antiquae poesis epicae natura indicibus apertissimis. Nam et conformatio coniunctioque sententiarum, et orationis ad numeros accommodatio, et vocabulorum ornantium adiectio, et praedicatorum rebus commemoratis additorum positura, evidentissime eo conspirant, ut non ad legendum, sed ad audiendum facta esse carmina illa appareat. (HERMANN [1840] 1877, 11)

For the ignorance of those poets regarding the use of writing is not only attested by *their silence about writing* [...], but also the entire nature of ancient epic poetry almost cries this out with the clearest of signals. For the shaping and connecting of clauses, the accommodation of diction to meter, the application of ornamental words, and the placement of laudatory attributes added to objects mentioned before – all fit together very clearly to indicate that these poems were meant to be not read but heard. (Italics: J. L.)

The orality of the diction underlying the Homeric text is thus understood on the basis of the structure of the text itself. In his appreciation of the *metrical restrictions* placed on the diction, Hermann goes even further:

Mirifice porro et recitanti poetae memoriam et audientibus facilitatem perceptionis adiuvat summa illa orationis cum numeris versuum conspiratio, cuius haec virtus est, ut, quum fere singulis versibus versuumque partibus singulae sententiae absolvantur, ipsi numeri terminos constituent, quos intra conclusae esse debeant sententiae. (12)

Furthermore, the perfect concord of the diction with the meter offers admirable assistance both to the reciting poet’s memory and to the listeners’ comprehension; for the virtue of this concord is that, since individual clauses are regularly brought to an end within individual verses or parts of verses, the meter itself determines the bounds within which clauses must be contained.¹³

From the metrical restriction to the diction, Hermann could at last explain the phenomenon of the filler-function served by *epitheta ornantia*:

Omninoque plurimum conferunt ad hanc orationis cum numeris convenientiam vocabula ornatui destinata, quibus quum veluti vacua in sententiis spatia impleantur, non solum opportunitas praebetur membra orationis usque ad finem versus producendi, sed etiam, quod ita stabilia sunt ista vocabula, ut cognominum instar sint, ornant illa quidem orationem, sed, quoniam saepe nihil faciunt ad ea quae quoque loco narrantur, non exposcunt sibi diligentiam singularem audientium. (12)

¹³ Thus in principle (without knowledge of Hermann) now also BAKKER 1997a, 300–303. – More on BAKKER at 44a.

But the most important contribution to this harmony of the diction with the meter is made by *words meant for ornament*: filling quasi-empty spaces in the clauses, they not only give the opportunity to extend the expression to the end of the line, but also, because they are so stable that they function like cognomina, they embellish the diction, but since they often add nothing to what is being narrated in any given passage, they do not demand particular attention from the listeners.

The *metrical* determination of epithet use (present in most instances) within the diction at the base of the Homeric epics was thus recognized for the first time. This also removes the foundations from the hunt for ways to foist a semantic, context-modifying meaning (see above 2), in any ‘sophisticated’ fashion possible, onto context-incompatible epithets.

- 12 Hermann drew three general conclusions, still valid today, from his analysis of the structure of Homeric diction: (1) this poetry was composed solely for listening; (2) verses of this kind could be easily improvised; and (3) writing was in no way necessary for composing poetry with this type of text structure (HERMANN [1840] 1877, 13).

From this Hermann concluded: (1) The technique of the singers of early epic was oral improvisation; (2) this improvisation utilized metrically determined formulae from a traditional stock that had been transmitted for generations; and (3) the use of formulae necessitated repetition of both individual words and entire verses (see *Iterata*^P):

Consequens fuit illius quam exposui rationis, ut veteres illi poetae saepenumero in eadem re eadem verba eosdemque versus iterarent,

The consequence of the procedure I demonstrated was that those ancient poets very often repeated the same words and the same verses in describing the same object –

something avoided by poets who improved their works by writing:

quod vitatum est ab illis, qui scripto carmina sua expoliverunt. (13)

The approach of interpreting repetitions (generally¹⁴) as a result of technique (i.e. of neither the poet’s incompetence nor deliberate emphasis) in particular was later developed comprehensively (and at times discussed controversially¹⁵)

14 Hermann distinguished six different types of repetition and concluded: ‘But the repetitions in Homeric poetry are so numerous and so diverse that it appears they cannot all be interpreted in the same way’: HERMANN (1840) 1979, 50, transl.

15 Particularly by Ernst Heitsch and his school: RAMERSDORFER 1981; STRASSER 1984; ROTH 1989; BLÖSSNER 1991; HEITSCH 2000 (esp. 87 f. n. 74). Cf. also BANNERT 1988 (with relevant literature, but apparently without knowledge of Heitsch’s school).

in numerous works; the verbatim repetition of *whole scenes* was fundamentally analyzed by AREND 1933 (who did not recognize clearly, however, the *actual* cause for these repetitions; on this, see PARRY [1936] 1971).

Hermann's discoveries, taken together, represent the first 'theory of oral poetry' in Homeric philology. The technique of oral poetry – which can be reconstructed from its extant final products – accordingly consists of the use of traditionally prescribed metrical-semantic units (*formulae*¹⁶) and is demanded by the stressful situation of the improvisator before his expectant audience. 13

2.1.3 Early Comparative Studies of Epic Poetry (Karadžić, Talvj, Kreuser, Curtius)

Hermann's insights were supported by comparative research on epic that followed Wood's and Herder's studies of folk epic. The earliest collections of Serbo-Croatian *guslar* epics were published by the collector Vuk Karadžić in Vienna in 1814/15, encouraged by the Viennese scholar of Slavic studies B. Kopitar; a three-volume edition published in Leipzig in 1823/24 received an enthusiastic reception as a result of the good German translation by Talvj (= Therese Albertine Luise von Jakob) and reviews by Goethe and Jacob Grimm.¹⁶ Further collections, including from oral traditions of other languages, followed. J. Kreuser, a contemporary expert in the field, was able already in 1833 to state on the basis of this material: 14

All folk poetry emerges from the ability to improvise [...], e.g. among the modern Greeks, the Estonians, the Latvians. Their poems are composed in and for the joy of the moment and also fade with it, and it does not matter if they contain many superfluous words and stop-gaps, since they are not meant to be books but to give pleasure. Similarly composed for the moment are the works of current *Serbian* improvisers and folk poets, such as Philip Sljepaz, who have been made so familiar by Talvj, Gerhard and others. At the same time, *guslars* who are also independent *poets*, such as Hyazinth Maglanowitsch, are rarely found. – The same situation can be found among Scottish minstrels, modern Greek *klephts*, and elsewhere. (KREUSER 1833, 150 f., transl.)

The conclusion regarding the initial orality of early Greek epic (which peaked in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*), drawn on the basis of external indicators by F. A. Wolf, on the basis of internal ones by G. Hermann, and supported by comparative studies of epic, was generally accepted by 1850 and formed the basis for contemporary interpretation of Homer. This fundamental conviction had its clear 15

¹⁶ References in MURKO (1919) 1979, 120.

est expression in the overall *summary* of the research into Homer conducted between 1795 and 1850, published by the Homeric philologist Georg Curtius in 1854:

There are probably few scholars who believe in an *originally* written composition of the Homeric poems. The concept of folk epic, discovered by Wolf and soon splendidly confirmed by studies of German, Scandinavian, Provençal, Serbian, Finnish and other heroic epics, emerged victorious. *No one now doubts* that the Homeric poems contain traditional mythical stories, closely intertwined with the beliefs and customs of the Hellenic people and sung in heroic poems already for a long time, rather than new or even invented material. The difference between these popular epics and the artificial, or as Jacob Grimm puts it, between the true, i.e. the naturally developed and actually sung together, and the false, i.e. that composed or imitated with careful calculation and cool consideration for reading, has nowadays already become a common notion within literary studies, one might even say, of all educated persons.

(CURTIUS [1854] 1886, 179 f., transl.; italics: J. L.)

- 16 The state of knowledge reached by 1850 regarding the basic constitution of the Homeric epics can thus be defined as follows:

The fundamental difference between Homeric epic and all later poetry had been recognized. The cause of this difference had been identified in the fundamentally different technique of composition of epic. The character of this technique was already defined as well, namely as improvisational singing of rhythmic units (hexameters) that were strictly circumscribed in their extent, aided by traditionally prescribed linguistic set-pieces that were often allowed and needed to be semantically zero-valent in context to facilitate impromptu composition. The essential *practicability* of this technique was ensured by the inclusion for comparative purposes of non-Greek improvisational folk epics, especially Serbian guslar epics.

2.2 Formularity

2.2.1 Initial Insights and Analyses: Ellendt, Düntzer, Witte

- 17 Formularity had been correctly identified and understood as metrically conditioned, but it had not yet been analyzed in detail. This gap was largely closed by several close studies of Homeric diction conducted independently during the 1860s. Among these, the studies of Johann Ernst ELLENDT (1861 [= 1979]) and Heinrich DÜNTZER (1864 [= 1979]) stand out in particular.
- 18 Ellendt extracted a rich collection of grammatical (morphological, syntactic, lexical) irregularities from the Homeric text and demonstrated that these deviations from the norm (1) could be explained only by assuming metrical constraints

due to the singers' oral improvisational technique, and (2) were accepted by the singers in order to obtain reusable metrical building-blocks that were as manageable as possible – formulae^p. Initially ('more as suggestions than as extensive explanations': ELLENDT [1861] 1979, 60, transl.), he distinguished four categories of irregularities:

Metrically conditioned change of gender (to retain a formula). – Examples: ἀήρ 19 with its oblique cases ἡέρος etc. is usually feminine. But formulaic πολλήν ἡέρα χεύ(ειν) (*Od.* 7.15 ≈ 7.140) or καλύπτ(ειν) ἡέρι πολλῆ (3.381, 11.752, 16.790, 20.444, 21.549, 21.597) in the VE formula^p 5.776 ≈ 8.50 forces the change of gender περὶ (κατὰ) δ' ἡέρα πουλὺν ἔχευε(ν). – Cf. the related phenomenon of stem-change in VE formulae such as εὐρέα πόντον and εὐρέα κόλπον, where the accusative of the adjective, usually εὐρύν, is formed according to the VE formula εὐρέϊ πόντω.

Metrically conditioned change of number (to retain a formula). – Examples: 20 The VB formula^p ἐλθόντες δ' ἐς δῶμα always uses the singular δῶμα when followed by a word with an initial consonant (e.g. 20.10, 5.398 etc.: Διός), but the plural δώματ' when followed by an initial vowel: *Od.* 20.248 ἐλθόντες δ' ἐς δώματ' Ὀδυσσεύος θεοῖο. The plural does not denote a difference in meaning, but is employed to retain the formula. – Cf. the change from sing. ἄρμα to pl. ἄρματα, evident e.g. in 8.438/44; the same phenomenon with an adj.: ὑπέρμορα νόστος ἐτύχθη 2.155 vs. ὑπέρμορον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν *Od.* 1.34, ὑπέρμορον ὤλετ' Ὀδυσσεύς *Od.* 5.436, etc.

The frequent alternation between plural and dual is likewise metrically conditioned: in the case of χεῖρ 'hand', the idea of the pair is regularly expressed by the plural rather than by the dual. But when VE formulae of the metrical scheme –υ –x, e.g. χείρας ἀνασχεῖν (ἀνασχών etc.) have a closing word beginning in a consonant, the plural χείρας is replaced by the dual χεῖρε: χεῖρε τιτήνας 13.534, χεῖρε πετάσσας *Od.* 5.374 = 9.417, χεῖρε βαλόντε (λαβοῦσα) *Od.* 11.211 ≈ 21.223, 23.87.

Metrically conditioned change of voice (to retain a formula). – Examples: ιδεῖν 21 and ιδέσθαι generally alternate according to metrical need alone, cf. e.g. the VE formula^p ὄφρα ἴδωμαι 6.365, 8.376, *Od.* 23.83 with the VE formula ὄφρα ἴδωμεν 10.97, *Od.* 21.112, 21.336. – In *Od.* 18.143, where the verse ends with a participle, the VE formula ἀεικέα/ἀτάσθαλα/κακὰ μηχανάσθαι (1x *Il.*, 9x *Od.*) is changed to ἀτάσθαλα μηχανώνωντας.

The area of 'voice alternation' was further investigated 50 years later by Kurt 22 Witte in particular (often simply repeating Ellendt). Witte correctly identified as the root cause for the alternation of forms – and not only in the realm of voice – the metrical constraint that arose from the final section of the verse – particularly following B₁ (–υυ –υυ –x) – a constraint that made the singers, when necessary, *inflect* formulae being fixed at that place. – For example:

- 49: καθήμεναι εἰσορόωσαι
 23.448: καθήμενοι εἰσορόωντο.

Further examples are: *Od.* 14.375 παρήμενοι ἐξερέουσιν vs. *Od.* 13.411 παρήμενος ἐξερέεσθαι, *Od.* 1.234 θεοὶ κακὰ μητιόωντες vs. 22.174 θεοί, καὶ μητιάασθε; cf. *Od.* 16.9 ὑλάουσιν vs. *Od.* 16.162 ὑλάοντο, etc. (WITTE [1912] 1979, 109–111). It is evident that in such cases an attempt to discover semantic differences between the active and medium forms would run counter to the singers' intentions.

23 The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to inflection of formulae in other areas, e.g. in the area of noun-epithet: πατρίδι γαίῃ / πατρίδα γαῖαν vs. πατρίδος αἴης / πατρὶς ἄρουρα, and in the area of 'addresses': ποιμένι λαῶν / ποιμένα λαῶν vs. κοίρανε λαῶν (since no metrically convenient vocative can be formed from ποιμήν), from which in turn the alternate form ὄρχαμε λαῶν with initial vowel is formed; similarly υἶες Ἀχαιῶν vs. κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν (both paraphrases of the nominative Ἀχαιοί); cf. further πῆματα πάσχειν vs. ἄλγεα πάσχειν, etc. Semantic distinctions between γαῖα and αἶα/ἄρουρα, ποιμήν and κοίρανος/ὄρχαμος, υἶες and κοῦροι, πῆματα and ἄλγεα are not aimed at here (although one cannot of course preclude that these might be *perceived* in nuances, based on the basic meaning of the words) (WITTE [1912] 1979; LATACZ [2006] 2014, 604–609; more at 44a).

24 This line of research was pursued further by a number of scholars (e.g. HOEKSTRA 1965 and HAINSWORTH 1968, who investigated the flexibility of the formula^p in general). Particular mention should be made here of the demonstration by VISSER 1997, 83–94, that Ἴλιος und Τροίη, the two place-names used in the singers' diction for the location of the action of the *Iliad*, also alternate according to *metrical* needs; repeated attempts to assign different topographical references to the names (Τροίη ~ the area, i.e. the Troad; Ἴλιος ~ the town)¹⁷ therefore miss the point: the designation of the attacking factions varies between Ἀργεῖοι, Ἀχαιοί and Δαναοί according to purely metrical criteria (thus already DÜNTZER [1864] 1979, 99 f.; [1868] 1872; cf. LATACZ [2001] 2004, 133–136; [2011a] 2014, 489–492); in the same way, the designation of the fortified town under attack does as well.¹⁸

17 *LfggrE* s.v. Ἴλιος; DEL VALLE MUÑOYERRO 1997/98. The epithets (which despite their metrical interchangeability are committed to accuracy in substance) contradict these attempts as well: ἐύπυργος 'well-towered' in Τροίην ἐύπυργον and ὑψίπυλος 'with high gates' in ὑψίπυλον Τροίην can only be said of a city's walls, not of the entire surrounding land.

18 Today we know that both names are already attested for town and hinterland in Hittite documents of the 2nd millennium BC: *Wilusa* and *Taruwisa/Truwisa* (STARKE 1997; 2001; LATACZ [2001] 2004, 73–100, 216–218; [2001] 2010, 369–374; [2002] 2014, 443–467).

Metrically, or more precisely rhythmically conditioned creation of formulae by sound association. – Examples: κατὰ δ' ὑπόθεν ἦκεν ἔέρσας 11.53 vs. ὃ δ' ἄρ' ὑπόθεν ἔμβαλ' αἰείρας 12.383 – ἀμφήλυθε θήλυς ἀϋτή *Od.* 6.122 vs. ἀμφήλυθεν ἠδὺς ἀϋτμή *Od.* 12.369. – With this material, Ellendt advanced into an area of the impulse for formula-building, the significance of which (according to PARRY [1928] 1971, 72–74, who did credit Ellendt with the discovery of the phenomenon, but clearly did not understand him completely) was re-discovered only by LEUMANN 1950, HOEKSTRA 1965 and especially NAGLER 1969, but has not yet been systematically investigated. 25

Düntzer's work is even more extensive than Ellendt's. He investigated the influence of meter not only on word-formation and word-combinations, as Ellendt did, but also on Homeric expressions as a whole: word-classes (nouns, pronouns, numerals, adjectives, verbs), word-formation (patronymics, adjectives, compounds), syntax, periphrases of names (ἱερὴ ἴς Τηλεμάχιοιο etc.), forms of address, synonyms, epithets (the latter in great detail). The abundance of individual insights cannot even be outlined here. But it is essential to cite the fundamental insight that arose from his studies, since it formed a fixed point for subsequent research in this area from MEYLAN-FAURE 1899 and WITTE 1909–1914 [= 1972]¹⁹ to PARRY 1928: 26

Among the most consequential results of my Homeric studies, in both scientific and practical terms, I count the remark [= insight] that the poet can draw upon a variety of metrically different words for the same term, which he employs according to the needs of the verse or also of euphony. The fact that all these words are metrically different, or may be used differently within verses depending on whether the initial sound is a vowel or a consonant, is especially of a clear demonstrative force. (DÜNTZER [1868] 1872, 567 f., transl.)

19 WITTE 1913, 2214, succinctly summed up the core findings of this area of research, based on all studies conducted up to that point and including his own extensive investigation of formula-ity, stating that the language of Homeric poems was 'a creation of Epic verse' (transl.; explicitly adopted by PARRY [1928] 1971, 173, 181 etc.). The conclusions from this were drawn by MEISTER 1921 in his book *Die homerische Kunstsprache*, the title of which represents a résumé of all previous research. PARRY regularly consulted MEISTER as well.

2.3 Formularity, Orality and Improvisation

2.3.1 Synthesis and Systematization: Milman Parry

27 Studies of the orality and formularity of Homeric diction were decisively advanced by the American Milman Parry. Parry wrote his dissertation – ‘L’Epithète traditionnelle dans Homère’, composed under the supervision of the Parisian Indo-Europeanist Antoine Meillet and published in 1928 – on the basis of an understanding and in full acknowledgement of the entirety of European scholarship on the topic up to that time. (Only the significance of F. A. Wolf’s conclusions [above 8] – although reached through external indicators – appears to have been underestimated by him, and G. Hermann’s work [above 11–13] overlooked.)²⁰

28 Parry largely built on Ellendt and Düntzer^{20a} (whose findings regarding the nature of the Homeric epithet^p he terms ‘undoubtedly the most important step since Aristarchus toward the understanding of the fixed epithet in Homer’²¹), but narrowed the broad field of research of Düntzer (and the other scholars mentioned above) to a single sub-field, miniscule in comparison with the entire issue: the use of epithets. This restricted focus (methodologically necessary for capturing the whole system – envisioned as the ultimate goal – through individual steps, and expanded by Parry himself in later works with regard to several points of the system²²) allowed him to significantly expand both the amount of material studied and the aspects of it considered. Statistically accurate analyses, supported by comparison to the poetic technique of post-Homeric epic poets such

20 The foundational status of the studies by Ellendt, Düntzer and Witte (as well as Meillet) in particular for Parry’s theory was also highlighted by FOLEY 1988, 1–10 and HOLOKA 1991, who followed LATA CZ 1979 closely, although with heavy abbreviation; cf. also RUSSO 1997, 238 n. 1; BAKKER, below 44a.

20a PARRY [1928] 1971, 5: ‘Modern scholars have in their turn concerned themselves with this problem [sc. artificial dialectal forms under the influence of the meter], particularly since Ellendt and Düntzer, who worked at the same time, but independently of each other, and arrived at similar conclusions. These two scholars sought in the dactylic form of the metre the reason for lengthened and shortened syllables, for apocope, for the use of the plural for the singular, for the use of the epithet according to its metrical value, etc.’ Throughout the book, Parry constantly deals with Düntzer.

21 PARRY [1928] 1971, 124: ‘Düntzer saw how the questions of the meaning of the epithet and of its use according to its metrical value were interrelated, and in this essay [sc. DÜNTZER (1863) 1872] he prepared the way for his study of the influence of metre on Homeric style. *The relation which he thus established between these two problems was undoubtedly the most important step since Aristarchus towards the understanding of the fixed epithet in Homer*’ (italics: J. L.).

22 Especially PARRY (1929) 1971; (1933) 1971; (1936) 1971.

as Apollonius Rhodius and Virgil, led Parry to findings regarding the Homeric use of epithets and Homeric formulaic technique in general that fixed the lines for current scholarship and must today form the basis of any interpretation of Homer. (Subsequent modifications, refinements and the like have expanded but not refuted Parry's core findings and main results.) Only the most important of these can be mentioned here:

In most cases, the Homeric epithet^p (useful lists: DEE 1994; 2000) has been used 'generically' when considered synchronically. (The phenomenon presents itself differently when seen diachronically vis-à-vis the development of the genre.) This means that the epithet^p denotes neither distinctive characteristics of a particular individual person or thing nor the characteristics, social status, behavior etc. of the relevant person or thing at 'that' particular moment in the narrative's action (thus already Aristarchus, see 3 above). All characters in the narrative are members of a heroic world and are thus assigned ennobling epithets ('divine, god-like, noble, radiant, strong, valiant, wise, magnanimous, regal, irreproachable' etc.; see the table in PARRY [1928] 1971, 89–91); objects are supplied with epithets generally applicable to the item in question rather than emphasizing particular characteristics, and are simultaneously laudatory (e.g. ships receive 23 different but consistently positive epithets). Sensitivity to context is neither aimed at on principle nor expected by the audience (thus already above 1–3).

Through consistent association with particular nouns, certain epithets^p adhere to them over the course of the tradition and form set noun-epithet combinations that function as building blocks, formulae^p, i.e. they may be employed as units in metrically appropriate parts of the verse (δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, φαίδιμος Ἔκτωρ, μητίετα Ζεὺς, ὄβριμος Ἄρης, πότνια Ἥρη etc.). These units may be expanded where necessary (πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη, etc.).

A formula^p can be defined as 'une expression qui est régulièrement employée, dans les mêmes conditions métriques, pour exprimer une certaine idée essentielle': PARRY 1928, 16. In the translation provided by Parry's son Adam, this definition becomes 'an expression regularly used, under the same metrical conditions, to express an essential idea' (PARRY [1928] 1971, 13), whereas Parry himself defined it, in a study written in English two years after the publication of his thesis, as '*a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea*': PARRY (1930) 1971, 272 (italics: M. P.). The phrasing of the French original, the English version and Adam Parry's translation later became the object of an extended exegetical bibliography (on which, see VISSER 1987, 16–21; EDWARDS 1986; 1988; RUSSO 1997 etc.).

The singers' efforts are directed at strictly limiting the number of theoretically conceivable possibilities of epithet use in a given verse-position to one, so as to remove from the outset the agony of choice during the forward-flowing press of

improvisation. In practical terms, several metrically and semantically distinct noun-epithet combinations for one and the same character or object (Agamemnon, Achilles; sword, ship) do exist and are used in the repertoire. But to provide relief for the memory, the number in use is limited to one for any given position within the verse. Parry terms this striving for perfection the *economy* or *thrift* of the formular system. (Competing combinations are so rare in Homer that they should likely be considered unavoidable transitional stages in the ongoing process of new formations and subsequent renewed reduction.)

33 Since a technique of this sort and a repertoire of formulae so abundant require generations to develop, this epic diction must have had a long tradition. The wealth of epithets^p used in Homer, as well as their excellence both technical (which is generally observable) and aesthetic, requires the conclusion that the pre-Homeric tradition was extraordinarily long and probably dated back centuries.²³

34 The analysis of surviving oral improvisational epic in Serbo-Croatia shows that such a technique, namely the *ad hoc* inventive singing of heroic tales by means of an inventory of formulae and the related, learned rules of linking them, is not merely possible but the core requirement of all oral poetry, as long as it does not represent the repetition of previously composed material.

35 In general, Parry's studies are termed 'Oral poetry theory' (or 'Parry-Lord Theory'). This is unobjectionable as long as it is kept in mind that this is not in fact a theory but the absolutely consistent reconstruction of the intrinsic conditions for Greek oral epic, based on its own structure.^{23a}

35a Appreciation of Parry's work, particularly his 1928 thesis, which forms the foundation of the system, took place slowly and with considerable delay, not only in Europe ('... the comparative slowness – with important exceptions – with

23 The truth of this conclusion has been verified step-by-step since 1980 in the context of linguistic reconstructions of original versions of metrically problematic Homeric verses; see G 15 and cf. RUIJGH 1995, esp. 85 ff.; HORROCKS 1997, 201–203; WEST 1997a, 233 f., who unanimously assume a Bronze Age date (the 15th/14th c. at the latest) for the emergence of the original versions of these hexameters. For the more recent continuation of this research, see the summary in LATACZ (1998) 2006; (2001) 2004, 259 ff.; (2001) 2010, 332 ff., 379–387; (2011a) 2014, 506 f.

23a It cannot be chance that the results produced over 150 years, from Parnell 1715 via Blackwell, Wood, Herder, Wolf, Hermann, and Ellendt to Düntzer 1864, agree with the conclusions reached about 85 years later by Parry on the same material basis and inspired by his predecessors although independently; rather, this result is founded in the peculiarities of the Homeric epics. All scholarly investigation of the epics at any point in time must therefore lead to the conclusion currently termed Oral poetry theory. Oral poetry 'theory' is thus no more a theory than the laryngeal 'theory', but rather the detection of the object's inherent nature.

which Parry's work was appreciated in Europe': EDWARDS 1997, 261) but also in the United States. The reasons for this were to be found not only in Homeric studies themselves, which at the time remained deeply mired in the analytic-unitarian controversy, but also in the severe impediments to scholarly work posed by the economic and political confusions of the day (Great Depression 1928–1930; political radicalization; rise of fascism in Germany and Italy; World War II 1939–1945). With the exception of France, where Parry's thesis was naturally taken up most quickly, especially in the work of Chantraine, Mazon, Puech, Labarbe and others,^{23b} real notice on both sides of the Atlantic occurred only after the end of the war, in about 1950. The leaders of the new 'Parryism' were in the United States especially J. A. Notopoulos and F. M. Combellack, in addition to Parry's collaborator Albert Lord; in the United Kingdom M. Bowra; and in German-speaking countries the Austrian Albin Lesky.^{23c} But the real boom^{23d} was initiated only in 1971 – thanks to the translation of the French disser-

23b The very first review of Parry's *L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère* appeared shortly after the book's 1928 publication, on 1 January 1929 in the *Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'histoire Anciennes* (3, 1929, 294–300), written by Pierre Chantraine, the author of the still-essential *Grammaire homérique* (1st edition 1946–1953). After an extensive 6-page positive presentation of Parry's book, Chantraine concludes: 'it has to be acknowledged that the argument is established and gives new life to Homeric studies' ('... on reconnaîtra que la démonstration est acquise et qu'elle renouvelle la philologie homérique' [299]).

23c Already in the first post-WWII German-language research report on Homeric studies, Lesky repeatedly mentions Parry (LESKY 1951, esp. 71 and 195). He discusses Parry in detail a year later in LESKY 1952. Two years later, he makes a forceful appeal for German Homeric studies to abandon the analytic-unitarian controversy in the essay 'Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Homerischen Epos' (LESKY [1954] 1966), which advocates adopting Parry's approach instead ('This kind of view required a completely fresh start. This occurred when Milman Parry went on to obtain parallels from South Slavic folk epic for his concept of the formulaic character of Homeric poetry': LESKY *loc. cit.* 65, transl.; cf. 66f.). In the first edition of his *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, published 1957/58, the discussion of Parry's and Lord's studies takes up several pages near the beginning. In his major contribution to the *RE* under the lemma 'Homerus', Lesky in chapters I and II finally described 'oral poetry as the precondition of Homeric epics' (LESKY 1967, 7, transl.). – A more detailed account of Parry's reception in Europe would exceed the present framework but would show that his reception in Europe (particularly in Germany and Austria) before and after the war was not much slower than in the United States. At most, the resistance to the new 'doctrine', initially misunderstood as 'unpoetic', was at first somewhat greater in German-speaking parts of Europe than in America. The gulf created by the war between European and American scholarship (also relevant is foreign language proficiency) on this issue led to a distorted view that still reverberates in the United States. At present, oral poetry is the basis of Homeric interpretation worldwide.

23d The present portrayal is based on the French original.

tation into English by Parry's son Adam – and gradually abated in the 1980s: the initial resistance to Parry's (supposedly anti-poetical) theory had been broken.

2.3.2 Improvement and Expansion of the System: From Parry to Visser

36 After their adoption in the 1950s, Parry's results were refined in many instances. This was mostly not a vertical or horizontal continuation, however, but an internal extension, in particular in the definition of the formula, the modification of formulae, and the comparability of Homeric epics with those from elsewhere in the world (for *comparative study of epic*, see 14–16 above; following Parry, this was continued in particular by A. B. L o r d , C. M. B o w r a , J. A. N o t o p o u l o s , D. E. B y n u m , R. F i n n e g a n and J. M. F o l e y). An account of this expansion to ca. 1979 is presented by LATA CZ (*HTN*) (see there the 'Spezialbibliographie zur Oral poetry-Theorie in der Homer-Forschung', 573–618; for Foley's studies, see FOLEY 1999 and 2005). Until the late 1980s, this line of research did not move decisively beyond Parry.

37 Comparative studies of epic poetry in particular developed into a distinct, special discipline that accumulated material and gradually began to revolve around itself, and that basically only again and again demonstrated the technical and qualitative uniqueness of *Greek* epics. This line of inquiry nonetheless usefully contributed to further investigation of the singers' diction, not only from this specific result (which raised ever more urgent questions regarding the *reason* for this uniqueness) but also by making concrete modern notions of the existence and methods of orally improvising singers in general. Although FRÄNKEL (1926) 1960, 148, already stated: 'We know nothing about the manner of singing', he hypothetically concluded after all on the basis of his analyses of hexameter-structures that '... it will have been a type of sing-song, in principle similar to that of the South Slavic rhapsodes, which everyone can now listen to in recordings, or to that of Orthodox priests intoning Bible verses, or modern opera's recitative' (*ibid.*, transl.; cf. also 370). In an appendix (153–155), he highlighted three confirmatory field studies regarding the practices of Serbo-Croatian and Montenegrin singers: JAKOBSON 1933, BECKING 1933 and BARTÓK/LORD 1951, including lengthy quotes from the originals, of which a single passage is repeated here to stimulate the imagination (D¹, Eb¹, F¹ = notation of scale degree):

[...] D¹ [...], the most common [musical tone], (is) the actual tonal center, the *finalis* of the vast majority of cadences, the tone of plain narrative, of calm, which forms the basis of large-scale intensifications, and to which even the most agitated passages soon return. Where it imparts its character to the verse – by being used at the beginning in a stressed positions – the verse is performed piano, or at least more calmly and dynamically less strongly in relation to the surrounding verses. [...] (The tonal step above) Eb¹ [...] functions

as the *heightened tone*. What D¹ narrates in a normal fashion with calm expression is presented by E^{b1} more emphatically, more agitated, at any rate louder, throughout – at least comparatively – in *mezzoforte*. [...] (The highest tone) F¹ [...] is the target tone or leap tone, all intensification [...] culminates in it [...]. (It) sounds by far the loudest, a *forte* tone proper. (It) does not occur in *piano*. Its expression is above all *heroic*. All things heroic are represented (by it). (BECKING 1933, 146 f., transl.; italics: Becking)

All subsequent studies of extant oral improvisational epics (see especially the volume *Oralità*, GENTILI/PAIONI 1985, which is extremely rich in material) have so far pointed in the same direction. The Greek hexameter-epics (accompanied by the stringed *phorminx*, which was played by the singers themselves, just as Serbo-Croatian epics are accompanied by the *gusle*) – surely including Homer's – must accordingly be imagined as performed in a solemn, artful manner obviously distinct from everyday speech, the basic effect of which (with special effects changing from verse to verse) we cannot bring to life in our prosaic, hacking scansion of hexameters, depriving us from the outset of an entire meaningful dimension of Homeric poetry.²⁴ 38

Within the system, progress was made in particular regarding the question of the revitalization of fixed (ossified^{24a}) epithets^P – which Parry had already considered carefully: PARRY [1928] 1971, 153–165: 'The particularized epithet'. 39

The significance of this chapter of Parry is often overlooked. In the first review of Parry's thesis (above n. 23b), Chantraine again drew attention to the fact (essentially evident, see 1–3 above) that Parry's starting point was the distinction between a distinctive epithet, i.e. one that for modern individuals is patently context-sensitive, and an ornamental one (a phenomenon largely unknown to modern individuals): 'On est forcé de distinguer entre deux sortes d'épithètes, l'épithète "particularisée" qui vise l'action momentanée, et l'épithète "ornemen-

24 On this, cf. WEST 1981; DANEK 1989.

24a It is a common misconception that the epithets in the transmitted Homeric text have been part of an oral tradition since time immemorial. Parry obviously assumed a diachronic fluctuation of epithets. Those still at the stage of an *épithète particularisée*, whether adopted from everyday speech or invented by the poet, that were considered good or even ideal by the guild, might have a very long life (such as, most likely, the ingenious ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἰὼς, see LATACZ [2006] 2014, 604f.), and in this way become ossified to such a degree (i.e. become an *épithète fixe*) as to require special measures for revitalization to restore the original meaning in cases where it was to be removed from its encapsulation and so understood. More commonplace examples did not receive such special treatment and in the stream of tradition were often replaced by others. The whole issue of epithet *métamorphose* (transformation), from *épithète particularisée* to *épithète fixe* (PARRY 1928, 196 f. = [1928] 1971, 156), has not yet really been addressed.

tale” qui n’a de rapport ni avec les idées des mots de la phrase ni avec celles de passage où elle se trouve (p. 25)’, and then notes trenchantly: ‘M. Parry pose alors dans toute sa netteté le problème auquel le conduit son analyse: *Quelle était la liberté du poète?*’ (Italics: J. L.). Indeed, Parry saw this core question of the epithet’s function clearly: if Homer’s audience, as he had just shown, was accustomed to regarding epithets as semantically zero-valent, how could it discern occasions on which the singer intended for an epithet *not* to be zero-valent but to be ‘taken literally’? Parry thus assumed a *liberté du poète* also in cases of a poet operating with *epitheta ornantia* (*épithètes fixes*) as a matter of course – something often doubted or even denied in the most recent phase of Parry’s reception (‘Post-Parryism’). He cites as a paradigm *Od.* 10.330 (PARRY [1928] 1971, 156), where the singer has a perplexed Circe ask the stranger who remains unaffected by her magic potion: ἦ σύ γ’ Ὀδυσσεύς ἐσσι πολύτροπος ...; Parry states that here the singer has *not* employed Odysseus’ usual epithets, πολύτλας and πολυμήχανος, or used the metrically and prosodically equivalent δίφιλος. He must thus have deliberately chosen πολύτροπος in reference to the ‘action momentanée’. Consequently, πολύτροπος is here context-sensitive: the only human being to render Circe’s potion ineffectual must be the man Hermes has repeatedly predicted to Circe – as is said in the next verse –: Odysseus, the man ‘who knows every trick in the book’ (πολύτροπος), as he is characterized by the singer in the very first verse of the *Odyssey*: ἀνὴρ ... πολύτροπος. (These are the only two passages in the poem where Odysseus is called this; Parry might have added that in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* the god himself is called πολύτροπος, αἰμυλομήτης [*h.Merc.* 13], and that Hermes is the one who turned his protégé Odysseus into the chief magician by means of the μῶλυ [*Od.* 10.305]; see further below.) The contextual sensitivity of the epithet πολύτροπος, which seems at first glance a mere variation of πολύτλας or πολυμήχανος, thus appears secure.

Yet Parry still warns that in such cases *mere appearance* should not be considered satisfactory; rather, proof or a possibility of review (*preuve*) ought to be sought to show that these ‘cannot be ornamental epithets’ (PARRY *loc. cit.* 155; italics: J. L.): ‘... how shall we discover the particularized epithet?’ He thus here reverses the burden of proof – quite consistent with the position reached at this point of his thesis: the decision as to whether an epithet or a formula in a particular passage was perceived by the singer’s audience as *not*, or at least as *barely* ornamental, cannot be left to subjective impressions or the desire of the educated modern literary individual, but must be substantiated objectively. In what follows, Parry thus searches for logical criteria to make such differentiation possible. He discovers only two: ‘... the context and the other uses of the epithet’ (PARRY *loc. cit.* 155). He subsequently identifies 14 categories of criteria on this basis, documenting them with examples from the text. Not all these categories

have the same evidential value, but the following should apply in all cases: (1) the necessity for an appropriate signaling impulse of the *context*: where this exists, at least *three* types of epithet use (*emplois*) are a strong indication of (aspired and understood) contextual sensitivity; (2) the comparative rarity of the epithet used (e.g. 10x πελώριος as opposed to 17x διίφιλος, which is commonly employed in this position in the verse); (3) the separation of the epithet from the noun normally associated with it by intervening material, e.g. in 1.10 νοῦσον ... κακήν and 1.20 παῖδα ... φίλην (*séparation*); (4) separation by enjambment, e.g. in 3.336f. etc. κυνέην ... | ἵππουριν. – Although Parry’s proof here is somewhat tortuous, and although he makes extensive use of a (not necessarily misguided, but nonetheless uncertain) attempt to understand empathetically the ‘mental processes of the Homeric audience’ (PARRY *loc. cit.* 164), precluding precise terminology for these criteria, the direction for future research on this difficult ground has been set. Parry left it at this in favor of concentrating on the epithet *ornans*. The question regarding the *liberté du poète* thus remained largely unanswered. It continues to occupy scholarship to this day.

A methodological advance in this field is Irene DE JONG’s discussion of diagnostic means to identify cases in which the narrator may have breathed new, contextually modifying life into ossified epithets (DE JONG 1998; 2012, 25–28). De Jong adopts Parry’s criteria as listed above (contextual impulse, rarity, separation – internal or external to the verse, i.e. enjambment), but expands the list with a new criterion: observation of the relevant narrative authority. The majority of epithets identified as *particularisée* by Parry occur rarely if at all in narrator speech, and are instead found in character speech and/or in *embedded focalization*, i.e. in those places in narrator speech where the narrator portrays his characters’ thoughts or emotions; here the epithets are generally emotional or evaluative. Indeed this applies in a large number of cases – but not all. Thus e.g. 1.20 παῖδα ... φίλην (the *father* speaks; see the commentary *ad loc.*) can surely – in addition to, or even because of the separation – be explained as contextually sensitive in both intent and understanding, but e.g. 1.10 νοῦσον ... κακήν (the *narrator* speaks; see the commentary *ad loc.*) cannot. Absolutely certain decisions thus cannot be reached using this criterion either. It seems impossible to capture the extent of the singer’s and his audience’s sensitivity to such subtleties without projecting back one’s *own* sensitivities. The danger of falling back onto old, usually forced and/or highly subjective interpretations remains.²⁵ The

25 A good example of the associated pitfalls is HEUBECK (1983) 1989, who notes on δῖον in the verse end Μέμνονα δῖον *Od.* 11.522: ‘δῖον is significant: Memnon is son of Tithonus and Eos.’ In the light of n. 4 and the fact that, beyond this passage, the acc. δῖον (—x |) is used 37x at verse end

present commentary has accordingly deliberately exercised restraint in this area. Subsequent research has confirmed the wisdom of this decision (see **44a**).

40 The limitations of Parry's aims (at the time methodologically correct, but since then obviously stagnant) were decisively overcome in 1987 by Edzard Visser.^{25a} Visser attempted to lend transparency to the process of the generation of hexameter verses: the singer shapes the hexameter not solely by joining formulaic units but in an interplay, renewed from verse to verse, of positioning *determinants* (e.g. subject, object, personal names) and *variables* (e.g. verbs, particles), and by filling out deliberately retained spaces (usually at verse end, following caesura C 1 or C 2) with *free supplements*. Example:

6.29 Ἀστύαλον δ' ἄρ' ἔπεφνε μενεπτόλεμος Πολυποίτης;

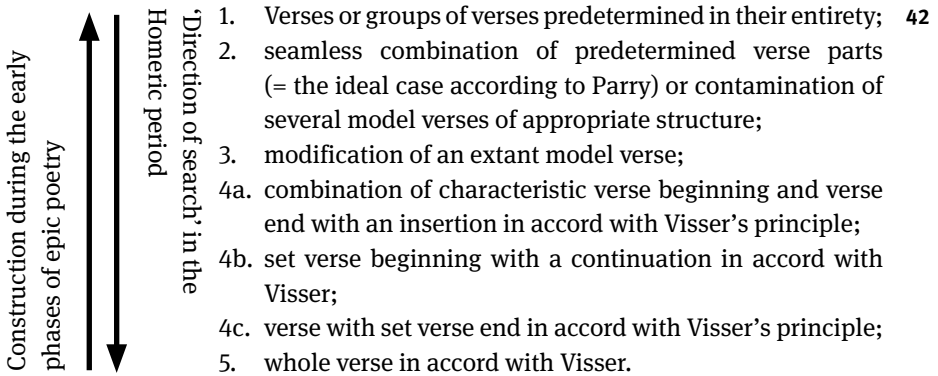
Both object (Ἀστύαλον) and subject (Πολυποίτης) in this verse, an example of a traditional type of 'killing verse', are metrically fixed, since they are personal names, i.e. *determinants*. Since the statement 'X kills Y' (or 'Y is killed by X') is the sole idea in 'killing verses', the space between the determinants, placed at VB and VE, can now be filled more or less as the poet will. This *first* verse of a catalogue of killings must contain a *verb* of killing; this may now be selected from a whole array of such verbs (ἐλεῖν, πεφνεῖν, κτείνειν, κτανεῖν, κατακτανεῖν, ἐνάρεσθαι, ἐναρίζειν, ἐξεναρίζειν, etc., all with metrically different past tenses, for which see the table in VISSER 1987, 75 f.), and is therefore a *variable*. In Greek, a connective is generally indispensable (in the singers' diction mostly δ(έ), ἄρ(α), δ' ἄρ(α), etc.): this is a second *variable*. Once these two variables have been selected, the remaining space is then filled with *free supplements* (frequently epithets). The variables chosen here in 6.29 were the verb ἔπεφνε and the connective δ' ἄρ' –

after 10 different personal names of the metrical shape (∪∪) – ∪∪, 19 of them in the VE formula Ἔκτορα δῖον (PARRY [1928] 1971, 87), this is a somewhat dubious interpretation (cf. EDWARDS 1997, 281). – The same situation is found in the case of the much-discussed epithet φυσίζοος in the VE formula (τοῦς) ... κάτεχεν/κατέχει φυσίζοος αἶα (3.243, *Od.* 11.301, cf. 21.63 γῆ φυσίζοος): In 1985, Kirk still eloquently defended a contextually sensitive reading of φυσίζοος in 3.243 (e.g. as an ironic aside by the poet), although 21.63 clearly shows that φυσίζοος complies entirely with Aristarchus' explanatory principle οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ φύσει (see above **3**): Earth is *in essence, once and for all* the giver of life, even if it receives and holds the dead (thus also DE JONG 2012, 26 f.).

25a Cf. BAKKER/FABBRICOTTI 1991, 63: 'In recent years a number of studies on Homeric versification have appeared [JAHN 1987; BAKKER 1988, ch. 5; VISSER 1987; 1988] which aim at showing a way out of the deadlock at which Homeric oral poetry-studies had ended in the '60's and '70's.' – On the monographs by JAHN 1987 and VISSER 1987 (both dissertations, developed independent of one another, supervised by J. Latacz), see LATACZ (1992) 1994, 235–255 (originally a lecture in Pisa, FIEC 1989).

together δ' ᾠρ' ἔπεφνε. With this, the singer has now reached caesura B 2. The space remaining until the determinant Πολυποίτης at verse end, ∪ - ∪ ∪ -, he then fills with a free supplement: the epithet μενεπτόλεμος (variables and free supplements result from the free play of spontaneous combinational technique; see VISSER 1987, 198 f.;²⁶ fundamental for the issue of verb choice: 67–79).

Formulaic *units* (themselves originally results of this technique) may be used 41 in this technique too; but completely new verses may also be generated at any time by employing it. (A brief presentation and evaluation of this approach in VISSER 1988 and LATACZ [1992] 1994.) The development of the relevant technical possibilities in general, the level of choice reached, and the probable behavior in choosing displayed by singers in the Homeric period in particular may be illustrated by the following diagram, which portrays the hypothetical development of epic versification technique (diagram by Eva Tichy, Freiburg i. Br.):



Visser's advance was met with great approval (EDWARDS 1997, 266 f.; RUSSO 43 1997, 254–257) and was continued – in addition to Visser himself (VISSER 1997) – by Egbert B a k k e r (see BAKKER/FABBRICOTTI 1991; BAKKER/VAN DEN HOUTEN 1992; cf. EDWARDS 1997, 267), albeit with a slightly different emphasis.

²⁶ This assumes that the rhythmic figure of the hexameter is mentally present in a compelling way for the singer at all times. JAKOBSON 1933, 141, had already concluded, on the basis of an analysis of Serbo-Croatian performance techniques, that a phonologically ideal structure existed for each verse and imparted a particular character to it, particularly the verse end, the two verse halves (= cola), and the verse syllables. He phrased his conclusion thus: 'this structure was envisaged by the rhapsode [he means: *oidós*, J. L.], even if he may not be able to abstract or define it [...]' (transl.). The phenomenon of intuitive knowledge of set rhythmic units and their accurate observance is very common (e.g. in jazz, particularly in improvised solos), but it has thus far received little attention in interpretations of Homer, likely due to its philologically 'sloppy' irrationality (which is in fact highly rational).

3. Results and Prospects

44 This direction in research promises to validate Parry and to dispose of a predicament in a crucial issue which, due to his early death, he did not manage to resolve conclusively himself. Parry originally operated from a genetic viewpoint, according to which epithets^p only gradually formed fixed connections with ‘regular partners’, i.e. they fluctuated comparatively freely for long periods of time and could thus be linked in multiple ways. At a later stage, however, he increasingly considered the connections of epithets with nouns as solid, no longer separable building blocks whose joining together gave rise to the hexameter (see VISSER 1987, 5–10, esp. 9 n. 13; adopted by BAKKER/FABBRICOTTI 1991, 64 n. 6). Aside from the practical difficulties for the singer that would have resulted from this ‘puzzle-effect’ and that would have run counter to the point of the technique, such inflexibility in verse-generation would have threatened to rapidly fossilize the diction. The new direction of research, on the other hand, opens up the possibility of explaining rationally the continual creativity of the singers and thus the centuries-long viability and persistence of epic diction during its living phase.

44a This opportunity was first recognized, as far as we can tell, by Egbert J. Bakker (see above 43). Visser had concluded his study with the following summary:

The Homeric technique of verse composition is no mere addition of formulae, but rather, in most verses, a continually renewed joining, on the one hand, of metrical determinants that represent the poet Homer’s individual expression, and on the other hand of filler elements that were selected with a view toward metrical requirements and are shaped and determined by epic tradition. [...] On the level of individual verses, the Homeric epic’s poetic quality can thus indeed be explained as attainable by means of improvisation. But this need not indicate that the *Iliad* in its entirety is the result of improvisation, since the issue of overarching or even wide-ranging links between verses is not touched upon in this model.

(VISSER 1987, 336, transl.)

The challenge implicit in this conclusion – to verify the thesis on the basis of further material – was taken up by Bakker in a number of studies. The most significant of these, as the proof of the pudding, is the article ‘Peripheral and Nuclear Semantics in Homeric Diction. The Case of Dative Expressions for “Spear”’ (1991), co-authored with Florence Fabbricotti. After an introductory synopsis of Visser’s results and a somewhat modified translation of his terminology into English – Visser’s ‘Determinanten, Variablen und freie Ergänzungen’ are abbreviated to ‘nucleus’ and ‘peripheral elements’ – the test is conducted on Homeric use of the common formula ‘(A kills/attacks B) *with his spear*’ (δοῦρι/ἔγχει). It is

first demonstrated via numerous examples that the metrically identical but prosodically distinct verse-end formulae *δοῦρι φαεινῶ* and *ἔγχει μακρῶ* are generally interchangeable in battle scenes and are dispensable with regard to sense, and are thus not contextually sensitive, i.e. they are ‘peripheral elements’. They may be expanded (*χαλκήρεϊ δοῦρι* / *ἔγχει ὄξυόεντι* and further variants) in accord with metrical and prosodic requirements. This corresponds in this case not only to Visser’s results but *mutatis mutandis* also to Jahn’s, which showed that Bruno Snell’s ‘parts of the soul’ largely function as ‘peripheral elements’ (ἐν(ι) θυμῶ, ἐνὶ φρεσὶ(v) etc.). At the same time, these ‘variations of formulae’ – whether for a ‘spear’ or a ‘part of the soul’ – may be used in a contextually sensitive manner, as in the case of ‘spear’ *ἔγχει χαλκείῳ* in 5.852 etc. (or for a ‘part of the soul’: ἐν θυμῶ in ἐν θυμῶ, γρηῦ, χαῖρε, καὶ ἴσχεο μηδ’ ὀλόλυξε, *Od.* 22.411). The decisive factor is then a *context* that deviates from ‘regular’ usage (corresponding to Parry’s condition no. 1 for the identification of an *épithète particularisée*; see above 39). After further functional analysis of ‘peripherality’, Bakker concludes:

Our discussion of dative expressions for ‘spear’ has shown that the peripheral function of a given expression is confined to certain contexts. Much more research is needed to get a clearer understanding of the interaction between context-type and the use of linguistic elements, both in the language and in the verse. (83)

The test thus proves Visser’s and Jahn’s results correct.

Bakker’s concluding sentence (‘much more research is needed ...’) appeared to indicate that further case-studies would follow. Thus far, this expectation has not been met. In the following years, Bakker addressed the ‘interaction between context-type and the use of linguistic elements in the language and in the verse’ – as had also been hinted at in the conclusion mentioned above – where he sought especially to use linguistic *pragmatics* as established by Karl Bühler in 1934 (‘speech act’, ‘speech in process’, etc.; especially intonation, deixis, communication structure of conversations, etc.). He summed up his varied deliberations regarding the relationship between ‘ordinary speech’ and ‘poetic speech’, as well as between spoken and written language (‘speech and text’), in Chapter 9 (‘Pragmatics: Speech and Text’) of his 2010 edited volume *Companion to the Ancient Greek Language* (BAKKER 2010). These theoretical approaches have great potential for the further investigation of the preconditions of oral poetry. To be utilized for commentaries such as the present one, however, they require concretization and an extensive exemplification based on the text itself. A continuation of Dünzler and his comprehensive collections would here be advantageous.

Genuine orality, and thus the living phase of oral diction, ceased soon after the introduction of writing (generally dated today to ca. 800 BC; see WACHTER 45

[1996] 2006). The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are best understood as creations of a unique phase in European cultural and thus literary history, at the transition from orality to literacy; they were created by an exceptional singer of the assumed single generation of singers who were raised on the old techniques of orality and formularity but who also made use of the new possibilities for quasi-architectural building that writing provided. The next generation of singers will have concluded the change to exclusively written hexameter poetry; Hesiod and his distinct ‘oralità di riflesso’²⁷ represent the gradual transition in this direction. All subsequent hexameter poetry – Greek, Latin and modern vernacular – is shaped by literacy and only *imitates* the formularity of active oral techniques as preserved in Homer, without understanding its original function.²⁸ *Living* hexameter epic ceased with Homer (on the overall development, see LATACZ 1991d; 2013, esp. 71–76).

²⁷ Thus ROSSI 1978, 127.

²⁸ Cf. PARRY (1928) 1971, 174: ‘... our examination of Apollonius and Virgil has shown us that a poet whose style does not follow an established tradition is capable only to an infinitesimal degree of creating a style designed to facilitate the composition of verse.’ Thus, e.g. the *epitheton ornans*, whose orally conditioned function is no longer understood (nor required), is generally replaced by a *mot juste*. The strange and at times comical effect of the Homeric *epitheton ornans* increases to the same degree as this process of replacement is established and solidified in post-Homeric hexameter epics, prompting Parry’s resigned conclusion, in light of the ever-increasing gap, in a separate section under the heading ‘Can the fixed epithet be translated?’: ‘The mind gives up before so impossible a task’: PARRY (1928) 1971, 171 f.

Grammar of Homeric Greek (G)

By Rudolf Wachter

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1. Introduction

1.1 Preliminary Remarks

- 1 The present reference work is intended to familiarize users of the new *Iliad* commentary with the peculiarities of Homeric Greek. To this end, emphasis will be placed on differences from Classical Attic. Linguistic concerns will therefore be subordinated to practical matters, and numerous phenomena will be omitted. Chantraine ([1942] 1988; [1953] 1986) is more complete, and reference to that work will regularly be made via the abbreviations ‘CH. I §’ and ‘CH. II §’, referring to the first and second volumes, respectively. But more general standard works should also always be consulted, not only the most recent (especially RISCH on word and stem formation; see 52), but also older ones (especially SCHW. on phonology and morphology); on syntax, see 96. Interesting new observations and much useful recent literature can be found in M.-BR.

Completeness is nowhere aimed at here, even for the phenomena that are included; at best it is attained on occasion by chance. Neither all the evidence for any particular form nor all forms of any particular phenomenon are systematically adduced. To the extent possible, however, each phenomenon has been given an illustrative example (with context to allow the sense and meter to be checked). Where possible and appropriate, citations from the Book 1 of the *Iliad* have been preferred.

The account here expands and comments on the ‘24 rules for Homeric Language’ (R) in the commentary volumes. Aside from these, the chapter ‘Meter’ (M) should also be consulted (e.g. for *muta cum liquida*: M 4.5); where necessary, reference will be made to that chapter.

As a rule, linguistic features have not been included when they can be looked up in lexica (LSJ, *LfggrE*, AUTENRIETH/KAEGI, CUNLIFFE) or when they show neither dialectal (from the perspective of Attic) nor other unexpected linguistic traits.

Symbols for the notation of sounds: [ā] indicates the pronunciation, /ā/ the status of a phoneme, <α> the spelling.

1.2 Introduction

- 2 Greek in Homer’s time formed a starkly differentiated linguistic landscape consisting of epichoric (= spoken in individual regions) dialects. As commonly in such situations, these dialects fell into various groups. Their shared linguistic features (isoglosses) are always key to classifying them. Identification of a speci-

fic dialect arises from the individual combination of isoglosses. The impression of how close the affinity between two dialects is, depends on the number of agreements (above all of particularly distinctive features). For a linguistic assessment of the relationship, it is also important to distinguish historically inherited isoglosses – even among geographically separate dialects – from recent ones that arose from secondary proximity. In this way, dialectology can detect e.g. prehistoric migrations.¹

Relatively shortly before the Homeric epics were set down, probably in the early 8th century BC, the Greek dialects entered the written phase that continues until today.² Nevertheless, a true ‘written language’ only developed much later. On the other hand, a ‘literary language’ already existed prior to the introduction of writing; its state in Homer’s time can be gleaned precisely from the Homeric epics. This epic literary language was not a matter of an epichoric dialect. Rather, early hexameter inscriptions demonstrate that epic language did not draw on the ‘typical’ traits that can be used to identify specific epichoric dialects. Instead, epic language, and particularly its formulae^p (see 3), could be adapted to the individual local dialect in a flexible way. Thus, for example, a Boeotian kouros statuette of the early 7th century BC (*CEG* 326) bears the following text:

Μάντικλός μ' ἀνέθεκε **φεκᾶ**βόλοι ἀργυροτόξοι |
τᾶς δεκάτᾶς· τὸ δέ, Φοῖβε, δίδοι **χαρίφετταν** ἀμοι[βάν],

and not the expected Homeric form (according to, e.g., 5, 9, 22, 44):

Μάντικλός μ' ἀνέθηκεν **ἐκη**βόλωι ἀργυροτόξωι |
τῆς δεκάτης· σὺ δέ, Φοῖβε, δίδου **χαρίεσσαν** ἀμοι[βήν].

The famous Dipylon oinochoe (*CEG* 432, ca. 740 BC) reads:

Ὡς νῦν ὀρχεστὸν πάντων ἀταλότατα παίζειι,

with typical Attic contraction in the gen. pl. of *a*-stems (ὀρχεστῶν) instead of synzesis (-έων; see 39, 68) as in Homer. Analogous features can be observed in e.g. Corinthian, Boeotian and Corcyran inscriptions until approximately the middle of the 6th century BC (e.g. *CEG* 357–359; 334 f.; 143–146). Presumably, therefore, singers who had grown up in Boeotia, Attica, Corinth or Lesbos, for example, and who were ‘apprenticed’ in the East Ionian milieu of Homer and his successors, or

1 RISCH (1955) 1981; (1979) 1981.

2 WACHTER (1996) 2006.

who acquired additional ideas from Ionic singers, were comfortable normalizing the Ionic coloring they had learned to local forms back home, at least where this could be done easily.³ The dialect of their audience was of decisive importance for this. Accordingly, in addition to normalization, features of epichoric dialect for which there existed no corresponding counterpart in the exemplar dialect could also be introduced into local variants of epic language.

For *Homeric* language in particular, we can probably posit a situation already similar to this. This, at any rate, is a natural explanation of the Aeolic elements in Homer's Ionic. (Several questions in this regard are nonetheless still subject to discussion: Is this Aeolic survival to be regarded as the inheritance of a 'pre-Ionic phase' of the epic family? Or is it to be traced back to 'diffusion', that is, a 'continuous borrowing and subsequent Ionicisation of formulas, themes, and episodes from a parallel Aeolic tradition'?⁴ Did Homer learn his literary language in an Ionic context or directly in an Aeolic one?⁵ Where is this Aeolic tradition to be located?⁶) At the same time, this provides an explanation for the Ionic modernizations of Homeric language.

3 For the situation in early 6th-century Corinth, where East Greek epic influence can be directly proven, see WACHTER 2001, §§ 501–508.

4 HORROCKS 1997, 214. The question here is predominantly whether or not other strands of the tradition (esp. an 'Old Ionic' tradition) can be demonstrated from the Homeric text apart from the Aeolic tradition, the existence of which no one denies. As long as no archaisms can be demonstrated in the Homeric text that could not have been introduced via an Aeolic phase, the theory of a pre-Ionic Aeolic phase is preferable. In support of this are especially the 'unnecessary' Aeolicisms, i.e. those based on no metrical necessity: e.g. (1) αἰ instead of εἰ *passim*. (2) μᾶν instead of μήν *passim*. (3) *Il.* 10.70 ὠδέ που ἄμμι |, 13.379 εἴ κε σὺν ἄμμιν | instead of ἡμῖν (likewise *Od.* 2.334, 22.262); *Il.* 14.481 | ἡμῖν ... καὶ ὕμμες |, 24.242 καὶ ὕμμες | instead of ὑμεῖς; 10.380 | τῶν κ' ὕμμιν χαρίσαιτο instead of ὑμῖν (likewise *Od.* 20.367 κακὸν ὕμμιν |). In light of the rule 'Ionicize where possible', these are far more easily understood as remnants of a well-rehearsed, prestigious predecessor tradition than on the theory that the Aeolic influence is based on 'diffusion' from a rival school. Nor do remarkably non-Aeolic poetic forms such as ἡνεμόεσσαν (see **49**) prove the opposite (ἡ- will here – as also in ποδήνεμος – be analogous to the older [ē] in νήνεμος, νηνεμίη). The argumentation in favor of 'diffusion' at HORROCKS 1997, 214–217, is not conclusive.

5 In the second case, Homer would have perfected the adaptation of the Ionic dialect to the epic literary language (or vice versa) on his own (he had almost his entire life to accomplish this). In the first case, the adaptation would be ascribed to Homer's predecessors and teachers. But we should not assume more than *one* generation of Ionic singers before Homer, because in that case the Aeolicisms would have to have disappeared more completely; indeed, the 'unnecessary' Aeolicisms (see n. 4) indicate instead that Homer himself had learned the art in an Aeolic milieu. For a new description of Homer's most likely linguistic biography as well as the relation between his epic language and the dialect he spoke in everyday life, see WACHTER 2007 and 2012.

6 Arguments for example in favor of Thessaly and against Lesbos on the basis of words such

The lack of any dialectal purism in epic language is one of its most typical features and explains its acceptance throughout the Greek world. At the same time, this tends to prove its age. Given this background, we ought to ascribe it to chance that the singer whose poems were preserved for us was an East Ionian. The link that *later* Greeks saw between ‘epic’ and the Ionic dialect was a consequence of the fact that Greek oral poetry was preserved in writing almost exclusively in an Ionic context, where it doubtlessly flourished in a particularly magnificent fashion, and afterward came to an end.

‘Typical’ features, i.e. features of epichoric dialects readily associated with particular regions, thus found no place in this literary language. Instead, the suitability of individual forms for the technique of *oral poetry* (see FOR) was crucial. In this sense, Homeric language is a literary language (‘Kunstsprache’). Particularly important are four factors (often closely connected):

1. The *meter* demands
 - a general preference for dactylic or, as the case may be, spondaic forms.
 - possibilities for adapting indispensable but unmetrical forms.
2. *Formulaic language*, in particular the use of epithets^p, is an especially typical characteristic of epic language. Certain elements in formulae^p, however, gradually become archaisms. Archaisms thus became typical components of epic and could also be used outside of formulae.
3. The *style*, which owes its characteristically ‘Homeric’ refinement to the conjunction of three components, (a) a traditional literary genre, (b) a conservative, noble audience and (c) ‘historical’ material, is responsible for the avoidance of colloquial or vulgar vocabulary, or rather the replacement of such with exquisite, often archaic variants, as well as for the preservation and promotion of traditional forms and means of forming words. (The singer would certainly not use archaisms arbitrarily and for their own sake, but must ensure that they were either immediately intelligible to his audience or at least familiar from formulae, as epithets were.)

This traditional epic ‘basic style’ stands in skillful contrast to certain contemporary ‘modern’ elements of style such as – particularly conspicuous – the similes^p with their less formulaic, more spontaneous language.

as ποτί (Thessalian, vs. Ionic and Lesbian πρός; see HORROCKS 1997, 200) are not cogent, since the possibility cannot be excluded that Lesbian in Homer’s time or shortly before also knew the inherited word ποτί (= Avestan *paiti*, Old Persian *pāti*) and only later adopted πρός from Ionic. The ‘Aeolic’ epic tradition, whatever its origin, could thus have developed precisely on Lesbos.

4. The *flexibility* of language (see FOR) necessary for oral composition requires metrical variants for important forms and formulae. Epithets of different lengths predominantly serve this purpose, for example:

– variation in length:

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|--|
| 3.284 | – – – – ξανθός Μενέλαος | (frequent; also dat.) |
| 3.21 | – – – – ἀρήϊφος Μενέλαος | (frequent; also gen., dat., acc.) |
| 2.408 | – – – – βοήν ἀγαθός Μενέλαος | (after a short vowel; frequent; also acc.) |
| 4.100 | – – – – Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο | (frequent) |

– variation in syntax:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------|---|
| 7.445 | Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων | (nom., frequent) |
| 15.8 | Ποσειδάωνα ἄνακτα | (acc.; dat. -1 15.57, 15.158; for gen. -ος 20.67, see 26) |

Since the singer's memory is taxed by variants, the motto 'as few as possible' is adhered to. As a consequence, the language seeks to have only *one* possible formulaic expression of a certain metrical structure ready for any particular, much-repeated concept (cf. FOR 32).⁷ (For the filler material, see FOR 40.)

These four factors are crucial for an understanding of Homeric language. By contrast, the assignment of features to specific epichoric dialects (aside from the basic dialect 'East Ionic') is mostly impossible (and irrelevant).

4 The text of the Homeric epics has not been transmitted to us in its original form (CH. I §§ 1–7).

- In all probability, it was originally written down in an alphabet of the East Ionic type, with ξ = [ks], φ χ ψ = [p^h k^h ps].
- This alphabet knew <ο> and <ω>, <ε> and <η> (but not <η>, see 14; cf. HT 6).
- It is also likely that long consonants were already expressed by *geminate*s and that *punctuation* was used; in any case, these prosodic aids to reading and reciting were already known and used by the author of the inscription on the so-called Nestor's Cup from Ischia (CEG 454, ca. 735–720 BC, in West Ionic alphabet; cf. FOR, n. 10). The smallest units, however, that Greeks in the Archaic period separated by means of punctuation are the so-called accent-units of the type 'stressed word + any proclitics and enclitics'.⁸ Groups of

⁷ Some of the infrequent doublets, i.e. synchronic violations of this law of economy, can probably be explained historically. The epithets⁹ ἱπποδάμοιο and ἀνδροφόνοιο, for example, were not yet equivalent at a time when [h] was still pronounced and made position; in the gen. the combination of a name of the structure of Ἐκτορος with ἱπποδάμοιο was therefore possible only relatively late (*Il.* 4x; with ἀνδροφόνοιο frequent). For the rest, MACLEOD's dictum 'Homer is not a computer' is valid (1982, 37 n. 2).

⁸ Hermann FRÄNKEL's *Wortbild* ([1926] 1960, 142–147; see M 7); on the historical dimension, see MORPURGO DAVIES 1987, M.-BR. S 101.

two such accent-units, often one heavier and one lighter, are also frequently observed.⁹ Both means of punctuation, one finer and the other coarser, can already be observed in the inscription on Nestor's Cup (underline: heavier accent; single underline: lighter accent):

νεστοροϛ:ε[...]:ευποτον:ποτεριον
 ηοσδαντοδεπιεσι:ποτεριο:αυτικακενον
 ημεροϛχαιρεσει:καλλιςτεφανο:αφροδιτεϛ

Νέστοροϛ : ε[...]: εὐποτον : ποτέριον
 Ηὸς δ' ἂν τῶδε πίεσι : ποτέριο : αὐτίκα κένον
 ἡμέροϛ χαιρέσει : καλλιςτεφάνῳ : Ἀφροδίτεϛ,¹⁰

- On the other hand, the so-called ‘spurious diphthongs’, i.e. those that originated through compensatory lengthening (see 12, 27), metrical lengthening (see 49 f.) or contraction (see 43–45) as long counterparts of the closed short vowels /e/ and /o/, were probably written as <ε> and <ο> and not yet as <ει> and <ου> (see HT 6).
- Finally, there can be no doubt that the text was originally written without accents (in the ancient sense: thus also without diaeresis marks, breathing marks, etc.; see 14) (cf. HT 11).

In addition to ‘common’ mistakes in the transmission of the text, conversions and adaptations to other alphabetic systems, with partially divergent orthographic conventions, could also lead to ‘transmission errors’. For the first two centuries, certainly, we ought to expect a strong accompanying *oral* text tradition (rhapsodes), which – in conjunction with competence in the epic language – could prevent such errors (cf. HT 6), while later on the wide circulation of the Homeric text provided a substantial degree of protection. In orthographic questions (aside from accents in the ancient sense and the ‘spurious diphthongs’), therefore, we should in principle adopt the position of *in dubio pro textu*.

⁹ WACHTER 1999.

¹⁰ These observations allow for a wider argument against the epigraphically possible but banal and unmetrical ε(ι)μι in line 1, which would be enclitic and ought thus not to have been separated from Νέστοροϛ by an interpunct. HEUBECK's (1979, 113) restoration : ἔ[ἔν τ]ι : remains the best proposal and is perfectly possible epigraphically (cf. BARTONĚK/BUCHNER 1995, esp. 150 f., 227, 230). It is in the nature of the matter that the remaining punctuation in the inscription occurs at important caesurae.

2. Phonology

2.1 Prosodically Neutral Prehistoric Sound Changes

- 5 Ca. 1000 BC in Attic-Ionic, */ā/ became /ē/ (written <η>) (Ch. I §§ 8 f.), and in non-Attic Ionic (including Euboea) also after ε, ι, ρ: 1.38 ζαθέην, 1.114 | κουριδίης, 1.30 πάτρης |.

When /ā/ nevertheless appears in Homer, it

- 6 – has either arisen only after the above-mentioned Attic-Ionic sound change: 1.3 ψυχᾶς Ἴδι προίαψεν | < *āns; 1.289 | πᾶσι < *pāntsi, 17.99 | ὄν κε θεὸς τιμᾶ < *āei (see 45, 48), 24.588 φᾶρος καλόν through loss of [w] (see 27);
- 7 – is derived from the Aeolic tradition: 1.1 θεᾶ, 1.10 λαοί | (see 54), 2.9 Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἄτρεΐδαο | (see 68), 1.152 αἰχμητᾶων | (see 68), 1.400 Ποσειδάων;
- 8 – or is to be ascribed to metrical lengthening: 1.503 εἴ ποτε δῆ σε μετ' ἄθανάτοισιν ὄνησα | (see 49).

See 39 for the shortening of */ā/ before a vowel.

- 9 The change in *[kj tj] etc. resulted in East Ionic [ss]: 1.34 θαλάσσης |, 1.80 | κρέσσω, 1.249 γλώσσης, but Attic-Euboean and Boeotian [tt].

- 10 The loss of [s] in intervocalic groups '[s] + [m n l r]' led to the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel in Attic-Ionic, and of the liquid or the nasal in Aeolic. The results of these sound changes are equivalent prosodically. Whether the Aeolic sound variants were used in Homer thus depends largely¹¹ on whether or not in a particular case a metrically equivalent full form existed in Ionic (see also 13, 15, 18).

- 11 – This holds true for individual case forms: 1st pl. Aeolic 21.432 ἄμμες (—; Il. 1x), beside the frequent Ionic ἡμεῖς (—), < *hām- (see 5, 14) < *asm- < *ns-m- (apparently no Ionic full form ἡ̄μες existed); likewise for the 2nd pl.: *hūm- < *(j)us-m- (see 81). For ἔμμεναι etc., see 61, 87.
- 12 – This also holds true for entire lexemes, e.g. Aeolic ἐρεβεννός in 5.659 ἐρεβεννή νύξ ἐκάλυπεν |:, a rare, purely formulaic word (common Greek *ereg^wes-nó-), apparently non-Ionic in the time of Homer; in comparison, Ionic φαεινός (with 'spurious diphthong', see 4) in 3.247 κρητῆρα φαεινόν |:, a frequent word (common Greek *p^hawes-nó-), not limited to formulae and apparently pan-Ionic (also occurring in Attic: φᾶνός).

See also 16 for the corresponding phenomenon in initial position.

¹¹ See n. 4.

Forms with a labial instead of a dental before a front vowel are likewise Aeolic 13
 licisms. The historical basis is labiovelars or groups of velar + /w/ (CH. I §49).
 These are still directly attested in Mycenaean (*qe-to-ro-* ~ /k^wetro-/ ‘four’, *qa-si-*
re-u /g^wasileus/ ‘king’).

- Thus Aeolic 15.680 πίσυρ- (ϰϰ, *Il.* 3x -ας) stands beside Ionic τέσσαρ-
 (ϰϰ, frequent); the Aeolic variant is apparently used because a metrically
 equivalent full form (with a short middle consonant) did not exist in Ionic.
 (Cf. Mycenaean *qe-to-ro-*, cited above.)
- In the case of Φῆρες ‘centaurs’ and Θῆρες ‘wild animals’, the Aeolic variant
 seems to be used because θῆρες is not used for ‘centaurs’ in Ionic.
- The frequent verb πέλομαι shows the generalized Aeolic initial sound (as in
 almost all dialects)¹², in contrast with the rare (Ionic) τελέθειν (see 60). (Cf.
 Mycenaean *a-pi-qo-ro* /amp^hik^wolōn/ ‘of the maid-servants’.)

[h] originating from *[s] or *[j] (CH. I §§ 74–76):

- As in the Greek of the 1st millennium BC generally, [h] in medial position
 was never written and was probably also no longer pronounced (in Myce-
 naean, on the other hand, it was still preserved: nom. pl. neut. *no-pe-re-ha*
 /nōp^heleha/ ‘useless’, *pa-we-ha* /p^harweha/ φάρεα ‘pieces of cloth’).
- In initial position and at the juncture of elements in compounds, by contrast,
 [h] was at first still preserved in the 1st millennium BC in many dialects. A lack
 of uniformity prevails in the Homeric manuscripts, occasionally in the same
 form but more often in etymologically related words and forms. In general,
 the rule is that words or forms with (etymological or secondary) [h-] are
 written with [h-] (i.e. *spiritus asper* or aspirate) if they are common in Classi-
 cal Attic and Koine (3.101 | ἡμέων, 8.541 ἡμέρη ἦδε, *Od.* 4.223 ἐφημέριος), but
 otherwise without, be they Aeolic (*Il.* 1.59 ἄμμε) or Archaic Ionic (1.592 | πᾶν δ’
 ἦμαρ, 1.81 αὐτῆμαρ) (see 49, 53); the spelling with [h-] is thus a post-Homeric
 insertion into the text (see also n. 13).
- Prosodic influence from a time when [h-] was still pronounced in the pre-Ho-
 meric epic tradition occurs in formulae^p (see 38 and M 13.2).

2.2 Prosodically Relevant Prehistoric Sound Changes

This section treats the problem of the epenthetic vocalization of formerly syllabic
 liquids and the glide [b d] in the group [mr nr] (15), the loss of initial [s] before

¹² Probably for an easier distinction from τέλος, τελέω (see 65).

liquids or nasals (16), the change between long and short consonants (17) and between [p] and [pt] (18), as well as the phenomena connected with the loss of ‘digamma’ (19–27).

- 15 Formerly syllabic (i.e. vocalic) liquids and nasals /l̥ r̥ m̥ n̥/, so-called *l/r/m/n sonans* (CH. I §10):
- In the pre-Homeric period the syllabic liquids became [la ra] or [al ar] in Ionic. The reason for the variation is unclear; but since it led to prosodically different results, it allowed the singer to fit difficult words into the meter, or simply increased the flexibility of the language: 2.623 | τῶν δὲ τετάρτων ἦρχε Πολύξεινος, but 13.20 f. τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἴκετο τέκμων, | Αἰγᾶς; 1.178 | εἰ μάλα καρτερός ἐσσι beside (the more frequent) 1.25 κρατερόν δ’ ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλεν |.¹³
 - When the compensatory vowel [o] arises, this likely reflects an Aeolicism:
 - Some such cases occur in alternation with Ionic forms and provide linguistic flexibility: 16.466 and 477 ἀπήμβροτε δουρὶ φαεινῷ |, but 322 οὐδ’ ἀφάμαρτεν | (the first almost never with *ny ephelkystikon*, see 33; on ἀπ-/ἀφ-, see 14).
 - Others occur exclusively in their Aeolic form, thus βροτός etc.: 16.670 | χρῖσόν τ’ ἀμβροσίη, περὶ δ’ ἄμβροτα εἴματα ἔσσον (cf. Sanskrit *a-mṛta* ‘immortal’; μαρτ- and -μβρατ- are not attested).
 - In 16.857 = 22.363 ὄν πότμον γοόωσα, λιποῦσ’ ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἦβην and 2.651 = 7.166 = 8.264 = 17.259 Μηριόνης (τ’), ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυαλίω ἀνδρειφόντη (see M 13.4) the verse ending is unmetrical (ἀνδρο- ◡◡; ἀνδρει- ◡◡, or Ἐνυαλίω ◡◡◡). The etymology of ἀνήρ ἀνδρός (Sanskrit *nar-*, Latin *Nerō*, etc.) shows that [d] is a transitional sound that simplifies pronunciation of the consonant group [nr] (as does [b] for the group [mr] above). Apart from these two formulaic verses, the first syllable of ἀνδρο- in Homer always makes position. The two verse endings could only have been formed correctly in prosodic terms at a time when (1) the [d] in the first element did not yet form an integral component of the pronunciation, and (2) no consonant group [nr], that could already ‘make position’ by itself, existed. This was possible only in a time when a prosody still prevailed for the form that corresponded to the one that we reconstruct for common Greek (thus **anr-* [◡◡] with short vocalic *r sonans*, not yet **anro-*).¹⁴

13 *κραδίη* is metrically more useful than *καρδίη*. The latter occurs only 3x (in dat., before a vowel; only in *Il.*), and always at the beginning of a verse; strictly speaking, in this case it could also be a secondary Atticism (see 14, 51, 63, 68 and n. 25; additionally 89) that served to eliminate a στίχος ἀκέφαλος (see 50, n. 21 and M 15).

14 WACKERNAGEL 1916, 172; LATACZ 1965. This argument can only be correct if the epic verse

- The syllabic nasals normally became [a] in Ionic (e.g. εἶματα above; also ἡμεῖς, see 11). The *o*-coloring well-attested in Aeolic (e.g. in inscriptions δέκοτος < **dekmtos*) is rare in Homer: it occurs most notably in ὄπατρος as opposed to ἀδελφεός (both with **sm̥*- ‘one’). This distinction is prosodically irrelevant, and ὄπατρος was thus probably a non-Ionic word (see 10 ff.).

Before liquids or nasals, [s] must have become [h] in the prehistoric period, and was then lost through compensatory lengthening of the following consonant (Ch. I § 69). 16

- At the juncture of compound elements, the result is a long consonant expressed in the text through geminates (cf. also 24): 5.375 φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη | (cf. *smile*), 1.420 | εἶμ’ αὐτὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον (**snig^{wh}*-, cf. *snow*, *Schnee*, Russian *sneg*), 2.752 καλλιρροον ὕδωρ |, 2.754 ἐπιρρῆει ἡὕτ’ ἔλαιον | (cf. Sanskrit *srávati* ‘flows’).
- In initial position, long consonants also appear in cases such as 13.754 ὠρμήθη ὄρει νιφόεντι ἐοικῶς | (see 45, 58), where ὄρει must be pronounced with a long third syllable. A reminiscence of a time when the beginning of νιφ- was still felt to be prosodically lengthening is preserved in the formula^p here, whereas the long consonant was simplified in initial position in Ionic in the pre-Homeric period: 2.849 εὐρὺ ῥέοντος |. The simplified pronunciation could then be transferred to the medial position through ‘recomposition’: 21.366 | οὐδ’ ἔθελε προρῆειν (from προ- + simplex ῥέειν with short consonant). One of the two possibilities is often unmetrical in any case (*ἐπιρῆει, *προρῆειν). In Homer, instances with long consonants (also 3.34 ἔλλαβε γυῖα |) can be regarded as Aeolic, those with short consonants (also 4.463 ἔλαβε κρείων Ἐλεφήνωρ |, like Attic) as Ionic (on the primary medial position, see 10–12). The linguistic flexibility that could be derived from such instances was eventually exploited also in words that had never begun with

ending $\sim \sim \sim \sim$ existed at the time in question. The Mycenaean evidence is inconclusive: the first element *an̥*- or *an(d)ro*- is not found, and the second element *-a-do-ro* (attested in personal names) is irrelevant, because it is expanded by a true [o]: *-an(d)r-o-s*. In addition, the instances of an old **r̥* are prosodically uncertain: the rendering is inconsistent and generally deviates from the later occurrences, see *to-pe-za* ~ /tor-ped’a/ ‘four-legged table’ (later τρᾶ-; for Homeric ‘fourth’ see above), *to-no* ~ /thornos/ ‘throne’ beside *to-ro-no-wo-ko* ~ /throno-worgoi/ ‘throne-builder’ (later θρο-). This seems to indicate that the later phonetic results had not yet been achieved, and the possibility that a preceding syllable as in **an̥*- already made or could make position is accordingly slight. On the other hand, there are no conclusive arguments against an origin of the two formulae in Mycenaean times either. See also M.-BR. E 404.5 (with bibliography), L 401.2.

*s- (M 4.6; CH. I § 70): 20.215 τέκετο νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς |, 1.396 ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἄκουσα |, 21.256 ἔπετο μέγαλῳ ὄρυμαγδῶ |.

- 17 Frequent change in consonant quantity also provides linguistic flexibility, as in τόσ(σ)ος, ποσ(σ)ί, στήθεσ(σ)ι (see 70), ἔσ(σ)εσθαι (see 61f.), τελέσ(σ)αι (see 63), Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς, Ἀχιλλ(λ)εύς, ὄπ(π)ως etc. (CH. I § 47). Most instances in Homer can be understood as dialectal variants (see 10 ff., 61, 84; on Ὀδυσσεύς, see 49, 56); in terms of historical linguistics, however, they are to be explained variously, some by simple analogy, as in νεμεσ(σ)άω, 13.16 Διὶ δὲ κρατερῶς ἐνεμέσσα | or, in the underlying noun, 6.335 οὗτοι ... χόλῳ οὐδὲ νεμέσσι |, while some remain unexplained.
- 18 Further flexibility is achieved via the change (not yet satisfactorily explained) in the beginning of π(τ)όλεμος and π(τ)όλις. The version with πτο- (already attested in Mycenaean), which in Homer apparently belongs to the Aeolic stratum, occurs only after a short vowel and serves to lengthen the preceding syllable.¹⁵ Only in the case of πτολίεθρον does this rule not hold true, probably because this word (unlike πόλεμος and πόλις) was uncommon in Ionic even in the form with πο- (see 10 ff.).
- 19 Homeric language no longer had a phoneme /w/ (as in English *will*). In any case, the corresponding grapheme <Ϝ>, the so-called digamma (also *wau*), is transmitted nowhere in the text of Homer; and although it was still available ca. 660 BC, as an abecedarium from the island of Samos shows (*LSAG* 471 no. 1a, pl. 79.7), it is never used even in the oldest East and West Ionic inscriptions (see, for example, the roughly contemporary name Ἴστροκλέης on a vase from Smyrna, *ibid.* 473 no. 68a, pl. 79.8). In Mycenaean and in many non-Ionic dialects of the 1st millennium BC, on the other hand, /w/ is still directly attested: Mycenaean *wa-na-ka* /wanaks/ ἄναξ (see 22, 26), *ko-wa* /korwā/ κούρη (see 27); Corinthian Δαμοφάνας(σ)α, Ὀόρφα; nothing can be said about East Aeolic in the time of Homer and shortly before.
- 20 [w] is often still *prosodically* present, however, in the text of Homer, i.e. only on the assumption of its effect are some verses not unmetrical (CH. I §§ 50 ff.). This is especially the case
- 21 – where there is hiatus without correction (see 29): 1.321 | τῶ (Ϝ)οὶ ἔσαν κήρυκε, 3.246 | ἄρνε δὺν καὶ (Ϝ)οῖνον εὐφρονα, 15.231 | σοὶ δ' αὐτῷ μελέτω, (Ϝ)έκατηβόλε, φαίδιμος Ἔκτωρ (see 2);

¹⁵ For the sole exception, see n. 24.

- where there is hiatus without elision (see **30**), frequent in formulae^P: 1.7 22
| Ἀτρείδης τε (φ)ἄναξ, 1.200 δεινῶ δέ (φ)οῖ ὄσσε φάανθεν |, 5.54 | οὐδὲ
(φ)έκηβολία (on the avoidance of such hiatus via the use of *ny ephelkystikon*,
see **33**). Occasionally [ww] is the source (CH. I § 55; < *hw- < *sw-) and the
preceding syllable shows that it originally ‘made position’: 3.172 | αἰδοῖός
τέ μοί ἔσσι, φίλε (φφ)έκυρέ, δεινός τε, 5.343 ἀπό (φφ)ῆο κάββαλεν υἰόν |; this
is far from always the case, however: 2.239 f. | ὅς καὶ νῦν Ἀχιλῆα, (φ)ῆο μέγ’
ἀμείνονα φῶτα, | ἠτίμησεν, and indeed 19.384 | πειρήθη δ’ (-)ῆο αὐτοῦ. Such
inconsistencies, which increased linguistic flexibility, could also result in the
opposite license (see **41**);
- in medial position where there is an unaltered hiatus (see **41**), as well as 23
where there is no internal correption (see **39**), quantitative metathesis (see
40) or contraction (see **44**);
- where position is made despite the presence of only a single consonant: 1.33 24
| ὡς ἔφατ’· ἔδ(φ)εισεν δ’ ὁ γέρων (see also 3.172 δ(φ)εινός **22** above, also **49**,
94); 22.25 | τὸν δ’ ὁ γέρων Πρίαμος πρῶτος (φ)ῆδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν (similarly
24.583); 11.846 ἐπὶ δὲ (φ)ῆίζαν βάλε πικρῆν | (CH. I § 71). At the juncture of com-
pound elements, the remaining consonant usually undergoes compensatory
lengthening and is often transmitted as a geminate (cf. also **16**), as where
there is an initial [w]: 2.490 | φωνῆ δ’ ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνεῖη
(< *ἄ-φρη-; in a few instances, however, a *u*-diphthong is transmitted, appar-
ently the Aeolic result: *ταλά-φρῖνος > ταλαύρινος); with a following [w]: 1.33
ἔδδισεν (cited above); see also **7**.

In addition, the so-called prothetic vowel often replaces an older [w] (see 25
CH. I § 73), but occasionally an initial laryngeal (see M.-BR. L 401 f.). Where there
is no laryngealist explanation, the vowel replaces

- a [w] that made position (see **24**): 1.41 τὸ δέ μοι κρήνον ἐέλωρ | instead of
*κρήνον φέλωρ, 14.276 αὐτὸς ἐέλωμαι ἦματα πάντα | (instead of *αὐτὸς
(φ)έλωμαι);
- a [w] that prevented correption (see **21**): 5.89 | τὸν δ’ οὔτ’ ἄρ τε γέφυραι
ἐεργμένοι ἰσχανώσιν | (instead of *γέφυραι (φ)εργμένοι).

But other instances of a prothetic vowel can be traced back either not exclusively
(ἐείκοσι) or not at all (ἐθέλω) to the loss of [w], and laryngealist explanations also
create difficulties.

One plausible case with laryngeal (and [w]) is 13.382 ἐπεὶ οὔ τοι ἐεδνωταί
κακοί εἰμεν |, where in view of ἀν-ἄεδνον ‘without bride-price’ (*Il.* 3x, acc.) the
basis is probably *οὔ τοι ἀ(φ)εδνωταί; 16.178 ἀπερείσια (φ)ῆδνα would then be
interpreted as from *ἀπερείσι(α) ἄ(φ)εδνα (also ἐεδν- is often transmitted in the
Od. and is metrically possible in all cases; root **h₂wed-*?).

- 26 [w] is nonetheless frequently ignored: 1.21 υἰὸν (-)έκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα |, 3.453 εἴ τις (-)ἴδοιτο |, 17.333f. | ὣς ἔφατ', Αἰνείας δ' (-)έκατηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα | ἔγνω, 18.274 σθένος ἔξομεν, (-)ἄστνυ δὲ πύργοι |, 20.67 Ποσειδάωνος (-)ἄνακτος | (see 3, 19). These instances make it likely that the Ionic singers of Homer's time no longer pronounced the sound [w] before their (Ionic) audience, and that 21–25 are an Ionic-epichoric normalization of an epic-prosodic habit stemming from the Aeolic 'school' (see 34, 38 as well as nn. 18, 20, 27).
- 27 In East Ionic (unlike in Attic-Euboean and Lesbian), the loss of [w] in the intervocalic group 'consonant + [w]' resulted in compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (with the lengthened [e] and [o] then written with a 'spurious diphthong'; see 4): 1.473 | καλὸν ἀείδοντες παιήονα κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν, 24.588 | ἀμφὶ δέ μιν φαῖρος καλὸν βάλον ἦδὲ χιτῶνα, 6.218 ξεινήϊα καλὰ |; from καλφ-, κορφ- (see 19), ξενφ-, φαρφ- (see 14). The same seems to happen in groups crossing the juncture of compound elements in 6.62 ≈ 7.121 | αἴσιμα παρειπῶν (from παρφ-; s. 59).

2.3 Sound Change in the Conjunction of Vowels at Word Boundary (sandhi)¹⁶

- 28 So-called *hiatus*, a combination of sounds in which one vowel (or diphthong) follows immediately after another (with the result that a syllable boundary is located between them), led to a variety of prosodically relevant changes in epic language (as well as, no doubt, in the colloquial speech of the time). Let us first examine hiatus across a word boundary, i.e. between a vocalic ending of one word and a vocalic beginning of the next (for hiatus within a single word, see 39 ff.):
- One phenomenon merely modifies the hiatus:
- 29 – *Correption* (CH. I §38; see also 35 f.), i.e. the shortening of a long vowel or diphthong in final position before a vowel in initial position, corresponding to the parallel phenomenon within a word (see 39): 5.312 | εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὄξυν νόησε, 3.148 πεπνυμένω ἄμφω |, 1.17 | Ἀτρεΐδαι τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί, 1.221 | μύθῳ Ἀθηναίης, especially glaring is 1.15 | χρυσέω ἀνά σκήπτρῳ (with synizesis in addition, see 46).¹⁷

¹⁶ Sandhi is a term taken from the Sanskrit grammarians, but is today used widely in Western linguistics as well; it refers to sound changes that occur at word boundaries (external sandhi) or morpheme boundaries (internal sandhi). Our concern here is predominantly with the conjunction of vowels, which more often left traces in writing (but see 59 with n. 32 for a consonantal case). See also M.-Br. L 201.

¹⁷ There is no quantitative metathesis (see 40) at word boundary, even if cases of correption of the word ending and metrical lengthening of the following word beginning (see 50), e.g. 1.14 ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος |, appear similar.

Note: The term ‘correction’ is used here with regard to simple vowels as well as diphthongs. In the latter case, it is widely assumed that hiatus is removed by consonantalization of the second component of the diphthong, thus e.g. 1.17 (see above) as [ka-**jal**-lo-**je**-y-] (see M 4.2, 12.2). That this is the *explanation* of correction, and that instances with simple vowels, because less frequent, represent only a (secondary) special case, is however unproven. Furthermore, this ‘explanation’ fails in the case of shortened long diphthongs, e.g. 1.30 | ἡμετέρω ἐνὶ οἴκω ἐν Ἄργεϊ, where an intervocalic [j], like any consonant, should have prevented the necessary correction (similarly 1.221, 252, 299, 384, 438 [see also 2], 519, 572 [-ω], etc.). A unified phonetic explanation of the phenomenon (shortening in the case of simple vowels; flattening and shortening in the case of diphthongs [see also 39 on 5.142 with the same situation in medial position]) thus seems at least equally worthy of consideration.

Other phenomena eliminate it:

- *Elision* of a short vowel in final position (CH. I § 36; see also 34, 36 f.): 30
 - Elision of [e], [a] and [o] is frequent: 1.5 Διὸς δ(ἐ) ἔτελείετο βουλή |, 1.14 | στέμματ(α) ἔχων, 1.33 | ὡς ἔφατ(ο)· ἔδδεισεν δ’ ὁ γέρων.
 - Elision of [i] is very rare: 5.5 | ἀστέρ(ι) ὀπωρινῶ, 20.7 | οὔτε τις οὔν ποταμῶν ἀπέην νόσφ(ι) Ὀκεανοῖο (see 33). Elision of [u] is unattested.
 - In addition, [ai] and [oi] could be elided, but [ai] almost exclusively in the endings of the middle voice (which are also considered ‘short’ for the purposes of accentuation): 1.117 | βούλομ(αι) ἐγώ, 5.33 | μάρνασθ(αι) ὀπποτέροισι πατήρ Ζεὺς κύδος ὀρέξει; rarely [oi] in μοι/σοι: 1.170 οὐδέ σ(οι) οἴω |.

Some cases of elision were perhaps eliminated in the course of the transmission of the text (CH. I § 36 p. 87, § 38 p. 89; see 40, 42), while others were introduced into it (CH. I § 231; see 85). Secondary hiatus resulting from elision was retained (1.111 ἀγλά(α) ἄποινα |; 10.380, see 33), corresponding to the situation after *hyphaeresis* in medial position (see 42). – On *apocope*, see 59.
- *Crasis* (CH. I § 35), i.e. contraction across word boundary (mainly involving a proclitic, see 4) recorded in writing: 1.465 | μίστυλλόν τ’ ἄρα τᾶλλα, 3.405 | τούνεκα, probably also 2.238 | ἦ ῥά τί οἱ χῆμεις προσαμόνομεν (more likely *crasis* than *elision*); on contraction in medial position, see 43–45. 31
- *Synaloepha* (CH. I § 35). In many cases, we have to pronounce monosyllabically across the word boundary, with no guidance in the text for this, just as in the case of *synizesis* within words (see 46): 13.777 | μέλλω, ἐπεὶ οὐδ’ 32

ἐμὲ πάμπαν ἀνάλκιδα γείνατο μήτηρ, spoken: μελ-λο-ε-**πεου**-δε-με (similarly 15.18 [see 45], also 1.277, etc.).

- 33 – *Ny ephelkystikon* ('attracted', movable [n]; CH. I § 40). This is particularly typical of the Attic-Ionic dialect, and in epic is added to Aeolic forms as well (e.g. 14.85 μῆ δ' ἄμμιν ἀνασσέμεν, see 22; also before consonants, e.g. 10.380 ὕμμιν χαρίσαιτο, see below and 2 with n. 4). *Ny ephelkystikon* bridges hiatus after the short vowels [e i] (also at verse end), predominantly
- in the dat. pl.: 1.14 | στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν χερσίν ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος (in other dialects: χερσὶ φεκά-, see 22), but 1.5 | οἰωνοῖσί τε δαΐτα,
 - in the 3rd sing. impf./aor. and perf.: 1.11 ἠτίμασεν ἀρητῆρα |, but 1.4 τεύχε κύνεσσι |,
 - in the 3rd sing. and pl. in -σι: 1.137 | εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώωσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι, but 1.123 δώσουσι γέρας,
 - in the modal particle κε(v): 1.137 (cited immediately above, with **κε** and **κεν**),
 - in the suffix -φι(v) (see 66): 18.305 παρὰ ναῦφιν ἀνέστη δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς |, but 8.474 ≈ 16.281 παρὰ ναῦφι ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα |; also in 1.349 ἄφαρ ἔζετο νόσφι λιασθείς |, but 1.541 | αἰεὶ τοι φίλον ἔστιν ἐμεῦ ἀπὸ νόσφιν ἔοντα, and further 20.7 νόσφ' Ὠκεανοῖο | (see 30),
 - and in certain adverbs in -θεν(v) (CH. I § 111): 17.426 ἀπάνευθεν ἔόντες |, but 1.35 | πολλὰ δ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε κίων, and further 4.227 ἀπάνευθ' ἔχε φυσίωντας | (on the genitival-ablatival -θεν with firm [n], see 66).

Ny ephelkystikon can also be used before consonants, where it functions as a welcome prosodic means of making position: 1.77 πρόφρων ἔπεισιν καὶ χερσὶν ἀρήξειν |; 19.309 ἀπεσκέδασεν βασιλῆας |; 1.60 εἶ κεν θάνατόν γε φύγομεν |, but 18.121 | κείσομ' ἐπεὶ κε θάνω; see also above on 10.380 | τῶν κ' ὕμμιν χαρίσαιτο πατὴρ ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα.

Hiatus is nonetheless often tolerated across word boundary, especially

- 34 – if it arose from the loss of a /w/ ('digamma') in initial position, which is to say that the relevant prosody still sounded 'familiar' to the singer (see 21f., 26);
- 35 – after correption (see 29);
- 36 – at a metrical caesura, especially in combination with a syntactic break (CH. I §§ 38f.; see M 6–8); in this case, correption usually does not occur either (see 29): 1.561 | δαμονίη, αἰεὶ μὲν οἶεαι, 8.429 | τῶν ἄλλος μὲν ἀποφθίσθω, ἄλλος δὲ βιώτω, 1.30 | ἡμετέρω ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἐν Ἄργεῖ, 1.24 | ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἦνδανε θυμῷ, 11.801 = 16.43 | τειρόμενοι ὀλίγη ..., 1.42 | τείσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα; sometimes elision too does not occur (see 30): 15.172 διέπτατο ὠκέα Ἴρις |, 23.224 ὀδύρετο ὄστρα καίων |;

- in cases where no elision occurs (see 30; also CH. I § 39), i.e. 37
 - in the case of -ι (seldom elided, and never in the case of *περί, τι, ὄτι*),
 - in the case of diphthongs (only some of which are elided, and even then seldom; see further 35),
 - in the case of ‘small words’ like *ὄ, πρό*,
 - if there is still hiatus after elision has occurred (see 30);
- and finally in various other cases, e.g. of the frequent formula^p 1.551 *πότνια Ἥρη* | (CH. I § 39), which was probably coined at a time when the name still began with a prosodically relevant consonant (see 14) and which was preserved through prosodic habit (see 26; in Mycenaean the name is *e-ra*; it therefore did not have [w-] but probably [h-]). 38

2.4 Sound Change in the Conjunction of Vowels in Medial Position

Hiatus (see 28) in medial position was likewise subject to prosodically relevant changes. It is sometimes altered (39 f.), sometimes removed (41–46); it can remain (47) or even be restored as compared with everyday pronunciation (48).

Hiatus is altered

- via shortening according to the principle of *vocalis ante vocalem corripitur*, 39 i.e. shortening of a long vowel before another vowel after it, particularly *η* before *ο/ω/α* (CH. I §§ 27–29; see 29 on the corresponding phenomenon at word boundary):
 - This is especially frequent in the (Ionic) gen. pl. *-έων* of *a*-stems: 7.1 | *ὦς εἰπὼν πυλέων ἐξέσσυτο*, usually to be pronounced with synizesis (see 46), i.e. with no hiatus: 1.495 *Θέτις δ’ οὐ λήθετ’ ἐφειτμέων* |, occasionally even with contraction (see 45). In addition, the unshortened (Aeolic) [ā] in *-άων* forms a third metrical variant (see 5 ff.; usually formulaic at verse end: 1.152 *αἰχμητάων* |) (the ‘Old Ionic’ intermediate stage **-ήων* does not occur).
 - Where intervocalic [w] was lost, shortening occurs only rarely in Homer (see 49 end, 54, 76 f., 95).
 - In a few forms, the long vowel was exceptionally transmitted in its specifically Ionic form: 1.439 | *ἐκ δὲ Χρυσήϊς νηὸς βῆ* beside 15.423 | *ἐν κονίησι πεσόντα νεὸς προπάραιθε μελαίνης*, where – again exceptionally – shortening does occur before an earlier [w].¹⁸

¹⁸ Aside from the prosodic habit of the Aeolic tradition (see 26), in instances like *νηὸς* paradigmatic analogy will also have had an effect, i.e. analogy to other forms of the same paradigm (here

- In a similar fashion, a diphthong can appear shortened (see also 29): 5.142 | αὐτὰρ ὃ ἐμμεμῶς βαθείης ἐξάλλεται αὐλῆς (instead of the normal gen. sing. fem. βαθείης; CH. I § 117).¹⁹
 - In the divine name Hermes (originally probably **Hermāhās*, cf. Mycenaean *e-ma-ha*), in 2.104 | Ἑρμείας δὲ ἄναξ the ‘spurious diphthong’ <ει> appears as a metrical correction of the short [e] of the colloquial language (<*[ē] < *[ā], see 5), which is likewise attested: 5.390 | Ἑρμῆξ ἐξήγγειλεν (although in a form that is likewise non-epichoric, on account of the Aeolic vowel stem [ā]); finally, the contracted form 20.72 ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς | was probably inserted into the text in the course of transmission as a replacement for -έης with synizesis (see also n. 26).
- 40 – through *quantitative metathesis*, i.e. shortening of a long vowel and lengthening of an immediately following short vowel, especially in the sequence **ηο** (CH. I §§ 27–29, M.-BR. L 403.2; see n. 17):
- This is especially frequent in the (Ionic) gen. sing. -εω of the masc. *a*-stems, always pronounced with synizesis (see 46), i.e. with the hiatus removed (for example, in the frequent formula^p 2.205 Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτρω |, which is accordingly of Ionic origin), although occasionally with contraction (see 45). In addition, the (Aeolic) [āo] in -**āo** forms a welcome metrical variant (usually formulaic at verse end: 1.203 Ἀτρεΐδαο |) (the ‘Old Ionic’ intermediate stage *-ηο does not occur).²⁰
 - In other forms, the original combination of a specifically Ionic η and retained hiatus has been transmitted: 15.297 | στήομεν, εἴ κεν ...²¹ (con-

νηί, νῆες, in which no shortening took place even later on: νεί does not occur in Homer, and νέες is rare and formed by analogy, see 77); for νέα (*Od.* 9.283), see WACHTER 2012, 67, 78. Shortening of the Ionic vowel in the rare and predominantly formulaic word νη(φ)ός ‘temple’ is avoided completely: see the formulae^p 6.93 = 6.274 ≈ 6.308, 2.549 ≈ *Od.* 12.346, *Il.* 6.269 = 6.279, ≈ 6.88, ≈ 7.83; not (recognizably) formulaic are 1.39, 5.446, 6.297, *Od.* 6.10.

19 Is 5.269 ὑποσχῶν θήλεας ἵππους | thus perhaps not a masc. (see 78) but another fem. form (θηλέας), to be read with synizesis (see 46)?

20 The ending -εω, when transmitted in prevocalic position, was restored by some scholars to -ā(o) (with elision, see 30) to bridge the hiatus, e.g. in 11 *Πηληϊάδᾱ(ο) Ἀχιλλῆος |. But the hiatus can be easily justified by the prosodic habit of the singer (see 26). Accordingly, -ου was sometimes restored to -οι(o) (CH. I §§ 27–29), e.g. in 8.538 ≈ 22.135 ἠελίου ἀνόντος |, but in this case the inscription on Nestor’s Cup (see 4) with καλλιστεφάνῳ Ἀφροδίτης shows that such restitutions are unjustified for Homer and his time.

21 Here (as in 39) paradigmatic analogy frequently offers an explanation (in the present instance e.g. to 2 101 | ἔσθη); the transmitted text also offers στή- with compensatory lengthening (see 4).

trast 11.348 = 22.231 | ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ στῆωμεν καὶ ἀλεξώμεσθα μένοντες, pronounced with synizesis).

- Strictly speaking, the length of the *o*-sound in cases where it would be exclusively due to this sound-change cannot be conclusively demonstrated for Homer's time (see 54, 76 f., 95).

Hiatus is removed

- via *elision* at the juncture of compound elements, a widespread phenomenon 41 in Greek: *Od.* 5.195 f. | καὶ ῥ' ὃ μὲν ἔνθα καθέζετ' ἐπὶ θρόνου, ἔνθεν ἀνέστη | Ἑρμείας. Here – in the interest of linguistic flexibility – both possibilities are often used,
 - predominantly in the case of a former [w]: *Il.* 23.361 ἀπο(φ)εῖποι |, but 19.75 | μῆνιν ἀπειπόντος; with an etymologically unjustified [ww] (see 22): 19.35 | μῆνιν ἀπο(φφ)ειπών²²;
 - but in other cases as well: 1.161 ἀφαιρήσεσθαι, 1.182 ἀφαιρεῖται, contrast 1.230 ἀποαιρεῖσθαι, 275 ἀποαίρεο; 11.582 ἀπαινύμενον, contrast the rare 13.262 ἀποαίνυμαι (also *Od.*); 7.260 ἐπάλμενος, contrast the rare 7.15 ἐπιάλμενον; 2.233 κατίσχει, but *Od.* 9.122 καταίσχεται.
- via *hyphaeresis* (CH. I § 30, M.-BR. L 403.3), a process similar to elision (see 30, 41), in which in true medial position the middle vowel of three in a row is lost without any compensation: 1.275 ἀποαίρεο κούρην | (for *ἀποαιρέεο). The result can be pronounced as a double-short (-ρεο, with hiatus) or with synizesis (see 46; for contracted -ρευ, see 45). Some apparent cases of hyphaeresis should be explained differently, e.g. κλέα ἀνδρῶν | (9.189, 524, *Od.* 8.73; Mycenaean **kleweha*, see 14), which will have simply replaced an originally elided κλέε(α) ἀνδρῶν | in the course of textual transmission (see 30).
- via *contraction* (CH. I §§ 12–15, 17–26). This occurs less frequently than in later dialects, and sometimes was probably only introduced into the text during transmission. Many instances (in *biceps*) are in fact transmitted with contraction, but can usually just as well be pronounced disyllabically (5.515 = 7.308 | ὡς εἶδον ζῶων or εἶδον; 3.104 Διὶ δ' ἡμεῖς οἴσομεν ἄλλον | or ἡμέες), and some forms can always be pronounced like this (thus -κλη- as -κλεε-: 5.547 Διοκλήα

The singer perhaps pronounced a short syllable anyway, i.e. the contemporary Ionic form (see n. 13). See also 95.

²² The singer of course may also have employed metrical lengthening of the vowel here (see 4, 49): ἀπῶ(φ)ειπών.

μεγάθυμον |).²³ Nonetheless, numerous contractions can be detected, especially at verse end (4.49 ἤμεις |) and in *longum* (19.292 | εἶδον πρό πτόλιος); on the active thematic infinitive, see 87. Many forms fit the meter only when contracted, while many others fit only in an uncontracted state. This obviously offered the singers additional flexibility or at least a range of alternatives. No fundamental differences in frequency of use, depending on whether [w], [j] or [h] (<[s]>) was lost, can be established. On writing with the ‘spurious diphthongs’ <ει> and <ου>, see 4. The following are some examples of the (not overly frequent) clear instances pronounceable only disyllabically or only monosyllabically (for ease in finding further examples, CH.’s order is retained),

44 first, for the loss of [w] (see 23):

- (CH. I § 13: an *i*-diphthong results) εἶδον (see 43)
- (CH. I § 14: both vowels have the identical or a similar quality): 19.95 | καὶ γὰρ δὴ νύ ποτε Ζεὺς ἄσατο, but 19.137 | ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ἄασάμην; 18.475 | καὶ χρυσὸν τιμῆντα, but *Od.* 11.327 | ἦ χρυσὸν φίλου ἀνδρὸς ἐδέξατο τιμῆντα
- (CH. I § 15: remaining cases): 11.699 f. | τέσσαρες ἄθλοφόροι ἵπποι αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν, but 22.22 | σευάμενος ὡς θ’ ἵππος ἀεθλοφόρος σὺν ὄχεσφιν; 15.339 | Μηκιστῆ δ’ ἔλε, but 3.44 | φάντες ἀριστῆα πρόμον ἔμμεναι (see 76); 8.439 θεῶν δ’ ἐξίκετο θῶκος | (but restorable to -οα- *Od.* 2.14 | ἔξετο δ’ ἐν πατρὸς θῶκω).

45 second, for the loss of [j] or [s]:

- (CH. I § 17: two *e*-sounds): 12.46 | ταρβεῖ οὐδὲ φοβεῖται (τ. might be restored [to -έει], but not φ.), but 16.507 | ιεμένους φοβέεσθαι
- (CH. I § 18: two *i*-sounds or two *a*-sounds, rare): 18.407 | πάντα Θέτῃ καλλιπλοκάμῳ (for *Θέτι-ι)
- (CH. I § 19: two *o*-sounds, frequent): (1) [o]+[o]: 1.218 ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ |, 1.532 Ὀλύμπου |,²⁴ 8.407 οὐδὲ χολοῦμαι |. (2) [ō]+[o] or the reverse: 7.299 δῶομεν ἄμφω |, but 23.537 | ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ οἱ δῶμεν ἀέθλιον

23 These resolvable instances are so frequent that we might suspect that they were intentional, i.e. based on linguistic tradition (a phenomenon that would fit the theory of the hexameter having originally been purely dactylic). Furthermore, various Greek dialects were less prone to contraction than Ionic (and indeed Attic); restraint in the use of contracted forms thus increased the panhellenic usability of epic language (see 2f.).

24 Scholars often restore the genitive in -ου to -οο (which is unattested), particularly in cases where the meter requires additional lengthening (see 49f.). For Homer himself, this has little plausibility. Metrical lengthening was a legitimate means of forcing otherwise unmanageable forms (e.g. names) into a verse. In instances like 5.21 ἀδελφειοῦ κταμένοιο | or 15.66 | Ἰλίου

- (CH. I §20: an *i*-diphthong or *u*-diphthong results): 6.126 | σῶ θάρσει, but 13.754 ὠρήθη ὄρει νιφόνεντι εἰκῶς | (see 16); 1.385 | εὔ ειδῶς, 6.292 Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέριαν |, but 1.73 | ὄ σφιν εὔ φρονέων ἀγορήσατο, 1.429 | χῳόμενον κατὰ θυμὸν εὔζῳνοιο γυναικός
- (CH. I §21: [a]+vowel): 1.201 ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα |, 18.61 καὶ ὄρᾳ φάος ἡελίοιο | (see 48); 15.18 | ἦ οὐ μέμνη, ὅτε τ' ἐκρέμω ὑπόθεν (ἦ οὐ with synaloepha, see 32) and 21 | ἐκρέμω· ἠλάστεον δὲ θεοί, but 16.497 ἐμεῦ πέρι μάρναο χαλκῶ |
- (CH. I §22: [o]+vowel): 9.423 μήτιν ἀμείνω | (also 3.11, 4.400, *pace* West; on the *s*-stem comparative, see 79), but 4.139 ἐπέγραψε χρῶα φωτός | (not an Attic-Ionic form; at the same time, ἦῶ, αἰδῶ, ἰδῶ (see 71) are always written with contraction – but are also always restorable as *ἦῶα etc.: 9.240 ἦῶ δῖαν |); 16.557 ἀρείους | (see 79), 8.421 χολοῦται |
- (CH. I §23: [e]+[a]): 13.818 | ἀρήση Διὶ πατρί (aor. subjunc.), but 20.335 συμβλήσεαι αὐτῶ | (fut.?.; see 29); with synizesis (see 46): 7.207 ἔσσατο τεύχεα |
- (CH. I §§ 24–26: [e]+*o*-sound): (1) contraction of [e]+[o] to <ευ>²⁵ in *s*-stem nouns (see 71) 8.368 | ἐξ Ἑρέβους, 17.573 | τοίου μιν θάρσευς, ‘only’ with synizesis (see 46) 16.743 | κάππεσ' ἄπ' εὐεργέος δίφρου, but perhaps disyllabic 5.585 = 13.399 εὐεργέος ἔκπεσε δίφρου |, certainly 1.103 | ἀχνύμενος, μένεος δέ ...; in pronouns (see 81) ἐμεῦ, μευ, σεῦ etc. (pre-

προπάρῳθε, the restoration (to *ἀδελφεόο or *φίλιοο) is at least not mandatory (*pace* West 1998, XXXIIIff.). In instances like 2.518 | νιέες Ἰφίτου μεγαθύμου Ναυβολίδαιο, if *Ἰφίτοο is restored, the length of the [o] before μεγα- requires exceptional treatment (see 16). In addition, the transmitted variant can easily be derived from the probable original spelling, even in the case of 5.21 (namely from <αδελφεο κταμενοιο>; see 4), whereas the loss of <o> in the course of transmission (e.g. in *αδελφεοο κταμενοιο) would be inexplicable. On the other hand, restoration of **oo* in formulae^p of *pre-Homeric* poetry is quite plausible. One such case is 15.66 (see above), and the same holds true for the formula ὁμοίου π(τ)ολέμοιο | (9.440, 13.358, 13.635, 15.670, 18.242, 21.294, *Od.* 18.264, 24.543), where in some cases the manuscripts actually transmit the non-Ionic variant πτολ-, which otherwise occurs only after a short vowel (see 18) and is essential for the restoration (*ὁμοίου πτολέμοιο |).

25 The textually well attested spelling <ευ> for the result of contraction is thought to have been inserted in the post-Homeric period (at the earliest in the 4th c. BC; see HT 7) and is restored to <εο> in the text (by M. West) used here. It is difficult, however, to prove that it cannot date from the time of Homer, and in any case parallels exist well before the 4th c. (e.g. on a Corinthian vase of the 1st half of the 6th c. BC with a scene from the *Iliad* [16.330 ff.], where Kleoboulos, written [K]λεῦβουλος, falls by Aias' hand; see WACHTER 2001, COR 82). This spelling was especially significant as an aid to reading such a form monosyllabically in a written metrical text, and might have developed specifically in this context. In the present grammar, it is consciously retained.

dominantly in *longum* and before a vowel), but not infrequently written as <εο> and pronounced monosyllabically or disyllabically (3.446 | ὡς **σεο** νῦν ἔραμαι), very rarely certainly disyllabically (10.124 | νῦν δ' ἔ**μέο** πρότερος); in verbs (see 93) 23.121 χθόνα ποσσὶ **δατεῦν**το |, but with synizesis 7.310 ἀελλ**τέον**τες σόον εἶναι |, disyllabically 15.104 μενεαίνομεν ἀφρον**έον**τες |. (2) contraction of [e]+[ō]: in verbs 13.381 ὄφρ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶ συν**ώ**μεθα ποντοπόροισιν |; in the gen. pl. of *a*-stems (especially after <ι>) 23.112 | πάντοθεν ἐκ κλισ**ῶν**, in the gen. sing. of masc. *a*-stems (likewise) 4.47 = 4.165 = 6.449 = 8.552 καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς εὐ**μ**ελί**ω** Πριάμοιο |, 15.214 | Ἥρης Ἑρμ**ε**ί**ω** τε (see 39 f., 46).²⁶

- 46 – via *synizesis* (CH. I §§ 16, 23–26), i.e. monosyllabic pronunciation (i.e. as a diphthong) of two adjacent vowels (see 32). This phenomenon is to be distinguished from contraction (see 43–45) because it does not manifest itself in writing (in the text and commentary, it is marked by the – modern – sign for synizesis, a sublinear curved line connecting the affected vowels). It can occur after

- Loss of [w] (CH. I § 16): 1.559 | τιμήσης, ὀλέσης δὲ πολ**έ**ας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν (see 75), but 3.126 | δίπλακα μαρμαρέην, πολ**έ**ας δ' ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους. For further examples, see 39 f.
- Loss of [j] or [s]: (1) [e]+[a] (CH. I § 23): 8.211 | ἡ**μέ**ας τοὺς ἄλλους, but possibly without synizesis 8.529 φυλάξομεν ἡ**μέ**ας αὐτούς |; 3.27 Ἀλέξανδρον θεοιδ**έ**α | (formula^p, but usually nom. -ειδής |; acc. possibly with five syllables at *Od.* 16.20), but (in phonetically equivalent case forms) *Il.* 1.201 ἔ**πε**α πτερόεντα προσηύδα | (formula), 10.40 | ἄνδρας δυσμε**ν**έας (unmetrical with synizesis); for a further example, see 45. (2) [e]+*o*-sound (CH. I §§ 24–26): 1.18 | ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν (a 'triphthong?'), but 1.290 ἔθεσαν θεοὶ αἰὲν ἑόντες | (formula), 1.424 | χθιζὸς ἔβη κατὰ δαῖτα, θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἔποντο; 5.90 ἐριθη**λέ**ων | (unmetrical without synizesis), but 1.176 διοτρε**φ**έ**ω**ν βασιλήων | (formula; in addition, unmetrical with synizesis); for further examples, see 29, 39 f., 45.

47 Hiatus remains

- where no elision occurred (e.g. ἀποαιρεῖσθαι, see 41),
- where contraction did not take place (e.g. ἀεθλοφόρος, see 43–45),
- where pronunciation does not involve synizesis (e.g. δυσμενέας, see 46),

²⁶ The last three instances might also be explained by means of hyphaeresis (see 42), thus from *κλισιέων, *εὐμμελίω, *Ερμεέω (here with subsequent metrical lengthening of the [e], see 49).

- after hyphaeresis, in instances where pronunciation does not involve synizesis (e.g. ἀποαίρεο, see 42).

Finally, hiatus is restored

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- via *diectasis* (Ch. I §§ 31–34). This is the rendering of a contemporary contracted form (see 45) in its prosodically older state, but with a pseudo-historical vocalization (very often in a formulaic verse ending). The quality and occasionally the length of a vowel reveal the process unmistakably.²⁷
 - Thus 4.1 ἡγορόωντο |, 4.4 εἰσορόωντες |, 8.230 ἡγοράασθε |, 14.345 εἰσοράασθαι | show the metrical structure of the earlier uncontracted form (originally *ἡγοράοντο, *εἰσοράοντες, *ἡγοράεσθε, *εἰσοράεσθαι), but their second vowel is the [ō] (<ω>) or [ā] (<α>) of the contracted form (ἡγορῶντο, εἰσορῶντες, ἡγορᾶσθε, εἰσορᾶσθαι, all unmetrical); the original quality of the vowel was forgotten.
 - At the same time, in instances like 9.446 νέον ἡβῶντα |, the *first* vowel, long by metrical lengthening (see 49), represents the contracted vowel (in ἡβῶντα); the original form was *ἡβᾶντα (already with metrically lengthened [a]).
 - Further examples are 1.200 ὄσσε φάανθεν | (instead of *φᾶνθεν from *φᾶενθεν) and the infinitives of the thematic aorist, as in 3.236 | δοῖω δ' οὐ δύναμαι ἰδέειν κοσμήτορε λαῶν (instead of -εῖν, e.g. 8.453, from *-εεν, by analogy to the vocalic present infinitives with similar final stress in their contracted form, as in 1.288 | πάντων μὲν κρατέειν ἐθέλει; Ch. I § 238).

2.5 Adaptation to the Meter

Apart from resorting to metrical variants based on dialectal or diachronical differences (especially in phonology) or analogous processes (predominantly in inflection), direct intervention in the prosodic structure of a form is often necessary to make it fit the meter (especially in the case of three short syllables in a row or a short between two longs). In this case as well, various strategies can be distinguished:

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²⁷ The principle of prosodic habit (see 26) has a particularly obvious effect here and had to do so for the form concerned to remain usable. Since original uncontracted forms have been transmitted only exceptionally (see Ch. I § 32), we must assume that in Homer's time the original pronunciation of specific cases was no longer known. The exceptions are in part non-Ionic; some – especially when the tradition is divided – are perhaps based on a later 'correction'.

- The poet resorts to different words: thus in place of ἡμέρη, which was usable only in the nom./dat. sing. and nom. pl., and even then only before a vowel, ἦμαρ is almost always employed (see 14, 53) (CH. I § 48).
- He modifies word formation (e.g. at the juncture of compound elements: 6.469 λόφον ἵπποχαίτην | instead of ἵππο-, 23.505 ἀρματροχίη in comparison to 4.485 ἀρματοπηγός; see 58) or the stem formation (2.494 etc. Πηνέλεως instead of the normal -λᾶος, see 54; Πάτροκλος *passim* instead of Πατροκλήης [see 56], which is unmetrical, since it would be odd to count *muta cum liquida* [see M 4.5] once long and once short in a single word) (CH. I §§ 41, 48).
- He addresses himself to one of his characters in the 2nd pers. in order to be able to use the voc. instead of the unmetrical nom.: 16.584 f. ὦς ἰθὺς Λυκίων Πατρόκλεες ἵπποκέλευθε | ἔσσο καὶ Τρώων (as 16.126, 16.707, 16.839 in ‘true’ direct speech; also 16.744, 16.754, 16.812, 16.843); cf. the similar licence in the expedient formulaic line *Od.* 14.55 = 14.165 (etc.) τὸν δ’ ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, Εὐμαιε σὺ βῶτα (but in direct speech 15.381), as combining Εὐμαιος with σὺ βῶτης is almost impossible metrically.
- Lengthening of short vowels in open syllables (CH. I §§ 43 f.): 1.337 | ἄλλ’ ἄγε διογενὲς Πατρόκλεις (but 5.463 | υἷάσι δὲ Πριάμοιο διοτρεφέεσσι κέλευεν); 1.503 εἴ ποτε δὴ σε μετ’ ἀθανάτοισιν ὄνησα |, 16.758 | ἄμφω πεινάοντε, μέγα φρονέοντε μάχεσθον (see 8); also with lengthened [ā] converted into [ē] (see 5) 3.305 Ἴλιον ἠνεμόεσσαν | (see n. 4, 58), and with lengthened [ā] replaced via *diectasis* 9.446 ἠβῶοντα (see 48); on θῦγατέρες, see 73; written with a ‘spurious diphthong’ (see 4) 3.8 μένεα πνεύοντες Ἀχαιοί |, 1.13 ἀπερείσι’ ἄποινα | alongside 20.58 | γαῖαν ἀπειρεσίην, 3.89 ἐπὶ χθονὶ πούλυβοτείρῃ |. The pressure to adapt can also appear at a syntagmatic level: 5.446 | Περγάμῳ εἰν ἱερῇ (εἰν, however, was only rarely necessary), 16.539 σέθεν εἵνεκα (εἵνεκα, on the other hand, is more frequent than the metrically inconvenient ἔνεκα). See also 94.
- Occasional resort to metrical shortening (CH. I § 46): so presumably in 1.7 | Ἀτρεΐδης τε ἄναξ (see 76), 24.663 μάλα δὲ Τρώες δεδίασιν | (see 24, 94). Cf. the consonant shortening (by analogy to an *s*-aorist) in the name Ὀδυσσ(σ)εύς (see 17, 56).

50 Many such adaptations, however, are ‘optional’, i.e. applied to forms that are not unmetrical in principle, clearly by analogy to ‘necessary’ instances (see 49), e.g. to achieve an expedient hexameter ending (— ∞ — |; CH. I § 41) (extensive evidence in CH. I § 48); this was done

- via altered stem formation: nom. pl. 5.505 ἠνιοχῆες | (see M.-BR. E 403.2 with bibliography; metrically equivalent to gen. sing. 8.124 ἠνιόχοιο | of a normal *o*-stem), 12.379 | Σαρπηδόντος ἑταῖρον (*nt*-stem also 12.392, 23.800; normal

- prosody 21x as *n*-stem, e.g. 12.292, 12.307, gen. 16.327 Σαρπηδόνοσ ἐσθλοὶ ἐταῖροι |);
- via modified inflection (CH. I § 42): acc. sing. 6.291 εὐρέα πόντον | (normally 3.364 εἰσ οὐρανὸν εὐρύν |);
 - via vocalic lengthening: 1.14 ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνοσ | (normal prosody 1.75 | μῆνιν Ἀπόλλωνοσ) (see n. 17); for a further example, see 73.

The metrical lengthening of forms, where necessary or at least very useful, is often transferred by analogy to other forms of the paradigm (thus some cases of ὄροσ, for example, occur with both ὄρ- and οὐρ-; CH. I §§ 44 f.). See in addition M 15 (and CH. I § 45) on metrical licences often ‘corrected’ by metrical lengthening in the course of transmission (e.g. verses beginning with a short syllable, the so-called στίχοι ἀκέφαλοι, 3.357 | διὰ μὲν ἀσπίδοσ ἦλθε; see also n. 13), and furthermore M 4.5 (and CH. I § 47) on the possibility of distributing *muta cum liquida* after a short vowel among two syllables (lengthening the first) or not.

2.6 Accent

Some details of accentuation are worth noting (for further points, see 83; 51 CH. I §§ 77–79; in general M.-BR. L 202):

- On ἄσσοσ, μάλλον, θάσσοσ etc., see WEST 1998, xx.
- Some abstracts in -τητ- are (as partly in Attic) stressed on the suffix (e.g. ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἦβην, see 15).
- Vendryes’ Law, according to which properispomena with the structure $\upsilon - \upsilon$ became proparoxytone in Attic, does not hold true for Homer, where the manuscripts offer ἐτοῖμοσ, ὁμοῖοσ (not ἔτοιμοσ etc.) (cf. WEST 1998, xviii).
- Words of Aeolic origin do not normally appear with the initial accent known from Lesbian, but with the accent that was normal in the dialect of the Ionic singer, e.g. ἐρεβεννόσ (after φαεινόσ, see 12), λᾶόσ (see 2, 54). At the same time, certain forms do in fact have the Aeolic accent, e.g. 11.554 = 17.663 ἐσσόμενόσ περ | (perf. part.), 12.125 κεκλήγοντεσ (the same, with Aeolic use of the pres. part. suffix), gen. υἱόσ, dat. υἱί (see 53), probably also θύγατρα, -εσ, -ασ, θάλεια.²⁸ Less certainly Aeolic is e.g. ἔγωγε, which is also frequent in

²⁸ Since written accents, as far as we know, were introduced in the 4th c. BC at the earliest, the discrepancy may have to be ascribed to the work of Hellenistic philologists. This does not necessarily mean that none of the instances of Aeolic accentuation go back to Homer’s time.

Attic prose (there in accord with Vendryes' Law) and could accordingly be a secondary Atticism (see also n. 13).

- On the phenomenon by which trochaic words with a first syllable that is long by position are accented with a double acute before an enclitic (e.g. ἔνθά μιν), see WEST 1998, xviii; CH. I § 79.

3. Word and Stem Formation

3.1 Preliminary Remarks

52 A comprehensive account of the word formation and etymology of Homeric Greek is provided by RISCH. Here we will merely make some brief remarks on individual parts of speech important for the following discussion of morphology.

Many phenomena involve the dialectal opposition 'Aeolic : Ionic'. The differences here concern vocabulary (see already 12, 13, 15, 18) more than historical phonology (see 10 ff., 39 f., 51, in addition CH. I § 11). Less relevant is the opposition 'East Ionic : Attic' (see n. 13).

A singer often makes use of the possibility of modifying the word or stem formation *metri gratia*, sometimes out of necessity (see 49), sometimes 'optionally' (see 50).

3.2 Nouns

53 Some important nouns and names contribute to linguistic flexibility via their variable stem formation or inflection (CH. I § 103). These so-called *heteroclitics* display differences in their stems that are sometimes slight, sometimes substantial:

- The stems of the divine name Hades, originally of consonantal declension, exhibit great variety (CH. *ibid.*): 1.3 Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν |, 3.322 δόμον Ἄϊδος εἶσω |, expanded by *-ā-* 5.395 Ἄϊδης, 646 Ἄϊδαο περήσειν |, expanded by *-ōn-ēu-* 5.190 Ἄϊδωνῆϊ προΐαψειν |, 20.61 Ἄϊδωνεύς |.
- The *s*-stem Ares, on the other hand, shows a much more moderate fluctuation between similar forms from different declensions (CH. I § 101): nom. Ἄρης, voc. 5.31 = 5.455 | Ἄρες Ἄρες, whereas otherwise (apart from the transmission of two vocalic-stem forms: 5.757, 21.112 [?], 21.431 Ἄρη; 5.909 Ἄρην) it is best regarded as an *ēu*-stem (as in Lesbian; see 76).
- On Ζεύς, see 77.

A rather clear tendency toward heteroclisia can be observed between vocalic and dental stems (CH. I § 88):

- Among *i*-stems in the *Iliad*, this mostly concerns Θέτις, -iv, -ī (see 45), but gen. -ιδος²⁹ (see also Πάριος/-ιδος 3.325; more such instances are found in the *Odyssey*).
- κόρυς is a *u*-stem in 13.131 = 16.215 | ἀσπίς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνήρ, but is otherwise always a *θ*-stem: 11.375 | καὶ κόρυθα βριαρήν.
- The normal reading 12.231 | Πουλυδάμα (voc.) is an *a*-stem, but not 11.57 ἀμύμονα Πουλυδάμαντα | etc.

The earliest known variant of this tendency, so-called 'thematization', i.e. the transition from an athematic stem to an *o*-stem, can also be observed in Homer (see also 61):

- The clearest example is 1.357 δάκρυ, but 16.11 δάκρυον (CH. I § 95 rem. iii).
- Another likely such case is υἰός (CH. I § 100), with forms that are largely consonant-stem and *u*-stem, but also with some (in part quite frequent) thematic forms: nom. sing. only υἰός, voc. only -έ, acc. mainly -όν, rarely υἷα, υἷέα, gen. sing. υἷος, υἷέος, υἰοῦ (only 1x, *Od.*), dat. υἷϊ, υἷέϊ, υἷεϊ; nom.-acc. dual υἷε; nom. pl. υἷες, υἷέες, υἷεῖς, gen. υἰῶν, dat. υἰάσι(ν), υἰοῖσι (only 1x, *Od.*), acc. υἷας, υἷέας.

Numerous athematic neuters show a type of heteroclisia, particularly those with nom./acc. sing. in -μα (< *-m̥; like Latin *agmen*), which in all other cases show a stem expanded (already in Mycenaean) by a [t]: -ματ- (< *-m̥t-). Their -ατ- was transferred to the corresponding forms of other types of neuters:

- Some of the archaic *r/n*-neuters (CH. I § 91, Risch § 26), while retaining the old -*r* in the nom./acc. sing., in the oblique cases replaced the original -*n* with an expansion -ατ- (e.g. ἦμαρ, -ατα, likewise ἦπαρ, ὕδωρ). Others have dropped [n] in favor of [r] (e.g. πῦρ, -ρά, likewise ἔαρ, ἔλωρ) or are not used in the oblique cases at all (e.g. ὄναρ, ἐέλδωρ).
- γόνυ and δόρυ (CH. I § 91, Risch § 24i) also use forms with a stem expanded by -ατ- (γούνατος, -τα; δούρατος, -τι etc.), in addition to forms of the shorter *u*-stem (**gonw-* > γουνός, γοῦνα, **dorw-* > δουρός, -ί etc.; on <ou>, see 4, 27), which (to judge by e.g. Latin and Sanskrit) must be older.
- The same expansion appears in οὔς, οὔατα (CH. I § 102, Risch § 24i).

²⁹ This might be the result of replacement of the metrically equivalent -ιος in the course of textual transmission.

54 Stems in *-εω-* (< **-āo-*) are almost entirely lacking, as is also therefore the so-called ‘Attic’ declension (see 39 f.; CH. I § 82). This is best understood as an avoidance in traditional epic language of an Ionic modernism that was prosodically truly radical (see 2). In particular, the long vowel in *λᾱ(φ)ός* (including compounds) is normally used unshortened and, for consistency’s sake, is employed in its Aeolic rather than Attic-Ionic form (see 5, 7). But exceptions in *-λε-* occur: 2.494 Πηνέλεως καὶ Λήϊτος ἦρχον | (*Il.* 8x, also dat. and acc.), *Od.* 22.131 and 22.247 Ἀγέλεως (pronounced with synizesis, see 46); also with metrical lengthening *Il.* 17.344 Λειώκριτον (see 49; *Λᾱo-* would likewise have been metrically possible!). It is thus clear that in these instances the [ē] (for the old [ā] retained in Aeolic) was already pronounced short ([ĕ], see 39) in the colloquial Ionic of Homer’s time. Compensatory lengthening of the following *o*-sound, by contrast, cannot be proven on metrical grounds in any of the passages (Πηνέλεως?) – but neither can it be strictly excluded (see 40).

55 Several minor archaic types of stem formation that continue to play a greater role in Homeric Greek than they do later on are here mentioned only in passing:

- old root nouns (CH. I § 102, RISCH §§ 1–3)
- nouns in *-ως* (γέλως, ἔρωσ; χρώς) (see 71, CH. I §§ 89 f., RISCH § 32)
- *λᾱας* (CH. and RISCH *ibid.*)
- neuters in *-ας* (e.g. γῆρας, δέπας, κέρασ; κρέας; κτέρασ, κῶας; rarely contracted: 11.385 κέρᾱ) (CH. and RISCH *ibid.*).

3.3 Formation of Personal Names

56 On Homeric personal names, see VON KAMPTZ (1958) 1982 as well as RISCH. Three categories should be mentioned here:

- compounds (Ἰφιδάμας, Λυκομήδης, Μενέλαος; Ἄνδρομάχη, Ἰφιάνασσα).
- short and hypocoristic names: first, pure abbreviations in *-ος* (Ἄλκι-μ-ος = Ἄλκιμέδων; Πάτρο-κλ-ος = Πατροκλῆς, of which gen., acc., voc. are attested [see 43, 49]; Ἴφι-τος, possibly from *-τέλης*) or in *-η* (Ἐκά-β-η, possibly from *-βόλη*); second, expansions by suffixes such as *-αντ-* (Βίας, Θόας), *-εύς* (Εὐρυσθ-εύς, Ἴφ-εύς; sometimes etymologically opaque or reshaped by folk-etymology like Ὀδυσ(σ)εύς³⁰ [see 17]), *-ιος* (Θρασίος, Κλυτίος, Μενέσθιος), *-ων* (Λύκων, Μένων); fem. *-ώ* (Θεανώ, 18.43 | Δωτώ τε Πρωτώ τε).

³⁰ See WACHTER 2001, §§ 254 and 510.

- patronymics, formed very rarely by means of the inherited suffix -ιος (especially 4.473 Τελαμώνιος Αἴας |; more often replaced by gen. + υἰός; 4.367 Σθένελος, Καπανήϊος υἰός |), but frequently in -ίδης (Ιφιτίδης, Κρονίδης) or -ιάδης (the latter predominantly when derived from an *i*-stem or *io*-stem, e.g. Ἀσιάδης, Μενοιτιάδης, or when -ίδης would produce an unmetrical result, as with names in -ευσ, e.g. 1.1 Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος |, also Ἀγχισιάδης, Λαερτιάδης, Τελαμωνιάδης), as well as -ίων (Ιφιτίων, Κρονίων, Πηλεΐων; probably originally an expansion in -ων of the suffix -ιος).

3.4 Adjectives

The *u*-stem πολύς, πολύ and the (more frequent) *o/ā*-stem πολλός, πολλή, 57
πολλόν represent a prominent case of heteroclis. Although the *u*-stem (predominantly in the masc.) is still declined, it lacks the dat. sing., the nom.-acc. pl. neut. and all forms of the fem. (which is probably the basis of πολλ-); the masc. can stand in for the fem., albeit infrequently (see 78).

Some ways of forming adjectives are especially typical of epic: 58

- derivatives in -αλέος (ἀργαλέος, σμερδαλέος etc.; RISCH § 36), -ιμος (ἄλκιμος, ὄβριμος, καρπάλιμος, κυδάλιμος etc.³¹; RISCH § 37) and -(f)εντ- (δινήεις, ποιήεις, χαρίεις, ἡνεμόεις [see 49], νιφόεις [see 16], πτερόεις and many more; RISCH § 56), which are commonly *epitheta ornantia*^p and appear in formulae^p;
- compounds (see RISCH §§ 67–76), especially possessive compounds (e.g. χαλκοχίτων, ἀργυρότοξος [see 2]; καλλιπάρης, ῥοδοδάκτυλος; εὐρύχορος, πολυδειράς), the so-called *τερψίμβροτος*-compounds (e.g. πλήξιππος, ἔλκεσίπελος, βωτιάνειρα with a change to the separate fem. form as in personal names) and compounds with an adjective in -τος as the second element (e.g. εὐύτμητος, ἱππόβοτος, with negation ἄδμητος, ἄφθιτος; on the other hand, δουρικλυτός, for example, should not be called a true compound, given the case form ‘for his spear’ as its first element, and indeed, in view of its accent, not even a complete univerbation). See 49 on metrical problems in the case of compounds (also RISCH § 78).

³¹ A new example of the rare and typically poetic formation in -άλιμος occurs as a personal name on a ‘fishing weight’ from the 2nd half of the 8th c. BC found at Oropos: Πειθαλίμῳ (gen. sing., probably to indicate possession; see BLACKMAN 1997/98, 18, with photograph).

3.5 Adverbs and Prepositions

- 59 Aside from the frequent adverbs of place in -θεν, -τι and -δε (see 66), as well as the usual formations in -ως, adverbs in -α are especially typical of Homeric language (often corresponding to adjectives in -υς: 1.447 ὤκα), as are those in -δόν, -δην and -(ε)ί (see CH. I §§ 114–116, RISCH §§ 127 f.). The neut. sing. of the adjective can also serve as an adverb: 11.378 ἦδὺν γελάσσας |.

Prepositions (see also RISCH § 126a) occur in various forms that increase linguistic flexibility and are probably of different dialectal origin. Three of these can show *apocope*, i.e. loss of a final vowel or consonant (ἄν, κάτ, πάρ), sometimes with assimilation (CH. I § 37): 5.87 ἄμ πεδίον, 6.201 κάτ πεδίον.³² Also used are εἰν, ἐνί, εἰνί beside ἐν, ἐς beside εἰς, ξύν (as Mycenaean, Attic) beside σύν (metrically necessary at e.g. 4.297 | ἱππῆας μὲν πρῶτα σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν, but 15.26 | τὸν σὺ ξὺν Βορέῃ), παραί beside παρά (and πάρ), προτί and ποτί beside πρός, ὑπαί beside ὑπό. Expansion in -ς occurs, aside from εἰς (< *έν-ς), in ἀμφί(ς), ἄχρι(ς) and μέχρι(ς), and μεσσηγύ(ς). Usage can deviate from Attic: thus μετά is rarely used with the gen. but frequent with the dat.; with the acc. it scarcely means ‘after’ but, among other meanings, ‘toward, into the midst of’.

3.6 Verbs

It is unfortunately impossible to provide a list of Homeric verbs with their principal parts in this account. A number of general points regarding the verbal system (CH. I § 132) and the formation of stems are made here; the phenomena of heteroclisis (see 53), by contrast, which in the case of verbs is a matter of particular temporal or aspect stems and not of the lexeme as a whole, is described in the section on morphology (see 85 ff.).

- 60 – The present and (less often) aorist stems can be expanded by -σκε- (RISCH § 100). This formation can involve the entire present stem (CH. I § 148; inherited means of word formation): 8.399 | βάσκ’ ἴθι, Ἴρι ταχεῖα, 12.272 | καὶ δ’ αὐτοὶ τόδε που γινώσκειτε. Alternatively, it may be restricted to the past indicative to impart an iterative sense to the verb (CH. I §§ 149–151; this usage is probably

³² This is an instance of consonantal ‘external sandhi’ (see n. 16), which is here exceptionally recorded in writing because of the close connection of the syntagma ‘preposition + noun’ (it forms one accentual unit; see n. 8). On the corresponding phenomenon in verbal composition (external or internal sandhi?), see 85.

a linguistically younger phenomenon³³), in which case the augment is almost always lacking: impf. 1.490 | οὐτέ ποτ' εἰς ἀγορὴν πωλέσκειτο, 17.461 | ῥέα μὲν γὰρ φεύγεσκειν, aor. 9.331 πάντα φέρων Ἀγαμέμνονι δόσκον |, *Od.* 17.316 | οὐ μὲν γάρ τι φύγεσκε; etc.

- The present and (less often) aorist stems can be expanded by -θε- (RISCH §101, CH. I §§152–154; see also 13). In the present stem: 21.13 τὸ δὲ φλέγει ἀκάματον πῦρ |, but 17.738 | ὄρμενον ἐξαίφνης φλεγέθει (as a measure against unmetrical forms: 18.211 | πυρσοὶ τε φλεγέθουσιν). In the aorist stem: 9.687 | χεῖρα ἐὶν ὑπερέσχε, but 11.735 ἠέλιος φαέθων ὑπερέσχεθε γαίης |.

Present stem:

61

- Forms of εἰμί (< *ehmi < *esmi; CH. I §134) show the Aeolic stem (with compensatory lengthening of the consonant, see 10 ff.) along with the Ionic stem (with compensatory lengthening of the vowel), e.g. in the infinitive (ἔμμεν and ἔμμεναι beside εἶναι, see 87; in addition there are the – metrically expedient – secondary variants 4.299 ἔμεν and 3.40 ἔμεναι); forms with ἔσσο- (some of them quite frequent; 2nd sing. pres. ἔσσί, 3rd sing. fut. ἔσσειται; less often 2nd sing. fut. ἔσσει, 3rd ἔσσειται) and probably some other variants in this verbal paradigm might also be of Aeolic origin (see 90).
- Verbs in -νημι, -ναμεν (an archaism corresponding to the 9th present class of Sanskrit; see CH. I §139) form a homogeneous group that deviates from later Attic:
 - δάμνημι (aor. δάμα-σ(σ)-, δμή-θ-) ‘subdue’
 - (σ)κίδναται (rarely act.; aor. (σ)κέδα-σ(σ)-) ‘(be) scatter(ed)’
 - κίρνημι (almost only *Od.*; aor. κέρα-σσ-, adj. ἄ-κρη-τος) ‘mix’
 - μάρναται (only present stem) ‘fight’
 - *πέρνημι (predominantly part.; aor. πέρα-σ(σ)-) ‘sell’
 - πίλναται (aor. πέλα-σσ-, πλη-το) ‘approach’
 - *πίτνημι (only part. πιτνάς and impf.; aor. πέτα-σ(σ)-, perf. πέπτα-) ‘spread’.
- Verbs in -νῦμι, -νῦμεν are also more numerous than in Attic (see CH. I §§140 f.; 5th present class of Sanskrit), e.g. 17.393 τάνυται δέ τε πᾶσα διάπρo | (but 17.390 τανύειν, 391 τανύουσι modernized through thematization; see 53), 19.260 | ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται (but with thematization 3.288 f. | εἰ δ' ἂν ἐμοὶ τιμῆν ... | τίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλωσιν < *τινϜ-ε-εν, see 27).

³³ The suffix occurs twice in the forms *Od.* 18.325 μιγέσκετο (*mig-ske-ske-to) and 20.7 ἐμισγέσκοντο.

- δεύομαι ‘lack, need’ (< *deff- < *deus-), as opposed to Attic δέομαι, points to a dialectal origin, probably Aeolic; fut. and aor. have δευησ-: 13.785 f. οὐδέ τί φημι | ἀλκῆς δευήσεσθαι.

62 Future stem:

- As in Attic, there are sigmatic (CH. I §§ 209–211; rarely reduplicated: § 212; often with an alternation between intervocalic -σ- and -σσ- for the sake of linguistic flexibility, see **17**, **61**, **90**) and asigmatic formations (CH. I §§ 213 f.; 14.481 ἀλλά ποθ’ ὦδε κατακτενέεσθε καὶ ὕμμες |, uncontracted, contrast 6.409 τάχα γάρ σε κατακτανέουσιν Ἀχαιοί | [mss.], assimilated to the aor.). In addition, 9.418 ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι δῆτε τέκμωρ | ‘you shall find’, 22.431 βείομαι or 15.194 βέομαι ‘I shall live’, 1.606 | οἷ μὲν κακκείοντες ἔβαν οἰκόνδε ἕκαστος ‘in order to lie down’ (on κακ- see **85**) are especially noteworthy (CH. I § 215).

63 Aorist stem:

- The following are still more common than in later periods:
- root aorists (CH. I §§ 180–184; frequent in the middle, at times with a passive sense); among these are archaic relics of religious language like 1.37 | κλυθί μοι, Ἀργυρότοξ’, 18.52 | κλυτε, κασίγνηται Νηρηΐδες (otherwise thematic). See also below on ἐνεικαν etc.
- so-called ‘strong’ aorists; these include the thematic aorists (CH. I §§ 185–188, reduplicated § 190; active and middle), including some that are reduplicated with a causative sense (CH. I § 189): δεδαε- ‘teach’ to medio-passive δαη- ‘learn’, λελαθε- ‘make forget’ to λαθε- ‘forget’, λελαχε- ‘allow to have a share’ to λαχε- ‘have a share’, πεπιθε- ‘persuade’ to medio-pass. πιθε- ‘believe’; others are in -η- (CH. I § 191; normally intransitive, not passive, e.g. 3.23 | ὤς τε λέων ἐχάρη). In addition, the aorist in -θη- is quite familiar and already often passive (CH. I §§ 192 f.).
- The sigmatic aorists show the following peculiarities (CH. I §§ 194–199):
 - They sometimes appear beside virtually synonymous older forms, which increases linguistic flexibility: 15.113 Ἄρης θαλερῶ πεπλήγετο μηρῶ | beside 5.146 f. ξίφει μεγάλῳ κληῖδα παρ’ ὤμων | πλῆξ’.
 - Alternation between forms in -σα and -σσα (see **17**, **61**) offers flexibility: 3.20 | ἀντίβιον μαχέσασθαι, but 15.633 | θηρὶ μαχέσασθαι.
 - Presents in -ίζω and -άζω form aorists sometimes in -(σ)α, sometimes in -ξα (CH. I § 159), which can likewise contribute to flexibility: 9.564 ἀνήρπασε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων |, but 12.305 | ἀλλ’ ὄ γ’ ἄρ’ ἦ ἥρπαξε μετάλμενος.
 - Some roots that end in liquids show (restored?) [s] (CH. I § 67): active 13.546 ἀπὸ δὲ φλέβα πᾶσαν ἔκερσεν | (but middle 23.46 | κείρασθαι τε κόμην).

- For other verbs, the [s] is lacking after (normally lost) [w] (CH. I § 184): 1.40 κατά πίονα μηρί' ἔκηρα | (Attic ἔκαυσα); 18.347 | ἐν δ' ἄρ' ὕδωρ ἔχεαν and 3.270 ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχευαν |. A similar stem formation occurs secondarily in the case of two asigmatic aorists, 'bear' (9.306 οὓς ἐνθάδε νῆες ἔνεικαν |; like Attic ἤνεγκαν) and 'speak' (1.106 οὗ πώ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον εἶπας |; also 1.108 and 2x *Od.*; like Attic, but rare and perhaps only introduced into the text in the post-Homeric period; see also n. 13).
- The so-called 'mixed' aorist (CH. I § 199), an s-aorist with a subsequent thematic inflection, at times likewise adds linguistic flexibility: 1.428 | ὧς ἄρα φωνήσας ἀπεβήσεται, but 5.133 | ἦ μὲν ἄρ' ὧς εἰποῦσ' ἀπέβη.

Perfect stem:

64

- In the perfect (CH. I §§ 200–207; normally intransitive, expressing an achieved state) unexpanded formations predominate; forms with -κ(α)- are almost entirely limited to the singular of vocalic stems (see 94). The rules for reduplication are similar to those in Attic (CH. I § 201).

Some remarks, on the basis of an example, about compounds verbs, largely belonging to the domain of lexicography (see 16, 59):

65

- As generally in Indo-European languages, compounds are an important means of verbal word formation in Greek. Beyond a doubt, the verb in the formulaic expression 4.29 | τῷ μάλα πόλλ' ἐπέτελλε παρισχέμεν ... or 4.64 f. σὺ δὲ θάσσον Ἀθηναίη ἐπιτεῖλαι | ἐλθεῖν means specifically 'order', that in 5.777 | τοῖσιν δ' ἄμβροσίην Σιμόεις ἀντέτειλε νέμεσθαι, by contrast, 'produce' (cf. also *Od.* 12.4 καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἥελίοιο |), and that in 8.404 περιτελλομένους ἐνιαυτούς | 'complete one's cycle'; but none can be adequately understood via ἐπί / ἀνά / περί + 'X', especially since the simplex is rarely attested in Greek and is semantically somewhat indeterminate.³⁴
- So-called *tnesis* of the preverb, a poetic-stylistic licence that is probably very archaic, has in principle no influence on the meaning (CH. II §§ 113 ff., M.-BR. S 416.2): 1.25 f. κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλεν | μῆ σε, γέρον ...
- An older meaning or usage, however, can shine through in formulaic use. Thus in the above formula^p, neither a dative of the recipient of an order nor an

³⁴ In the formula^p 23.833 περιπλομένους ἐνιαυτούς | (similarly *Od.* 1.16, 11.248), equivalent to the last one cited above, another root may have been used, apparently through folk-etymologizing suppletion (*k^oel-; this forms no j-present; see 13 with n. 12). But the etymological relationship of the lexemes belonging to this word family is entirely unclear.

infinitive of the action ordered is normally given, and the formula is used only as an addition to a more important activity: 1.25 | ἀλλὰ κακῶς ἀφίει, κρατερόν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλεν, 1.326 | ὧς εἰπὼν προίει, κρατ. ..., 1.379 | ἀλλὰ κακῶς ἀφίει, κρατ. ..., 16.199 | στήσεν ἔϋ κρίνας, κρατ. ... The meaning of 'ordering' is therefore scarcely perceptible (especially in 1.379, where no direct speech^p follows), and the literal meaning is sufficient: 'he X-ed powerful words on top of (or after)' (the use of imperatives is in the nature of the thing when someone is sent away or battle lines are drawn up). On the other hand, *Od.* 23.348f. ὦρτο δ' Ὀδυσσεύς | εὐνῆς ἐκ μαλακῆς, ἀλόχῳ δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλεν (with following instructions in direct speech), the only passage with a dative, must be a modification of our formula, since it presupposes the meaning 'order'.

4. Morphology

4.1 Nominal Inflection

66 Homeric Greek contains many inflection forms that deviate from Attic. Variants for a single function are metrically distinct and increase linguistic flexibility. Four endings deserve to be mentioned foremost, since they are used in several stem classes, namely:

- -φι(v), originally derived from the instrumental pl., which can stand for a (mostly ablatival) gen. and a (mostly instrumental or locative) dat. sing. and pl. (CH. I §§ 104–108, Risch § 126h): 1.38 Τενέδοιό τε ἴφι ἀνάσσεις |; 4.452 κατ' ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες |; 12.135 ἠδὲ βίηφι | beside 23.578 ἀρετῆ τε βίη τε | (on *nephelkystikon*, see 33),

as well as the three frequent formations of adverbs of place, which straddle the border between morphology and word formation and at times can likewise be used in place of a case form:

- -θεν ('from where?', e.g. οὐρανόθεν, τηλόθεν; on the fixed [n], see 33; CH. I § 109, Risch § 126c). In the pronoun (CH. I § 110), this suffix is also used for the 'gen.', though predominantly in the originally ablatival functions *gen. abs.* and *gen. compar.*: 1.186 | ὄσσον φέρτερός εἰμι σέθεν; exceptions include e.g. 1.180 σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω |, 16.539 σέθεν εἵνεκα;
- -θι ('where?', e.g. οἴκοθι, ἄλλοθι, ὑψόθι); CH. I § 112, Risch § 126b);
- -δε ('whither?', e.g. Τροίηνδε, οἰκόνδε, χαμᾶζε [for *-s-de]; CH. I § 113, Risch § 126e).

The dual is still in active use (see M.-BR. F 303). The endings are:

67

- 1st decl. $-\bar{\alpha}$ (only nom.-acc. masc. attested; cf. Mycenaean uncontracted *e-ge-ta-e*, Pindaric ἐπέτης, contrast fem. Mycenaean *to-pe-zo* ‘two tables’, cf. Hes. *Op.* 198 καλυψαμένω);
- 2nd decl. nom.-acc. $-\omega$ (Mycenaean $-o$), gen.-dat. $-\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ (both quite frequent);
- 3rd decl. nom.-acc. $-\epsilon$ (Mycenaean $-e$), gen.-dat. $-\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ (attested only in ποδοῖν |, e.g. 14.228, and Σειρήνοι, 2x *Od.*).

E.g. 8.41 f. ≈ 13.23 f. ὑπ’ ὄχεσφι τιτύσκετο χαλκόποδ(ε) ἵππῳ | ὠκυπέτᾱ, χρυσέησιν ἐθείρησιν κομῶντε, 5.314 ἐχέυατο πήχεε λευκῶ |, 14.495 ≈ 21.115 χεῖρε πετάσας |. On the use of the dual, see 97.

1st declension (CH. I §§ 83–86). The following forms are to be noted (for η for Attic $\bar{\alpha}$, see 5; for heteroclitics, see 53):

68

- gen. pl. Aeolic $-\acute{\alpha}\omega\upsilon$ (see 7), Ionic $-\acute{\epsilon}\omega\upsilon$ (normally with synizesis; see 39), rarely contracted (κλισιῶν; see 45 with n. 26);
- dat. pl. predominantly $-\eta\sigma\iota(\nu)$ (for *ny ephelkystikon*, see 33) and $-\eta\varsigma$ (the latter normally before a vowel: 6.114 | εἶπω βουλευτῆῖσι καὶ ἡμετέρῃς ἀλόχοισιν, but 1.89 κοίλης παρὰ νηυσί, rarely $-\alpha\iota\varsigma$ (12.284 ἀκταῖς |; possibly a post-Homeric Atticism, see n. 13);
- voc. sing. rarely $-\acute{\alpha}$ (3.130 | δεῦρ’ ἴθι, νύμφα φίλη; masc. 11.385 | τοξότα), otherwise normally $-\eta$ (1.59 | Ἀτρείδη);
- gen. sing. masc. Aeolic $-\acute{\alpha}\omega$ (see 7; like Mycenaean), Ionic $-\epsilon\omega$ (with synizesis; see 40), rarely contracted (Ἑρμείω; see 45 with n. 26);
- nom. sing. masc. in the case of some epithets^p $-\tau\alpha$ (probably an older voc.): 1.175 μητίετα Ζεὺς |; 1.511 προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς |, varied at 16.298.

2nd (= thematic) declension (CH. I §§ 80–82) (see also 54):

69

- gen. sing. (Aeolic) $-\omicron\iota\omicron$ (1.284 πολέμοιο κακοῖο |) stands beside (Ionic) $-\omicron\upsilon$ (5.348 | εἶκε, Διὸς θύγατερ, πολέμου καὶ δηϊοτήτος); on the possibility of restoring $-\omicron\upsilon$ to $-\omicron\iota(\omicron)$ or $-\omicron\omicron$, see nn. 20 and 24, respectively;
- dat. pl. $-\omicron\iota\sigma\iota(\nu)$ (on *ny ephelkystikon*, see 33) (6.503 ἐν ὑψηλοῖσι δόμοισιν |) is more frequent than $-\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (the latter normally before a vowel: 1.179 σὺν νηυσί τε σῆς καὶ σοῖς ἐτάροισι |, but 11.132 ἐν Ἄντιμάχοιο δόμοις κειμήλια κεῖται |).

3rd declension. This shows a prominent general peculiarity:

70

- in the dat. pl. the original Aeolic ending $-\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$ stands beside the Ionic $-\sigma\iota$ as a metrically expedient (but on the whole less common) variant (CH. I § 87): 17.620 ἔλαβεν χεῖρεσσι φίλησιν |; 1.288 f. πάντεσσι δ’ ἀνάσσειν, | πᾶσι δὲ σημαίνειν; 16.488 εἰλιπόδεσσι βόεσσιν |; 8.339 ποσὶν ταχέεσσι διώκων | (see 75); 3.283 | ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐν νήεσσι νεώμεθα (see 77); accordingly, the *s*-stems show

1.304 | ὡς τῷ γ' ἀντιβίοισι μαχεσσαμένω ἐπέεσσιν | ἀνστήτην beside 9.113 | δώροισιν τ' ἀγανοῖσιν ἔπεσσί τε μελιχίοισι and 1.77 πρόφρων ἔπεσιν καὶ χερσὶν ἀρήξειν |, 1.471 δεπάεσσιν | beside (rare) 15.86 δέπασσιν |. By analogy with ἔπεσσι : ἔπεσι, a form χεῖρεσι was formed in addition to χεῖρεσσι: 20.468 ἦπτετο χεῖρεσι γούνων |. Beside (normally formulaic) Aeolic ποσσί (7.212 νέρθε δὲ ποσσὶν |) stands Ionic ποσί (8.339, see above).

Other peculiarities of the 3rd declension involve individual stem types (see also M.-BR. F 307 ff.):

- 71 – *s*-stems (CH. I §§ 89 f.): Contraction or synizesis occurs on some occasions but not others, which in turn adds linguistic flexibility (on the following examples, see 45 f.); thus in the gen. sing. θάρσευς³⁵ and εὐεργέος δ- (but -ος μένεος), dat. θάρσει (but ὄρει), nom.-acc. pl. neut. τεύχεα | (but ἔπεα πτ-; accordingly in the acc. sing./pl. masc.-fem.), gen. ἐριθιλέων (but διοτρεφέων); on the dat. pl., see 70. On compounds in -κλήης, see 43. On (fem.) ἠώς, αἰδώς and (masc.) ἰδρώς (with dat. 17.385, 17.745 ἰδρῶ), see 45, 55.
- 72 – *r/n*-neuters (CH. I § 91): see 53.
- 73 – *r*-stems (CH. I § 92): Less common analogous forms are used for ἀνὴρ (see 15) as well as the predominantly familial designations θυγάτηρ, μήτηρ, πατήρ, which traditionally have a strong ablaut at the end of the word when inflected (cf. Sanskrit nom. *pitā(r)*, acc. *pitāram*, dat. *pitrē*, nom. pl. *pitāras*) (19.422 | νόσφι φίλου πατρὸς καὶ μητέρος, 6.238 ἠδὲ θύγατρης |). At the same time, metrical lengthening (see 49 f.) is used, either out of necessity (11.271 | Ἥρης θυγατέρες) or to achieve additional flexibility (13.131 ἀνέρα δ' ἀνὴρ |, but 4.472 ... ἐπόρουσαν, ἀνὴρ δ' ἄνδρ' ἐδνοπάλιζεν |). (Other *r*-stems like δοτήρ and the *n*-stem masculines and feminines offer no peculiarities of inflection; on the dat. pl., see 70; on the *n*-neuters, see 53.)
- 74 – *ī*-stems (CH. I § 93): gen. sing. -ιος (6.257 πόλιος, rarely disyllabic ~-) and -ηος (normally at verse end, 21.516 πόληος |), dat. -ῆϊ (3.50 πόληϊ), -εῖ (17.152 πτόλει), -ει (5.686 πόλει, almost always ~~, see 29), -ῖ (18.407 Θέτι, see 45, 53); nom. pl. -ιες (πόλιες, only *Od.*), -ηες (4.45 πόληες), gen. -ίων (1.125 πολίων), dat. -ίεσσι(v) (πολίεσσι, only *Od.*), acc. -ιας (4.308 πόλιας), -ηας (πόληας, only *Od.*), -εις (9.328 πόλεις) and -ῖς (11.245 οἷς) (on this, see WEST 1998, xxxiv).
- 75 – *ū*-stems (CH. I § 94; see also 53, 78): gen. sing. -εος (3.140 καὶ ἄστεος ἠδὲ τοκήων |), dat. -εῖ (4.490 ὄξεϊ δουρί |), dat. pl. -εσι (15.711 | ὄξεσι δὴ πελέκεσσι), -εσσι (13.452 πολέσσ' ἄνδρεσσιν ἄνακτα |), -έεσσι (ταχέεσσι, see 70), acc. -έας (3.210 ὑπείρεχεν εὐρέας ὤμους |; where the acc. is pronounced with synizesis

35 On the spelling <ευ>, see n. 25.

[see 46], the transmission is not uniform: 1.559 | τιμήσης, ὀλέσης δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν Aristarch. and mss., -εῖς Zenod., -ύς one pap.; similarly 2.4 πολύς Zenod.) (on this, see HT 8; WEST 1998, xxxiv; WACHTER 2012, 73 with n. 21). (The *ū*-stems offer no problems; see CH. I § 95.)

- *ēu*-stems (CH. I § 96) normally show unchanged hiatus (see 23, 39 f.): gen. 76
sing. -ῆος (1.1 Ἀχιλῆος |), dat. -ῆϊ (1.9 βασιλῆϊ χολωθεῖς |), acc. -ῆα (1.23 | αἰδεῖσθαί θ' ἱερῆα); nom. pl. -ῆες (2.86 | σκηπτοῦχοι βασιλῆες), gen. -ῆων (3.140 τοκῆων |), acc. -ῆας (14.296 φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας |). Names, on the other hand, often show short-voweled forms (possibly through a generalization of the metrical shortening in patronymics, see 49): 4.98 Ἀτρείος υἰὸν |, 10.285 Τυδέϊ δίῳ | (contracted 23.792 εἰ μὴ Ἀχιλλεῖ |), 6.222 | Τυδέα δ' οὐ μέμνημαι (rarely contracted, see 44). On Ἄρης (Ἄρηος etc., rarely Ἄρεος etc.), see 53.

Four archaic diphthong stems show striking variants:

77

- νηῦς (instead of ναῦς; CH. I § 97): gen. νηός, rarely νεός, dat. νηί, acc. νῆα, νέα (only *Od.* 9.283), nom. pl. νῆες, rarely νέες (*Il.* predominantly in Book 2), gen. νηῶν, fairly often also νεῶν, dat. νηυσί, νήεσσι (see 70), rarely νέεσσι, acc. νῆας, rarely νέας. See 39 f. with n. 18.
- γρηῦς and γρηῦς (CH. I § 97) decline in accord with long-vowel forms of νηῦς (in addition voc.; *Il.* only dat. 3.386 γρηῖ).
- βοῦς (CH. I § 98): acc. sing. βῶν | (only with the specific sense 'shield', schol. AT 7.238, an inherited form), dat. pl. βουσί and βόεσσι (see 70), acc. βόας and βοῦς (the latter predominantly formulaic).
- Ζεύς (CH. I § 99): gen. Διός, rarely Ζηνός, dat. Δί, rarely Ζηνί, acc. Δία, Ζῆν (cf. βῶν; formulaic at verse end, otherwise always interpretable as Ζῆν'), rarely Ζῆνα (only 14.157 and *Od.* 24.472). For the stem Ζῆν-, the gen. and dat. were secondary creations, for Δι(φ)- the acc. was; the result was two complete paradigms that could be used in metrically different ways (see 53). The dat. Δί (originally only loc.) in formulae is often iambic, replacing the original dat. *diwei* (Mycenaean *di-we*), e.g. in Δί φίλος (always before the bucolic diaeresis [see M 6]: 1.74, 1.86 etc.) or 2.169, etc. Δί μῆτιν ἀτάλαντον |.

4.2 Peculiarities of Adjectives

u-stems offer some peculiarities (CH. I § 117; see also 75). On feminine forms with shortened -ει- (e.g. βαθέης), see 39. The masculine form is not infrequently used for the feminine (5.776 ≈ 8.50 ἥερα πουλὺν ἔχευεν |, cf. FOR 19; but see n. 19 above). A second thematic stem exists beside πολύς (see 57). Beside εὗς, εὖν (and adv. εὔ, εὔ) are found the metrically expedient variants ῥύς, ῥύ (only adj.), ῥύν, 78

as well as gen. sing. ἔῃος (interpretation and transmission in part uncertain, see 82 and cf. 1.393n.) and gen. pl. ἑάων.

- 79 Comparison (CH. I §§ 118–121, Risch § 33) can deviate from Attic: 1.249 μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή |; 14.81 | βέλτερον ὄς φεύγων προφύγη κακὸν ἢ ἐάλωη. Several variants exist beside χείρων, namely χερείων³⁶, χειρότερος, χερειότερος. The comparative suffix -ιο(v)- has a short [i] (9.601 κάκιον δέ κεν εἶη |). On the contraction of the [o] in the suffix, which originally was an *s*-stem (see n. 36 as well as the zero grade in the superlative -ιο-το-), with the vowels of the ending (e.g. ἀμείνω, ἀρείους), see 45. On the accent in ἄσσον etc., see 51.

Some comparatives and superlatives are formed from nouns: with -ιο(v)/-ιστο- on *s*-neuters κέρδιον, κέρδιστος, ῥίγιον, ῥίγιστα, μήκιστος, ἐλέγχιστος etc.; with the suffix -τερος, traditionally used to express a contrast, 4.316 σὺ δὲ κουροτέροισι μετεῖναι |, 22.93 | ὥς δὲ δράκων ἐπὶ χειρὶ ὀρέστερος ἄνδρα μένησιν, 9.160 ὄσσον βασιλεύτερός εἰμι | (also 9.69 σὺ γὰρ βασιλεύτατός ἐσσι |), etc.

4.3 Numbers

- 80 Numbers (CH. I §§ 122f., M.-BR. F 501–503): Among the cardinal numbers, (Aeolic) feminine ἴα stands beside μία as a metrical variant (4.437 | οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἦεν ὁμός θρόος οὐδ' ἴα γῆρυς); δύο beside δύω; on 'four' see 13; δώδεκα beside δωδέκα and δυοκαίδεκα; contracted εἴκοσι beside ἐείκοσι (earlier *έφι-; see 25); χεῖλια (7.471 etc.), 20.221 τρισχέλια ἵπποι beside -χειλο- in 5.860 = 14.148 | ὄσσον τ' ἐννεάχειλοι ἐπίαχον ἢ δεκάχειλοι. As for the ordinal numbers, the 'intensified' variants πρώτιστος and τρίτατος stand out, in addition 7.248 ἐβδομάτη, 19.246 ὀγδοάτην, the normal forms of which fit the meter either poorly or not at all.

4.4 Pronouns

- 81 In the case of personal pronouns (CH. I §§ 124–127), the diversity of variation is especially large. Some forms are Aeolicisms (e.g. ἐγών, ἄμμ-, ὕμμ-, σφε). The following forms are used:

- 1st sing. nom. ἐγώ, ἐγών; gen. ἐμεῖο, ἐμέο, ἐμεῦ^ο, μευ^ο, ἐμέθεν^ο; dat. ἐμοί, μοι; acc. ἐμέ, με

³⁶ The form χερείων is to χείρων (earlier **kher-jos*-) as ἀρείων is to *ἀίρων (earlier **ar-jos*-, attested in Mycenaean neut. pl. *a-rjo-a* /*arjoha*/).

- 2nd sing. nom. σύ, τύνη; gen. σεῖο, σέο, σεο°, σεῦ°, σευ°, σέθεν°, τεοῖο (1x); dat. σοί, τοί°, σοι, τεῖν (*Il.* only 1x); acc. σέ, σε
- 3rd sing.° gen. εἶο, ἔο, ἐο°, εῖ°, εὐ°, ἔθεν°, ἔθεν°; dat. οἶ, ἐοῖ, οἶ°; acc. ἔ, ἐέ (reflexive), ἐ, μιν (non-reflexive; Mycenaean *-mi /-min/*)
- 1st dual nom.-acc. νώ, νῶι; gen.-dat. νῶιν
- 2nd dual nom.-acc. σφώ, σφῶι; gen.-dat. σφῶϊν
- 3rd dual nom.-acc. σφωε; gen.-dat. σφωῖν
- 1st pl.³⁷ nom. ἡμεῖς°, ἄμμες°; gen. ἡμέων°, ἡμείων; dat. ἡμῖν, ἦμιν, ἄμμι(ν)°; acc. ἡμέας°, ἦμας (1x *Od.*), ἄμμε°
- 2nd pl. nom. ὑμεῖς°, ὕμμες°; gen. ὑμέων°, ὕμείων; dat. ὑμῖν, ὕμμι(ν)°; acc. ὕμέας°, ὕμμε°
- 3rd pl. gen. σφειών (refl.), σφών (refl.), σφρων° (non-refl.); dat. σφίσι(ν), σφισι(ν) (see 33), σφι(ν) (non-refl.); acc. σφέας°, σφεας° (non-reflexive), σφας, σφε

Notes (°): (1) On the spelling <ευ>, see 45 with n. 25. (2) For the gen. and dat. sing., only *one* enclitic form existed originally, namely that in -οι (Sanskrit 1st *me*, 2nd *te*).³⁸ (3) On -θεν, see 66. (4) For the reflexive form of the 3rd sing., the combination with the oblique cases of αὐτός is also already customary (14.162 εὔ ἐντύνασαν ἔ αὐτήν |, 12.155 | βάλλον ἀμυνόμενοι σφών τ' αὐτῶν καὶ κλισιάων); on former [ww] at word beginning, see 22. (5) On the contraction in ἡμεῖς and ὑμεῖς, see 43. (6) On ἄμμ- and ὕμμ-, see 11, 14, 33. (7) On the synzesis in gen. and acc. pl. -εων and -εας, see 46.

The possessive pronoun (CH. I § 128) shows the following variants:

82

- 1st sing. ἐμός pl. ἡμέτερος, ἄμός/ἄμός (probably instead of ἄμμ-; rarely for sing.)
- 2nd sing. σός, τεός (Aeolic) pl. ὕμέτερος, ὕμός (probably instead of ὕμμ-)
- 3rd sing. ἐός°, ὄς° pl. σφός, σφέτερος

³⁷ A stress on the first syllable of the enclitics of the 1st/2nd pl. (ἡμεων, ἦμιν, ἦμας, ὕμιν et al.), sometimes postulated in antiquity, is historico-linguistically doubtful.

³⁸ Where the transmission varies (1.37 | κλυθί μευ vs. 5.115 | κλυθί μοι), and at times elsewhere as well (e.g. after κέκλυτε, where the transmission always offers μευ, e.g. 3.86), M. West generalized to the form in -οι in the text used here. But Homer might well have been able to use the 'new' form of the gen., which was probably formed after τέο (see 84) and is widespread in the Greek dialects.

Dual forms: 1st pers. νωΐτερος (1x each *Il.* and *Od.*), 2nd pers. σφωΐτερος (1x *Il.*).

Notes (°) on the 3rd sing.: On former [ww] at word beginning (2.832f. | εΐδεε μαντοσύνας, οὐδὲ (ff)οὺς παΐδας ἔασκεν | στείχειν ἐς πόλεμον), see **22**. The sing. form was occasionally used for the pl. On gen. sing. ἔηος (normally in the context of the 2nd pers. and transmitted beside ἐοΐο), see **78**.

- 83** The anaphoric and cataphoric demonstrative pronoun (CH. I § 129) declines like the Attic article (for the usual variants, see **68 f.**). In the nom. pl., τοί and ταί also occur beside οἱ and αἱ (metrical variants). On use of the demonstrative pronoun as an article, see **99**.

The demonstrative ὄδε has an expanded form, τοῖσδεσσι (*Il.* only 10.462). – κεΐνος is more frequent than ἐκεΐνος.

The pronoun ὃ ἢ τό often functions also as a (determining) relative pronoun (CH. I § 130, II §§ 248–250); many of these instances (e.g. 6.49 ≈ 10.380 ≈ 11.134), however, can be understood paratactically (i.e. as a demonstrative). The inherited relative ὃς ἢ ὅ is more frequent (on the common variants in its declension, see **68 f.**).

- 84** The interrogative and indefinite pronoun differs from Attic in the following forms: gen. sing. τέο/τεο, τεῦ/τευ (see **81** with n. 38); dat. sing. τεω; gen. pl. τέων (sometimes with synizesis, see **46**). Corresponding forms of ὅς τις / ὅτις, ὅτι: ὅττεο, ὅτευ, ὅτεω (sometimes with synizesis), ὅτινα, ὅτεων (sometimes with synizesis), ὀτέοισιν (with synizesis), ὀτινας; in addition, neut. pl. ὅτιν(α), ἄσσα (see **9**); forms with a short first syllable (ὅτινα etc.) serve as metrical variants (to ὄτινα etc.) and are probably Aeolic (see also **17**).

4.5 Verbs

In the case of the verb, the wealth of forms again largely serves metrical variability; at the same time, variation in the implementation of linguistic resources offers a remedy for unmetrical forms. Both can be observed, for example, in the following general phenomena (on the individual stems, see **90 ff.**):

- 85** – Omission or use of the augment (normally unnecessary for identification of the form) in the past tenses (CH. I §§ 230–233, M.-BR. F 205): 1.600 | ὡς ἴδον “Ἡφαιστον διὰ δώματα ποιπνύοντα, but 5.515 = 7.308 | ὡς εἶδον ζώνων τε καὶ ἀρτεμέα προϊόντα (< *ἔφιδ-, see **19 ff.**). It is often impossible to be certain whether the original text had an augment (see **30**): 1.2 ἢ μυρί’ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε’ ἔθηκεν | (originally ἄλγεα θῆκεν?), 23.455 | λευκὸν σῆμα τέτυκτο (Aristarchos; but in most mss. σῆμ’ ἐτέτυκτο); see also **44**. In compound verbs, the lack of an augment often leads to assimilation (CH. I § 37; see **59** with n. 31): 3.139 θεὰ

γλυκὸν ἕμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ | (instead of the unmetrical ἐνέβαλε), 9.364 τὰ κάλλιπον ἐνθάδε ἔρρων | (instead of the unmetrical κατέλιπον).

- Change between different personal endings in the indicative: 86
- 2nd sing. act. (primary) -σ-θα (only athematic, i.e. never -εσθα; but see **89**) is used more widely than in Attic (CH. I § 223; perhaps an Aeolism): 19.270 ἡ μεγάλας ἄτας ἀνδρεσσι διδοῖσθα |, but 9.164 | δῶρα μὲν οὐκέτ' ὀνοστὰ διδοῖς Ἀχιλῆϊ ἄνακτι.
 - 2nd/3rd dual act. (secondary) -τον/-την are used indiscriminately (CH. I § 226): 3rd pers. 13.346 ἐτεύχετον ἄλγεα λυγρὰ |, 2nd pers. 11.782 | σφῶ δὲ μάλ' ἠθέλετον (ἠθέλετην Zenod.), τῷ δ' ἄμφω πόλλ' ἐπέτελλον; this is generally due to uncertainty following the decline in the use of the dual (cf. pl. ἐπέτελλον; see **97**) and in individual cases also to metrical necessity (ἐτεύχέτην would be unmetrical).
 - 3rd pl. act. (secondary) -ν (with preceding short vowel) beside -σαν (with corresponding long vowel) (CH. I § 225): 1.391 | τῆν δὲ νέον κλισίηθεν ἔβαν κήρυκες, but 8.343 διὰ τε σκόλοπας καὶ τάφρον ἔβησαν |; rarely impf.: 1.273 | καὶ μὲν μευ βουλέων ζύνιεν πείθοντό τε μύθῳ, but correspondingly 18.346 τρίποδ' ἴστασαν ἐν πυρὶ κηλέῳ |; frequently aor. pass. -θεν and -θησαν: 6.106 | οἱ δ' ἐλελίχθησαν, but 6.109 ὡς ἐλελίχθεν |.
 - 1st pl. mid. (primary and secondary) -μεσθα beside -μεθα (CH. I § 227): 5.249 | ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ χαζώμεθ' ἐφ' ἵππων, but 5.34 | νῶϊ δὲ χαζώμεσθα (like-wise with φραζω-); but on metrical grounds only ἐπαυσάμεθα, and only ἀλεξώμεσθα.
 - 3rd pl. mid. (primary or secondary) -ᾶται or -ᾶτο (on [ā] from [ŋ], see **15**) beside (sometimes post-Homeric?) -νται or -ντο (CH. I § 228): 4.348 μαχοῖατο, but 1.344 predominantly transmitted as | ὄππως οἱ παρὰ νηυσὶ σοοὶ μαχέονται Ἀχαιοί (Bentley's conjecture μαχοῖατ' fits better; cf. Commentary ad loc.), 1.238f. οἱ τε θέμιστας | πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται 'who ... administer', 22.302f. οἱ με πάρος γε | πρόφρονες εἰρύατο 'who ... defended me', but 12.454 | αἶ ῥα πύλας εἴρυντο πύκα στιβαρῶς ἀραρυίας | 'who ... sheltered'; frequent in perf. and plpf. (where in Attic -μέναι ἦσαν etc. is used), 14.30 εἰρύατο νῆες | 'had been hauled up', 14.75 | νῆες ὄσαι πρῶται εἰρύαται 'all that are beached in the first line'.
- Change between different active infinitive endings (CH. I §§ 234–238): 87
- Aeolic -μεναι and -μεν (1) from athematic stems stand beside Ionic -ναι: 1.117 | βούλομ' ἐγὼ λαὸν σοὸν ἔμμεναι ἢ ἀπολέσθαι, 18.364 ἡ φημι θεῶν ἔμμεν ἀρίστη |, but 1.228 τὸ δέ τοι κῆρ εἶδεται εἶναι | (see **61**, **90**); 1.98 δόμεναι ἐλικώπιδα κούρην |, 4.379 δόμεν κλειτούς ἐπικούρους |, but 11.319 | Τρωσὶν δὴ βόλεται δοῦναι κράτος ἢ ἐπερ ἡμῖν (where met-rically necessary, the change is made exclusively for that reason: 1.134

ἀποδοῦναι |); *Od.* 8.213 πειρηθῆμεναι, but *Il.* 5.220 πειρηθῆναι |. (2) They can be formed from thematic stems and stand beside Ionic -ειν: 10.359 | φευγόμεναι, 10.327 φευγέμεν, but 2.74 φεύγειν (so too with πολεμί(-) and vocalic φιλήμεναι beside φιλέειν; 1.151 ἐλθέμεναι, 4.247 ἐλθέμεν, but 2.413 ἐλθεῖν | (so too with εἶπ-), but on metrical grounds only 11.340 προφυγεῖν. The suggestion has been made that Ionic *-εεν (uncontracted, see 43 f.) ought to be inserted in place of transmitted -εμεν, corresponding to Mycenaean *e-ke-e / (h)ek^hehen/* ‘have’.

- *Diectasis* in the thematic aorist also offers a possibility for variation (see 48, e.g. 2.393 φυγέειν beside 2.401 φυγεῖν; but on metrical grounds only ἐλθεῖν, see above).

88 – Regarding the imperative, two points should be mentioned (CH. I § 222):

- The athematic ending 2nd sing. -θι is used more widely than in Attic: 6.363 | ἀλλὰ σύ γ’ ὄρνυθι τοῦτον, perf. 1.586 | τέτλαθι, μητερ ἐμή.
- The ending 2nd sing. -ς is (rarely) transferred from the athematic (6.273 | τὸν θεὸς Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν) to the thematic aorist: 11.186 | βᾶσκ’ ἴθι, Ἴρι ταχεῖα, τὸν Ἔκτορι μῦθον ἐνίσπες (however *v.l.* ἐνισπε).

89 – The subjunctive shows two peculiarities:

- In athematic stems, it is often short-voweled (CH. I §§ 216–218): pres. 6.526 | ἀλλ’ ἴομεν, perf. 8.18 ἵνα εἶδετε πάντες |, aor. 15.297 | στήομεν or στείομεν (see 40 with n. 21), 23.486 | ἵστορα δ’ Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα θείομεν ἄμφω, 7.336–341 χεύομεν ... δείμομεν ... ποιήσομεν ... ὀρύξομεν ... (here often identical with the fut. ind.). The long-vowel forms, likewise already frequent in Homer, can be explained by analogy with the subjunctive of thematic stems. In some instances, both forms are used to increase linguistic flexibility: 21.314 ἵνα παύσομεν ἄγριον ἄνδρα |, but 7.29 | νῦν μὲν παύσωμεν πόλεμον.
- At times, the subjunctive shows endings that in Greek are otherwise typical of athematic inflection (CH. I § 219): 1st sing. 1.549 | ὄν δέ κ’ ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε θεῶν ἐθέλωμι νοῆσαι, 18.63 | ἀλλ’ εἴμ’, ὄφρα ἴδωμι φίλον τέκος, 2nd sing. 1.554 τὰ φράζεαι ἄσσο’ ἐθέλησθα |, 6.260 ὀνήσεται, αἶ κε πῆσθα |, 3rd sing. 1.408 | αἶ κέν πως ἐθέλησιν, 4.191 | φάρμαχ’, ἄ κεν παύσῃσι μελαινάων ὀδυνάων. The transmitted *iota subscriptum* in the 3rd pers. (-ησιν) is not justified historically and was introduced into the tradition in the post-Homeric period (see 4: πίεσι in the inscription on Nestor’s Cup; WEST 1998, xxxi; also n. 13).

As regards the present stem, the following should be noted:

- The verb ‘to be’ shows some differences in comparison with Attic, as well as numerous metrically useful variants (CH. I § 134; see also 61, 87): 90
 - pres. 2nd sing. ἔσσι and more rarely εἶς; 1st pl. εἶμεν, 3rd pl. εἶσι(v) and ἔασσι(v)³⁹
 - subjunc. 3rd sing. ἔη, ἔησι(v) and, rarely, contracted ἤσι(v) (transmitted with <η>, see 89), 3rd pl. ἔωσι(v) and, rarely, contracted ὤσι(i) (see n. 40)
 - opt. 2nd/3rd sing. εἴη(ς) and εἴοι(ς)
 - impf. 1st sing. ἦα, ἔα, ἔον; 2nd sing. ἦσθα and rarely ἔησθα; 3rd sing. ἦεν, ἦν, ἔην, rarely ἦην; 3rd pl. ἦσαν, ἔσαν
 - fut. (έσ- and έσσ-, see 62) 2nd sing. ἔσσεαι, ἔσαι, ἔση; 3rd sing. ἔσσεται and ἔσται, rarely ἔσεται, ἔσσειται.
- The other root presents show less diversity in conjugation: 91
 - For εἶμι (CH. I § 133) only three forms need be mentioned, a unique optative (19.209 | πρὶν δ’ οὐ πως ἄν ἔμοιγε φίλον κατὰ λαίμων ἰεῖη; beside 14.21 ἴοι), impf. 3rd sing. ἦιεν(v), ἴεν(v) (*Il.* only 2.872), and 3rd pl. ἴσαν, ἦϊσαν (the *Odyssey* shows numerous other forms).
 - For φημί (CH. I § 135) the impf. mid. is noteworthy (1.188 | ὥς φάτο; see 100).
 - In addition, there are numerous other vestigial forms (see CH. I §§ 135–137), e.g. 9.5 | Βορρῆς καὶ Ζέφυρος, τῷ τε Θρήκηθεν ἄητον (< *ἄφη-, English *Wind*, German *wehen*); on -κτίμενος in 2.501 ἔυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον |, cf. Mycenaean 3rd pl. root pres. *ki-ti-je-si* /ktijensi/; on 9.171 | φέρτε δὲ χερσὶν ὕδωρ, see CH. I § 144.
- The 3rd pl. τιθεῖσι(v), ἰεῖσι(v), ἰστᾶσιν, διδοῦσι(v) (= Mycenaean *di-do-si* / didonsi/ < *-nti) differ from the later Attic forms διδόασι(v) etc. (CH. I § 138). 92
- Usually the only difference from Attic lies in the absence of contraction 93 (see already 90), particularly pronounced in the contract verbs in -έω (CH. I §§ 161–166), -άω (CH. I §§ 167–172) and -όω (CH. I § 173) (see 45). Verbs in -άω often show *diectasis* (see 48) or metrical lengthening (see 49), and some of the forms follow the -έω pattern (e.g. 3rd pl. impf. 12.59 μενοίνεον; CH. I § 171). Contract verbs sometimes produce athematic forms, predominantly the (Aeolic) infinitives (CH. I § 142; see 87).

³⁹ The latter form is the prosodic replacement for uncontracted *ἔξι, attested in Mycenaean *e-e-si* /ehensi/ (cf. the corresponding pair subjunc. ὤσι and ἔωσι); the same is true for ἴασσι(v) ‘they go’ (instead of *ἴξοι < */ijensi/). On the primary endings of the 3rd pl. (-ᾶσι etc.), see CH. I § 224.

Regarding the perfect stem:

- 94 – Ablaut is sometimes preserved in the conjugation (Ch. I §§202–206), namely between the sing. act. on the one hand, and the pl. and part. act. as well as the entire mid. (which is very common), on the other:
- in the unexpanded forms 7.36 | ἀλλ' ἄγε, πῶς μέμονας πόλεμον καταπαυσέμεν ἀνδρῶν; but **me-mḡ-* in 15.105 | ἦ ἔτι μιν μέμαμεν καταπαυσέμεν, 10.236 ἐπεὶ μεμᾶσσι γε πολλοί | (also 10.208). The 1st pl. of οἶδα is ἴδμεν (Ch. I §200). 13.22 τετεύχεται ἄφθιτα αἰεὶ | (instead of *τετύχεται) is comparable to metrical lengthening (see 49).
 - in perfects with [k] in the sing. act. (as still in Attic in the case of ἔστηκα – ἔσταμεν) 1.555 | νῦν δ' αἰνῶς δεῖδοικα, 7.196 ἐπεὶ οὐ τινα δεῖδιμεν ἔμπης | (on δεῖ-, see 24: lengthening that compensates for the loss of length by position in *δε-δφοι-/*δε-δφι-).
- 95 – The perfect active participle (Ch. I §205)
- shows the same ablaut degree as the pl. (see 94) – except in the case of οἶδα in the masculine and neuter (2.720 εὖ εἰδότες Ἴφι μάχεσθαι |): 4.40 ἐγὼ μεμαῶς πόλιν ἐξαλαπάξαι |, 3.242 | αἴσχεα δεῖδιότες; fem. 4.73 | ὣς εἰπὼν ὤτρυνε πάρος μεμαυῖαν Ἀθήνην, often preserved even in the case of οἶδα: 1.608 | Ἥφαιστος ποίησεν ἰδυίησι πρᾶπίδεσσιν (Ch. I §200; see 22, 33), but metrically confirmed 17.5 | πρωτοτόκος κινυρή, οὐ πρὶν εἰδυῖα τόκοιο (in a simile^p; see 3, paragraph 3).
 - In the case of perfects with hiatus between root and suffix (after loss of [w]), the Ionic sound changes at hiatus (see 39 f., 46) could occur, creating metrical variants: 19.300 | τῷ σ' ἄμοτον κλαίω τεθνηῶτα, μείλιχον αἰεὶ beside *Od.* 19.331 ἀτὰρ τεθνεῶτί γ' ἐφεψιώννται ἅπαντες | (pronounced with synizesis, see 46). The nom. masc. in -ῶς and the Aeolic stem formation in -οντ- (i.e. with a long syllable), which must have been familiar in epic language (it is directly attested, see 51), also allowed the use of oblique forms with a long [ō] for these perfects with hiatus (an 'Ionic' compromise, as it were: no nasal, but a long suffix syllable nonetheless). Such forms were only used, however, where metrically necessary or expedient: frequent cases are 1.590 f. με καὶ ἄλλοτ' ἀλεξέμεναι μεμαῶτα | ῥίψε ποδός (but with lengthening of the [a] only 2.818 θωρήσοντο μεμᾶότες ἐγγεῖησιν | and 13.197 μεμᾶότες; see 49); 6.261 | ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκμηῶτι beside 11.802 f. ≈ 16.44 f. | ῥεῖα δὲ κ' ἀκμηῆτες κεκμηῶτας ἀνδρας αὐτῆ | ὤσαισθε; 16.858 ≈ 22.364 | τὸν καὶ τεθνηῶτα προσηύδα. In the case of perfects without hiatus, this possibility was seldom taken up.

5. Syntax

5.1 Preliminary Remarks

The syntax of Homeric Greek has been studied less accurately and comprehensively than its phonology, morphology and word formation, especially where sentence construction (see **101**)⁴⁰ and word order (see **102**) are concerned. In addition, even in areas described more carefully (among these, the use of cases and hypotaxis are of particular importance), the differences from Classical Attic are numerous but at the same time mostly concern particular cases, and thus are difficult to present in a systematic account. 96

The following section on syntax has accordingly been kept rather brief; earlier accounts (predominantly WACKERNAGEL [1926/28] 2009, SCHW.-DEBR. and, building on their work, CH. II and M.-BR.) should always be consulted (see **1**). It is generally true that Homeric syntax is looser than that of Classical Attic, as is to be expected of a diachronically and synchronically mixed literary language that also relied on the greatest possible linguistic flexibility (see **2 f.**) as a result of metrical requirements.

5.2 Nouns

To the subject of nouns belong above all else congruence (CH. II §§ 15 ff. apposition etc.; §§ 29 ff. number), case usage (§§ 44–112), including prepositional phrases (§§ 113–222) and the problem of the article (§§ 236–250), and the pronouns collectively §§ 226–254).

- The dual (see **67**, **86**; CH. II §§ 30–37; M.-BR. S 406.5–6) is often represented by the pl. (occasionally by the sing.), which also contributed linguistic flexibility: 8.194 | αὐτὰρ ἄπ' ὤμουιν Διομήδεος, but 11.580 αἴνυτο τεύχε' ἄπ' ὤμων |. For a further example, see **86**. 97
- The vocative occurs with the particle ὦ less regularly than in Attic (cf. 1.74n.; on the voc. generally, CH. II §§ 45 ff., M.-BR. S 410).
- The accusative of respect (*græcus*) is especially popular in the so-called σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ κατὰ μέρος, i.e. as a specifying accusative of the part following a direct object of the whole (CH. II § 51.B): 1.362 τί δέ σε φρένας ἵκετο πένθος; |, 4.350 = 14.83 | Ἄτρεΐδη, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων; (≈ *Od.* 1.64 etc.).

⁴⁰ On the nominal clause (CH. II §§ 1 ff.), see now LANÉRÈS 1997.

- The dative without a preposition and with a locative function is frequent (CH. II § 106): 12.132 | ἔστασαν, ὡς ὅτε τε δρύες οὔρεσιν ὑψικάρῃνοι; 3.387 f. ἦ οἱ Λακεδαίμονι καιεταώσῃ | ἦσκειν εἴρια καλά, 14.376 ἔχει δ' ὀλίγον σάκος ὦμω |, but 3.244 | ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, 5.400 | ὦμω ἐνι στιβαρῶ (historically -ι and -σι are locative endings).
- Also in the other oblique cases the usage without a preposition is somewhat freer: 1.322 | ἔρχεσθον κλισίην (CH. II § 55).
- 98** – The prepositions (see **59**, as well as **4** with n. 8) therefore have more independence (CH. II §§ 115 ff.). This makes it possible
 - to place them after the noun (*anastrophe*; some of these ‘postpositions’ then take an acute accent on the first syllable, where the word accent is in fact to be expected historically): 1.162 | ᾗ ἔπι πόλλ' ἐμόγησα, 3.240 ἔποντο νέεσσι ἐνι ποντοπόροισιν | (SCHW. 387);
 - to use them as adverbs: 19.362 γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθῶν |;
 - to separate them from the verb (so-called *tnesis*) – even in the case of clear compound verbs (but see **65**): 8.108 | οὓς ποτ' ἀπ' Αἰνείαν ἐλόμην (ἀφελόμην and ἀφειλόμην are unmetrical; see also **99** on 5.564);
 - to understand them as preverbs: 14.401 ὅτ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ὄρουσαν | (cf. 15.520 | τῶ δὲ Μέγης ἐπόρουσεν).
- 99** – ὅ, ἦ, τό (see **83**, and for their use as a relative; SCHW.-DEBR. 20 ff., CH. II §§ 236–250, M.-BR. S 407). The pronoun is rarely a ‘pure article’, and instead usually has an older, demonstrative function:
 - This is especially frequent when it replaces a noun: anaphoric in an accented position 1.43 | ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, 1.9 f. ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθείς | νοῦσον ἀνά στρατὸν ὤρσε, likewise probably accented 1.333 | αὐτὰρ ὁ ἔγνω ἦσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ (change of subject), but more likely unaccented 1.193 | ἔως ὁ ταῦθ' ὤρμαινε (same subject; similarly 1.97, 1.190 etc.); cataphoric in accented position, normally with a relative following: 5.564 | τὰ φρονέων, ἵνα χερσὶν ὑπ' Αἰνείαο δαμείη (on *ὑποδαμείη see **98**).
 - The adnominal (determinate) use often marks a contrast: 3.461–4.1 ἐπὶ δ' ἦνεον ἄλλοι Ἀχαιοί. | οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παρ Ζηνὶ καθήμενοι ἠγορώντο, sometimes with a relative following: 6.292 | τήν ὁδόν, ἦν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν; in addition with nominalizing function: 1.70 | ὅς εἶδη τὰ τ' ἐόντα τὰ τ' ἐσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα, with an adverb instead of an adjective: 11.613 | ἦτοι μὲν τὰ γ' ὄπισθε Μαχάονι πάντα ἔοικεν. Often, however, the function barely goes beyond that of the definite article: 1.33 | ὡς ἔφατ'· ἔδδισεν δ' ὁ γέρων (γέρων is in fact usually transmitted with ὁ, except at 5.24, 11.625, 24.471, 715), 23.465 | ἦε τὸν ἠνίοχον φύγον ἠνία (derogatory?).

- Regarding its position (CH. II §246): Combined with an attribute, the article can precede (23.336 f. ἀτὰρ τὸν δεξιὸν ἵππον | κένσαι ὀμοκλήσας) or follow the noun (13.794 | ἡοῖ τῆ προτέρῃ). Instances like 1.340 | καὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηγέος, on the other hand, are clearly demonstrative; repetition of the article is as yet unknown.

5.3 Verbs

To the subject of verbs belong above all else verbal congruence (CH. II §§19, 22) and the use of the voices (§§ 255–269), tenses and aspects (§§ 270–303), and moods (§§ 304–340).

- Active and middle are occasionally used with no difference in meaning (FOR 100 21 f.; CH. II §§ 258 f.), which adds linguistic flexibility: 5.607 | ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη· Τρῶες δέ ..., but 11.616 | ὡς φάτο· Πάτροκλος δέ ...; 1.59 f. νῦν ἄμμε πάλιν πλαγχθέντας οἴω | ἄψ ἀπονοστήσειν, but 1.78 | ἦ γὰρ οἴομαι ἄνδρα χολωσέμεν, ὅς ...; 5.106 τὸν δ' οὐ βέλος ὠκὺ δάμασσε^ν |, but 5.278 | ἦ μάλα σ' οὐ βέλος ὠκὺ δαμάσσα^{το}.
- Future indicative and subjunctive often cannot be clearly distinguished based on function (nor formally at times, see 89) (SCHW.-DEBR. 290 f., 309 ff.; CH. II §§ 306, 309 f., 312 Remarque, 332 f.): 1.262 | οὐ γὰρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρα, οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι ('nor shall see again'); 11.838 τί ῥέξομεν, Εὐρύπυλ' ἦρω; | ('What shall/can/will we do?'), similarly the opt., *ibid.* | πῶς ταρ ἔοι τάδε ἔργα; ('How shall/can this be?'; v.l. ἔη); fut. with modal particle 1.523 ἔμοι δέ κε ταῦτα μελήσεται ὄφρα τελέσσω |. For a further example, see 45, [e]+[a].

5.4 Particles, Hypotaxis, Parataxis

The use of particles and conjunctions concerns vocabulary more than syntax; 101 only a few points are taken up here:

- The most important Homeric particles are cited in R 24. For detailed discussion, see DENNISTON (1934) 1954 and CH. II §§ 498–508; an overview in PALMER 1962, 173–178. Specifically on the modal particles, CH. II *passim* (see Index pp. 369, 371); their use is less strongly regulated than in Attic: 1.163 f. | οὐ μὲν σοὶ ποτε ἴσον ἔχω γέρας, ὅππότε' Ἀχαιοὶ | Τρώων ἐκπέρωσ' εὔ ναιόμενον πτολίεθρον ('when (ever)', Attic ὅπποταν). On negation, CH. II §§ 481–497. See also M.-BR. S 203 ff.
- Some important Homeric conjunctions are cited in R 22. On the types of dependent clauses, see CH. II §§ 341–44 (general), §§ 345–368 (relat-

- ive), §§ 369–373 (comparative), §§ 374–392 (temporal), §§ 393–403 (final), §§ 404–416 (conditional), §§ 417–421 (causal), §§ 422–439 (complementary: declarative, indirect questions, final).
- On the use of the infinitive, see CH. II §§ 440–462, on that of the participle, §§ 463–480.
 - On the paratactic use of clauses, parenthetical remarks, the insertion of similes^p and narrative style, see CH. II §§ 509–523.

5.5 Word Order

102 Word order in Homer (and in Greek prose and poetry generally) has still not been adequately investigated (M.-BR. S 209 ff.). The following issues ought to be taken into consideration: the general rules of word order in the older Indo-European languages (WACKERNAGEL [1892] 1953), the rules of information structure and focus, as well as deviations from these in individual cases, and the deviations from prose word order that are unavoidable due to metrical restrictions (formulae^p, length of a verse, although such differences ought not to be too frequent in the case of an accomplished poet), etc. The following examples, together with some explanation, should illustrate these mechanisms (1.37–44):

- κλυθί μοι, Ἀργυρότοξ', ὄς Χρῦσῆν ἀμφιβέβηκας
 - imperative in first position, which is meant to attract attention, then enclitic position of the personal pronoun and the first vocative;
 - verb of the dependent clause (DC) at verse end, but not clause end, since in the next verse
- Κίλλάν τε ζαθέην, Τενέδοιό τε ἴφι ἀνάσσεις,
 - a (syntactically optional) second object has been added subsequently (progressive enjambment^p);
 - a second DC verb at verse and clause end;
- Σμινθεῦ· εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα,
ἦ' εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι κατὰ πύονα μηρί' ἔκηα
 - main vocative, sharply emphasized via its position at the end of the main sentence, its isolation after the relative clause and enjambment;
 - chains of enclitic and proclitic grammatical words at the DC beginning (εἴ ποτέ τοι and ἦ' εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι κατὰ), although it is unclear how they were accented when in a series;
 - DC verbs at verse end, while unstressed ἐπὶ and κατὰ are placed separately (meter) and the second verb does not yet stand at clause end, as in the next verse
- ταύρων ἦδ' αἰγῶν, τόδε μοι κρήνον ἐέλδωρ·

- a (syntactically optional) attribute has been added;
 - cataphoric-demonstrative pronoun in first position, then enclitic position of the personal pronoun and the imperative (which must no longer attract attention);
- *τείσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν.*
- emphatic first position of the verb, since this carries the informational main focus (What is the most important point in my desire that I must communicate to the god?), followed by the subject (self-evident, although cruelly cursed collectively), the object (insignificant in detail) and finally the instrument, which carries the second main focus (How should the god fulfill my desire?), achieved through the position at the end of the sentence and of the entire text;
- *ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων*
- a verb is twice in enclitic position (Wackernagel's Law) in neutral narrative style;
- *βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων χωόμενος κῆρ ...*
- a verb is in opening position before *δέ* to focus the continuation of the action.

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Hesiod

Op. 198: **67**.

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Homeric Meter (M)

By René Nünlist

- 1 The meter of Homeric epic is the dactylic hexameter.¹ Hexameters are organized in stichic (from *στίχος* ‘line’) fashion and do not form strophes.
- 2 Like all Greek meters, the hexameter is *quantitative*, i.e. it is based on a regular alternation of short and long syllables (schematically represented as \sim and $-$). The meters of English, German, etc., by contrast, are *accentual*, i.e. they consist of a sequence of stressed and unstressed syllables.

Prosody²

- 3 The relative length of a syllable (short or long) depends on two factors: (1) the quantity of the vowel and (2) whether the syllable is open or closed.
- 3.1 In the case of open syllables, the quantity of the vowel/diphthong is key: long syllables are produced by η , ω and all diphthongs, short syllables by ϵ and o ; α , ι and υ can denote long or short vowels.
- 3.2 Closed syllables are long in principle. A syllable is considered closed if it ends with a consonant. In syllabification, single consonants are attracted to the following syllable, whereas two (or more) consonants are instead divided between the two syllables. (Syllables with short vowels lengthened by this process are called ‘long by position’ in traditional terminology.) ζ , ξ and ψ represent groups of two consonants ($/sd/$ or $/ds/$, $/ks/$ and $/ps/$). The $/w/$ (‘digamma’³), although it disappeared before Homer’s time, often also has importance for syllabification. Rough breathing, on the other hand, has no effect. For example:

Ἀτρείδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς (1.7).
At-re-i-dēs-te-(w)a-nak-san-drōn-kai-dī-o-sa-khil-leus.

- 4 The two basic rules 3.1 and 3.2 have the following amendments or exceptions (for more, see 12 and 13 below):

1 Among the numerous works on (Homeric) hexameter, the following in particular deserve mention: MAAS (1923) 1962; FRÄNKEL (1926) 1960; KORZENIEWSKI 1968; WEST 1982; SICKING 1993; WEST 1997a.

2 For details, see DEVINE/STEPHENS 1994.

3 Cf. R 4, G 19–27.

Elision: The vowel of a short open syllable is elided ('removed': R 5.1, G 30) 4.1 before a following vowel so as to avoid hiatus. Elision is indicated by an apostrophe: e.g. στέμματ' ἔχων (1.14).

Correption: A long word-final vowel/diphthong is shortened in hiatus (R 5.5, 4.2 G 29): e.g. ἐγὼ οὐ (ῡ —, 1.29), καὶ ἄλλοι εὐκνήμιδες (ῡ — ῡ — — ῡ, 1.17; ι is probably pronounced as a glide: kay alloy *ëukn.*, cf. 12 below). For occasions when correption does not occur, see 8.

Synizesis: The combination short vowel + long vowel/diphthong is occasionally pronounced as a single long syllable (R 7, G 46). Synizesis is indicated by a sublinear curved line: e.g. Πηληϊάδεω (1.1). 4.3

Contraction of vowels across word boundaries: (1) crasis (R 5.3, G 31), indicated by a coronis (≈ 'smooth breathing'): e.g. τᾶλλα (< τὰ ἄλλα, 1.465); (2) synaephea (G 32), indicated by a sublinear curved line: e.g. δῆ οὔτως (1.131). 4.4

Muta cum liquida (also: *correptio attica*): A stop ('mute') (π β φ, τ δ θ, κ γ χ) 4.5 + a liquid (λ ρ) can be treated as a single consonant, with the result that the preceding syllable is not closed ('*muta cum liquida* does not necessarily make position'): e.g. πτερόεντα προσηύδα (ῡ — ῡ — ῡ —, 1.201). This license can occasionally be extended to word-initial ζ and σκ, particularly in the case of (otherwise unmetrical) names: Ζάκυνθος, Ζέλεια, Σκάμανδρος.

Word-initial λ, μ, ν, ρ and σ can be treated as double-consonants ('making 4.6 position'), e.g. ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν (ῡ — ῡ — ῡ —, 1.396).⁴ – The same license occurs occasionally in the case of word-final ν, ρ and ζ, e.g. θεοπρόπιον ὄ τι (ῡ — ῡ — ῡ — ῡ, 1.85).

Metrical lengthening (cf. R 10.1, G 49–50): A series of three (or more) short syllables (unmetrical in hexameter) is adapted to the meter by artificial lengthening 4.7 (normally of the first syllable), e.g. ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος (1.14), εἵνεκα (1.214). (In such cases lengthened ε/ο are rendered as the 'spurious' diphthongs ει/ου in accord with post-Homeric convention, cf. HT 6.)

Metrical Scheme

The dactylic hexameter ('six measures') consists of a sequence of six dactyls. 5 A dactyl consists of a long (*longum*) + two shorts (*biceps*).⁵ The final metron

⁴ By analogy with words that originally had an /s/ in initial position (before λ, μ, ν or ρ) and accordingly 'make position' correctly: e.g. ὤς τε νιφάδες (< **snigwh-*, 12.278), cf. G 16.

⁵ The traditional terms 'rising' for marked syllables (longs) and 'falling' for unmarked syllables have the disadvantage of suggesting an accentual verse (cf. 2) and of contradicting the ancient terminology (ἄρισος/θέσις of a foot).

The concept of *Wortbild* ('word unit') is important in determining caesurae.¹¹ 7
 Enclitics (δέ, μέν, γάρ, κεν, ἄν, τε, περ, γε, short pronouns) and proclitics (καί, ἀλλά, prepositions) cohere with the preceding or following word in a 'word unit'. The word end between them is irrelevant for caesurae. Example:

ἔς-Χρῦσην· (A 4) τότε-κέν-μιν (B 2) ἰλασσάμενοι (C1) πεπίθοιμεν (1.100).

There is a connection between caesura and formulaic language: numerous 8
 formulae occupy the space between two caesurae (cf. also 10). – Places where caesurae occur enjoy a certain prosodic freedom: hiatus without correption (cf. R 5.6, G 36) and 'improper' short in *longum* (cf. 15); these too may well have been influenced by formulaic language.

The counterpart of the caesura is the so-called bridge: a point in the verse 9
 before which word end is avoided so far as possible. Thus in a dactylic fourth metron (– ∪) word end very rarely occurs between the two shorts ('Hermann's Bridge'). Apparent exceptions to this rule can frequently be explained in terms of 'word units' (7) (ἄμφω ὁμῶς θυμῷ φιλέουσά-τε κηδομένη τε, 1.209).

Word-shape and Placement in the Verse

Statistical studies have shown that words of a particular prosodic shape have 10
 a preference for occupying or avoiding certain positions in the verse. This phenomenon too is directly connected with caesurae. The preferences are:

Words (or word ends) of the form 10.1
 ∪ – – stand at verse end;
 ∪ – ∪ at verse end or before B 2;
 – – ∪ before B 2.

Words (or word beginnings) of the form 10.2
 – – ∪ or ∪ – ∪ stand after B 1;
 ∪ – ∪ after B 2;
 – – – or – ∪ – at verse beginning or before B 1.

Words (or word ends) of the shape – ∪ avoid lengthening of the final syllable 10.3
 by a double consonant.¹²

of "colon-enjambment". Further: 'Whether such verses (which Kirk designates as "threefold-ers") have the special effect suggested by him, remains an open question.'

11 FRÄNKEL (1926) 1960, 142–147.

12 This is a more general formulation of 'Wernicke's Law' ('the fourth metron may not end with a syllable lengthened by position'): cf. WEST 1997a, 225 with n. 14; KORZENIEWSKI 1968, 23f. It also covers instances such as σκήπτρα σφέθον (7.277); cf. the material collected by HILBERG 1879 and EHRlich 1912, 175 ff.

- 11 The three ‘Meyer’s Laws’ developed in regard to post-Homeric hexameter are also partially in effect in Homer:
- 11.1 Words that begin in the first metron do not end between or after the two shorts of the second metron.
- 11.2 Disyllabic words of the shape $\upsilon -$ do not stand before B 1 (but by preference between B 2 and C 1).
- 11.3 Word end after both the third and the fifth *longum* in a single line is avoided.¹³

Further Prosodic and other Peculiarities

- 12 ‘Non-syllabic ι’ (cf. 4.2):
- 12.1 Short ι before a long vowel can become non-syllabic /y/, usually in (otherwise unmetrical) names: e.g. Αἰνιῆνες (pronounced: Ainyēnes), Ἰστίαϊαν, Αἰγυπτίας.
- 12.2 Non-syllabic ι in diphthongs (-η, -ω) can bridge hiatus and thus prevent corruption: e.g. Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι (Atreïdēy Agam., 1.24).
- 13 A number of ‘unmetrical’ verses can be explained by sound shifts:
- 13.1 Quantitative metathesis (cf. R 3, G 40): ἔως/τέως in places that require $\upsilon -$ goes back to *ῥῖος/*τῥῖος.¹⁴
- 13.2 Word-initial prevocalic or intervocalic /s/ > /h/ (cf. G 14): Although the sound shift is already complete in Mycenaean Greek, the phoneme can still have a prosodic effect in Homer, e.g. βέλος ἐχευκέες ($\upsilon - \upsilon - \upsilon -$, < *seg^he-, 1.51).
- 13.3 Word-initial /y/ > /h/ (cf. G 14): The sound shift was not universally complete in Mycenaean Greek and sometimes still has a prosodic effect in formulaic expressions in Homer, e.g. in the case of ὤς ‘as’ (< *yōs), θεὸς ὤς ($\upsilon - -$, 3.230).
- 13.4 Syllabic /r/ (cf. G 15): The VE formula Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρειφόντῃ in its transmitted form would require synizesis of Ἐνυαλίῳ or synaloepha of Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρ. The epithet goes back, however, to *anr^kh^hōntāi ($\upsilon - - -$) > *anro- > ἀνδρο-. ἀνδρει- is then an attempt to restore the meter.
- 14 Individual anomalies can be traced back to modifications of formulae. The VE formula μερόπων ἀνθρώπων (7x *Il.*), for example, is metrically correct in the genitive but not in the nominative: μέροπες ἄνθρωποι ($\upsilon - - - -$, 18.288).

¹³ The first line of the *Iliad* is a good mnemonic verse for these three rules, since it ‘violates’ all three: μῆνιν ἄειδε (1st rule ‘broken’), θεά (2nd), Πηληϊάδεω (3rd) Ἀχιλλῆος. – Meyer himself expanded his third rule with the observation that word-end after both the fourth and the fifth *longum* in the same verse is also avoided.

¹⁴ On the (controversial) question of whether this sound shift was already complete in the time of the singers, cf. Commentary on 1.193.

A small number of verses shows a prosodically inexplicable short in place of a long (but cf. 8). The ancient metricians labeled these verses in accord with the position of the syllable in question: (1) in the 1st metron, ‘headless’ (ἀκέφαλος), (2) in the middle of the verse, ‘thin’ (λαγαρός; on both cf. 5.359: φίλε κασίγνητε, κόμισαι) or (3) in the last metron, ‘mouse-tailed’ (μύουρος, 12.208¹⁵).

¹⁵ The VE αἰόλον ὄφιν, however, might go back instead to the Ionic pronunciation ὄφιν (WEST 1982, 173).

Cast of Characters of the *Iliad*: Gods (CG)

By Fritz Graf

1. Preliminary Remarks (1)
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 - 2.1. The Current Generation (4–24)
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1. Preliminary Remarks

1 Just as the *Iliad* is not a textbook on history, it is not a textbook on religion; it tells a story. Like all the characters mentioned in the poem, the gods are part of the narrative both of the action within the *Iliad* and of other stories introduced by the narrator. Like the portrayal of actors on the human level (the ἥρωες), the portrayal of the gods reveals the tension between tradition (in the sense of the narrative material pre-existent in the narrator's environment) and individual creation. In the case of the gods, tradition necessarily includes the strictures provided by cult practice, which form a framework that cannot be violated. But the gods do not occur as part of some particular polis' pantheon, within which they would have tangible ritual contours that were clear for both narrator and audience; although several divinities are connected to local cult sites (Apollo with Chryse, Aphrodite with Cyprus, Hera with Argos), this connection is no different from the local links of individual human leaders. Since Homeric deities are radically anthropomorphic, their interactions among themselves and with men are not categorically distinct from those among human beings, with the exception of the consequences of the gods' actions that are determined by their nature as 'living lightly', i.e. as removed from death, ageing or any other human physical limitation. The use of cultic means – prayer and sacrifice – by human beings in their formal interactions with the gods represents the observation of rules of conduct in a hierarchical situation; similar rules of conduct are at work within the heroic sphere. This essentially narrative definition of the gods in the *Iliad* makes clear why the list of deities participating in the action is not identical with the pantheon of gods acting within a single city; the well-known absence of Demeter and Dionysos is motivated by narrative rather than religious reasons. The narrator even has scope

for invention: as with the cast of heroic actors, he can ‘invent’ minor characters in the cast of gods. He achieves this via so-called personification, a process, treated as legitimate throughout the Greco-Roman world, of giving the attributes of anthropomorphic deities to individual powers perceived as particularly potent (e.g. the *Litai*, ‘Prayers’ [→ 38]).

The following brief essay attempts to group the divine actors in a meaningful way and to outline their individual roles in the *Iliad*. It also aims to illustrate the religious function that would have been obvious to the contemporary audience (and less frequently the religious-historical background of importance to the modern reader). Finally, it attempts to indicate, where necessary, inconcinnities with the divine image in later periods.

2. Major Gods (Olympians/Chthonic Deities)

Epic refers to a limited group of gods as Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχοντες (‘dwellers 2 in Olympian houses’) and excludes the ruling couple of the underworld from this group. This in no way corresponds, however, to the Olympian-chthonic categorization of gods introduced into modern scholarship (and problematized) by Karl Otfried Müller on the basis of speculation from late antiquity in particular.¹

It must be emphasized that the Greeks and Trojans (self-evidently) worship 3 the same gods, in the same way that they speak the same language, use the same weapons and style of clothing, and the like. This is an example of epic stylization, which also occurs in other epic traditions (*Nibelungen*, *Chanson de Roland*) and thus cannot be interpreted as *interpretatio Graeca* in the case of the gods – since this *interpretatio* also assumes that all peoples worship more or less the same gods, whose names, of course, change depending on the native language of the worshippers. The main difference between Greeks and non-Greeks, e.g. in Herodotus’ work, lies not so much in the catalogue of gods worshipped as in individual ritual practices.²

1 SCHLESIER 1991/92.

2 BURKERT 1990.

2.1 The Current Generation

- 4 **Aphrodite**,³ daughter of Zeus and Dione (5.370), presides over the ‘lovely secrets of marriage’, ἡμερόεντα ἔργα γάμοιο, i.e. the sexual sphere (5.429), and thus mediates the reconciliation between Paris and Helen (3.380–447), for example, and brings about Hera’s seduction of Zeus (14.188–223); she is accordingly beautiful (9.389) and fond of smiles (as a means of seduction). She is married to Hephaistos, has a close relationship with her (half-)brother Ares (5.355–363, 21.430f.), and is despised by Athene; she protects Paris (3.374–380) and particularly Aineias, her son by Anchises (2.820f., etc.; in detail in *h.Ven.*); and she plays a significant role in the background to the Trojan War, since Paris assigned her the golden apple in the contest between her, Hera and Athene.⁴ Her common epithet Κύπρις connects her with Cyprus (cf. *h.Ven.* 292); the *Odyssey* subsequently names Cypriot Paphos as her main sanctuary (8.363). This is based on a firm connection with the Near Eastern Ishtar⁵ in particular (Aphrodite is likely post-Mycenaean, since she is not named in Linear B, although the uncertain etymology of the name furnishes no indication of her provenance; Hes. *Th.* 190f. is myth-making folk etymology). At the same time, she is clearly differentiated from the armed Ishtar in being essentially un-warlike, as is seen in her wounding by Diomedes recounted at 5.330–380.
- 5 **Apollo**⁶ is the son of Zeus and Leto (1.9) and the brother of Artemis. He is one of the main divine actors; he fights on the side of the Trojans (in detail in Book 15), despite Laomedon’s betrayal (21.441–460), and is responsible for the death of Patroklos (16.849). His weapon is, unusually, the bow, the weapon of outsiders, in his case of the ephebes; he has long hair, as they do, and is attested as their patron deity throughout the post-Homeric period. If his name is derived from ἀπέλλα, the Doric term for the assembly of the people, his concern for the cadre of battle-age youth is a central function.⁷ He shares with Hermes care for livestock grazed in the mountains (a function only rarely present in the post-Homeric period; cattle 21.448f.; cf. *h.Merc.*). In the *Iliad*, Apollo appears in various cult contexts: he has a sanctuary in Chryse (1.37) and a temple in Troy (5.446); the sumptuous stone temple at Delphi was famous (Pytho, 9.405); the archer Pandaros prays to him and promises a hecatomb of sheep in return for a successful

3 BOEDEKER 1974; PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994; CYRINO 2010.

4 Cf. REINHARDT (1938) 1997.

5 Cf. WEST 1997, 56.

6 BURKERT 1975; SOLOMON 1994; GRAF 2009.

7 BURKERT 1975a.

shot (4.101); and the Achaians for their part sacrifice a hecatomb to him and sing and dance a paean to staunch his anger as the bringer of pestilence (1.447–474). This defence against epidemics is also a significant part of Apollo's later image; the healing of the sick in the *Iliad* is otherwise the task of Paiëon (5.401, 5.899 f. [→ 21]), whose name Apollo bears as an epithet, whereas the sons of Asklepios are responsible for healing wounds. In contrast to *Pajjāwōn*, Apollo's name is not attested in Linear B, while his image combines Eastern (god of pestilence) and Greek elements. The theory of an origin in Lycia (or in Asia Minor generally) derived from the unique epithet *λυκηγενής* (4.101) and the more frequent *Λύκειος* can no longer be maintained, given recent conclusions regarding cultic relations in the Letoon of Xanthos,⁸ nor need partisanship in favor of the Trojans indicate a provenance in Asia Minor; connection with the Hittite pantheon are very conjectural at best.⁹

Ares¹⁰ is the son of Hera (5.892) and Zeus (5.896, cf. Hes. *Th.* 922). He fights 6 on the side of the Trojans (5.829 ff., 20.69), whereas his sons Askalaphos and Ialmenos fight on the side of the Achaians as leaders of the Minyans (2.512 ff.). Ares is consistently focused on war in its military and destructive aspects. In this function, he resembles Athene (4.439, cf. 20.69; the difference between the two is clarified in 5.29–34); in particular, he is accompanied by Deimos 'Terror', Phobos 'Fear', and his sister Eris 'Strife' (4.440 f. [→ 38]) or by Enyo (→ 12) (5.592). This multiplies the aura of terror; to be overcome, he must be bound in a complicated manner (the story of Otos and Epialtes, 5.385–391). At the same time, his character repulses the other gods (Zeus: 5.889–892). The latter is a narrative expression of the distance that separates Ares from the other gods and defines their community. Cults of Ares are marginal. He has no polis-feasts and his sanctuaries generally lie outside the city; the early imperial temple of Ares in the Athenian Agora is taken over from the Roman Mars. Ares is mentioned already in Linear B; this disproves the Thracian provenance traditionally suggested for him. – Closely related in function is **Enyalios**, whose name is used as a synonym for Ares in the *Iliad* (13.519/521, 18.309/304, 20.69/38). He too is attested already in the Mycenaean period (KN V 52; see MYC) and in post-Homeric times is an independent deity in all cultic attestations and often paired with Enyo.

Artemis fights on the Trojan side along with her mother Leto and her brother 7 Apollo (20.38 ff., 21.470 ff.); the two women nurse the wounded Aineias in the temple of Apollo (5.447). Functions mentioned elsewhere are: she is the goddess

⁸ METZGER 1979.

⁹ GRAF 2009, 136–137, *pace* BEEKES 2003 and BROWN 2004.

¹⁰ WATHELET 1992.

of the hunt and ‘lady of wild beasts’ (πότνια θηρῶν 21.470, cf. 21.485); she teaches the hunter Skamandrios (5.51 f.) and sends the Calydonian boar as revenge (9.533); she leads the dances of young girls, frequently with erotic results (16.183); and she kills (young) women (6.205, 6.428, 21.483 f.; myth of Niobe 24.603–609). This combines into the post-Homeric image of the ‘goddess of outdoors’ (Wilamowitz), but in cult contexts Artemis is far more important in connection with young women and as a defender against military raids from abroad. The strong link with women explains her limited role in the action of the *Iliad*, which is thematized by Hera in a humiliating scolding (21.479–488).

- 8 **Athene** (Ἀθήνη, less frequently Ἀθηναίη) is the most important divine actor, along with Zeus and Apollo.¹¹ Throughout, she is Zeus’ daughter or ‘maiden’, Διὸς κόρη, and her most common epithet, ‘Pallas’, is taken to mean ‘maiden’ as well,¹² although the myth of her birth from Zeus’ head is absent (Hes. *Th.* 886–900, 924–926). Athene’s frequent collaboration with Hera is noteworthy (1.194 f., 5.711 ff. etc.). Together with Ares, she directs the war, he on the Trojan and she on the Achaian side (4.439, 20.69) – as in the case of Hera and Aphrodite, this alignment is likely connected to the Judgment of Paris;¹³ she defeats Ares in a duel (21.403–414); in battle, she wears the terror-inducing aegis and a helmet and bears a lance, whereas otherwise she wears the colorful peplos common for all women (5.733–747), so that only post-Homeric iconography generalizes the armed Athene. Like Apollo, she is embedded in cultic contexts, though less prominently so: she has a temple on the citadel of Troy that contains a seated statue as well as the priestess Theano, where she receives prayers, the dedication of a πέπλος (dress or fabric) and a pledge of a sacrifice of cows (6.269–311). She has a rich temple in Athens where she raised Erechtheus (2.546–551): she is already attested in Linear B as *At^hānā potnija* (KN V 52, see MYC), which likely means ‘Mistress of Atana’, from the adjective form of which, Ἀθηναίη, she thus derives her name. This reflects her widely dispersed role as goddess of the polis (including sacrifices of cows and dedications of *peploi*), which the action of the *Iliad* can only refer to negatively. Indications of Athene’s role in the life of women, their role in the cultic scene of 6.269–311 aside, are lacking entirely in the poem. – Her standard epithet γλαυκῶπις (1.206 etc.) probably refers not to the owl as her sacred animal but to her gleaming blue and thus frightening gaze.

- 9 **Demeter** does not appear in the action of the *Iliad*. Zeus lists her in his roster of lovers (14.326), and the catalogue of ships mentions Phthiotian Pyrasos as

11 DEACY 2008.

12 Strabo 17.1.46 (C 816); Eustathius 84.39 f. on *Il.* 1.200.

13 Cf. REINHARDT (1938) 1997.

the location of a sanctuary (which seems to be identifiable archaeologically¹⁴) (2.695 f.). In addition, her name occurs in the fixed phrase Δημήτερος ἀκτή, ‘grain of Demeter’, denoting bread (13.322, 21.76; Hes. *Op.* 32 etc.), and the *Odyssey* knows of her love-making with Iasion ‘on the thrice-ploughed field’ (*Od.* 5.125). Her function as goddess of agriculture is thus in fact present in Homeric epic (she may already be represented in Linear B by the ‘mistress of grain’, *sīto-potnija* in MY Oi 701/704; the role is also attested iconographically in Mycenae). At the same time, there is no reference whatsoever to her central role as goddess of women, whose main festival, the Thesmophoria, is Panhellenic; of her role as goddess of the Eleusinian mysteries, which greatly increases in importance over the course of the late Archaic period; or of her role, connected to both spheres, as the mother of Kore/Persephone, the result of her love-making with Zeus.

Dionysos¹⁵ does not appear in the action of the *Iliad*. A simile mentions his cult followers, the ‘raving women’ (μαινάδες) (22.460, cf. *h.Cer.* 386); Diomedes relates the myth of the Thracian Lykourgos persecuting the god and his raving followers as an exemplar (6.132–140); and Semele and her son are mentioned in Zeus’ roster of lovers (14.323–325). The *Odyssey* adds the story of the killing of Ariadne on Naxos (in flagrant contradiction to post-Homeric tradition) by Artemis at the behest of Dionysos (11.325), and Achilles’ urn is a two-handed golden vessel, Dionysos’ (wedding) present to Thetis (24.73 ff.). The god’s cult and major myths are accordingly known, and the cult is attested already in Mycenaean times in connection with Zeus. As a cult largely enacted by women, however, and one that radically intervenes in the ordinary lives of communities, it has no place in the immediate narrative (although from the Hellenistic period on, Dionysos can also appear as a military conqueror).

Eileithyia (16.187, 19.103; in the pl. 11.270, 19.119) is the goddess of birth (with a speaking name: ‘she who comes’ or ‘she who makes come’¹⁶). As her sphere of action is tightly limited to a single aspect of women’s lives, in the *Iliad* the Eileithyiai occur only in similes (11.270) and inserted narratives; her/their genealogy as daughter (Hes. *Th.* 922) or daughters (*Il.* 11.271) of Hera is in line with this religious function. The *Odyssey* knows of the grotto of Eileithyia in Amnisos (19.188 f.); she is already attested as *Eleuthija* in that place in Linear B texts from Knossos. Her sphere of action in the post-Homeric period is frequently extended to encompass healing (largely, but not exclusively, of women).

¹⁴ VISSER 1997, 664.

¹⁵ PRIVITERA 1970; SEAFORD 2006.

¹⁶ HEUBECK 1972.

- 12 **Enyo** is a war goddess whose name (etymology uncertain) identifies her as the female counterpart of Enyalios. She is compared to Athene (as a goddess who ‘presides over the wars of men’) and contrasted with Aphrodite (5.333), and is Ares’ counterpart (5.592). Hesiod (*Th.* 273) has her as a sister of Gorgo and daughter of Phorkys and Keto, and thus counts her among the monsters. In the post-Homeric period, her cult is attested in connection with Ares or Enyalios, particularly in Attic-Ionic areas.
- 13 The **Erinyes**¹⁷ (‘Furies’; usually a collective, rarely in the sing.) are goddesses who avenge violations of fundamental order: they punish perjury (19.259 f.), ensure order by preventing the horse Xanthos from revealing more of the future (or from speaking in general) (19.418), and intervene in particular when the hierarchical order within a family has been violated (Phoinix’ father 9.454; Althaia advocating for her brother against Meleagros 9.571; Hera as Ares’ mother 21.412; cf. Oedipus’ mother *Od.* 11.279 f.). They belong to the underworld (9.571 f., 19.259), but at the same time have such a close relationship to wounded individuals that they can appear as their personal Erinys (μητρὸς Ἐρινύες 21.412, *Od.* 11.280). – In the post-Homeric period, their cult is attested in several parts of Greece (Herodotus 4.149 is of interest), where they are occasionally identified with related beings – Σεμναὶ θεαί, Εὐμενίδες.
- 14 **Hades/Aïdes/Aïdoneus** (also gen. Ἄϊδος, dat. Ἄϊδι) is the ruler of the world of the dead, which receives the souls of all deceased (1.3); he is also referred to by the periphrasis ‘subterranean Zeus’ (Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος, 9.457). Like Zeus and Poseidon, he is a son of Kronos and Rheia; the brothers divided the world into three kingdoms, and Hades received the dark depths of the earth (15.187–193). His world, inside the earth beneath the feet of men, is radically separate from that of the other gods, and Hades is concerned with maintaining this separation (20.61–65); this is also reflected in the fact that Hades has almost no cults. – His absolute dominance as ‘ruler of those beneath the earth’ (ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσων 15.188) later stands side by side with a joint rule with his wife, Persephone; *h.Cer.* 357–369 recounts the aetiological myth.
- 15 **Hephaistos**¹⁸ is the son of Hera and Zeus (1.572–579) and fights on the side of the Achaians using his element, fire (metonymic 2.426), specifically against the river god Skamandros (20.36, 20.73 f., 21.328–382). But he is particularly active as the divine smith, who makes not only the shield of Achilleus (18.478–608) but also self-propelled tripods (18.373–379), mechanical servants of gold (18.417 f.), divine equipment (2.101, 8.195, 14.239, 15.308–311) and architecture intended for

17 HEUBECK 1986; NEUMANN 1986; JOHNSTON 1999, ch. 7.

18 BROMMER 1978 (relevant also for the history of religion).

the gods (1.607 f., 14.167, 18.369 f., 20.11 f.). As a limping, marginal figure, he can deliberately provoke hilarity among the Homeric deities (1.571–600): the cunning social ambivalence of the outsider, who is simultaneously physically defective, corresponds to the image of the smith in Archaic societies.¹⁹ In the post-Homeric period, particularly in Athens, he moves closer to the social center as a result of booming technology and crafts, and is linked especially with Athene as the goddess of planned reason, μήτις. – It is worth noting that Troy has a priest of Hephaistos, whose sons fight against Diomedes (5.9–24). The story of the god's fall alludes to cultic reality on Lemnos, Hephaistos' island (1.591–594), that of his exile with Eurynome and Thetis in a subterranean cave to an initiation as a craftsman (18.395–405).

Hera²⁰ (Ἥρα), Zeus' sister and wife (Kronos' eldest daughter 4.59), from her first appearance on – likely as a result of the Judgment of Paris²¹ – is an active protector of the Achaians (1.55 f.). Similarly significant for her role in the *Iliad* are her confrontations with Zeus, who rejects her as quarrelsome (1.518–521), underlined e.g. in her humiliation of Artemis (21.479–496). She schemingly employs her sexual charms (also expressed by her standard epithets λευκώλενος 'white-armed' and βοῶπις 'cow-eyed', i.e. 'large-eyed') in the context of this confrontation (Διὸς ἀπάτη, Book 14), which has its own back-story (1.586–591, 15.14–30, 19.95–133). Her dominating presence in the action of the *Iliad* (but also in the repeatedly mentioned myth of Herakles, esp. 15.14–30, 19.95–133) is determined in part by her cultic role as protector of weddings and marriage (which in this case acquires an ambivalent connotation). Her attack on Artemis also rests on the opposition between the sexually mature but unmarried and sexually unattached girl, on the one hand, and the married woman, on the other. But specifically cultic matters are limited in the *Iliad*; mention is made of her three important cult sites, Argos, Sparta and Mycenae (4.52), of which Argos attained absolute predominance in the post-Homeric period. 16

Hermes (whose descent from Maia and Zeus is not mentioned in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*) fights on the side of the Achaians without much effect (20.35); he achieves his *aristeia* when he leads Priam to Achilleus unseen (24.332 ff.). The significance of Hermes' cultic role as protector-god of livestock and shepherds in the mountainous outdoors (14.490 f.)²² and his erotic encounters with adolescent girls in the sphere of Artemis that result (16.181) are only alluded to; no mention is 17

¹⁹ GRAF 1990.

²⁰ PÖTSCHER 1987; HÄUSSLER 1995.

²¹ Cf. REINHARDT (1938) 1997.

²² VERNANT (1963) 1983; cf. KAHN 1978.

made of his role as protector of adolescent young men, which in the post-Homeric period makes him the god of the gymnasium, nor as mediator between worlds, which makes him a divine messenger (*Od.* 5.29) and escort of the souls of the dead (*Od.* 24.1–14); in both roles, he carries a staff (ῥάβδος, *Od.* 5.47 ff., 24.2).²³ His function as an escort is present in the *Iliad* in the standard epithet διάκτρος (2.103); the epithet^p ἀργεῖφόντης, linked to the former in the same formula^p, however, eludes clear interpretation and is likely old. Hermes' name itself is attested in Linear B ([H]ermāhās).

- 18 **Leto**, the mother of Apollo and Artemis, fights along with her children on the side of the Trojans (20.39 f., cf. 5.447 f.), but is particularly prominent as a concerned mother (21.497–504). This role, which receives more emphasis than that of Zeus' other lovers, reflects a Panhellenic post-Homeric cult presence, in which Leto appears particularly connected with young girls.
- 19 The **Muses**, daughters of Zeus (2.491 f.) and usually nine in number (*Hes. Th.* 76, with a list of their names), represent the tradition of poetic material for the singer (explicitly in 2.488–492). They are accordingly the daughters of Mnemosyne ('Memory': *Hes. Th.* 54), are omniscient (2.485) and are invoked (occasionally also in the sing.) by the singer (1.1, 2.484, 2.761 f., etc.). For the same reason, they are able to punish the singer Thamyris, who shows them no respect (2.594–598). On Olympus, they sing at divine feasts (1.604), much as girls' choirs do at human festivals.²⁴
- 20 **Nereus**, the aged god of the sea (1.358, 1.538; *Hes. Th.* 233 f.), is the father of a group of marine deities, the **Nereids**. Particularly prominent in the *Iliad* is **Thetis**, Achilles' mother, who is occasionally accompanied by her sisters (18.35–49, with a catalogue of names; 24.84); like them, she lives in the sea (1.357 f. etc.). Thetis alerts Achilles to his choice between dying honorably before Troy or returning home to die old but without honor (9.410–416). She also intercedes on his behalf with Zeus (1.495 ff.) and Hephaistos (18.369 ff.) and, conversely, is sent by Zeus to Achilles to plead for the release of Hektor's corpse (24.73 ff.). This function as mediator between gods and mortals (which also forms the background to her marriage to Peleus) is not unusual for deities connected in this manner to a physical element (cf. the roles of the 'old man of the sea' Proteus and his daughter Eidothea, *Od.* 4.365 ff.), but has a distinct narrative significance in the *Iliad*. – Thetis also gave shelter to the young Dionysus when he fled the Thracian Lykourgos (6.135 f.).

23 JAILLARD 2007.

24 BRINKMANN 1925; CALAME (1977) 1997.

Paiëon appears as the divine surgeon and heals Ares' wounds (5.401, 5.899) 21 with a curative ointment (φάρμακον). His name (*Pajjāwōn*) is already attested in Linear B. The identification of the name with Apollo's healing song (παιήωνα 1.473) notwithstanding, it is uncertain whether Paiëon is already an epithet of Apollo, as is the case throughout the post-Homeric period, or whether he is still an independent deity, as expressly in 'Hes.' fr. 307 M.–W.²⁵

Persephoneia (always with this long form of the name) is mentioned only 22 in a fixed phrase with 'Zeus of the underworld' (9.457), i.e. Hades (9.569), as the mistress of the world of the dead, addressed in prayers for revenge by women who feel their familial rights have been violated. The goddess' role as mistress of the revenge spirits of the underworld remains central in later periods. The *Odyssey* (10.494 etc.) first offers a somewhat more detailed image of her role as the queen of the underworld.

Poseidon²⁶ (throughout with the form of the name Ποσειδάων, attested 23 already in the Mycenaean period) is a brother of Zeus who, when the realms were divided, received the sea as his domain (15.190); he surfaces from it to support the Achaians (13.44, 13.351 f.). Along with Hera and Athene, he is a resolute enemy of the Trojans because Laomedon cheated him out of the pay for building his city walls (24.25–28, 21.441–457, cf. 7.445); he is accordingly a mainstay of the Achaean war-effort in Books 13, 14, 20 and 21. The Homeric restriction of his sphere to the sea is a poetic abstraction, refuted in both cult practice and Homeric epithets and portrayals. His usual epithets ἐννοσίγαιος and ἐνοσίχθων 'shaker of the earth' (the meaning of γαίηοχος is uncertain: 'holder of the earth?') represent him as the master of the depths of the earth and of earthquakes, and in fact his intervention in the battle almost makes the earth collapse (20.57–60). In cult, he offers protection from earthquakes and often bears the epithet ἀσφάλειος, 'he who stands fast'. In addition, he is the master of horses (23.277, 23.307); in the post-Homeric period, horse races are sometimes organized in his honor as 'Hippios'. Sanctuaries are mentioned at Helike and Aigai (8.203; Aigai also at 13.21 and *h.Hom.* 22.3); Aigai retained its fame, and the epithet 'Helikonios' was connected with a bull sacrifice, i.e. the Panionian cult on Mykale (20.403–405). Poseidon plays a particularly important role in Pylos (Nestor recounts Pylian sacrifices to Zeus, Alpheios, Poseidon and Athene 11.727; cf. *Od.* 3.43 f.); this matches information from Linear B texts, in which his cult (as *Poseidāhōn*) at Pylos is surprisingly well attested. He occurs less frequently in Linear B texts from Knossos.

²⁵ Cf. KÄPPEL 1992, 32f.

²⁶ Still worth reading: SCHACHERMEYR 1950.

24 **Zeus**,²⁷ the son of Kronos (Kronides, Kronion), is the central divine actor insofar as the entire war develops according to his plan (1.5; but see also the commentary *ad loc.*), although Thetis can obtain a temporary change in it and Hera can remove his control altogether for a brief period. This over-arching scheme intended by Zeus coincides with ‘fate’. It also corresponds to his absolutely dominant role, both in the world of humans and within the group of Olympian gods, who may conspire against him, but who even all together cannot drag him from the heavens (8.18–27), and against whom he may actually use force (Hera 15.18–24; Hephaistos 1.591–594) despite being closely related to them (Poseidon as his brother; Hera as his sister and wife; Aphrodite, Apollo, Ares, Artemis, Athene, Hephaistos and Hermes as his children, like Skamandros/Xanthos 21.2). – In the world of heroes, Zeus is the father of Helen (3.417), Herakles (14.266 etc.), Dardanos (20.215) and Sarpedon (5.635). He is invoked in prayers (Achilleus 16.233–248), sacrifices (Hektor 22.170 f.) and oaths (19.258 f.); has a holy tree (5.692), the beech (φηγός); and receives cult on mountaintops (Ida 22.170 f.) and in Dodona (16.233–235). While details regarding Dodona are sparse (barefoot prophets),²⁸ cult on mountaintops is well-attested in the post-Homeric period, particularly in connection with Zeus’ role as god of rain and thunderstorms, as indicated by epithets^p such as νεφεληγερέτα, ἐρι- and ὑψιβρεμέτης, ἀργι- and τερπικέρανος.²⁹ In human society, Zeus, a βασιλεύς himself, is the protector of kings (‘fostered by Zeus’, διοτρεφεῖς βασιλῆες 2.196 f.), whom he actually placed on their throne (2.205 f.): like Zeus, kings are set above the network of horizontal agreements and therefore need his protection. He is the guarantor of the system of laws presided over by kings, whose violation he avenges (16.384 ff.) while welcoming leniency (story of the Litai in 9.502–512). He furthermore protects those who dwell outside the protective laws of their native city, as well as heralds (Διὸς ἄγγελοι, ‘messengers of Zeus’, 1.334 etc.), foreign guests (Zeus ‘Xeinios’ 13.625), beggars (*Od.* 6.207) and suppliants (‘Hiketesios’ *Od.* 13.213) – functions significant in the post-Homeric period as well. – Zeus’ name (in its derivation from IE **diu-*, ‘daylight sky’, this is the only Greek divine name other than Hestia already securely known in IE) is attested multiple times in Linear B texts, although with no clear indication of his function. His role as a weather god on mountaintops while simultaneously the highest god of the kings and the society he rules has obvious Ancient Near Eastern parallels.

27 SCHWABL/SIMON 1972/78 is key; see also ARAFAT 1990; CALHOUN 1935; DOWDEN 2006.

28 PARKE 1967.

29 COOK 1925.

2.2 Earlier Generations

The Homeric narrative preserves a range of references, sometimes contradictory, to stories resembling the succession myths in Hesiod and ultimately Near Eastern traditions that offer background to the pantheon currently in power. 25

Zeus and his siblings (namely Poseidon, Hades and Hera) are children of **Kronos** and **Rheia** (14.203, 15.187); Zeus is frequently referred to by the patronymics **Kronides** and **Kronion** and by the formulaic expression ‘son of devious-devising Kronos’ (Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω 2.205 etc.; the epithet likely refers to a story of his devious role in the succession myth: *LfggrE*), whereas Hera is the ‘daughter of Kronos’ (5.721). Under Zeus’ rule, Kronos dwells at the edge of the world in Tartaros (8.479–481), where he has been banished by Zeus (14.203) and where he is surrounded by underworld gods (14.275, 15.225), the **Titans** (14.279), of whom **Iapetos** is another named prisoner (8.479). This more or less matches Hesiod’s portrayal of Kronos’ deposition by Zeus and the Titans’ resistance to Zeus’ reign (Hes. *Th.* 617–733). 26

The designation of gods as (θεοὶ) οὐρανίωνες (literally ‘gods who dwell in heaven’, 1.570 etc.) appears to suggest that the generation of **Gaia** and **Uranos**, which precedes that of Kronos in Hesiod, was known already in the Homeric period. At least this seems to be indicated by 5.898, which might also be read ‘progeny of Uranos’; the myth itself is nowhere articulated in Homer. **Okeanos** and **Tethys** are an isolated primordial couple, introduced as the ‘origin of the gods’ (θεῶν γένεσις) in 14.302 and as the gods who in Zeus’ battle against Kronos provided shelter to Rheia and her daughter Hera. This more clearly has the structure of a succession myth, but an Ancient Near Eastern parallel exists only in the pair Apsu (Freshwater Ocean) and Tiamat.³⁰ 27

3. So-called Personifications

The so-called personifications – concrete or abstract notions characterized as anthropomorphic deities – create difficulties for a modern audience (and especially for the editor of the text, who must decide whether or not to capitalize); this phenomenon is fundamentally foreign to Judeo-Christian religious concepts.³¹ Concrete terms denote forces of nature and the elements – rivers, winds, 28

³⁰ WEST 1997, 137 ff.

³¹ See the essays in STAFFORD/HERRIN 2005 for a somewhat sketchy overview and SHAPIRO 1993 for iconography; still important is REINHARDT (1960) 1966.

celestial bodies, heaven and earth – the abstract ones positive or (more often) negative forces faced by humans; only in cases where proper names are used (e.g. for mountains or rivers) is the editor at least relieved of a decision. In all cases there is confluence of anthropomorphic and non-anthropomorphic action, occasionally in the space of a few lines. This juncture – of physical geography and narrative/cultic shaping – can be seen particularly well in the case of rivers, not only Skamandros, who is an actor in Books 20 and 21 as one of the divine warriors on the Trojan side and as Hephaistos' opponent (here the combination with Hephaistos is also based on the juxtaposition of fire and water), but also in 5.774–777, where Hera stops her chariot at the confluence of Skamandros and Simoeis so that Spercheios can nourish her horses with ambrosia (not water!). In the context of a mythological story (e.g. a rudimentary genealogy) or anthropomorphic action, the noun in question cannot be unequivocally identified as an object or a person in either case. The same haziness, from the opposite direction as it were, is comprised by what rhetorical theory denotes as metonymy – points in the *Iliad* where Hephaistos and Ares in particular simultaneously denote their own spheres, namely fire and battle.

29 The modern differentiation by means of capitalization is even more difficult within the sphere of death-bringing forces of fate (κῆρ, μοῖρα). Moira is closely connected to Thanatos (5.83 etc.) and, as the root cause of violent death, is sometimes linked to the deity who actively causes a death (Hera 18.119, Apollo 16.849, an unnamed deity 19.410). This highlights death's inescapability, but leaves open the question of whether the reference is to an interaction of two deities; genealogy (the children of Night together with Ker and Thanatos, Hes. *Th.* 211, 217) and appearance, at any rate, remain unmentioned. Ker appears as a person only on Achilles' shield, where she is depicted together with Eris and Kydoimos (18.535). In other (usually formulaic) occurrences, human interaction with Ker or the plural Keres is the main focus, while genealogy and appearance are conspicuously absent, as with Moira. One can escape (Κῆρ' ἀλειείων 3.32 etc., Κῆρας ἀλύξας 12.113 etc., ὑπέκφυγε Κῆρα 16.687, φύγε Κῆρα 18.117) or receive Ker (Κῆρα δέξομαι 18.115); on the other hand, Keres carry human beings away (2.302f.). The finding is nonetheless significant: a violent death on the battlefield is seen in both cases as caused by a power whose actions are removed from immediate human access, as with any divine action.

30 Several personifications are actors in the *Iliad*. This is the case particularly in regard to battle in all its aspects, where Eris spurs on the fighters, together with her brother Ares and with Deimos and Phobos (4.440, 5.518, 11.3, 20.47) and takes delight in the battle (11.73). Her role in the action of the battle confers more stature on her than she usually enjoys, for such personifications normally act as servants. Deimos and Phobos harness Ares' chariot (15.119); Iris (whose wings

mar the anthropomorphism only slightly) is the messenger of the gods and the charioteer of Aphrodite (5.353 f./365–369); Hebe pours wine for the gods (4.2) and bathes the wounded Ares (5.905); the Horai ('Hours') are the gate-keepers of Olympus (5.749, 8.393) and unharness Hera's horses (8.433); and the Charites ('Graces') wove Aphrodite's peplos (5.338).

Many abstracts are mentioned in *ekphrases* of special weapons, the aegis 31 (5.740 f.: Eris, Alke, Ioke, Gorgo) and the shields of Agamemnon (11.30–40: Gorgo, Deimos, Phobos) and Achilleus (18.535: Eris, Kydoimos, Ker). The context suggests an anthropomorphic portrayal, although this is not said explicitly, and the combinations of figures indicate that those who belong here are not in any way considered actors elsewhere. Apparently the religious-mythical template allows for *ad hoc* personifications by the poet, as is likely the case for the Litai in the story of Phoinix (9.502 ff.). The lists in Hesiod's *Theogony*, which contain a large number of figures not otherwise personified, show the same degree of freedom.

In the *Iliad*, only rivers and winds receive cult actions. In the post-Homeric 32 period, cults of abstracts spread; in essence, any personification may receive cult when it is imaginable that influence might be exerted on it in this way. (A differentiation on the basis of cult is thus not particularly meaningful.)³²

3.1 Collectives³³

The **Charites** (χάρις 'grace') are imagined as young women, for whom χάρις 33 is of crucial significance for marriage. (They wove Aphrodite's peplos, 5.338; Hera promises Hypnos Pasithea, one of the Charites: 14.267 f./275 f.; her beautiful hair: 17.51 – cosmetics enhance female attractiveness.) According to Hesiod (*Th.* 907–911), they are Aglaie, Euphrosyne and Thalie, daughters of Zeus and the Okeanid Eurynome; Hesiod puts particular stress on their sexual attractiveness.

Rivers,³⁴ as emphatic spatial markers and often unpredictable powers, are 34 embedded in cult and myth. Their depiction is a particularly good illustration of the weaving together of physical geography and narrative-cultic shaping (→ 28). – In the case of Acheloios and Okeanos, their extraordinary strength is emphasized (21.194–196); Alpheios is the ancestor of a local ruling family (5.544–549; a role

³² *E contrario* HAMDORF 1964.

³³ A group such as the nymphs ('girls of marriageable age') is not a personification proper, although they may represent springs individually.

³⁴ WEISS 1984; BREWSTER 1997.

attested for many rivers), while Spercheios is the father of the Myrmidon Menesthios (16.173–176) and Axios the father of Asteropaios (21.140–143). The general ancestor of the gods is Okeanos, together with Tethys – a narrative derived from the Mesopotamian primordial couple Apsu and Tiamat, but integrated into Greek thought regarding the genealogical role of rivers (14.201). All rivers participate in the great assembly of the gods (20.7), with the exception of Okeanos, who dwells far away (cf. 1.423, 3.5, 23.205), although he is the father of all rivers (21.195); only Skamandros (called Xanthos by the gods: 20.74) – and perhaps implicitly his brother Simoeis (21.308) – is a son of Zeus (14.434 = 24.693). Local rivers receive cult: Skamandros has a priest in Troy (3.77), Spercheios is promised a hair-sacrifice upon Achilles' safe return from Troy, which is a transformation of the ephebes' hair-sacrifice at the end of their time of service (23.142, cf. Hes. *Th.* 346–348); and similarly sacrifices are made at border rivers, e.g. Nestor to Zeus, Alpheios, Poseidon and Athene (11.726–728).³⁵

35 Like Hebe (→ 30, 38), the **Horai** ('Hours'/'Opportune Moment') are servants on Olympus – they are gate-keepers, a function that fits their significance as the right (i.e. critical) moment (5.749, 8.393), and they unharness Hera's horses (8.433). Hes. *Th.* 901–903 highlights the importance of their socio-political role, calling them Eunomia, Dike and Eirene (Order [of the community], Justice, Peace), children of Zeus and Themis.

36 The **Nymphs** ('girls of marriageable age, brides') are goddesses of lakes, springs, mountains and the like (20.8f.); they are daughters of Zeus (6.420, 24.616). Individually, they may personify the natural phenomena they represent; are embedded particularly in heroic genealogies (6.21, 14.444, 20.384); and as such go significantly beyond the role of personifications (e.g. Hermes' mother Maia, *h.Merc.* 3). As a group, they cannot be counted among the personifications proper.

37 The **Winds**,³⁶ removed from human interaction but important for human life and survival, are endowed in many cultures with divine powers as recipients of cult. The *Iliad* names Boreas, Euros, Notos and Zephyros, usually in similes, where they occur purely as forces of nature (Boreas appears to be dominant, Zephyros is the fastest, 19.415). Mythical narratives link them to horses: Boreas is in love with the mares of the Trojan king Erichthonios (20.223), Zephyros and the harpie (a storm goddess, cf. *Od.* 1.241, 20.77) Podarge ('swift-foot') are the parents of Achilles' immortal horses Xanthos and Balios (*Il.* 16.150). Perfidious Hera

35 In the post-Homeric period, cult of local rivers is widespread, especially as an expression of local identity, which finds expression in depictions of river gods on Roman Imperial coins.

36 NEUSER 1982.

uses the winds in order to harm Herakles (Boreas, 15.26) and the Trojans (Zephyros and Notos, 21.334). They are part of the action in the cremation of Patroklos' body (23.195–225): Achilleus prays to Boreas and Zephyros; Iris hears the prayer, reports it to the Winds, who are dining at Zephyros' home; and both Winds come to help. Both as a group and as individuals, the Winds received cult in many places across Greece, either regularly or on special occasions, e.g. following their intervention in a naval battle (Herodotus 7.178). Their connection with horses manifests itself in sacrifices of this animal (Festus, *De verborum significatu* 190.24 Lindsay) or of donkeys (*Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. Ἀνεμύτας).

3.2 Individual Figures

Alke 'Battle Force', depicted on the aegis 5.740 (→ 31).

38

Ate 'Delusion/Madness' is Zeus' eldest daughter (19.91) and is contrasted with the other daughters of Zeus, the Litai 'Prayers' (9.504 f./512).

Deimos 'Fear' (→ 30 f.) stirs lust for battle together with Phobos and Eris as part of Ares' or Athene's retinue (4.440) and, together with Phobos, harnesses Ares' chariot (15.119). On Agamemnon's shield, he is depicted together with Gorgo and Phobos (11.37). Hes. *Th.* 934 makes Deimos and Phobos children of Ares and Aphrodite.

Eos 'Dawn' is named almost exclusively in statements regarding time, but mostly in anthropomorphic form; *Il.* 11.1 mentions her husband Tithonos (cf. Hes. *Th.* 984), who is included with no connection to Eos in Aineias' family tree as a brother of Priam (20.237; the story in its entirety in *h. Ven.* 218 f.).

Eris 'Strife' (→ 30 f.), Ares' sister (4.440), appears almost exclusively as an inciter of battle (with Ares, Athene, Deimos and Phobos 4.440; with Ares 5.518; singly 11.73, 20.47 κρατερή λαοσσόος; she is sent out by Zeus in 11.3 to make battle begin; depicted on the aegis at 5.740 and on Achilleus' shield at 18.535).

Gaia 'Earth' is mentioned repeatedly as an oath divinity, together with Helios 3.104, 3.278, 19.259, with Uranos 15.36; this likely reflects actual oath practice. – On her role in the myth of succession → 27.

Hebe 'Sexual Maturity, Youth' (of both sexes) appears in the role of a servant on Olympus (4.2 cup-bearer; at 5.722 she attaches wheels to Hera's chariot; at 5.905 she washes Ares). She is a child of Zeus and Hera and marries Herakles (*Od.* 11.693 f.; Hes. *Th.* 922, 950–955).

Helios (Ἥλιος) 'Sun' is named in statements relating to time (7.421 morning; 8.68 midday; 16.777/779 evening; Hera sends him to Okeanos in 18.238 f. in order to provide the Greeks with rest from the battle) and – since he sees all – as an oath god (3.104, 3.277 with Gaia; 19.197 with Zeus, 19.258 f. with Zeus, Gaia and the

Erinyes). His light does not reach Tartaros (8.480) or Zeus' and Hera's love-nest (14.344). His synonym Hyperion (8.480, 19.398) is more common in the *Odyssey*, where it is taken as a patronymic (*Od.* 12.176). *h.Cer.* 26 and Hes. *Th.* 374 mention his father Hyperion; this indicates that the genealogy may have developed from a misunderstood epithet⁹ ὑπερίων ('he who travels at a height').

Hypnos 'Sleep' is used by Hera in 14.231 ff. for her scheming rendezvous with Zeus. He lives on Lemnos, apart from the main Greek world, and is the brother of Thanatos 'Death' (likewise 16.454, 16.672/682; sons of night at Hes. *Th.* 213). Together, they carry the slain Sarpedon to Lycia.

Ioke 'Attack' is depicted on the aegis 5.740 (→ 31).

Iris 'Rainbow' (→ 30) is usually Zeus' messenger (2.786 f.) and is consequently fast and winged (11.185, 24.77). She also has a connection with Aphrodite, whom she nurses after the latter is wounded by Diomedes (5.353 ff.); without specific orders, she carries Achilles' prayer to the house of the Winds (23.198 ff. – a passage significant for the history of religion, since prayers usually reach their addressees immediately) and, in the guise of the Trojan Laodike (3.121 ff. – a result of her link with Aphrodite?), calls Helen to the wall.

Ker 'Fateful Death' (→ 29, 31).

Kydoimos 'Battle Fray, Panic' leads men into battle together with Eris, Deimos and Phobos (5.593); he is depicted on Achilles' shield along with Ker (18.535).

The **Litai** 'Prayers' appear as daughters of Zeus and sisters of Ate (see above) only in Phoinix' story (9.502 ff.).

Moirai 'Fate' (→ 29).

Nyx 'Night' appears only in the minor myth at 14.259 as the savior of Hypnos (her son, according to Hes. *Th.* 213).

Oneiros 'Dream' is sent by Zeus to Agamemnon, where he takes the guise of Nestor (2.6 ff.); at *Od.* 24.12 and Hes. *Th.* 212 the individual dream is part of a whole people, φῦλον Ὀνειρώων.

Ossa 'Voice, Rumor' is a 'messenger of Zeus' (2.93).

Phobos 'Flight, Panic' (→ 30 f.), a son of Ares (13.299), is occasionally paired with Deimos (as actors at 4.440, 15.119; depicted at 5.739, 11.37). He is similarly personified (Φόβον Ἄρεος) at 2.767 and is the companion of **Phyza** '(Panicked) Flight' at 9.2.

Thanatos 'Death' (→ 29) appears only in connection with Hypnos as a pair of brothers who transport Sarpedon's corpse to Lycia. The pairing does not mitigate the terror of death (a Romantic idea attested from Shelley onward), but rather qualifies sleep.

Themis '(Divine) Law' is a Titan, like Rheia and Mnemosyne, according to Hes. *Th.* 135; is mother of the Horai by Zeus, according to *Th.* 901; and in the *Iliad*

has merely the function of a servant – she kindly offers a cup to a distraught Hera (15.87) and convenes the assembly of the gods at Zeus' behest (20.4).

Uranos usually appears in the context of the myth of succession (→ 27), and on one occasion (15.36) is an oath divinity for Hera.

4. Further Reading

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Cast of Characters of the *Iliad*: Human Beings (CH)

by Magdalene Stoevesandt

1. Preliminary Remarks (1)
2. Achaian Camp (2–7)
3. Troy (8–13)

1. Preliminary Remarks

1 The actors in the *Iliad* on the human level are the ‘heroes’ (ἥρωες) – members of a generation from the distant past, who, as the poet sees it, are distinguished from human beings of his own time by their far superior physical abilities and their greater proximity to the gods (many have a divinity for a father or a mother), although they themselves do not have a divine or semi-divine status.¹ The belief that a special existence in the ‘Elysian Fields’ or on the ‘Isles of the Blessed’ is granted to individual heroes or indeed to all heroes after their lives are over is absent from the *Iliad*, as is any clear indication of hero-cult (demonstrable archaeologically for Homer’s time).² In the case of the human characters, therefore, there is no extra-mythical connection with reality, in contrast to the gods, for whom cult practice must be taken into consideration alongside the mythical tradition. The following account (supplemented by the complete index of characters below, pp. 204 ff.) can therefore be restricted to a brief summary of the most important mythological information. It is intended to bring the modern reader somewhat closer to the state of background knowledge possessed by the original audience – for whom at least the ‘basic facts’ of the Trojan myth-cycle must have

1 Cf. 1.4n., 1.272n., 6.34–35n.; GRIFFIN 1980, 81 ff.; on the designation, unique in the *Iliad*, of those fighting at Troy as ἡμίθεοι (12.23), see HAINSWORTH 1993 *ad loc.*

2 The ‘Elysian Fields’ are mentioned only once in the *Odyssey* (4.563 ff.; see WEST [1981] 1988 *ad loc.*), while the ‘Isles of the Blessed’ appear first in Hesiod (see *Op.* 167 ff. with WEST 1978 *ad loc.*, esp. 167n., 171n.); in the *Iliad*, on the other hand, the mortality of the heroes is stressed (SCHEIN 1984, esp. 95 f.; VAN WEES 2006, 373–375; COLLOBERT 2011, 85–90, 128–132 and *passim*). – On hero-cult in Homer’s time, see VAN WEES 2006, 370–377, and 6.419a n. The single explicit allusion in the *Iliad* to hero-cult occurs in the Athenian entry in the catalogue of ships (2.550 f.: annual sacrifices for Erechtheus) and is probably an Attic interpolation (see above HT 5 with n. 4 and 2.546–556n.); on possible implicit allusions, see NAGY 2012, esp. 47–71.

been familiar (to a different extent, of course, in different individuals)³ – and to facilitate a general understanding of the complex network of relationships in which the actors are connected to one another (familial and subordinate relationships, guest-friend relationships, etc.). Information given in the *Iliad* itself is used in the first instance, but later sources (predominantly the *Odyssey*,⁴ the *Cypria*⁵ and the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*⁶) are included where the picture otherwise remains too fragmentary.

3 On the embedding of the action of the *Iliad* within the frame of the Trojan myth-cycle, see STR 23 with fig. 3; LATA CZ (1985) 1996, 82–90; 2007, 27–39. – Even an approximate reconstruction of the background knowledge of Homer’s contemporary listeners is impossible: myths were told not for their own sake but with different intentions (pedagogical, political, entertainment, etc.) according to the specific narrative situation and to the character of the audience, and they were accordingly reinterpreted constantly in the course of a narrative tradition and altered in their details (cf. GRAF [1985] 1993, 1 ff.). The reciprocal inspiration and interconnection of originally independent epic cycles was also the cause of numerous embellishments. Only the ‘basic facts’ (assembled for the Trojan myth-cycle by LATA CZ [1985] 1996, 84 f.) remained untouched by these processes; without these, the myth would no longer be recognizable. It is thus impossible to say which characters^p may have been invented by Homer and which were adopted by him into the Trojan myth from other cycles; here only probabilities can be highlighted (e.g. that the so-called ‘minor fighters’ [→ 12] are *ad hoc* inventions of the poet; whether Hektor, Patroklos, Chryseïs and Briseïs, characters central to the action of the *Iliad*, belong to the realm of pre-Homeric epic or not is still disputed). On the basic problem, COMBELLACK 1976 and SCODEL 1997; on the adoption of individual characters from one cycle into another, WEST 1985, 137 with n. 30; 2011, 38–47; WATHELET 1988 *passim*.

In the following overview, characters are arranged within the individual groups partly in accord with mythological chronology and partly (where the first criterion is not obviously appropriate) alphabetically.

4 On the question (which cannot be answered conclusively) of whether the *Odyssey* is to be attributed to the same poet as the *Iliad*, see LATA CZ (1985) 1996, 67.

5 The *Cypria* is one of the so-called ‘cyclic epics’ that arose in the 7th/6th c. BC and that expand the Homeric epics to a complete epic circle (‘cycle’) in which all parts of the Trojan myth-cycle not included in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are narrated (LATA CZ [1985] 1996, 61, 75 f., 89 f.; 1997; BURGESS 2001; WEST 2011, 32–35); these epics are known to us only in fragments and the brief summaries by Proclus (5th c. AD). The *Cypria* narrated the prehistory of the Trojan War and the history of the ten-year siege of Troy up to the point where the *Iliad* begins.

6 This work (cited as ‘Hes.’ *fr.* XX M.-W.), likewise preserved only in fragments, is a versified compendium, structured around genealogy, of the mythic history of Greece from earliest times until the Trojan War or the generation after it (WEST 1985, 3); it may date to the middle of the 6th c. BC (WEST *ibid.* 130–137).

2. Achaian Camp⁷

2 Of central importance for the action of the *Iliad* (or its prehistory) are:

The Atreïdai (sons of Atreus) Agamemnon and Menelaos:

Menelaos The abduction of his wife Helen by Paris (→ **8**) is the cause of the Trojan War (2.161 f., 3.86 ff. etc.). Ruler of the region of Lakedaimon, with a residence in Sparta, leader of a contingent of 60 ships (2.581 ff.); he left the leadership of the collective undertaking to his more powerful brother Agamemnon.

Agamemnon Commander-in-chief of the Achaians (1.78 f.) with a personal contingent of 100 ships (2.576); ruler of the region of Argos (1.30, 2.108) with a residence in Mykenai (2.569 ff.). Grandson of Pelops and nephew of Thyestes (cf. 2.105 ff.); husband of Helen's sister Klytaimestra (1.113 f., cf. 'Hes.' fr. 176 M.-W.),⁸ father of Orestes I⁹ (9.142) and three daughters, Iphianassa, Laodike II and Chrysothemis (9.145).¹⁰

Achilleus Best fighter before Troy (2.769 f.). Son of the Nereid Thetis (1.280, 352; → CG 20) and Peleus (1.1); grandson of Aiakos (after whom he is also called 'Aiakides'), great-grandson of Zeus (2.860, 21.189; → CG 24); father of Neoptolemos (19.326 f.). Leader of the Myrmidons (1.180) from the Thessalian region of Phthia (1.155)¹¹ with a contingent of 50 ships (2.685).

Patroklos Closest friend of Achilleus, whom he served as charioteer before Troy (17.426 ff., 475 ff.).¹² Son of Menoitios from Lokrian Opus (18.325 f.), grandson of Aktor II (11.785). Having fled to Peleus after killing a playmate while still a boy, he grew up as an older foster-brother of Achilleus (23.84 f.; cf. 11.765 ff.).¹³

⁷ On the term 'Achaian' (≈ Greek), see 1.2n.

⁸ On a possible allusion of the *Iliad* to the story of the murder of Agamemnon by his wife Klytaimestra and Aigisthos, the son of Thyestes (*Od.* 1.35 ff. etc.), see 1.113–114n.; for the opposed view, cf. KIRK 1985 on 2 101–8.

⁹ Roman numerals serve to distinguish homonymous characters.

¹⁰ Laodike is replaced by Elektra in later sources (e.g. Euripides, *Orestes* 23). – On a possible allusion to the version, first attested only after Homer, that Agamemnon had to sacrifice his daughter Iphigenia to Artemis in Aulis (before the departure of the fleet for Troy), see 1.106–108n.

¹¹ According to 'Hes.' fr. 205 M.-W. the Myrmidons were originally from the island of Aigina, where Zeus created the people from ants (Gr. μύρμηκες, *myrmēkes*) at the request of his son Aiakos. But Aiakos was probably transformed from a Thessalian local hero into the founder of Aigina only later (WEST 1985, 162 ff.; cf. also nn. 13 and 14 below).

¹² There is often a close, trusting relationship between fighter and charioteer, who are particularly dependent on one another in battle; cf. KRISCHER 1992.

¹³ Later sources make Patroklos either a cousin ('Hes.' fr. 212.(a) M.-W.), a nephew (Philocrates *FGHist* 601 F 1 = Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.13.8 [3.176]) or an uncle twice removed of Achilleus (Pindar,

Chryseïs Daughter of Chryses, a priest of Apollo (→ **11**), captured in the sack of Hypoplakian Thebe (a city in the vicinity of Troy) and awarded to Agamemnon as a prize (1.11 ff., 1.366 ff.).

Briseïs Daughter of Briseus, captured in the sack of Lyrnessos (on the same expedition as Chryseïs) and awarded to Achilles as a prize (1.184 f., 1.392, 2.689 ff.); when Lyrnessos fell, she lost her husband and three brothers (19.291 ff.).

In addition to the Atrēidai and Achilleus, the innermost circle of leaders (cf. 3 2.404 ff.) are:

Aias I The so-called ‘greater Aias’, son of Telamon¹⁴ (2.528, cf. 5.610 etc.); best fighter after Achilleus (2.768 f.); leader of an Achaian contingent of 12 ships from Salamis (2.557).

Aias II The so-called ‘lesser Aias’, son of Oileus I (2.527) and Eriopis (13.697); leader of the Lokrians with a contingent of 40 ships (2.527 ff.).¹⁵

Diomedes Grandson of the Aitolian Oineus (through whom he was a guest-friend of the Lykian Glaukos I: → **10**); son of Tydeus (who emigrated to Argos: → **6**) and a daughter of Adrestos I (genealogy: 14.110 ff.); husband of Adrestos’ daughter Aigialeia (his aunt: 5.412). Leader, along with his follower Sthenelos I (→ **4**), of an Achaian contingent of 80 ships from the area around Argos and Tiryns (2.559 ff.).¹⁶

Idomeneus Son of Deukalion I, grandson of Minos, great-grandson of Zeus (13.449 ff.); ruler of the Kretans, along with his follower Meriones (→ **4**) leader of a contingent of 80 ships (2.645 ff.).

Nestor Oldest fighter before Troy; he regularly appears admonishing and giving advice (1.247 ff. etc.). Ruler of Pylos, leader of a contingent of 90 ships (2.602 f.); son of Neleus (2.20 f.), father of Antilochos (→ **4**) and Thrasymedes I (9.81).

Ol. 9.70 combined with ‘Hes.’ fr. 205 M.-W., where ἡ δ(έ) must mean the nymph Aigina). Whether Homer knew of these genealogical constructions cannot be determined. Cf. HAINSWORTH 1993 on 11.605; JANKO 1992, p. 313 and on 16.168–97; WEST 1985, 163.

14 According to later sources (Pindar, *Isthm.* 6.19 ff. etc.), Telamon is a son of Aiakos, and Aias is thus a cousin of Achilleus; the *Iliad* (in which only Achilleus is called ‘Aiakides’) seems not to know this genealogy (WEST 1985, 162 ff.; KIRK 1985 on 2.558 end).

15 The dual-form Αἴαντε (‘the two Aiases’) normally refers to Aias I and II, who appear frequently together, but occasionally to Aias I and his half-brother Teukros (→ **4**); cf. 2.406n.

16 On the problem of the division of his realm from Agamemnon’s, see 2.559–568n., 2.569–580n.; VISSER 1997, 455 ff.

Odysseus Ruler of Ithaka famous for his cleverness and diplomatic skill (3.200 ff.), leader of the Kephallenians with a contingent of 12 ships (2.631 ff.); son of Laërtes (2.173), father of Telemachos (2.260).

4 Leaders with substantial subsidiary roles:

Antilochos Son of Nestor (5.565); along with his brother Thrasymedes I lieutenant of the Pylians (17.702 ff.); youngest Achaian warrior (15.569); friend of Achilleus (23.556) and Menelaos (23.606 ff.).

Automedon Son of Dioreas II (17.429), companion and replacement charioteer of Patroklos and Achilleus (16.145 ff., 19.395 ff.).

Eurypylos I Son of Euaimon, ruler in Thessalian Ormenion, leader of an Achaian contingent of 40 ships (2.734 ff.).

Meges Son of Phyleus, ruler of the islands of Doulichion and the Echinai, leader of an Achaian contingent of 40 ships (2.625 ff.).

Meriones Son of Molos I, follower of Idomeneus and along with him leader of the Kretans (2.645 ff., 13.249 ff.).¹⁷

Sthenelos I Son of Kapaneus (one of the ‘Seven against Thebes’: 4.403 ff.; → 6 s.v. Tydeus); companion and charioteer of Diomedes (→ 3), along with him leader of the people from the area around Argos and Tiryns (2.559 ff.).

Teukros Illegitimate son of Telamon and thus the half-brother of Aias I (8.283 f.); he appears in the *Iliad* predominantly as an archer (8.266 ff. etc.).

5 Characters with special roles:

Epeios Son of Panopeus; he appears in the *Iliad* only in the funeral games for Patroklos, and refers to himself as an unimpressive fighter (23.670). He is generally taken to be identical with the architect of the Trojan horse (*Od.* 8.492 f., 11.523), whom Stesichorus¹⁸ (*fr.* 200 Page) calls the water-bearer of the Atreïdai: obviously the archetypal ‘unheroic laborer’.¹⁹

Kalchas Son of Thestor II, best Achaian augur and seer (1.69 ff.).

¹⁷ The formula Μηριόνης ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρείφοντι (2.651 [see *ad loc.*] etc.) can be dated to the 15th or 16th c. BC on the basis of its metrical structure (cf. M 13.4). Meriones is apparently a pre-Greek hero who entered Greek hexameter poetry in the proto-Mycenaean period and was later adopted into the Trojan myth-cycle (RUIJGH 1995, 85 ff.; LATACZ [2001] 2004, 261–263); the name may be derived from *maryannu*, the Hurrian term for an elite chariot-fighter (WEST 1997, 612; 1997a, 234, following SCHACHERMEYER 1968, 306).

¹⁸ Lyric poet of the 7th/6th c. BC.

¹⁹ Cf. RICHARDSON 1993 on 23.653–699.

Machaon and Podaleirios Sons of Asklepios, physicians; in addition, they lead an Achaian contingent of 30 ships from the area around Thessalian Trikke (2.729 ff.).

Nestor (→ 3).

Phoinix I Teacher of Achilleus (9.485 ff.). Son of Amyntor son of Ormenos from Hellas (a region between Boiotia and Phthia²⁰); after a quarrel with his father, he fled to Peleus, who entrusted him with the rule of the Dolopians (in an outlying area of Phthia; 9.447 ff.). Before Troy, he is advisor of Achilleus (9.438 ff.) and lieutenant of the Myrmidons (16.196).

Talthybios Herald; follower of Agamemnon (1.320 f.), but also independently active in the service of the community (7.274 ff.).²¹

Thersites The ugliest of the Achaians, who attempts to stir the fighters up against their leaders and is roughly put in his place by Odysseus (2.212 ff.).

In stories told by characters, frequent mention is made of heroes of an earlier generation (some of whom belong primarily to other myth cycles); among those mentioned more than once are: 6

The ‘Aktoriones’ Eurytos I and Kteatos Sons of Poseidon (→ CG 23) but nominally of Aktor IV of Elis, also known as the ‘Moliones’ after their maternal grandfather Molos II or their mother Molione (or Moline) (11.750);²² according to ‘Hes.’ fr. 17 f. M.-W. they were Siamese twins.²³ Opponents of the young Nestor in the battle between the Pylians and the Epeians (11.737 ff.) and in the funeral games for Amaryngkeus (23.630 ff.). Their sons Thalpios and Amphimachos I are leaders of the Epeians before Troy (2.615 ff.).

Herakles Son of Alkmene and Zeus (14.323 f.; → CG 24) but nominally of Amphitryon of Thebes (5.392); by a trick of the jealous Hera made to serve Eurystheus of Mykenai, by whose orders he was required to complete a series of heroic tasks (later canonized as the ‘twelve labors’; 8.362 ff., 15.638 ff., 19.95 ff.). First sacker of Troy (Laomedon, father of Priam [→ 8]), had deceived him about an agreed-upon reward, for which Herakles had battled a sea monster on his behalf: 5.638 ff., 20.144 ff.).²⁴ His son Tlepolemos I (leader of the Rhodi-

²⁰ VISSER 1997, 653 f.; cf. 1.2n., 2.683n.

²¹ Cf. 1.320–321n.

²² WEST 1985, 62 f.

²³ This is probably also what is meant at 23.641 f. (οἱ δ’ ἄρ’ ἔσαν δίδυμοι ...); Geometric vase paintings attest to the myth of a monstrous double-creature for the late 8th c. BC (cf. HAINSWORTH 1993 on 11.750; on the sources of the image, FITTSCHEN 1969, 68 ff., and HAMPE 1981).

²⁴ On the background of this story, cf. also 21.441 ff. with RICHARDSON 1993 *ad loc.*; WEST 2011, 32.

ans: 2.653 ff.) and his grandsons Antiphos I and Pheidippos (leaders of the Koans: 2.676 ff.) fight before Troy under the leadership of the Atreïdai.²⁵

Tydeus Father of Diomedes; son of Aitolian Oineus. Driven out of Kalydon after the murder of a relative ('Hes.' *fr.* 10(a).55 ff. M.-W.);²⁶ taken in by Adrestos I of Argos and made his son-in-law (14.113 ff.). Fell in the battle of the 'Seven against Thebes' (the expedition, led by Adrestos, of Oedipus' son Polyneikes against his brother Eteokles: 4.372 ff., 5.800 ff., 6.222 ff., 10.285 ff.).

- 7 The remaining arsenal of Achaian characters is essentially composed of:
- those named in the catalogue of ships as leaders of contingents, who appear seldom or never in the subsequent action;
 - the so-called 'minor fighters' (present among the Trojans in greater numbers: → 12);
 - fathers of 'minor fighters' and other characters mentioned only in genealogical contexts.

3. Troy²⁷

- 8 The most important members of the Trojan ruling family are:

Priam Elderly ruler of Troy (1.255, 3.105 ff.) and of the area around the city (extent of his realm: 24.544 f.). Son of Laomedon, also called 'Dardanides' after his ancestor Dardanos I (genealogy: 20.215 ff.); father of 50 sons and 12 daughters (6.244 ff.).²⁸

²⁵ The background of this entry in the catalogue of ships is the story of Herakles' conquest of the island of Kos, also alluded to at 14.247 ff. and 15.24 ff. (2.677n.; VISSER 1997, 635 ff.). – The *Iliad* also knows of an expedition by Herakles against Pylos in which Nestor's brothers are killed (11.690 ff.) and of a victory by the hero over Hera and Hades (5.392 ff.). In general, cf. SBARDELLA 1994; WEST 2011, 29–31.

²⁶ On the various versions of the story, see JANKO 1992 on 14 115–120.

²⁷ For an extensive collection of the mythological information on all Trojan heroes of the *Iliad*, see WATHELET 1988.

²⁸ Mentioned by name in the *Iliad* are 22 sons (of whom 11 are killed and two are no longer alive at the dramatic date of the *Iliad*) and 3 daughters, some from Hekabe, some from additional wives of high status, some from concubines (on the polygamy of Priam and the social standing of children of concubines, see 6.244–246n.); see below on Paris, Hektor, Deïphobos and Helenos I, and cf. the Index s.vv. Agathon, Antiphonos, Antiphos III, Chromios I, Demokoon I (son of a concubine), Dios, Doryklos (son of a concubine), Echemmon, Gorgythion (son of his additional wife Kastianeira), Hippothoos II, Isos (son of a concubine), Kassandra, Kebriones (son of a con-

- Hekabe** Daughter of the Phrygian Dymas (16.718 f.); wife of Priam, mother of 19 of his 50 sons (24.496).
- Paris** Son of Priam and Hekabe, also called Alexandros (3.325, 3.16 [see *ad loc.*]). Induced by Zeus to judge a beauty contest between Hera (→ CG 16), Athene (→ CG 8) and Aphrodite (→ CG 4); Aphrodite wins the contest by promising him Helen for his wife (the so-called ‘Judgment of Paris’). On the instructions of the goddess, Paris travels to Sparta, where Menelaos (→ 2) receives him as a guest, and abuses the guest-friendship he has been granted by abducting Menelaos’ wife: the prehistory of the Trojan War is narrated in the *Cypria*²⁹ but only alluded to in the *Iliad* (Book 3 *passim*, also 4.7 ff., 5.59 ff., 6.288 ff., 13.620 ff., 24.25 ff. etc.).³⁰
- Helen** Daughter of Zeus (3.199; → CG 24), but nominally of Tyndareos,³¹ and of Nemesis the goddess of revenge or Leda;³² sister or half-sister of the Dioskouroi Kastor and Polydeukes (3.237 f.) and of Klytaimestra (→ 2 s.v. Agamemnon). The most-courted woman of Greece (‘Hes.’ *fr.* 196–204 M.-W.).³³ Mother by Menelaos of Hermione, whom she left behind as a small child in Sparta when she was carried off by Paris (3.175; cf. *Od.* 4.3 ff.: after the Trojan War, Hermione marries Achilleus’ son Neoptolemos).
- Hektor** Probably the eldest son of Priam and Hekabe (6.451, 20.240); supreme commander of the Trojans (2.816 f.) and chief defender of the city (6.403).
- Andromache** Hektor’s wife; daughter of Eëtion I, the ruler of the Kilikians in Hypoplakian Thebe (6.394 ff.); she lost all her relatives in the capture of her home city by Achilleus (6.413 ff.; Chryseïs was captured on the same occasion: → 2).

cupine), Laodike I, Lykaon II (son of his additional wife Laothoë; → 12), Medesikaste (daughter of a concubine), Mestor, Pammon, Polites, Polydoros I (son of Laothoë), Troilos.

²⁹ Proclus, *Chrest.* § 1 f. West and *Cypr. fr.* 4–8 West.

³⁰ Cf. STR 23; 3.121–244n. end, 3.383–420n.; 6.288–295n., 6.292n.; 24.27–30n. – REINHARDT (1938) 1997 is fundamental: The ‘novelistic’ tendencies of the legend are pushed into the background in the *Iliad* or converted into ‘epic situations’; the *basic circumstances* achieved by the Judgment of Paris are decisive for the poet, as are their effects on both divine and human levels (the immeasurable hatred of Hera and Athene for the Trojans; the inner conflict of the abducted wife, the ambivalent relationship of the Trojans with her, etc.). On this ‘psychologizing of the realia of the legend’, cf. also 3.121–244n. end, 3.172–180n., 3.399–412n.; KULLMANN 1960, 382 ff.; (1981) 1992, 85 f.; (1991) 1992, 108 ff.

³¹ ‘Hes.’ *fr.* 176, 199.8, 204.61 f./78 ff. M.-W.; cf. *Il.* 3.139 f. (with KIRK 1985 *ad loc.*) and *Od.* 11.298 ff. (where the Dioskouroi, Helen’s brothers according to *Il.* 3.237 f., figure as sons of Tyndareos).

³² Nemesis: *Cypr. fr.* 10 West; Leda is the wife of Tyndareos (*Od.* 11.298 ff.; cf. ‘Hes.’ *fr.* 24 M.-W.; an attempt to harmonize the various genealogies is found at Apollodorus, *Bibl.* 3.10.7 [3.126 f.]).

³³ On this, WEST 1985, 114 ff.

Astyanax The young son of Hektor and Andromache, also called ‘Skamandrios’ (6.400 ff.).

Deïphobos Son of Priam, favorite brother of Hektor (22.233 f.); lieutenant (12.94).

Helenos I Son of Priam, best Trojan augur and seer (6.76, 7.44 ff.); lieutenant (12.94).

Aineias Son of Aphrodite (→ CG 4) and Anchises I (2.819 f.), member of the subsidiary line of the Trojan ruling family (genealogy: 20.215 ff.); raised by his brother-in-law Alkathoos (13.465 f.); together with the Antenorides (→ 9) Archelochos and Akamas I the leader of the Trojan Dardanians (2.819 f.).³⁴

9 Other influential Trojans are:

Antenor Member of the Trojan council of elders (3.148); supporter of peace (he received Odysseus and Menelaos when they came to Troy before the war for negotiations: 3.205 ff.; speaks in vain for the return of Helen: 7.347 ff.). Father of numerous sons.³⁵

Theano Antenor’s wife, daughter of the Thracian Kisses; priestess of Athene in Troy (6.298 ff., 11.221 ff.).

Polydamas Son of Panthoos (13.756), another member of the Trojan council of elders (3.146); companion of Hektor, who was born on the same night (18.251); lieutenant (11.57, 12.60); he mostly appears advising and warning (12.60 ff., 12.210 ff., 13.725 ff., 18.249 ff.).

10 Especially important among the leaders of the Trojan allies are:

Asios I Leader of the Trojan allies from the area around Arisbe at the Hellespont (2.835 ff.); son of Hyrtakos, father of Adamas (who fights with him before Troy: 12.140).

Asteropaios Leader of the Trojan allies from Paionia, came belatedly as a reinforcement (21.154 ff.); son of Pelegon, grandson of the river-god Axios (→ CG 34) and Periboia the daughter of Akessamenos (21.141 f.).

³⁴ ‘Dardanians’ in a strict sense (the name is also occasionally used for the Trojans collectively) is apparently to be understood as the people who remained behind in the ‘mother city’ Dardania on the slope of Mt. Ida when Troy was founded (20.215 ff.) and who only came to Troy during the war to defend the beleaguered city (see 2.819n. and KIRK 1985 on 2.819–20; on the supposed historical background of this legend, WATHELET 1988, 217 f.).

³⁵ The *Iliad* mentions eleven, six of whom are killed; see the Index s.vv. Agenor I, Akamas I, Archelochos, Demoleon, Helikaon, Iphidamas, Koön, Laodamas, Laodokos I, Pedaios (son of a concubine) and Polybos.

Glaukos I Along with his cousin Sarpedon, leader of the Trojan allies from Lykia (2.876); grandson of Bellerophon, who emigrated to Lykia from the Argive city of Ephyra (through him, Glaukos is a guest-friend of Diomedes: → 3), son of Hippolochos I (genealogy and story of Bellerophon: 6.150 ff.).

Pandaros (→ 11).

Sarpedon Best fighter among the Trojan allies (12.101 ff.); along with his cousin Glaukos I, leader of the Lykians (2.876); son of Zeus and Laodameia the daughter of Bellerophon³⁶ (6.196 ff.).

Characters with special roles:

11

Chryses Father of Chryseïs (→ 2), priest of Apollo in Chryse (a city in the southern Troad³⁷); Agamemnon's dishonoring of him is the trigger for the action of the *Iliad* (1.11 ff.).

Dolon Son of Eumedes, Trojan scout, captured and killed by Diomedes and Odysseus (→ 3; 10.314 ff.).³⁸

Helenos I (→ 8).

Idaios I Herald of the Trojans (3.248).

Pandaros Son of Lykaon I, leader of the Trojan contingent from Zeleia (at the foot of Mt. Ida in the Troad; 2.824 ff.); induced by Athene to break the treaty ('the shot of Pandaros'), thus preventing the bloodless solution to the conflict anticipated by both parties involved in the war (4.86 ff.).

Polydamas (→ 9).

The so-called 'minor fighters'³⁹ (characters who generally appear only once, 12 to die); special insight into the situation of the Trojans is provided by the fates of:

Adrestos III Pleads with Menelaos for his life; Menelaos wishes to spare him, but is persuaded otherwise by Agamemnon: no Trojan should escape destruction (6.37 ff.).

³⁶ According to 'Hes.' *fr.* 140 f. M.-W., however, he is the son of Europa and thus brother of Minos and Rhadamanthys; apparently Sarpedon was adopted by Homer or one of his predecessors from the Cretan myth-cycle into the one concerning Troy (6.198b–199n.; JANKO 1992 on 16.419–683; WATHELET 1988 s.v., esp. 978 ff. and 986 ff.).

³⁷ 1.37–38n.

³⁸ On the question of the authenticity of Book 10 (the so-called 'Dolonia'), see DANEK 1988; HAINSWORTH 1993, 151 ff.; DUÉ/EBBOTT 2010, esp. 3–29; BIERL 2012a; DUÉ 2012.

³⁹ Fundamental on the topic is STRASBURGER 1954; on the so-called 'obituaries' for these characters, see 6.12–19n. and STOEVE SANDT 2004, 126–156, with further bibliography.

Lykaon II Son of Priam and Laothoë the daughter of Altes from Pedasos; prior to the action of the *Iliad*, captured by Achilleus, sold into slavery on Lemnos and ransomed by a guest-friend; twelve days after his return, he again falls into Achilleus' hands and is killed by him (21.34 ff.).

Othryoneus Trojan ally from Kabesos (location uncertain); made great promises (he would drive the Achaians out of Troy) and insisted on the hand of Priam's daughter Cassandra as a reward; killed by Idomeneus (13.363 ff.).

Peisandros I and **Hippolochos II** Sons of Antimachos, they plead in vain for their lives with Agamemnon; their father, bribed by Paris with gold, had opposed the return of Helen (11.122 ff.).

- 13 The remaining arsenal of Trojan characters is essentially limited to:
- heroes of an earlier generation mentioned in the stories told by characters (e.g. Bellerophon: → **10** s.v. Glaukos I; on the type → **6**);
 - fathers of the 'minor fighters' and other characters mentioned in genealogical contexts;
 - various small subsidiary roles.

The Structure of the *Iliad* (STR)

By Joachim Latacz

1. The Basis and History of Structural Analysis of the *Iliad* (1–17)
2. The Structure of the *Iliad* (18–24)

1. The Basis and History of Structural Analysis of the *Iliad*¹

Meaningful structural analysis can only be conducted on structured literary texts. A decision as to the presence or absence of structure depends on the analyst's definition of the term. In the face of the multitude of contemporary concepts of structure, a relatively basic approach is advisable. The following definitions thus seem appropriate:

The term *structura* comes from a construction environment [...]. Used metaphorically, it denotes the way a thing is assembled. Where the analysis is concerned with the construction forms of a piece of art, one speaks of structure. What matters is [...] knowledge of the material and of the rules for how it is layered.²

The assembling can be very simple (addition, agglomeration, conglomeration), so that structural analysis may be complete simply by stating this fact (unless it aims at studying the individual parts). But where the assembling proves complex, the difficulty of analysis increases along with the complexity of the subject matter. The scope and difficulty of the analysis also increase with the size of the text.

It is obvious that the *Iliad*, as we have it, is both a large-scale work (15,693 verses) and a complex one. Whether this complexity is due to single or multiple authorship (the so-called 'Homeric question'³) has occasionally led to controversies, but these controversies did not call into question the basic fact of complexity. Instead, it was the complexity of the text that allowed the diversity of structural analyses to be conducted within the framework of the controversies (with both 'analytical' and 'unitarian' aims).

Structural analysis of the *Iliad* was initiated (as far as we can tell) by Aristotle. Structure is crucial for the impact of poetry, the most developed form of which

¹ In greater detail: LATACZ 1991c.

² HILLEBRAND 1978, 1, transl.

³ See LATACZ (2000) 2006.

for Aristotle was drama, whereas epic poetry was regarded by him as drama's preparatory predecessor. Aristotle referred to structure as *sy-stasis* 'standing together' and *syn-thesis* 'putting together'.⁴ He developed the model of an ideal systasis/synthesis of epic and dramatic poetry (tragedy) from his analysis of the two Homeric epics.

- 5 For Aristotle, the structure of the Homeric epics is characterized by unity/wholeness/completeness, as well as by an organic character:

The stories [in epic] – just as in tragedy – must stand together in such a way that they are 'dramatic' and revolve around a single action, entire and complete, having a beginning, middle and end, so that – like a living creature – single and complete, it produces its own characteristic pleasure. (Poetics 1459a18–21)

- 6 For Aristotle, organic character is the ordering of structural elements and the extension of the overall structure as they correspond to those of a beautiful being: one, whole, complete in itself, not too small or too large (since otherwise, it would be either invisible or incomprehensible), and conditioned in the best possible way to fulfil its purpose – that is, lacking nothing necessary to fulfilling its purpose, containing nothing superfluous, and presenting each individual part in the place within the organism appropriate for fulfilling its purpose:

And it is necessary that the parts of the action 'stand together' such that if any part is placed somewhere else or removed, the whole is disrupted and disturbed. For that whose presence or absence is not noticed at all is not a constituent part of the whole. (1451a32–35)

- 7 If this effect is to be attained, unity and completeness must not be forced. They are forced if they do not result from the story itself but are artificially created by introducing a person ('hero'), for example, or a particular time frame. This creates narratives based on an agglutination of events that lack unity in and of themselves. Examples of this are the numerous epics related to Herakles and Theseus, whose authors were doomed to fail:

But Homer – just as he excels in every other regard – seems also to understand this, whether by skill or by nature. In composing the *Odyssey*, he did not include everything that happened to him (sc. Odysseus) [...] but he made the *Odyssey* 'stand together' around an action that is single in our sense of the word – and likewise the *Iliad*. (1451a22–30)

⁴ 'Where Aristotle [...] is talking about systasis, he is referring to the composing and organizing shaping by the poet'; 'there is no fundamental difference between these two terms [systasis and synthesis]': KOSTER 1970, 54, transl.

All *historical* epics can also serve as examples: density and sequence of events within a particular time frame cannot replace organic unity:

Accordingly, as already noted, in this regard too Homer seems divinely inspired beyond others, since he did not attempt to include the *whole* war, even though it had a beginning and an end. The story would be *too great* and not easily manageable, or measured in its length it would be *too entangled* by the pastiche (of incidents). But he took a single part⁵ and developed the poem by means of many individual scenes.⁶ (1459a30–37)

An ideal structure thus presupposes selection of a single element from potentially infinite material, and the shaping of it into a self-contained, manageable and thematically unified whole, which is then elaborated in individual scenes (*epeis-(h)odia*, episodes). It is already evident here, but is further emphasized elsewhere (1459b28), that these *epeisodia* are always ‘intrinsic’ rather than ‘extraneous’, i.e. integrating parts of a whole.

Consequently, the *Iliad* is a model epic in Aristotle’s view (explicitly so at 1462b10 f.). His evaluation of its structure is apparently based on comparison of the *Iliad* with an extensive collection of epics – evident in the references to the ‘Herakles and Theseus epics’ as well as elsewhere, to other tales from the Epic Cycle (additional epics that formed part of the Trojan War tradition) – that is no longer extant. His judgement is thus based primarily not on subjective preferences but on a comparative assessment of material lost to us – by a scholar who was particularly clear-sighted in matters relating to structure. Despite the refinements in critical methodology achieved since Aristotle’s time, his judgment must still be taken seriously, as it was for the literary-aesthetic study of Homer well into the 18th century. 8

Aristotle’s evaluation of the structure of the *Iliad* was merely part of a wider 9 analysis of poetic literature aimed at general issues rather than the *Iliad* itself. As such, it was the result of a broad overview rather than of detailed textual analysis. Nevertheless, both in antiquity and modern times, this was essentially regarded as the ‘final word’, mediated through the tradition of the ancient philosophical schools, in particular that of the Peripatetic school itself:⁷ the *Iliad* is received as the unified creation of an outstanding (‘god-like’) poet. It is interpreted and used

5 Ἐν μέρος ἀπολαβών (sc. μῆνιν Ἀχιλλῆος).

6 The basis for this translation is the framing of the text and the resulting concept of *epeis-(h)odia* initiated by K. Nickau in 1966 and further solidified by A. Köhnken in 1990 (NICKAU 1966; KÖHNKEN 1990, 136–149).

7 On the role of Theophrastus, Neoptolemus, etc., see KOSTER 1970, 85–123.

from many points of view, but its structure is not considered. There is accordingly no systematic study of the structure of the *Iliad*.

10 Only in the wake of the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* and in conjunction with the general rebellion against ‘poetological Aristotelianism’,⁸ in particular in late 18th-c. Germany, is the Aristotelian structural analysis of the Homeric epics with its relentless emphasis on structural *unity* called into question.

11 After a period of preparation via several anti-Aristotelian revolts and movements (demands for *historical* approaches to poetry, discovery of improvising oral *folk poetry*), the change appears in clear outline and as the rudiment of an alternative system in a lecture on Homer given by Christian Gottlob Heyne, the academic mentor of Friedrich August Wolf, in the summer term of 1789:⁹ although the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are Homer’s creations, they were never committed to writing by the poet himself, but rather performed orally. Rhapsodes continued ‘Homer’s poems’ in individual parts (rhapsodies) taken from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. ‘The Homeric poems were collected and written down only late; it is unclear by whom. Lycurgus is suggested [...], as are Pisistratus and his sons [...], finally also Solon. All may easily have played a part ...’ Thus for the first time the *Iliad* is no longer conceived of as a structural whole according to one individual’s design, but as a post-600 BC compilation of originally distinct Homeric poems. The traditional *communis opinio* is thereby discarded.

12 Six years later, in 1795, Friedrich August Wolf published his *Prolegomena ad Homerum*, which developed the basic ideas proposed by Heyne further and, with more arguments added, wove a comprehensive system. Even Wolf does not doubt that both epics are skilfully structured (*Quin insit in iis aliquod [sc. artificium structurae et compositionis], dubitari nullo pacto potest*), although he questions whether this *artificium* derived from Homer or was added by other individuals (*Homerine id sit an ab aliis ingeniis [...] adscitum*).¹⁰

But Wolf avoids the detailed structural analysis of the *Iliad* the point requires; this he leaves to others with better artistic judgment than himself: ‘*Klopstockii, Wielandi, Vossii*’, i.e. connoisseurs who were among the most important German-language poets of his time.¹¹ At any rate, he says, the last six Books could *not* have been written by Homer, the *primus auctor* who set the theme (the μῦθς

⁸ FUHRMANN 1973, 189 (transl.) and *passim*.

⁹ Lecture notes by Wilhelm von Humboldt, identified among Wolf’s estate by A. Leitzmann and published in LEITZMANN 1908, 550–553 (the following quotations are translated from the German); also MATTSO 1990, 333–352; cf. LATACZ 1991c, 401.

¹⁰ Both quotations: WOLF 1795, *cap.* 30.

¹¹ WOLF 1795, *cap.* 27, most likely without his usual irony.

Ἀχιλλῆος), for the seven lines of the prelude tell only of the wrath of Achilleus against Agamemnon and the Greeks, whereas the final six contain a different wrath (Achilleus' revenge on Hektor and the Trojans) and must accordingly have been composed by a different poet, an 'ingenious rhapsode of a subsequent era'.¹²

By raising the question of the *Iliad*'s structure without solving it and instead delegating it to others, Wolf initiated the analyst-unitarian controversy, which continued for the next 120 years, or even 160 years if one counts its offshoots in the 1940s through 1960s (e.g. THEILER 1947, JACHMANN 1949, VON DER MÜHLL 1952, REINHARDT 1961). In this controversy, one side attempts to prove the structure of the extant *Iliad* 'bad', the other 'good'. Accordingly, one side denies the structural unity of the *Iliad*, while the other defends it; but neither attempts to comprehend the structural rules of the *Iliad* as it is preserved. 13

A return to the unitarian position is initiated in 1938 by Wolfgang Schadewaldt's *Iliasstudien*.¹³ 14

Rather than offering judgments regarding quality, which are of vague provenance and in any case subjective, Schadewaldt considers function. His terminology is accordingly purely of this sort: 'Szene' (scene), 'Akt' (act), 'Bauglied' (construction element), 'Verklammerung' (interlocking), 'Verknüpfungstechnik' (linking technique), etc. Aristotle's 'structuralist' approach is thus restored, but is transferred to a higher level via the analysis of details and the introduction of structural-analytical categories such as 'Szenen- und Klammertechnik' (technique of interlocking scenes), 'Vorausdeutung' (foreshadowing), 'Vorbereitung und Aufschub' (preparation and postponement), 'Spannungssteigerung und Retardation' (increase of suspense and retardation) and the like drawn from contemporary narratological research. The basic concept of Schadewaldt's structural analysis corresponds to what Eberhard Lämmert calls the 'co-existence of individual elements [...] in the linguistic work of art', which leads him to the notion of the 'spherical unity of the narrative'.¹⁴

The year of publication of the *Iliasstudien* proved detrimental to the rapid dissemination of Schadewaldt's findings. After the Second World War, a renewed analytic movement arose (see 13) that failed to take account of the core of the 15

12 WOLF 1795, *cap.* 27/31.

13 SCHADEWALDT (1938) 1966.

14 LÄMMERT 1955, 95, transl.

reflective progress achieved by Schadewaldt and was thus already methodologically obsolete.¹⁵

At the same time, the new interpretative approaches that flourished in the post-war period, such as neo-analysis and oral poetry studies, *a priori* did not aim at a structural analysis of the text at hand but rather – with various methods – at clarifying its *coming into being*. Added to this was the general expansion of interest in research on Homer in the broader field of classical studies, general literary studies, linguistics and similar areas. Structural analysis in its own right became marginalized, and either smaller units or *specific* problems of structure were considered.¹⁶

16 Currently, the most promising research direction in structural analysis is *narratology*, which developed from Russian formalism and the structuralist movement over the course of the 1970s. Following suggestions made in the early 1980s in publications by Ernst-Richard Schwinge and Joachim Latacz that German-language Homeric scholarship should take account of this approach,¹⁷ narratology has largely been driven forward by Irene DE JONG (1987) 2004, who in addition presented an instructive overview of methods, previous achievements and future challenges for the discipline in 1997 in the *New Companion to Homer*.¹⁸

A conviction that the understanding of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as *unified works* can best be promoted by this approach in the future has meant that a great deal of space has been devoted to narratology in the present commentary.

At the moment, however, narratology is largely concerned with individual issues ('specifically with narrative aspects or techniques of the Homeric epics'¹⁹). To date, the discipline has not achieved an analysis of the complete structure of both epics using its particular categories (largely known since antiquity,^{19a} but systematized only in the context of narratology) under the title 'The structure of the *Iliad*' and 'The structure of the *Odyssey*'.

15 See Schadewaldt's justifiably disappointed 'Epilog 1965' (a quotation from Goethe) to the 3rd edition (SCHADEWALDT [1938] 1966, 183). – Already in 1954, Albin Lesky wrote: 'The treatment of the Homeric Question since Fr. A. Wolf has to be named as philology's probably most dubious chapter. [...] Wolfgang Schadewaldt's studies (*Iliasstudien*, 1938; *Von Homers Welt und Werk*, 1944) seemed to establish a *new* understanding of the importance and unity of these poems, but recently, *traditional* analysis has forcefully re-registered its claim with some significant publications'; LESKY (1954) 1966, 63, transl.; italics: J. L. Lesky's comments were aimed at THEILER 1947 and VON DER MÜHLL 1952 in particular.

16 List of relevant publications in LATA CZ 1991c, 412 with n. 55.

17 SCHWINGE 1981; LATA CZ (1981) 1994.

18 DE JONG 1997.

19 DE JONG 1997, 305; cf. DE JONG 2012 (Introduction).

19a See e.g. NÜNLIST 2009.

In the face of this generally unsatisfactory situation regarding both the history of research and its current situation, the following is to be understood as merely an attempt to consider known facts comprehensively and to indicate new possibilities. To this end, only the broad lines of the *Iliad*'s structure have been addressed; elaboration of details cannot be accomplished within the given framework. 17

2. The Structure of the *Iliad*

The following structural formula can be extracted from the narrative of the *Iliad*, based on a heuristically fruitful method of analysis used by Aristotle:²⁰ 18

A, leader of the most important contingent of a military force laying siege to the city of T, is wounded so deeply in his honor by the alliance's commander-in-chief Z that he withdraws with his contingent from the alliance and promises to return only when the commander recognizes his error as a result of an existential threat to the remainder of the alliance and issues an apology to A. When the threat to the alliance reaches an extreme point, A relents under pressure from his best friend P and sends P into battle in his place. After P is killed by H, the leader of the besieged side (and after Z's apology), A rejoins the battle and takes revenge for P's death by killing H. P and H are buried; the battle continues.

The actual story^P arises on the basis of this formula via (1) the naming of the main actors within the structure (A → Achilles, T → Troy, etc.), (2) the elaboration of the structural formula in scenes^P (*epeisodia*). The structural formula is thus *set in scene*. 19

The staging of the structural formula takes place in the interplay between the projection of a static, narrative background, the story of Troy – assumed to be already known and temporally widely extended – and development of a dynamic foreground narrative, the story of Achilles – probably unfamiliar in its perspective and detail,²¹ and strictly limited in time. The narrative background and the foreground story are interwoven via (1) an overarching plane of timelessness, represented by the presence of the 'eternal/immortal' gods, who share an interest in the developments, (2) the flashbacks and foreshadowings (external analepses^P and prolepses^P) that permeate the entire narrative, delivered both by the narrator^P and by characters^P within the narrative. 20

²⁰ Aristotle, *Poetics* 1455b2–12 (structural formula of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*).

²¹ LATACZ (1985) 1996, 75–79, 90 f.

21 The foreground narrative extends over 51 days. 21 of these are taken up with the exposition, 24 with the ending (= 45 days). These 45 days are dealt with in 2,238 lines, i.e. about one-seventh of the total text. Six days stand between exposition and ending – days 22 through 27 – with a total of 13,444 lines (i.e. 6/7 of the total text). Of these six days, only four are treated in detail: days 22, 25, 26 and 27, during which fighting takes place. These four days, encompassing 13,342 lines, account for more than 22 of the total of 24 books.²²

A graph serves to illustrate these relations in detail; it further demonstrates the extent of gathering (only designated time-scales, e.g. 1.53: 9 days in one line; cf. the two 12-day sequences in books 1 and 24: 1.425/493 and 24.22/31) and expansion (e.g. 11.1–18.617: 1 day in 5,669 lines), and thus the rhythm of the narrative (which in turn illustrates how the content is accentuated) (fig. 1).

22 The structure of the foreground-narrative is determined by two arcs of suspense: (1) a (more extensive) arc that extends from the structural point ‘(preparation for and) initiation of the grievance’ in Book 1 (1.247)²³ to the structural point ‘resolution of the grievance’ in Book 19 (19.75), and ties together the mass of narrative in between; (2) a (less extensive) arc beginning with the structural point ‘death of Patroklos’ (16.855), incorporating the structural point ‘resolution of the grievance’ that marks the endpoint of the first arc, and ending only with the structural point ‘completion of Hektor’s funeral’ (24.804 = end of text). Together these two crossing arcs create the unity of the text as a whole.

The second graph illustrates how the structure develops in detail within the framework of these two arcs (fig. 2). Although the graph is self-explanatory, two particularities of the structure should be highlighted:

(1) The arc ‘grievance of Achilles’ loses none of its connective force during Achilles’ withdrawal and physical absence from the slaughter, although superficially the only concrete action during his withdrawal appears to be the parallel arc ‘promise of Zeus’ on the divine level that is triggered by Thetis’ prayer. To the contrary, the physical absence of Achilles is deliberately emphasized not only

²² In the text, as well as in the graphs, the Books are only used to clarify relations and for orientation. In principle, the division into 24 Books should not form the basis for structural analysis, as this was applied to the text no earlier than 403 BC (the introduction of the 24-letter alphabet in Athens); the division was either unknown to Aristotle or considered irrelevant by him (detailed discussion in JENSEN 1999).

²³ The correlative adverb ἐτέρωθεν indicates that ἐμήνιε is valid also for Achilles, cf. KIRK 1985 *ad loc.* and passages like 7.417 f./419 f., 9.663 f./666 f., 11.214/15, 13.834/35, 16.426/27 and *passim*. χόλος is associated with external activity (words, gestures), μῆνις with external passivity (sitting, silence). The μῆνις-thread disappears here, briefly resurfaces again at 422, and finally in the *definition* of μῆνις at 488–492 takes shape as the structural underpinning (LATACZ [1985] 1996, 122 f.).

Structural part	Days	Nights	Verses	Section	Content	
exposition (21 days) 647 verses	day 1	—	41	1.12b–52	Chryses prelude	
	day 2–9	7 nights	1	1.53	Plague in the Achaian camp	
	day 10	—	423	1.54–476	Achilleus – Agamemnon argument Embassy to Chryse	
	day 11	—	16	1.477–492	Return of the ambassadors Grievance of Achilleus (<i>mēnis</i>)	
	day 12–20	8 nights	(1)	(1.493)	Gods visiting the Aithiopians	
	day 21	plus night before day 22	166	1.493–2.47	Thetis' plea Agamemnon's dream	
core action (6 days) 13.444 verses	1st day of battle (insertion)	day 22	—	3.653	2.48–7.380 (nearly 6 books)	Tempting of the army by Agamemnon (<i>diapēira</i>) Catalogues (inspection of the troops) Contract: settlement of the war through the Menelaos – Paris duel Viewing from the wall (<i>teichoscapia</i>) Menelaos – Paris duel Violation of the contract by the Trojan Pandaros <i>Aristeia</i> (heroic deeds) of Diomedes Hektor in Troy (<i>homilia</i>) Hektor – Aias duel
		day 23	—	52	7.381–432	Truce Funeral
	2nd day of battle	day 24	—	50	7.433–482	Construction of Achaian wall
		day 25	plus night before day 26	1.857	8.1–10.579 (3 books)	Achaians forced back Trojans camp in the plain Delegation to plead with Achilleus (<i>litaî</i>) [Dolonia]
	Third day of battle	day 26	plus night before day 27	5.669	11.1–18.617 (8 books)	<i>Aristeia</i> of Agamemnon <i>Aristeia</i> of Hektor Wounding of the Achaian leaders Achilleus sends Patroklos to Nestor Battle for the encampment wall (<i>teichomachia</i>) Trojan incursion into the Achaian camp Battle before the ships Seduction of Zeus by Hera (<i>diós apátē</i>) <i>Patrokleia</i> Description of Achilleus' shield
		4th day of battle	day 27	plus night before day 28	2.163	19.1–23.110a (nearly 5 books)
	conclusion (24 days) 1.591 verses	day 28	—	147	23.110b–257a	Funeral of Patroklos
day 29		plus night before day 30	661	23.257b– 24.21	Athletic games in Patroklos' honor (<i>athla</i>)	
day 30–40		10 nights	9	24.22–30	Desecration of Hektor's body	
day 41		plus night before day 42	664	24.31–694	Priam visits the Achaian camp	
day 42		—	87	24.695–781	Bringing Hektor's body home	
day 43–50		7 nights	3	24.782–784	Truce; collection of wood	
day 51		—	20	24.785–804	Funeral of Hektor	

chart Joachim Latacz, Basel

Fig. 1: Internal chronological structure of the *Iliad* (STR 21)

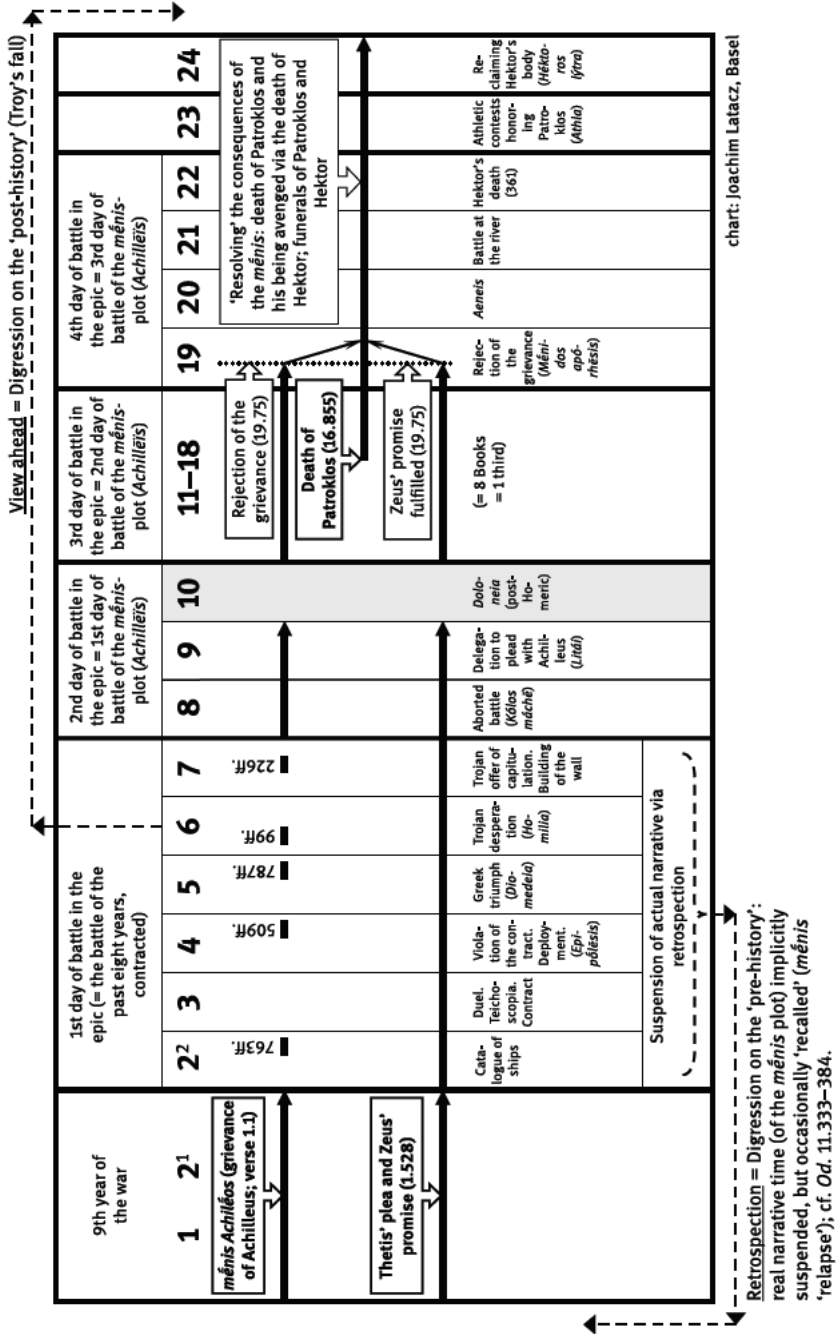


Fig. 2: Structure of the foreground narrative (STR 22)

by its intensive thematization in Books 1, 9, 16 and 18/19, but also by the limited but emphatic stress placed on it in the intervening narrative stream. In this way, the lack of action by Achilleus is structurally effective as the most powerful action in the work:²⁴ Achilleus remains *absens praesens*, so that both narrator and audience always remain conscious of the temporary nature of the current ‘reversal’ of the military balance of power. Indeed, only because of Achilleus’ passivity is it generally possible to understand this reversal, in the constant awareness that it will eventually come to an end. The arc ‘grievance of Achilleus’ thus ensures the internal connection of the *episodia* between the beginning and the end of the grievance, keeping them from collapsing into a merely episodic character.

(2) The signals recalling the anger theme are particularly strong in Books 2 through 7. This is due to the fact that in these Books – beginning with the date provided by Agamemnon in his test-speech in Book 2 (2.134–138: ‘And now nine years of mighty Zeus have gone by, and the timbers of our ships have rotted away ...’) – the direction of the narrative changes fundamentally, as a reversion that delves ever further into the past begins:²⁵ Aulis (2.303) and the abduction of Helen (2.356) make brief appearances; next, the gathering of the fleet for retaliation in Aulis nine years in the past is described in detail (the catalogue of ships), followed by the duel between Menelaos and Paris (an event that belongs at the beginning of the war in accord with narrative logic) – the party whose honor had been violated versus the party who perpetrated the violation – and Helen’s introduction for Priam’s benefit of the Achaian heroes, as the two of them look down from the city wall (‘teichoscopeia’; this cannot of course have happened as late as the ninth or tenth year of the war), etc. This reversion, a kind of latent analepsis^p, does not conclude until Book 8, when Zeus convenes the assembly of the gods, in which he prohibits their participation in the battle, only then attempting to fulfil Thetis’ plea. In between, a large part of the narrative background, i.e. the story of Troy, has been introduced in the form of a gradual return to the very beginning of the larger context of events, in which the foreground narrative itself forms a (substantial) *episodion* – the story of Achilleus has begun to distinguish itself from its background and to draw close to its earlier history. The same technique, albeit in a more developed form, is used in the *Odyssey* in Odysseus’ tales (ἀπόλογοι).

The gradual reversion in Books 2–7 is merely the most obvious and explicit example of a projection of the narrative background of the ‘story of Troy’. The foreground narrative, i.e. the story of Achilleus, exceeds its proper boundaries

23

²⁴ For more details, see LATACZ (1985) 1996, 122–125; cf. SCHWINGE 1991, 502–504.

²⁵ Beginnings of this interpretation in HEUBECK (1950) 1991; in more detail, LATACZ (1985) 1996, 128–131.

and refers to this background by means of more than 60 allusions (usually in character^P speeches), scattered throughout the narrative, as Wolfgang Kullmann demonstrated more than 60 years ago.²⁶

The outline of the story of Troy, as known to the poet of the *Iliad* and as he will have believed it was ideally known to his audience,²⁷ can easily be reconstructed from these allusions, which can mostly be identified as allusions rather than as the narrator's *autoschediasmata* (inventions). Its form is illustrated in fig. 3. Only the structurally most important narrative elements key to the internal context of the story of Troy deducible from the text of the *Iliad* have been included (highlighted; additional connecting elements derived not from the *Iliad* but from allusions in the epic cycle and other poems have been included sparingly).

24 At this point, what Aristotle meant by saying that Homer had 'taken away' only one part of the Trojan War (ἔν μέρος ἀπολαβών) becomes apparent; what is more, it is clear that Homer took this part not merely from the 'Trojan War' but more broadly from the overall context of the extended story of Troy. He thus embedded his (limited) story of Achilles in the (much larger) story of Troy. This is the principle of interpolation, used again and again in world literature since then. (Occasionally, when the abilities of the narrator are lesser, this is also termed 'parasite technique' or 'myth reprisal technique'.) Homer had an exemplary understanding of how to invert circumstances to make his 'smaller' story into the central, 'larger' story. He assigns the story of Troy the role of a mere backdrop, although its presence, by providing 'historical' depth, gives the foreground narrative a specific, current meaning for the audience. (Simultaneously, the old story of Troy is given a new causal and psychological significance beyond mere factuality by being mirrored in the foreground story.)

This interweaving of background and foreground apparently proved so illuminatingly meaningful that the recipients' general impression of dealing with a work of the highest quality was reinforced by the aspects of its structure as well.

26 KULLMANN 1960, 5–11.

27 On the issue of the prerequisite prior knowledge of the addressees, see CH 1 n. 3. For a decision, however, regarding which elements may have been adopted from older narrative tradition and which are invented, the knowledge of an audience, surely different at all points in time, is of less importance than that of the author. On the criteria for addressing the latter point, see KULLMANN 1960, 13–17.

Twenty years of pre-war history		Ten years of war before Troy		Ten years of returns	
Prelude on Olympus		9 years		10th year	
ZEUS – THEMIS consultation regarding the Trojan War.	ZEUS begets HELEN (with NEMESIS / LEA).	WEDDING of Zeus' grandson PELEUS to THETIS, daughter of Nereus, on Mount Pelion (Thessaly); all the gods participate. (ACHILLEUS will be born from this union.)	PARIS sails to Greece and kidnaps HELEN in Sparta.	Final events: The Amazon PENTHESILEIA arrives and is defeated by ACHILLEUS. THESSITES insults ACHILLEUS and is killed by him.	'Telogonia' The end of ODYSSEUS.
ZEUS and HERA force the marine goddess THETIS to have relations with King PELEUS.	ACHILLEUS will be born from this union.)	ACHILLEUS injures the Mysian King TELEPHOS. Departure from Teuthrania to Troy, but storm and scattering of the fleet.	Landing in the Troad; death of PROTESILAOS. Achaian mission to Troy under ODYSSEUS and MENELAOS fails. ACHILLEUS kills KYKNOΣ. ACHILLEUS' great deeds he conquers 23 land and island cities in the vicinity of Troy (including Lyrnessos, Pedasos, Hypoplacian Thebe) in order to isolate Troy; among the spoils are BRISEIS and CHRYSIS.	Return of all surviving Greek warriors who fought at Troy.	40 days – our <i>Odyssey</i> minor episode from the <i>nostos</i> of ODYSSEUS, including his reunion with his wife PENELOPE and the regaining of his possessions.
THE three goddesses visit the beautiful PAMIS, son of PRAM and HEKABE, on Mount Ida near Troy. PARIS shall decide.	The goddess ERIS sow's discord between the three goddesses HERA, ATHENE, APHRODITE. Who is the most beautiful? The three goddesses visit the beautiful PAMIS, son of PRAM and HEKABE, on Mount Ida near Troy. PARIS shall decide.	Second meeting in Aulis. AGAMEMNON's desecration of ARTEMIS' hind results in the sacrifice of IPHIGENIA, daughter of AGAMEMNON and KLYTAIMESTRA.	51 days – our <i>Iliad</i> minor episode between argument and its consequences, especially the death of HEKTOR.	Dispute over ACHILLEUS' armor between AIAS and ODYSSEUS; the latter prevails. AIAS' madness. PHILOKTETES and NEOPTOLEMOS, the son of ACHILLEUS, are fetched by ODYSSEUS. The wooden horse; conquest of Troy 'Iliou Persis'.	
		Cure of TELEPHOS after his arrival. Sparrow oracle of KALCHAS.		PHRIAM is killed.	
		Second sailing from Aulis. Landing in Tenedos; landing in Lemnos; abandonment of PHILOKTETES.			

Fig. 3: Macrostructural embedding of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in the overall story of Troy (STR 23)

Homeric Poetics in Keywords (P)

By René Nünlist and Irene de Jong

The following glossary defines (and cites common alternative terms for) the most important and most common elements of Homeric poetics, insofar as they have been developed to date. The commentary will accordingly be unburdened in the area of poetics in the same way that it is in regard to grammar and meter.

The notes offer a selection of the relevant bibliography (with a slight preference for works drawn from Homeric scholarship).¹

Throughout, the individual keywords are illustrated with examples from the *Iliad*, even if these involve general principles of narration.²

ABC-SCHEME: A scheme of scenes in three parts: part A brings together the essential point of the scene in the form of a →summary (e.g. 'X kills Y'). Part B supplies background information that is not immediately necessary (often regarding the origin of a character/object). Part C describes in greater detail the event anticipated in A (e.g. 5.49–58).³

ANALEPSIS ('flashback', 'Rückwendung'): Explicit or implicit reference to an event that *precedes* the point reached in the →primary story (counterpart: →prolepsis). A distinction can be drawn between (a) *external* analepsis (reference to events *before* the beginning of the primary story) and *internal* analepsis (reference to events *after* the beginning of the primary story); (b) *completing* analepsis (containing additional information) and *repeating* analepsis (containing no additional information).

For the *Iliad*, the following division of roles tends to be valid: The (primary) →narrator avoids external completing analepses, leaving them to his secondary narrators (e.g. the assembly of troops in Aulis: 2.303f.). External completing analepses thus appear in direct speech (exception: information about the origin of a character or an object, e.g. 2.101–108). In contrast, internal completing analepses are generally reserved for the (primary) narrator.⁴

1 The pioneering function of ancient scholarship in general, and the terms and concepts of literary criticism in the scholia in particular, is the subject of NÜNLIST 2009, to which regular reference will be made in the notes below.

2 An analogous glossary specifically tailored to the needs of a narratological commentary on the *Odyssey* can be found at DE JONG 2001, XI–XIX.

3 BEYE 1964; 'anecdote', his term for part B, is unfortunate, because it does not take account of the emotionalizing function (on which, GRIFFIN 1980, 103–143).

4 On external/internal and completing/repeating analepsis: GENETTE (1972) 1980, 48 ff.; cf. also HELLOWIG 1964, 46–53; DE JONG (1987) 2004, 81–90; RICHARDSON 1990, 95–99; REICHEL 1994, 47–98. For the treatment of analepsis in the scholia, see NÜNLIST 2009, 45–48. – On the divi-

ANTICIPATION OF SCENES/MOTIFS ('anticipatory doublet/echo', 'Motivdoppelung'): Special form of →prolepsis: through the depiction of a →scene / →motif, the subsequent depiction of a similar scene / motif is indirectly prepared for (e.g. the dishonoring of Chryses and Achilles: 1.12–33 / 1.130–326). The anticipatory version is generally shorter.⁵

Focus can also be on a →character, in which case the passage is a CHARACTER DOUBLET (e.g. Tros and Lykaon: 20.463–472 / 21.34–136).⁶

ARGUMENT FUNCTION and KEY FUNCTION: →Secondary stories can have different functions depending on the narrative level. ARGUMENT FUNCTION concerns the →character-level (e.g. by means of the →paradigm of Meleager [9.527–599], Phoenix wants to persuade Achilles to fight again). The same paradigm has a KEY FUNCTION on the level of the author and the listener/reader (like Meleager, Achilles will refuse).⁷

KEY FUNCTION can also include so-called 'dramatic irony': a discrepancy between the greater knowledge of the listener/reader and the more limited knowledge of the character, who acts accordingly.

The same holds true for a 'récit spéculaire' (also: 'mise en abyme'): a →secondary story that, in one form or another, reflects the (primary) →story (e.g. again the paradigm of Meleager).⁸

CATALOGUE: Frequent form of enumeration in traditional poetry, often in combination with appeals to the Muse and/or questions with a trigger function (e.g. 11.218–220; 16.692 f.).⁹

CATCH-WORD TECHNIQUE: A special form of →word play used in direct speech. A respondent takes up one or more central terms from the speech of his interlocutor (e.g. 1.558/561 οἶω/οἶέα).¹⁰

CHARACTER ('Figur', πρόσωπον, *persona*): The individuals within the text who are themselves part of the narrated events. Characters can function as secondary →narrators and/or →focalizers (cf. →secondary focalization).

sion of roles between narrator and characters: KULLMANN (1968) 1992, 224; KRISCHER 1971, 93 f.; STEINRÜCK 1992.

5 SCHADEWALDT (1938) 1966, 127, 148, 150; FENIK 1968, 213 f.; 1974, 101; EDWARDS 1987a.

6 FENIK 1968, 134; 1974, 142, 172–207.

7 The pair of terms 'argument function / key function' was coined by ANDERSEN 1987.

8 On 'dramatic irony', e.g. PFISTER (1977) 1988, 87–90; NÜNLIST 2000; 2009, 234 f. (on the treatment of dramatic irony in the scholia). – On 'récit spéculaire': SCHADEWALDT (1952) 1965, 166, 168 f., 172., 190 ff. (with a neo-analytical aim); REINHARDT 1961, 449; GENETTE (1972) 1980, 233; DÄLLENBACH 1977; LÉTOUBLON 1983; DE JONG 1985; ANDERSEN 1987.

9 MINTON 1962; BEYE 1964; KRISCHER 1971, 146–158; VISSER 1998, 31–35; SAMMONS 2010.

10 LOHMANN 1970, 95–156 (the term: 145); MACLEOD 1982, 52 f.; RUTHERFORD 1992, 62; DANEK 1998.

CHARACTER DOUBLET: see ANTICIPATION OF SCENES/MOTIFS.

CHARACTER LANGUAGE: Words (often offering value judgments) that occur exclusively or primarily in →secondary focalization, but that are in large part avoided in the (primary) →narrator-text.¹¹

COMPARISON ('Vergleich'): Functionally identical with →(long) simile, except that only the 'as' part is given. (The English 'simile' is insufficiently specific to be used here, since it also includes →(long) simile.)

COMPLEX NARRATOR-TEXT ('embedded focalization'): see SECONDARY FOCALIZATION.

'CONTINUITY OF THOUGHT' PRINCIPLE (Homeric *hysteron proteron*, πρὸς τὸ δεύτερον πρότερον ἀπαντᾶν): One of two specifically Homeric forms of the →principle of succession: In connection with an enumeration of two (or more) characters, objects or thoughts, the second (or last named) is generally taken up first.¹² The structure A–B–(C ... C'–)B'–A' is often determinative for the sequence of scenes and speeches.

A special form of the principle comes into use in the →type-scene of choosing between two possibilities ('he considered whether A or B ...'): the character always chooses B (exception: 13.455–459).

'CONTINUITY OF TIME' PRINCIPLE (also: 'Zielinski's law', 'loi de succession'): One of the two specifically Homeric forms of the →principle of succession, according to which the →narrator-text narrates the course of events in essentially chronological order.¹³

'COVERING' SCENE ('"fill-in" technique', 'Deckszene'): A →scene that allows enough time to pass for an action taking place in the background (e.g. the Glaukos-Diomedes scene 'covers' Hektor's journey from the battlefield to the city: 6.119–236).¹⁴

DIRECT SPEECH: see SECONDARY FOCALIZATION.

11 GRIFFIN 1986; DE JONG 1988; 1992; 1997a.

12 BASSETT 1920; 1938, 119–128; for the scholia, see NÜNLIST 2009, 326–337.

13 BASSETT 1938, 34–47; RICHARDSON 1990, 95; NÜNLIST 2009, 79–83 (on the treatment of simultaneous events in the scholia). – One ought not to speak of a 'law', since the principle does not always hold true: cf. the criticism of ZIELINSKI 1899/1901, DELEBECQUE 1958 and KRISCHER 1971 in RENGAKOS 1995 and NÜNLIST 1998. – Further criticism of Zielinski in PATZER 1990; SEECK 1998; SCODEL 2008.

14 STÜRMER 1921, 600 f.; SCHADEWALDT (1938) 1966, 77–79; BASSETT 1938, 39 f.; BALENSIEFEN 1955, 26 ff.; for the scholia, see NÜNLIST 2009, 83–87.

DOUBLE MOTIVATION: Actions and thoughts of human characters are often caused by both god and man simultaneously, and both thus bear responsibility for them (e.g. Pandaros' arrow-shot: 4.64–126).¹⁵

DRAMATIC IRONY: see ARGUMENT FUNCTION.

ENJAMBMENT: Clause-end does not coincide with verse-end. Kirk (following Parry) distinguishes three types: (1) *Progressive* enjambment: the preceding clause is complete, and the enjambment extends it with a grammatically unnecessary addition (e.g. 1.2: οὐλομένην). – (2) *Periodic* enjambment: the protasis of a sentence requires an apodosis in the next verse (a short pause, usually signaled by punctuation, occurs at verse-end; e.g. 1.57 f.). – (3) *Integral* enjambment: the preceding sentence remains incomplete and generally ungrammatical without the continuation (e.g. 1.9 f.).¹⁶

Words in enjambment ('runover words') can have special emphasis (e.g. 1.2: οὐλομένην).¹⁷

EPIC REGRESSION (ἐξ ἀναστροφῆς, 'epische Regression'): Special form of →ring-composition, which in the *Iliad* outside of the proem is found only in direct speech (contrast: →principle of succession). The story refers to an event (normally climactic); goes backward in steps (normally explanatory) to a turning point; and from there events are narrated in a chronologically 'correct' (and generally more detailed) order until the starting point is reached again: C–B–A–B'–C'.¹⁸

EPITHET: Descriptive adjunct. M. Parry distinguishes between epithets *with* a contextually important meaning ('particularized'; here: 'context-sensitive' epithets) and those *without* one ('ornamental' epithets).¹⁹ He further distinguishes between epithets that can describe an entire class of nouns generally, without differentiating among the individual representatives of the class ('generic' epithets), and those that make this differentiation ('distinctive' epithets).²⁰

¹⁵ The term was coined by LESKY 1961; cf. JANKO 1992, 3 f. – SCHMITT 1990 stresses that the two motivating factors are not redundant but complementary.

¹⁶ KIRK 1985, 30 ff.; PARRY (1929) 1971 ('progressive' is called 'unperiodic' by Parry; both 'periodic' and 'integral' are subsumed under 'necessary'); BAKKER 1990. The six-part typology of HIGBIE 1990, 29 ff., is also based on Parry/Kirk.

¹⁷ EDWARDS 1966; 1991, 42 ff.

¹⁸ SCHADEWALDT (1938) 1966, 83 f.; FRAENKEL 1950, 2.119 with n.; for the scholia, see NÜNLIST 2009, 87–92. – LOHMANN (1970, 26 with n. 34) explains epic regression in terms of the morphology of ring-composition. – The term is from KRISCHER 1971, 136–140; cf. SLATER 1983.

¹⁹ PARRY (1928) 1971, 118 ff. (including citations of ancient and modern forerunners), cf. FOR 27 ff. and esp. 39. – It is often difficult to assign a particular epithet to one of these types; Parry's principle, that every 'fixed' epithet must be 'ornamental', is controversial.

²⁰ PARRY (1928) 1971, 145 ff.; NÜNLIST 2009, 299–306 (on the treatment of epithets in the scholia).

Generic epithet: Ships are fundamentally ‘fast’ (even when drawn up on land, 1.12 etc.). The ship of the Chryseis-expedition (1.308) is not specifically emphasized by this epithet.

Distinctive epithet: πόδας ὠκύς (= Achilleus), κορυθαίολος (= Hektor; exception 20.38: Ares). On the other hand, e.g. βοῖν ἀγαθός (Diomedes, Menelaos, Hektor, etc.) is generic.

ETYMOLOGIZING: Favorite form of →word play, in which special emphasis is placed on the etymology of words. Particularly conspicuous is the etymologizing of personal names (e.g. in a family of craftsmen, the grandfather is called Ἄρμων ‘Fitter’, while the father is Τέκτων ‘Builder’: 5.59 f.).²¹

FABULA (‘Geschichte’, ‘Fabel’): Reconstruction in chronological order of the events depicted in the text (counterpart: →STORY). This reconstruction forms the basis of the ‘narrated time’ (‘erzählte Zeit’) in contrast to the ‘narration time’ (‘Erzählzeit’) on the level of the story.²²

FALSE PROLEPSIS: see PROLEPSIS, FALSE.

FOCALIZER: The agent in the text from whose perspective events are narrated. The focalizer can be identical with the →narrator (→narrator-text); in other instances, there is →secondary focalization.²³

FORMULA: Parry’s definition (‘une expression qui est régulièrement employée, dans les mêmes conditions métriques, pour exprimer une certaine idée essentielle’, normally cited in the English version: ‘a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea’), despite all objections and modifications, remains the starting point.²⁴

‘FREE STRING’ FORM: Structural principle employed in direct speech, in which elements are freely placed one after another: A–B–C–D–E (cf. →PARALLEL FORM, →RING-COMPOSITION).²⁵

21 RANK 1951; VON KAMPTZ (1958) 1982, 18 f., 25 ff., 228 ff.; EDWARDS 1987, 120–123; HIGBIE 1995; LOUDEN 1995; NÜNLIST 2009, 243 f. (on the treatment of etymologizing in the scholia).

22 GENETTE (1972) 1980, 26–30, 33 (where, however, ‘story’ represents what is called ‘fabula’ here). – In a manner analogous to the distinction between internal and external →analepsis, the fabula can be differentiated from the prequel. The former distinction is of secondary importance for the *Iliad*, because the narrator largely leaves external analepsis to his characters, i.e. he does not report the background ‘in his own name’ (= narrator-text), but allows the characters to report it (e.g. the assembly of troops in Aulis: 2.303 f.).

23 GENETTE (1972) 1980, 189 ff.; DE JONG (1987) 2004, 101–148; NÜNLIST 2009, 116–134 (on the treatment of focalization in the scholia).

24 PARRY 1928, 16; (1930) 1971, 272. On this, cf. the detailed account in FOR, especially 27 ff.

25 LOHMANN 1970, 43, 283.

GAP (κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον, ‘ellipsis’, ‘Leerstelle’): A ‘place of indeterminacy’, which the listener/reader can and should fill in as part of his participation.²⁶ The extent and significance of gaps vary considerably. The scale runs from the obvious (1.54 Achilles calls the people to assembly [in order to do something about the rampant plague]) to problems of interpretation incapable of being settled objectively (does Hephaistos in 1.590–594 describe an episode in which he wanted to help *Hera*?).

HAPAX LEGOMENON: A word that appears only once.²⁷

The commentary indicates the common distinction as follows: (1) *hapax* (1x in all Greek literature); (2) Homeric *hapax* (1x in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*); (3) *Iliad hapax* (1x in the *Iliad*). – A systematic labeling of the *hapax legomena* has not been attempted.²⁸

‘IF-NOT’ SITUATION: Insertion of ‘if-not’ situations (‘and X would have happened, if Y had not ...’) heightens tension and/or pathos in the story. The intervention of the →narrator can be seen particularly clearly here, since he alludes to an alternative (admittedly contra-factual) course of events (e.g. 2.155 f.).²⁹

ITERATUM(-A): A verse that appears with identical phrasing in at least one other place in early Greek epic. Repeated verses are especially frequent in →type scenes and →similes. They are characteristic of oral poetry.³⁰

In the commentary, a distinction is made between repeated verses that are exactly identical (=) and those that are very similar (≈).

JÖRGENSEN’S PRINCIPLE: In contrast to the ‘omniscient’ narrator, human characters often attribute to an unspecified god (θεός, θεοί, δαίμων, Ζεὺς generally as the father of the gods) events whose cause they do not precisely understand (e.g. 15.467–469, 15.473, compared with 15.461–464 in the narrator-text).³¹

²⁶ ISER 1975; for the scholia, see NÜNLIST 2009, 157–173.

²⁷ RICHARDSON 1987.

²⁸ The ‘Four Indices of the Homeric Hapax Legomena’ (KUMPF 1984) essentially document category 2. Words of category 1 are indicated there by ‘+’ and are cited separately as ‘Index IV’, although caution is required, since Kumpf (1984, 20) relies exclusively on the information in the lexica of Pape-Benseler and Liddell-Scott-Jones.

²⁹ FENIK 1968, 154, 175–177, 221; DE JONG (1987) 2004, 68–81; RICHARDSON 1990, 187–191; NESSELRATH 1992; MORRISON 1992, 51–71; LOUDEN 1993. – The ideas of the ‘Beinahe’ [‘nearly’] (SCHADEWALDT [1938] 1966, 15, 55, 70, 150, 154) and the ‘Fast’ [‘almost’] (REINHARDT 1961, 107–110) are both understood more broadly than the ‘if-not’ situation.

³⁰ A lack of appreciation for this improvisational technique (to some extent already among Alexandrian scholars, but especially apparent in the modern analyst tradition) led to attempts to determine where repeated verses were ‘original’ and where they were ‘adopted’ or ‘interpolated’. This procedure is based on a fundamentally mistaken assumption, even if it is justified in individual cases (e.g. in the case of the so-called ‘concordance-interpolations’: completion of apparently incomplete scenes; cf. FOR 12 with nn. 14 and 15).

³¹ JÖRGENSEN 1904.

KEY FUNCTION: see argument function.

MOTIF: see THEME.

NARRATEE ('narrataire'): Agent in the text whom the narrator explicitly addresses (with verbs in the 2nd person, e.g. 4.223).³²

NARRATOR (better primary narrator-focalizer): The narrative authority who 'performs' the text. Within the text, the narrator represents the (implied) author.³³

(SIMPLE) NARRATOR-TEXT: All passages in which the (primary) →narrator serves as the exclusive narrator/→focalizer. Negatively defined, everything not narrated in →secondary focalization (complex narrator-text, direct speech). In the commentary, the term appears only as 'narrator-text'.

PAIR OF SPEECHES: Speech scene structured as a pair (speech – response). Dialogue sequences with multiple changes of speaker occur, but are noticeably less common.

PARADIGM (*exemplum*, 'Exempel'): →Secondary story, usually with mythological content, that has an argumentative/explanatory function for the primary story (e.g. the story of Meleager: 9.527–599; cf. →argument function).³⁴

PARALEPSIS: The →narrator offers more information in the text (counterpart: →paralipsis) than is strictly 'permissible' given the chosen focalization type: e.g. when he intrudes with his superior knowledge into the →secondary focalization of a character and allows him to know more than he properly can (counterpart: →Jørgensen's principle).³⁵

Example: Although Priam does not mention it (24.194–199), Hekabe knows (24.203) that he will go alone to Achilleus (on the other hand, cf. Zeus 24.148 and Iris 24.177).

PARALIPSIS (παράλειπω): The →narrator omits important information in order to provide it only later on (essential for the crime novel; in the *Iliad*: the listener/reader learns late that Achilleus will receive satisfaction only at the cost of Patroklos' life [16.46 f., intimated at 11.604]; the →characters first learn this at

³² GENETTE (1972) 1980, 259–262; PRINCE 1973; DE JONG (1987) 2004, 53–60. – Explicit apostrophes to the listener/reader are not used in the Homeric epics.

³³ The narrator *represents* the author; he is not identical with him: e.g. GENETTE (1972) 1980, 213f.

³⁴ OEHLER 1925; SCHADEWALDT (1938) 1966, 83; WILLCOCK 1964; AUSTIN 1966; ALDEN 2000; for the scholia, see NÜNLIST 2009, 261–264.

³⁵ GENETTE (1972) 1980, 195–197; specifically on Homer: BASSETT 1938, 130–140; KAKRIDIS 1982; DE JONG (1987) 2004, 108f.; TAPLIN 1992, 150 with n. 4; for the scholia, see NÜNLIST 2009, 123–126. – As a consequence of the analyst tradition, the extent and meaning of paralipsis in Homer is occasionally overestimated. Often an event can be easily deduced by a character: ROBBINS 1990.

the moment itself [16.818 ff.] or afterward [Achilleus: 18.20]). Cf. →principle of ‘*ad hoc* narration’.

Two forms of paralipsis typical for the Homeric narrator are the ‘principle of imprecision’ (→prolepses kept deliberately vague) and ‘piecemeal presentation’.³⁶

PARALLEL FORM: Consecutive speeches are structured the same way: A–B–C–A’–B’–C’ (cf. →‘FREE STRING’ FORM, →RING-COMPOSITION).³⁷

PAUSE: The →narrator stops the narrated time (‘erzählte Zeit’; the ‘action’), e.g. to introduce →characters, to give descriptions, to insert a →(long) simile, etc.³⁸

PERIPHRASTIC DENOMINATION (ἀντονομασία): →Characters are identified via a description (e.g. kinship term, title) rather than by a personal name. Periphrastic denomination can indicate →secondary focalization and/or have a thematic function (e.g. 1.23).³⁹

POLAR EXPRESSION: An expression is combined with its ‘opposite’ (e.g. ‘god and man’, ‘man and wife’, ‘day and night’). The emphasis often lies on only one of the two terms (e.g. 1.548).⁴⁰ – The term can also be applied to rhetorical polarity: combination of a positive expression with its negative counterpart (litotes; e.g. 1.416).⁴¹

PRINCIPLE OF ‘AD HOC NARRATION’: A form of →paralipsis: certain facts are (only) narrated at the point in the →story where they show the most significant effect (e.g. introduction of Polydamas: 18.249–252). (The counterpart is earlier preparation [→prolepsis, →seed], which is taken up again by means of →analepsis.)⁴²

PRINCIPLE OF ELABORATE NARRATION: Important matters are elaborately narrated in Homeric epic. Elaborate narration is in the first instance an indication neither of epic verbosity nor of senile garrulousness (Nestor), but rather sug-

36 GENETTE (1972) 1980, 195–197; RICHARDSON 1990, 99 f.; for the scholia, see NÜNLIST 2009, 161, 170 f. – On the ‘principle of imprecision’ and ‘piecemeal presentation’: SCHADEWALDT (1938) 1966, 85 n. 2, 110, 112 f., 140; HEUBECK 1954, 18 f.; FENIK 1974, 122; LATACZ (1985) 1996, 104–106.

37 LOHMANN 1970, 43, 283; for the scholia, see NÜNLIST 2009, 327–337.

38 GENETTE (1972) 1980, 99 ff.; RICHARDSON 1990, 36 ff.

39 Schol. T 13.154 (etc.); DE JONG 1993.

40 KEMMER 1903; MACLEOD 1982, 92 (with bibliography); NÜNLIST 2009, 222 f. (on the treatment of polar expressions in the scholia).

41 The rhetorical polar expression is treated in KÜHNER/GERTH 2.586 under the misleading rubric ‘antithetischer Parallelismus’ (antithetical parallelism).

42 BOWRA 1962, 49 f. (accepts a causal connection with the laws of *oral poetry*); RICHARDSON 1990, 99.

gests that what is narrated (event, facts, description of an object) has or will have special significance for the story as a whole.⁴³

PRINCIPLE OF SUCCESSION ('Sukzessionsprinzip'): The principle of successive presentation generally valid for every form of literature has developed two specific forms in Homeric epic: (1) The →'continuity of thought' principle. (2) The →'continuity of time' principle. In Homer, this applies to the primary narrative only, not to speeches (contrast: EPIC REGRESSION).

PROLEPSIS (πρόληψις, [προ]αναφώνησις, 'Vorausdeutung', 'Vorgriff', 'foreshadowing'). Explicit or inexplicit reference to an event that *follows* the point reached in the →story (counterpart: →analepsis). *External* prolepsis (reference to events *after* the end of the story) and *internal* prolepsis (reference to events *before* the end of the story) are to be distinguished. External prolepsis in Homeric epic is performed almost exclusively by secondary narrators (→characters; exceptions: 2.724 f., 12.13–35).⁴⁴

PROLEPSIS, FALSE ('misdirection'): An explicitly announced event does not occur (or not in the announced form: cf. 'principle of imprecision' [→paralipsis]).⁴⁵

REFRAIN COMPOSITION ('Ritornellkomposition'): the recurrence of the same word or phrase in a continuous series of passages dealing with the same subject (often a catalogue), strengthening the connection between them (e.g. Agamemnon's epipoleis: 4.223 ff.).⁴⁶

RETARDATION ('Aufschub'): An event announced by means of →prolepsis is delayed via (a) slowing down the narrative tempo, (b) temporary reversal of the action, (c) →pause. Retardation often produces an increase in tension.⁴⁷

RING-COMPOSITION: A structural principle for relatively autonomous parts of the story (direct speeches, digressions, longer →similes), in which the end takes up the beginning once again (in terms of content/vocabulary/theme), or the beginning anticipates the end: A–B–A'. Particularly in the case of digressions and longer similes, the end of the ring-composition normally leads back to

⁴³ AUSTIN 1966. – On the pioneering commentating in the scholia, cf. RICHARDSON 1980, 276.

⁴⁴ GENETTE (1972) 1980, 67 ff.; ROTHE 1914, 239–244; DUCKWORTH 1933; SCHADEWALDT (1938) 1966, 15, 54 f.; HELLWIG 1964, 54–58; DE JONG (1987) 2004, 81–90; RICHARDSON 1990, 132–139; REICHEL 1994, 47–98; for the scholia, see NÜNLIST 2009, 34–45. – On the exceptions: DUCKWORTH 1933, 54 n. 120.

⁴⁵ DUCKWORTH 1933, 109 f.; MORRISON 1992; GRETHLEIN 2006, 207–257; for the scholia, see NÜNLIST 2009, 150 f.

⁴⁶ VAN OTTERLO 1944, 161–163.

⁴⁷ SCHADEWALDT (1938) 1966, 15, 150; REICHEL 1990; MORRISON 1992, 35–49; for the scholia, see NÜNLIST 2009, 78, 151.

the point where the primary story left off. – A more complex form of ring-composition is the ‘onion’ form: A–B–C–D–C’–B’–A’.⁴⁸

SCENE: Portion of the text where the →narrator has his →characters act and (often) speak themselves (direct speeches). The result is a narrative that creates the impression of taking place over roughly the same amount of time that presenting it requires (‘zeitdeckendes Erzählen’; counterpart: →summary). A scene is held together by the fact that the character(s) and/or setting are the same. Correspondingly, changes of scene are indicated by entrances, exits and changes of setting.

Determination of the scene boundaries is primarily in the interest of clarity and is to some extent arbitrary: in narrative literature – in contrast to drama – exits are not immediately evident unless explicitly reported.

‘Scene’ is also often used in a less restricted sense to designate a series of events related in terms of content (e.g. →type-scene).

SECONDARY FOCALIZATION: Two forms: (1) ‘complex narrator-text’: The →narrator reports the perceptions, thoughts, emotions or speeches of a →character (e.g. in indirect speech; the character is merely a secondary focalizer: ‘embedded focalization’). (2) Direct speech: The character functions as a secondary narrator-focalizer.⁴⁹

The difference in focalization between narrator-text and direct speech (with significant consequences: →character language) is indicated in the text volumes by placing direct speech in *italics*.

SECONDARY STORY (‘metadiegetische Erzählung’): A story told by a character in direct speech and thus embedded in the primary →story: e.g. →paradigm.⁵⁰

SEED (σπέρμα, [προ]οικονομέω, ‘amorce’): Narrative element (character, object, facts, etc.) mentioned in passing, whose full meaning is only understood in retrospect, when it is taken up again and developed further (e.g. 1.63 on the background of 2.5 ff.).⁵¹

The boundary between a seed and a vague →prolepsis is fluid.

48 VAN OTTERLO 1944; LOHMANN 1970, 12–30; STANLEY 1993, 6–9; STEINRÜCK 1997; MINCHIN 2001, 181–202; DOUGLAS 2007; NÜNLIST 2009, 319 f. (on treatment of ring composition in the scholia).

49 DE JONG (1987) 2004, 101–148; KÖHNKEN 2003; NÜNLIST 2009, 126–131 (on treatment of secondary focalization in the scholia).

50 GENETTE (1972) 1980, 231–234; ALDEN 2000; SCODEL 2002, 124–154. – The hierarchy is theoretically limitless: secondary, tertiary ... (‘nesting-doll’ principle).

51 GENETTE (1972) 1980, 75–77; for the scholia, see NÜNLIST 2009, 39 f.

SILENT CHARACTER (κωφὸν πρόσωπον): A character mentioned as present who nonetheless remains silent.⁵²

(LONG) SIMILE ('Gleichnis'): Narrative element of a comparative nature clearly separated from the story by means of an 'as' part at the beginning and a corresponding 'so' part at the end. The event that is primarily depicted is paralleled by a lengthy analogy (from nature, agriculture, hunting, etc.) that illustrates it further. Similes occur predominantly (but not exclusively) in →narrator-text.⁵³

SPEECH INTRODUCTORY/CAPPING FORMULA ('chevilles'): Direct speeches are regularly explicitly introduced and concluded by the →narrator (normally with formulaic expressions). In an oral text, introductory and capping formulae function as quotation marks. When a responding speech follows immediately, the capping formula is often replaced by a new introduction.⁵⁴

(PRIMARY) STORY ('Erzählung', 'récit', 'Sujet'): The reported events as depicted in the text (counterpart: →fabula). The story can be distinguished from the fabula in regard to: (1) *order* (events do not have to be narrated chronologically: →analepsis, →prolepsis); (2) *speed* (events can be narrated 'slowly' or 'quickly': →pause, →summary, →scene); (3) *frequency* (events can be narrated multiple times).⁵⁵

Strictly speaking, one should speak of a 'primary story', in which →secondary stories are introduced. In accord with current usage, 'story' always refers to the primary story.

SUMMARY: A description of events (e.g. 'Nine days up and down the host ranged the god's arrows', 1.53) that covers a large amount of narrated time ('erzählte Zeit') in a small amount of narrative time ('Erzählzeit'; counterpart: →scene).⁵⁶

⁵² BESSLICH 1966; DE JONG 1987a; for the scholia, see NÜNLIST 2009, 242f., 245, 343–345. – Explicit mention of silent characters is essential in narrative texts, as opposed to drama, where they are visible on stage: 'when a character drops out of the narrative [...] he simply ceases to exist' (FENIK 1974, 65–67).

⁵³ FRÄNKEL 1921; LEE 1964; MOULTON 1977; EDWARDS 1991, 24–41; SCOTT 2009. (The English term 'simile' is not specific enough and also includes (short) simile, which is therefore referred to here as →comparison. The scholia already distinguish between long simile (παραβολή, -βάλλω) and short simile (no consistent term, εἰκὼν/-άζω sometimes used also for long similes). The 'so' part, which is called (ἀντ)ἀπόδοσις, appears to be decisive: e.g. schol. A 2.207–10; NÜNLIST 2009, 282–298.

⁵⁴ FINGERLE 1939, 305–377; EDWARDS 1970; NÜNLIST 2009, 316 f. (on treatment of speech introduction in the scholia) and 43–44, 317–318 (on capping formula).

⁵⁵ GENETTE (1972) 1980, 33 ff. On the terminology adopted there see n. 22.

⁵⁶ GENETTE (1972) 1980, 95–99; HELLWIG 1964, 41, 44, 116; RICHARDSON 1990, 17–21. The

SUMMARY PRIAMEL: Special form of the priamel: the foil consists not of multiple terms but of a single summary one ('there are many X, but Y is the greatest/best/fastest etc.'). e.g. 2.272–274.⁵⁷

TERTIARY FOCALIZATION: see secondary focalization.

THEME: Recurrent sequences of events that are less clearly structured and less formulaic in their wording than actual →type-scenes, e.g. supplication, scenes of battle and killing, intervention of a god, recognition. Themes are considered important for oral poetry as a constitutive, macro-structural principle of composition ('composition by theme').⁵⁸

Especially in German, but also in Anglophone scholarship, there is a resultant overlap with the term 'Motiv'/'motif', which is often used as synonymous with 'theme'. In the present context, 'motif' indicates short, recurrent narrative units present across genres (i.e. those less clearly tied to oral Homeric epic, e.g. 'the loyal follower', 'intelligence vs. strength'), yielding an escalating sequence (with fluid borders): 'motif' – 'theme' – 'type-scene'.

THREE-WAY CONVERSATION ('Übereckgespräch'): Character A seems to speak with character B, but actually addresses character C (e.g. 6.363).⁵⁹

TIS-SPEECH: Direct speech by a →character not identified by name (τις), often as an expression of 'what the general public thinks'. *Tis*-speeches actually delivered (e.g. 2.272–277) are to be distinguished from those merely imagined by other characters (= tertiary focalization; e.g. 7.89 f.). The latter primarily say something about the character doing the imagining.⁶⁰

TRIADIC STRUCTURE: Tripartite construction of a scene (e.g. 11.91–148: Agamemnon three times kills two opponents).⁶¹

TYPE-SCENE ('typical scene'): A recurrent depiction of activities from daily life (e.g. eating, going to sleep, sacrifice) or heroic life (e.g. arming oneself) that is repeated multiple times. The scene is 'typical' because the depiction – often using elements of formulaic language – follows a more or less fixed scheme.⁶²

scholia distinguish between summary (ἐν κεφαλαίους *vel sim.*) and elaborate depiction (e.g. ἐξεργάζεσθαι): NÜNLIST 2009, 204–208.

⁵⁷ RACE 1982, 10 f.

⁵⁸ As far as we are aware, no handy definition of 'theme' exists. In addition, 'theme' and 'motif' are often used synonymously. – On 'composition by theme': LORD 1960; EDWARDS 1980; 1991, 11–19.

⁵⁹ SCHADEWALDT 1959, 16; FENIK 1974, 68–71; HOHENDAHL-ZOETELIEF 1980, 170–173; NÜNLIST 2009, 321 f. (on treatment of three-way conversation in the scholia).

⁶⁰ HENTZE 1905; DE JONG 1987b; SCHNEIDER 1996.

⁶¹ SCHADEWALDT (1938) 1966, 1, 49, 66 n. 1 (with bibliography).

⁶² AREND 1933; CALHOUN 1933; ARMSTRONG 1958; FENIK 1968; EDWARDS 1980; 1992; NÜNLIST 2009, 307–315 (on the treatment of type-scenes in the scholia).

In addition to the constants (order of the elements), the variables are also significant for a type-scene, because it is often impossible to recognize *one* basic type in the various forms (allomorphs). The border between less clearly structured type-scenes and →themes is fluid.

In the commentary, type-scenes are treated as follows: (1) At the first occurrence, a cumulative, consecutively numbered collection of the common scene elements is made. (2) The numbers of the elements actually present in the passage in question appear in bold. (3) Each subsequent occurrence refers back to the initial treatment and uses the numbering and bold type according to the same principle.

TYPICAL NUMBER: Assignment of numbers normally follows a typical pattern. The typical number is often divisible by three.⁶³

WORD PLAY: Word play produces a connection between two or more words on the basis of analogy (phonetic, etymological, semantic), producing a special emphasis (e.g. 19.388–391). In addition to common forms of literary rhetoric (anaphora, assonance, homoioteleuton, polyptoton, rhyme, etc.), for Homeric epic →etymologizing and →catch-word technique deserve emphasis.⁶⁴

⁶³ GÖBEL 1933; WALTZ 1933; BLOM 1936; GERMAIN 1954; NÜNLIST 2009, 314 f. (on the treatment of typical numbers in the scholia).

⁶⁴ MACLEOD 1982, 50–53; EDWARDS 1987, 120–123; LOUDEN 1995. – On literary rhetoric generally: LAUSBERG (1960) 2008.

New Trends in Homeric Scholarship (NTHS)

By Anton Bierl

1. Introduction to Oral Theory and Retrospect

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1. Introduction to Oral Theory and Retrospect

1.1 Two Separate Traditions of Research?

- 1 With the new revised English edition of this commentary we seize upon a unique opportunity to add a new chapter to the Prolegomena (NTHS). This section closes the gap, especially between the chapters COM and FOR, that has widened since the early 1990s, or even the late 1980s, when the commentary project was first planned. At the same time, it attempts to embrace new approaches, in line with the German edition's spirit of accounting for the entirety of Homeric scholarship (COM 42). In particular, we wish to address the Anglophone reader.
- 2 At the beginning of the project, Latacz still spoke of two completely separate mainstreams, German-speaking and Anglophone scholarship (COM 25, 27), despite their tendencies toward convergence. One major goal of the original edition was to familiarize the German reader with English-speaking scholarship and to bring both lines to a fruitful synthesis (COM 42), as a complement to the Cambridge commentary. But I would no longer pessimistically say that our commentary was merely a German counter-part to the Cambridge commentary, a work designed to overcome the danger of standing on only one side of the great divide. The holistic scholarship to come, Latacz maintained, could make deeper and more synthetic sense of the original text (COM 27). I would assert that convergence has increased considerably since then, and that to some extent the present English edition actually represents this totalizing, synthetic tool for the beginning of the 21st century.
- 3 Why has Homeric scholarship, unlike any other field, fused into a unified international community? In today's globalized world, English has become the *lingua franca* – whether or not we ought to regret this fact cannot be discussed here. Because of the prevalence of English, scholars from all over the world, including the former European research nations such as Germany, Switzerland, Austria, France, Italy, the Netherlands and Spain, publish their main results in English or English translation, even as they continue to write in their mother-tongues, pursuing specific traditions. We can thus confidently maintain that the great divide mentioned above has been largely overcome since the commentary project was initiated.

1.2 Focus on Composition and Crisis: 1930–1980

It is important to remember that the Parry-Lord hypothesis (see e.g. PARRY 1928; [1928] 1971; [1930] 1971; [1933] 1971; [1936] 1971; LORD 1960; 1991; 1995) was widespread on the American side of the Atlantic. Oral theory – another name for this approach – developed after the Second World War into a highly specialized field concerned with formulae and statistics. But despite the theory’s predominance in Homeric research, another current of Anglophone Homeric scholarship in the vein of the New Criticism, which followed a basically unitarian approach, should not be forgotten. On the German-speaking side, on the other hand, one can observe a strong unitarian backlash against the analytic mode, which played a dominant role until the First World War, accompanied by a considerable fraction of Neoanalysis, with Schadewaldt as its leading figure.

The Parry-Lord approach constituted a major breakthrough in Homeric studies because it broke the deadlock of the lengthy yet unfruitful debate between Unitarians and Analysts. It thus transcended the debate by bringing the question onto a completely new footing grounded on up-to-date linguistics. But a one-sided emphasis on formulaic matters, versification and compositional aspects led to a drastic decline in support from the 1970s onward. ‘Formulaic analysis reached a dead end thirty years ago,’ declared POWELL 2002, 7. The ‘crisis’ of oral poetry stems from the over-exploration of one important aspect in an originally balanced theory: oral improvisation via the use of formulaic elements, which after WOLF’S (1795) seminal *Prolegomena* was neglected due to a lack of linguistic tools (LATACZ 1979a), while Wolf’s second hypothesis resulted in the dead-end of Analysis based on nothing more than aesthetic judgment. Moreover, an overly mechanical and statistical approach paired with an almost blind belief in all its tenets fueled feelings of unease with the ‘gospel of oralism’ (WEST 2011a, 390).

1.3 Reactions and Strategies Until the Late 1980s

The integration of orality, oral theory and the Parry-Lord approach into Homeric studies represented a major revolutionizing step. In Germany, this change took much longer and met with more resistance in finding a footing than it did in other scientific communities. This was because German-speaking Homerists, after the excesses of the Analysts during the so-called Third Humanism, which developed around the same time as PARRY’S dissertation ([1928] 1971), were happy to detect the literary author and his artistry once again. In the swell of their unitarian turn, they accordingly felt an inner repulsion against seeing their

genius destroyed once more by mechanical formulaics and put on the same level as ‘primitive’ Yugoslav *guslar* singers. Due to isolation during the Nazi period, moreover, and the ensuing total cultural collapse after 1945, the crisis was again healed through a revival of the Third Humanism. German-speaking Hellenists accordingly reinstalled Schadewaldt as ‘hermeneutical pope’ without questioning his role in the previous phase.

7 It was therefore LATA CZ 1979a who brought German-speaking Homerists in closer contact with oral theory. They quickly found a way, of course, to reconcile this with the mainstream unitarian view: Homeric epic, according to Latacz and many critics after him, is based on a long oral prehistory dating back to Mycenaean times, but Homer as ingenious author and ‘the first poet of the West’ (LATA CZ [1985] 1996, e.g. 15) can be explained only through literacy. The introduction of the Greek alphabet alone thus made it possible to compose such intricate poems.

8 While oral theory had a spotty history in the German-speaking world, where it has only now been fully embraced, it fell on far more fertile soil in other European countries, particularly Italy. All in all, the history of Homeric scholarship is defined by an ongoing and necessary search for the author and the true extent of his work (NANNINI 2010, esp. 9). Since antiquity, we can discuss the ‘invention of Homer’ (WEST 1999; GRAZIOSI 2002; see also BURKERT [1987] 2001), who, due to the need for an ingenious author, was retroactively assembled out of the fog of an obscure oral prehistory. Modern oral theory can thus add new nuances to an eternal Homeric question, especially with the balanced evolutionary model designed by NAGY 1996 (see also NAGY 1996a, esp. 29–63; 2002; 2003; 2008/09; 2009/10; first formulated NAGY 1981; further BIERL 2012; 2012a).

9 But additional developments should be considered. The revolutionizing results of PARRY (*MHV* = 1971) and LORD (1960; see also 1991; 1995) triggered an avalanche of books offering insight into traditional orality, oral mediality and pre-literary society; I mention only those by MCLUHAN 1962; HAVELOCK 1963; 1982; 1986; FINNEGAN 1977; ONG (1982) 2002 and GOODY 1987. Yet since the late 1980s, some reluctance to write about formulae has been apparent. The exhausted reaction of stagnation, however, did not mean that the insight, which had almost grown to a *communis opinio*, was put aside. Thus for many critics it seemed impossible to ascribe any agency to Homer as a self-aware artist, or to claim that he might have consciously composed a traditional verse or alluded to other passages inside or outside his work. Few accordingly ventured to claim that a traditional epithet could occasionally reactivate its meaning in context. In this same vein one must note VISSER’s (1987) attempt to reshape the improvisatory technique of versification, in which he maintains that the singer first consciously

set a fundamental basis before filling in the rest of the verse. The debut of these insights by VISSER and BAKKER in the Anglophone world (see FOR 43) came at the end of the article FOR in the German edition, in which LATACZ still focused primarily on composition and formulaic theory.

10
 Around the same time, scholars developed strategies to cope with these indirect taboos. One such reaction was to ignore the traditional background (GRIFFIN 1980) and move to postmodern theory and new literary questions such as gender, feminism, poststructuralist deconstruction, intertextuality (PUCCI 1987) and narratology (among others DE JONG [1987] 2004; 1997 and see P). Another strategy stressed that Homer was ‘master, not slave of his tradition’ (DE JONG 2012, 5). To this end, scholars attempted to illustrate the poet’s nuanced and striking use of oral material and how his genius gains stature when viewed against the traditional background (MARTIN 1989; JANKO 1992; TAPLIN 1992). A revival of originally German-centered Neoanalysis also emerged, shifting to the Anglophone realm and gradually integrating orality, intertextuality and to some extent narratology (P) into a productive new tool. According to the Neo-Neoanalysts, the creative author incorporates mythic motifs via transference and manipulates other contemporary narration in oral, crystallized or written form, such as myths and Cyclic epics (KULLMANN [1984] 1992; 1992; WILLCOCK 1997; WEST 2003a; TSAGALIS 2008). Cutting-edge research in this area involves the coexistence, interaction and near-fusion of orality with Neoanalysis (BURGESS 2006; TSAGALIS 2011; MONTANARI *et al.* 2012). I thus venture to assert again that, with these recent trends, Homeric scholarship has finally overcome the great divide mentioned above.

1.4 Innovations around the 1980s

11
 There have been a series of so-called turns in the humanities since the 1980s. After the linguistic turn, we witnessed the arrival of a performative, a visual and a spatial turn. In light of these turns, I would assert that Homeric oral theory is one of the most innovative fields of contemporary classical philology as it reflects the history of cultural debates in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. *Pace* ULF 2011, esp. 13–15 (see also 2010a), PARRY’s insight is neither romanticizing in the vein of HERDER and WOLF, nor does it reflect the nationalistic-*völkisch* attitude of the 1920/30s, nor can today’s representatives of orality be tarnished by these sweeping generalizations. To the contrary, PARRY’s (1928) familiarity with contemporary linguistics allowed him to some extent to anticipate the ensuing linguistic turn. In addition, Parry developed his idea of traditional themes simultaneously with PROPP’s ([1928] 1968) narrative functions, paving the way for folklore analysis. LORD 1960 had already addressed performance and was a trendsetter in

regard to linguistic and performative approaches, taking into account the visual potential of language. He also introduced anthropology and cross-cultural comparative inquiry into his research. All in all, early Greek culture, and in particular Homeric epic, as the ‘closest foreign’ (HÖLSCHER [1965] 1994, 278), could function as a historical foil to the usual perspective of bookish literacy, leading to overall interest in orality over the last forty years.

2. New Oral Poetry

2.1 Steps to a New Oral Poetics

- 12 It is immensely challenging to develop a viable concept of an oral poetics based on the vast cross-cultural comparative material of oral epic (see FOLEY 2005), something LORD 1960 already had on his agenda (see also EDWARDS 1997, esp. 282–283). What led to many misunderstandings was NOTOPOULOS’ (1949) endeavor to define oral poetics in terms of origins, primitivism, parataxis, loosely linked, serial narration without hypotactic subordination, ‘like beads on a string’ (1949, 6). Seen in this light, the creative genius Homer is reduced to an artless rhapsode, a puppet on a string energized by mechanical and traditional expertise. Contrary to this conclusion, a thoroughly innovative, revised form of oral aesthetics appeared on the horizon. Against NOTOPOULOS’ scenario, FOLEY (1991; 1995; 1997; 1997a; 1999) and many other critics along with him outlined a far more positive picture of traditional art. MARTIN 2000 detected the creative tendency to incorporate and ‘wrap up’ multiple side-narratives and myths in an intra- and intertextual manner, and BAKKER 2013, 157–169, recently called this technique – distancing himself from the term ‘intertextuality’ – ‘interformularity.’

2.2 Communication, Audience Orientation and Performance

- 13 Before coming to a description in positive terms, we must envisage the two-sided communication model of sender and recipient, both of whom, in the communicative triangle, encode and decode a message. Following the excessive focus on versification and/or composition, and accompanying the simultaneous shift in the 1980s from an aesthetics of production to one of reception, the other side of the coin, an audience that listens and reacts to the oral singer, has come to the fore. In the grand scheme of oral poetics we must never forget that the song is addressed to recipients who have developed specific capacities to appreciate such forms. Homeric orality is thus the dynamic communication of traditional

epic contents and formulae played before a live audience that pays attention to the narration and responds with pleasure and enchantment.

The key term for this communicative process is performance, which is usually associated with theater; LORD 1960 spoke of ‘composition-in-performance’ on the side of the singer-producer, and we could add reception-in-performance on the side of the audience. Furthermore, critics have emphasized the aspect of mimesis in performance; in vivid, visual clarity, *enárgeia*, the word of a heroic past is reenacted before a fascinated audience. The re-actualization of memories of the past entails re-performance of an ever-evolving story. We could thus speak of re-performance in composition and reception. Through verbal visualization, deixis and mimesis, the singer fictionalizes the act of cognitive perception, and the listener is involved in a story that becomes real in the here and now before his mind’s eye. Like an actor, the singer reenacts, almost theatrically, voices of the past; persons and stories are recreated via multimodal mimesis and become real; listeners become spectators. At the same time, the singer acknowledges the truth of his reenactment and understands, as a master of the truth, what he remembers as a true past guaranteed by the Muses. By ‘pointing at the past,’ he draws things into the present (BAKKER 2005, esp. 76–91). 14

2.3 Theme not Meter

In older orality research, the emphasis was on formulae produced in response to metrical needs. As a result, thematic context was mechanistically excluded, as if language, as an independent agency, could be separated from semantic and narrative meaning. But language is always constituted along a form-meaning continuum; similarly recurring situations build frames where formulae are shaped in context. The Lord-Parry theory has thus recently been productively linked with cognitive linguistics: analogous to language-acquisition processes, the singer and recipient acquire their traditional tools in an ongoing situational and usage-based context-form-meaning symbiosis. Meaning and idiomaticity emerge in instance-based contexts via patterns, building blocks, templates and frames, and finally crystallize into a sort of language produced by the constant quotation of previous situations in routinization.¹ Thus not meter but themes are the basic constituents of epic discourse and determine metrical design. In 15

¹ See the conference ‘Oral Poetics and Cognitive Science’ organized by Cristóbal Pagán Cánovas (Murcia, Spain) and Mihailo Antović (Niš, Serbia) at the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Study, 24–26 January 2013 and the Acta to appear.

this respect, formulae are akin to miniature themes possessing a far more complicated background story. Or to put it in NAGY's words (1990a, 23): 'A distinctive epithet is like a small theme song that conjures up thought-association with the traditional essence of an epic figure, thing, or concept.'

- 16 Due to the loss of interest in formulae, moreover, Homerists now deal more in themes and story-patterns, larger traditional forms already targeted by LORD 1960, 68–123, 158–197. The largest forms of all are myths, as traditional narrations with partial societal relevance (see BURKERT 1979, 23: '*myth is a traditional tale with secondary, partial reference to something of collective importance*'; italics: W. B.), and one could to some extent regard an entire epic like the *Iliad* as a myth in this sense.

2.4 Oral and Written Discourse

- 17 Another facet of recent oral theory involves questioning the neat difference between written and oral. We are accustomed to thinking of oral, first of all, as the other, the eccentric. But in JAKOBSON's distinction of opposites, the oral is the unmarked, the general and usual status, whereas the written is the marked, special form (JAKOBSON [1957] 1984, 47). If we regard all communication records across the globe in this way, most are normal speech and oral, and only a small portion are written down in a book or other media. In addition, the distinct nature of oral poetry is not essential and quite complex (BAKKER 1997, 18–32; 2005, 38–55; FOLEY 1997, 162–164). Already LORD 1960, 124–138, accordingly spoke of dictation or better transcript, with orality recorded in literacy. Homer could have used the new technique of the alphabet and literacy somehow, of course, without changing his manner of composition – better, composition-in-(re)performance – or style. Some scholars now use the term '*oral-derived traditional texts*' (e.g. FOLEY 1997, 163) that encapsulate tradition. Others speak of secondary orality as an artistic device supposedly creating the effect of oral archaism (ULF 2010, 297–301).
- 18 In transcripts we have a form of text, and if we analyze a performance-in-transcript as a record, we can discuss text. A performance and reperformance are somehow a multifaceted 'text' as well, in the sense of a varied tapestry. The Greek metaphor for composition-in-performance is weaving; a multiform product of *poikilía* of ongoing *mouvance* (ZUMTHOR 1972, esp. 73 and 43–47, 65–75; 1987, 160–161) and *variance* (CERQUIGLINI 1989, esp. 111) is produced over a long period of time in endless reperformances (see NAGY 1996, 7–38). Its streamlining process results in a growing tapestry that can be identified as textualization (NAGY 1996a, 40). If we broaden the meaning of text in this manner, it becomes possible to speak of oral intertextuality and narratology, as practiced e.g. by BURGESS (2006)

in an innovative synthesis of Neoanalysis and oral theory – whereas mainstream narratology (e.g. DE JONG 1997) fails to address the issue of orality.

2.5 Discourse and *mýthos*

Recent research has shown that such transcripts provide the record of a text possessing all the features of ordinary speech. As noted above, speech is unmarked discourse in comparison to literate discourse, its marked opposite. For that reason KIPARSKY 1976 and then BAKKER (1997; 1997a) fruitfully applied the tools of discourse analysis (e.g. CHAFE 1988; 1994) and pragmatics to Homeric texts. Thus Homeric texts contain the same constituents as those found in transcripts of oral speeches taken from daily life, meaning that the message is constructed out of small chunks or building blocks consisting of around four to five words. The information units are set in parataxis, with strong emphatic particles and deictic indications that channel the evident sense of flux in words, with syntactic subordination reduced to a minimum. An artful text like the *Iliad*, however, with its complex *Kunstsprache* in vocabulary and multifaceted forms, is not unmarked, ordinary speech but marked, special speech. 19

In an important book, MARTIN 1989 emphasized that Homeric epic (as *épos* or ‘word’) is *mýthos*, i.e. authoritative, special speech. Direct speeches inserted by figures are also *mýthoi* and, in AUSTIN’s (1962) 1975 terms, speech-acts with a particular performative goal such as blame, praise, admonition, agonistic conflicts or attempts to outdo an opponent. In this pragmatic perspective, not only the numerous character speeches but also the entire *Iliad* is *mýthos*, since as authoritative, special speech it aims at winning within a competitive occasion, an aristocratic feast or, later, a large popular festival. In this regard, the symbiosis and interplay between myth and ritual can also be applied to Homeric poetry. According to NAGY 1989, x–xi, the *mýthos* of Homeric epic is reenacted and periodically reperformed during occasions with a ritual dimension, i.e. feasts or festivals, particularly the Athenian Panathenaia. MARTIN 1989 also emphasized that the voice of the main hero, Achilles, aligns closely with the narrator’s voice, and that the two, *oidé* and *épos* in BAKKER’s terminology (2013, esp. 1–12), are prone to overlap. 20

3. The Evolutionary Model

3.1 Tradition as Language, Diachrony in Synchrony

21 The real breakthrough in recent trends of Homeric orality studies is the evolutionary model of Homeric textualization by NAGY (1981; 1996, 107–206; 1996a, 29–63; 2003, 2–3; 2008/09, 1–72 [P§ 1–185]; see also FRAME 2009, 515–647, and BIERL 2012).² Along with LORD 1960, Nagy regards Homeric tradition as a system of language. And as a linguist, NAGY (2003, 1) departs from the twin distinctions of DE SAUSSURE [1916] 1972, 117: 1. Langue, the general underlying structure or system of all speakers, vs. parole, the individual, concrete expression of a single speaker; 2. diachrony vs. synchrony, perspectives from the outside used for theoretical and abstract modeling. We normally look at the world through the perspective of synchrony – i.e. how reality appears at a given historical moment. But diachronic consciousness permits a view into the deeper levels of any phenomenon. Evolutionary awareness therefore always tries to evaluate cultural products as diachrony in synchrony. In this interplay, synchronically false circumstances can be explained by diachronic skewing; that is, at a theoretical level one can shift from any point backward or even forward in time, also mixing up two synchronic views in diachrony. The epic performer thus speaks about song and musical accompaniment by a *phórmnix*, whereas in other instances he uses the word ‘saying’ for his Muse. In addition, Homeric hexameters reduce melody to a regulated recitative (*parakatalogê*) without music. Therefore in instances where idealized singers, like Demodokos in the *Odyssey*, perform within the epic action, older strata that at a later stage are no longer synchronically true are reactivated (NAGY 1990, 20–21; BIERL 2012).

3.2 Ages of Homer

22 With a diachronic awareness, we see that both Homer and the epic are constructs. ‘The epic’ and ‘Homer’ do not exist, for at any given moment in time we

² By accepting this model, I cannot hide my modest dissent from the views held by WEST, in particular from the chapter HT in this volume and from WEST 2011 and 2011a. That our text is based on the edition by WEST is well-known. But this model has also repercussions on the constitution of the Iliadic text. On the dispute between WEST and NAGY in *BMCR* on these matters, see NAGY 2000 (review of WEST’s edition in *BMCR* 2000.09.12); WEST (2001) 2011 (response in *BMCR* 2001.09.06) and 2004 (*BMCR* 2004.04.17).

have a diachronically different picture of the genre and Homer. We must accordingly refer to ‘ages of Homer’ as he manifested himself in time and space (NAGY 2008/09, 2 [P§ 6]; 2009/10, 1 [Introduction § 1]). Homeric epic represents the example *par excellence* of how diachrony exists within synchrony. Behind Homer lies a long oral past, the dark background of a vivid tradition in which *aidóí* composed oral songs as they performed them. This fact molds both form and content, affecting the specific manner of narration as well as the meter and the Homeric *Kunstsprache*. It is also a well-known feature of Homeric epic that it can shift easily between different forms of historic-linguistic development according to the needs of the hexameter. Even more to the point, the *Iliad* deals with events from a remote and idealized past, a dark age in the 14th or 13th century BC told from the perspective of a much later period.

Taken altogether, Homer and his monumental epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, 23 emerged only gradually in a long historical process extending from an obscure Mycenaean past into the 6th and 5th centuries BC, with a period of transition in the 9th and 8th centuries. We must also reckon with further, minor developments down to the age of Aristarchus. We are told that Hipparchos regulated the *agôn* of the Panathenaia: in the competition, the two monumental poems of Panhellenic status were now to be performed at full length in alternation, one rhapsody following the other in a kind of relay (Plat. *Hipp.* 228b). This agonistic regulation affected the evolution of the text. At this stage, the oral tradition could be transformed into a continuous narration of enormous size that was then, in the age of writing, transmitted as text, taking the form of a script. Our ‘Homer’ thus stems from a snapshot of a historical moment as well as a retroactively biographical construct, and the Homeric epic evolves into a monumental text of pedagogical purpose for Hellas as a whole under specific historical circumstances (see NAGY 1996; 1996a; 2002; 2003; 2008/09; 2009/10; FRAME 2009, 515–647; BIERL 2012; [in press]). Consequently, the elaborate plot arises via ongoing retardations from much shorter songs stitched together on the principle of variation and combination.

3.3 Panhellenization and Agonistics

The driving force of this evolutionary process toward a monumental epic is 24 an emerging Panhellenism, i.e. a growing awareness that the divided Greek cities had a common cultural and ethnic heritage. Following the total decline during the so-called Dark Age and the ensuing immigration from the mainland, Greek life began to flourish anew in Asia Minor; the increasing common ground even led to ethnic leagues, such as the Aeolic and later the Ionic confederation of

twelve major cities. In addition, Panhellenism fostered a tendency to relegate epic and local perspectives to the background. The cities gradually shed local myths and highlighted a common Greek perspective (NAGY [1979] 1999, 116; 2012).

25 This evolution unfurled through the progression from smaller songs as specific, prelude *hýmnoi* (see Demodokos' song of Ares and Aphrodite) to *hýmnoi* taken from the totality of mythic contexts (see Demodokos' first and third songs in *Odyssey* 8; NAGY 2008/09, 313–342 [2§ 274–331]; 2009/10, 88–102 [1§ 210–241]); it then expanded to the regularized, monumental song in steady progression concerning a shorter period of time taken from a longer myth, such as the *ménis*-story of the *Iliad*, which represents fifty-one days in the ten years of the Trojan war. Growing Panhellenization and the associated trend towards monumentalization reflect a change in the ritual occasion. During the early Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean period, the occasion centered around an aristocratic meal; later the venue grew to the large annual festival of the Panionia in Mykale as a political event; finally, with the shift of political importance to the mainland, the cultural center became Athens. Thus, as part of Peisistratid cultural policy, the Homeric text came under Athenian control. Shortly afterward, due to the new regulations, the Panhellenic and monumentalized texts *par excellence*, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, were regarded as Homeric, whereas other Cyclic epics, previously attributed to Homer as well, were ascribed to other poets. In addition, in accord with the new regulations, both Homeric epics of gigantic size and Panhellenic spirit were performed in their totality with alternating rhapsodes (NAGY 2008/09; 2009/10; FRAME 2009, 515–647; BIERL 2012).

26 A second force leading to a unified, monumental version of the story derived from the innate competition within the ritual occasion. Each *oidós* wanted the top spot at the aristocratic courts. As the festival became political, with each reperformance a singer attempted to produce a perfect version with the fewest breaks and inconsistencies, trying to outdo the previous singer. Each performer strove to surpass the predecessor's fame in a chain of ongoing sequences. Simultaneously, the text became a unified entity in a unitarian or 'neo-unitarian' perspective. Cross-references, frequent anticipations and back references, hinges and joints in the compositional structure allowed a gradual coalescence into an organic entity (NAGY 2012, esp. 30). The agonistic spirit thus drove continual improvement of the text. Each reperformance endeavored to exceed the previous one, until people thought it was time to standardize the aesthetically satisfying product. Yet the text crystallized not at once but over a longer 'bottleneck' (NAGY 2001; 2012, 43), over the Panionic (8th/7th century) and Panathenaic periods (6th century BC). Moreover centrifugal and centripetal forces coincided: 'The wider this Homeric tradition spreads, the closer it gets to achieving its ultimate uniformity' (NAGY 2012, 43). The canonization did not end, and perhaps up until

the age of Aristarchus a relatively small fluidity remained, attested through the so-called plus- and minus-verses in the papyri (NAGY 1996, 138–152).

With the crystallization around 600 BC also came a shift from a text as transcript to a uniform script – best preserved in Athens – upon which all future reperformances were expected to rely. JANKO 1982, esp. 17, 192, 200–221; 1998, 1, 11–12, on the relatively firm grounds of linguistic statistics, shows that the *Iliad* has more archaisms and less Ionian intrusions than Hesiodic poetry; he thus argues for dating the *Iliad* to the 8th century BC, claiming that it stems from the dictation of an oral poem; but CAIRNS 2001a, 4, argues that a literate poet composed it. KIRK 1962, on the other hand, believes that the *Iliad* was composed in its totality orally in the 8th century, and that it then somehow came down with no major changes to the 6th century BC, when it was rendered in a literate form in Athens. Linguistic material and other instances, however, prove that 8th-century material has incorporated some characteristics of the 6th century (CASSIO 1999, 76–78). 27

With the crystallization of the text at last, political leaders as well as audiences found themselves more and more in need of an author, and they created him retroactively. For this reason, Homer is finally well attested only in the last quarter of the 6th century, beginning with Xenophanes and Heraclitus. Thus Homer is in the end a construct, a charter myth in the sense of a re-projected first inventor (*prótos heuretês*), invented because people wanted to ascribe an ingenious individual author to the poem, which had gradually grown to perfection. In doing so they were influenced by their own experience with contemporary poems, whose authorship was definitely known. Thus the notion of Homeric authorship constitutes a matter of emergence. In the age of the ‘death of the author’ (BARTHES [1968] 1977), it is easier to cope with the assertion that the decisive factor is not so much Homer as an individual poet but the tradition that deals with real conditions and recomposition-in-performance by real singers and real audiences. This expands and evolves under different conditions into a continuous, consistent, organically perfect poem that we, especially in periods such as the Third Humanism, focusing centrally on the author, tend to ascribe to genius. 28

3.4 A Summary of the Evolutionary Model, Modifications and Response to Criticism

To summarize this complex model I provide the following sketch based on NAGY (1990, 80; 1996, 110; 1996a, 42): 29

Evolutionary or Gradual Textualization of Homer

3 Theoretical Phases of Appropriation

1. 'Partial recomposition, performer L' (in a hypothetical series from A to Z) 'publicly appropriates a given recomposition-in-performance as his own composition.'
2. 'Performer M stops appropriating the recomposition-in-performance as his or her own composition; instead attributes it to the predecessor L; this attribution is then continued by successors NOPQ.'
3. 'In the process of successive recompositions by NOPQ, the self-identification of L' is ascribed to a general poet as first inventor (πρώτος εὑρετής) (all 'historical aspects' disappear behind 'the generic aspects'). This equals a 'text fixation', since this version is regarded as the true (τὸ ἀληθές) that must not be forgotten (see NAGY 1990, 59–61).

5 Periods of Homeric Fixation or 'Five Ages of Homer':

1. 'a relatively most fluid period, with no written texts' (second millennium to middle of 8th century BC);
2. 'a more formative or "pan-Hellenic" period, still with no written texts' (middle of 8th to middle of 6th century BC, especially in Asia Minor);

3. 'a definitive period' of crystallization, 'centralized in Athens, with potential texts in the sense of *transcripts*' (middle of 6th to end of 4th century BC, beginning with the reform of the Homeric performance traditions under the Peisistratidai, that is the Peisistratid recension and regulations by Hipparchus);
4. 'a standardizing period, with texts in the sense of transcripts or even *scripts*' (for theatrical performances) (end of 4th to middle of 2nd century BC, beginning with 'the reform of the Homeric performance traditions' by Demetrius of Phaleron [317–307 BC]);
5. 'a relatively most rigid period, with texts as *scripture*' (as a canonical and holy text) (beginning with Aristarchus' edition of Homer shortly after 150 BC and the end of the so-called 'eccentric' papyri).

Transcript → *Script* → *Scripture*

30 In line with the remarks above, I would argue that first potential transcripts appeared already in Period 2, and that the first scripts as sketches or notes for the still orally-based recompositions-in-performance by the rhapsodes appeared already in Period 3. Moreover, the setting in stone, the crystallization of the text, which came down through the 'bottlenecks' of the Panionia and Panathenaia, is probably almost complete by the end of the 6th century BC. At this point, the question of the emergent Homeric authorship becomes so vital that for pedagogical reasons one could no longer think in other terms. People spoke of Homer as the divine author, extrapolating from their own experience with contemporary poets.

Some critics identify this extremely malleable model as a cultural, ‘impersonal machine’ (see NAGY 2012, 36) driven by ‘impersonal forces of historical development’ (CAIRNS 2001a, 35). But each reperformance, as parole in the sense of an individual activation of the traditional system of langue, is ‘interpersonal’ (JAKOBSON 1990, 93, cited by NAGY 2012, 37), since the reperformances occur on ‘real’ occasions and between ‘real’ persons, i.e. individual singers – links in the chain of predecessors – and listeners. To deny the diachronic background by treating Homer as a typical written text to which ‘familiar interpretative strategies’ (CAIRNS 2001a, 53) can be applied thus severely limits our scope. We can certainly apply all the tools of literary criticism, but with such a refined oral theory in mind we have a hermeneutical surplus. 31

3.5 Consequences

3.5.1 Neounitarian Quality and Malleability

On these premises, it is possible to understand why Homer has always been praised as the best and most divine poet even though he appears as the first author in Greek literary history. Over the course of centuries, the reperformances could obviously be stretched out to monumental size and, despite the composite nature of the poem, improved, polished and ironed-out until finally taking shape in a continuous, elaborate narrative. With the introduction of the Greek alphabet, this artful composition could also be converted into the new medium as a transcript. This ‘*labor limae*’ (NANNINI 2010, 5) of an ongoing interpersonal perfection triggered by Panhellenization and agonistic occasion can be fittingly described as neounitarian, since the resulting artistry has an effect similar to the genius pursued by Unitarians, who allegedly composed at a desk and – in the process of production – revised and polished his work over many years (thus WEST e.g. HT; 2011; 2011a; HÖLSCHER [1988] 1990). Interestingly, HÖLSCHER ([1988] 1990, 163–169, 184; see also 38–41), as a Unitarian, delineates a similar evolution from a ‘simple story’ to the monumental epic produced by the same principle of Panhellenization. 32

The evolutionary theory explains many features and mediates long-standing debates, accounting for why epic occasionally imitates song and *choréia*, e.g. in laments. That is to say, song is older than the regulated recitative (*parakatologē*) of the hexameter, derived from a normalized lyric glyconic rhythm, the pherecratean with a spondaic beginning and an internal expansion of three dactyls (NAGY 1974, 49–102; 1990, 459–460). Furthermore, the Homeric *Kunstsprache* consists of diverse strata, with a few very old Mycenaean forms, a larger Aeolic repertoire and, most significant, the Ionic dialect dominant around the time of crystallization in the 6th century BC. 33

34 NAGY's model makes LATA CZ' ([2001] 2004, 250–277) claim that the hexameter could preserve certain facts from Mycenaean times conceivable, but it also makes it clear that, due to ongoing transformations, Homeric epic can hardly be a true 'newspaper-report' of the past (see LATA CZ [2001] 2004, 264–265; RAAFLAUB 2003, 310–311; on the question of continuity and the Trojan war, see RAAFLAUB 2005, 58–60; 2006, 451–455; ULF 2010, 302–303). Instead, it seems probable that only small bits of information ('*Restsplitter*'/'fragments': LATA CZ [2001] 2004, 250–251) survived the filter of reperformance from the distant past before the cultural breakdown and the ensuing Greek immigration and cultural revival in Asia Minor. Only a nucleus can thus have been transmitted through the ongoing adaptations; the rest was probably conflated with imaginary scenarios, while most of the socio-cultural texture was adapted to the archaic contemporary setting of the formative Panionic and even more the crystallizing Panhellenic period (RAAFLAUB 2003; 2005; 2006; ULF 2010, esp. 306–310). It is thus likely the case that later strata, such as allusions to Athens and its dominant role, could be incorporated. The same can be applied to more recent developments, like the introduction of the fighting-strategy of *phalanx* formation or the polis system with its democratic structure. Moreover, allegedly later additions of the 6th century like the *Doloneia* or *Odyssey 24* can be viewed and interpreted as authentic.³

35 The *Doloneia* in particular has been almost unanimously excluded from the text of the *Iliad*. Because this evolutionary model renders Homer a multiform text, however, a recent boom of research claims that *Iliad 10* fits perfectly into the surrounding events and is part of the tradition (DUÉ/EBBOTT 2010; BIERL 2012a; LAVIGNE 2008; see also MARTIN 2000, 61–62). The unusual features of the Book stem instead from its narrative function and subgenre. *Iliad 10* constitutes a diachronic regression into atavistic times, linking to the perspective of ambush, death, night and the 'Other'. Its narrative function aims at symbolically underscoring the critical transition from the first short day of battle of the *ménis*-plot to the long and decisive second one, from darkness to light, from depression to new confidence, and from death to life (DUÉ/EBBOTT 2010; BIERL 2012a).

3.5.2. Traditional Art as an Oral Poetics of Ellipsis

36 LORD 1960, 94, already emphasized the 'pull in two directions' with each performance, the actual song and the evocation of previous instantiations of the system, horizontal combination and vertical selection, in the terms of the Prague

3 On the justice scene on the shield, see NAGY 2003, 72–87; the end of *Od. 24* has certain similarities to the Athenian polis discourse of the *Oresteia*.

school (NAGY 1996, 2 n. 7). NAGY 1996, 50, underlines the dynamic interaction of diachrony in synchrony as follows: ‘From this point of view each occurrence of a theme (on the level of content) or of a formula (on the level of form) in a given composition-in-performance refers not only to its immediate context but also to all other analogous contexts remembered by the performer or by any member of the audience.’

This is exactly what FOLEY (1990; 1995; 1999) pins down as ‘traditional referentiality’ (e.g. 1997, 167), as a *pars pro toto* or metonymic relation: behind and between the signs is a diachronic dimension that opens up the totality of possibilities – alternative narrative routes, different exits and instantiations. FOLEY develops a new oral poetics as ‘traditional art’ (1999) that does not respond to metrical needs but should be understood on its own terms of craftsmanship. The epic ‘word’, the *reč*, of the *guslar* is the unit of an utterance; it is not the small element in grammatical terms but an entire verse, a scene or a whole song. The performers claim that they never change tradition, although the *reč* is constantly transformed in the ongoing chain of reperformances. Words are ‘nodes in a network of signification [...] signs that point the way down the Homeric *óimē*, the song-path’ (FOLEY 1997, 167). FOLEY refers to formulae, type-scenes or story patterns as ‘registers’, traditional chunks that the performer acquires to delineate the ever-recurring frame with an ‘unmatched economy’ (1997, 172) – NAGY 1997 calls this ‘elliptic’ because the ‘special brand of meaning’ (FOLEY 1997, 173) goes diachronically down the scale to evoke all sorts of situations and resonates with all meanings in the echo-chamber of signification, signs and *sémata*. 37

3.6 Relevance to Today: Multiforms, Web and Hypertext

During the time of the conception of the first German edition of the *Prolegomena*, the internet began to conquer global communication. In addition, postmodern criticism and ideas such as intertextuality and deconstruction anticipated a media revolution: BAKHTIN (1929) 1984 speaks of polyphony, and French structuralists like Barthes and Kristeva introduced terms like network, web, paths and open-endedness in the signification process. Furthermore, BARTHES (1968) 1977 thematized the ‘death of the author’ (see also FOUCAULT [1969] 1979). All these features are realized in the internet, where no center or linear perspective exists, but nodes of interconnectivity define a plurality of choices in a virtual galaxy of visual windows. In this labyrinth, organic order is lacking, meaning the user can interact with the medium and shift between numerous levels. Furthermore, no single author controls the dissemination of meaning or the user as reader (see BAKKER 2001), but users dynamically interact with free-floating information. 38

As is well known, the reader composes his or her information through the very process of use, clicking through sites in permanent *mouvance* (see ZUMTHOR 1972), evoking the diachronic context and material in new synchronic cuts.

39 It goes without saying that some of these insights are traceable in LORD 1960 and his followers, who initiated the new trends in orality. On the one hand, we hear of multiforms, *mouvance*, transference and the interaction of myths and texts in the galaxy of tradition. The hypertext and internet accordingly often serve as metaphors to convey the dynamics of orality (BAKKER 2001; FOLEY 2012). On the other hand, the Center for Hellenic Studies treats Homer as multitext, setting up a digital edition with clicks to as many variants as possible, all equally valid in a performance tradition (see <http://chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/1169> and <http://www.homermultitext.org/>; retrieved 9. 1. 2015). A multitext edition, then, takes into account the model of an evolutionary Homer whose text refuses to be set down and analyzed with the usual methods of textual criticism and a stemma-theory by Lachmann. All in all, the web and the weaving process provide, in both realms, dominant metaphors and visual emblems of text (from *texere* ‘to weave’) which describe the specific process of patterning – incorporations of and allusions to other texts drawn from the labyrinthine galaxy of tradition.

40 Recent research on oral theory by critics like BAKKER, MARTIN, NAGY and FOLEY opens the horizon to a new and liberating oral poetics and aesthetics of an ‘immanent art’ (FOLEY 1991) that can be analyzed in every passage of the *Iliad*. Homer, understood as a ‘culture hero who is retroactively credited with the sum total of the entire cultural institution’ (BAKKER 2001, 156, paraphrasing NAGY 1996, 76) must be viewed in the perspective of an emergent authorship which, due to Panhellenism and agonistic elements, gradually narrows down the total open-endedness, with its endless exits and alternative routes, to a perfect, organic plot. This trajectory finally merges with the unitarian approach to the poet as genius. All things considered, the starting point of Western literature is based in a tradition that can be legitimately analyzed in terms of author and literature. Yet behind the author lies much more, a deep diachronic structure that reveals many new paths.

4. Further Topics and Related Themes

On these premises, several other topics have been highlighted over recent years:

4.1 Biography

It becomes more and more evident that the Imperial biographies that treat Homer, particularly the *Certamen* and the pseudo-Herodotean *Vita*, are not mere fantasy spun from the epics, especially the *Odyssey*, but resonate somehow with the branch of then contemporary Homeric scholarship, reflecting insights in the diachronic prehistory. Both *Lives* highlight the improvisational aspect within composition-in-performance, and hardly refer to the compositional act in terms of *gráphein* (writing) (NAGY 2009/10, 29–55 [I§ 55–136]). Moreover, in Homer's long circuit in the *Vita Herodotea* we can detect reflections of the emerging authorship. Thus the story in some ways mirrors the potential loss of control of the performance now transcribed in exchange for a living by someone planning to recite it as a rhapsode elsewhere. Homer as ingenious performer, then, pursues the thief to Chios where the Homeridai have their school. In addition, the *Vita Herodotea* exhibits an acute awareness of an Aeolic past in Smyrna. This city, pinned down as a potential point of origin, was originally part of an Aeolic Dodecapolis (Hdt. 1.149.1) but was later conquered by the Ionian city Colophon. Smyrna thus functions simultaneously as the hinge to the Ionic league of cities with their common festival of the Panionia celebrated in Mykale. As the cultural importance of Asia Minor diminishes, the tradition, following the same trajectory as Homer in the story, moves to Chios, then to Samos under Polycrates and finally to Athens, the new cultural Panhellenic center, where the Peisistratidai bring the tradition under control (NAGY 2009/10, 133–146 [II§ 6–41]).

4.2 Politics and Value Orientation

Doubts have arisen as to whether the Homeric epic merely represents a 'self-affirmation' of the aristocracy and a pedagogic appeal to their noble ideal cast in monumental song, valid in particular during the Mycenaean period before the cultural decline around 1150 BC. According to this fixed sociological function, epic would have somehow 'frozen' its old value orientation, as heroism was at that point only a matter of the past (LATACZ 2013, 69–70, *pace* ULF 2010, esp. 302–310, and RAAFLAUB 2003, 310–311; 2005, 59–60; 2006, 453–455). With evolutionary theory, however, we can mediate between divergent positions, since the gradual

Homeric textualization adapts to new socio-political circumstances in ongoing reperformances. Despite the radical socio-economic changes and the questioning of aristocratic leadership, Homeric epic is not superseded and does not come to a logical end after 750 BC. Is it thus likely that Homer was later fundamentally ‘misunderstood’ (LATA CZ 2013, 57) in regards to his ‘reactionary’ social function, allowing the epic genre to live on as an ‘empty form’ (‘Leerform’) conveying many other contents (LATA CZ 2013, 77)? To the contrary, as argued above (see 34), the Homeric text appears to incorporate to a certain extent the new values of a polis ideology present during the period of crystallization in the 6th century BC, and remained a dynamic and vital field that appealed to contemporary audiences.

4.3 Etymologies

- 43 Etymologies, or the science of the *étymon*, i.e. the true sense, can help unearth the deeper sense buried in linguistic diachrony, even reaching far back to Indo-European roots, with regard to specific figures in the evolving plot. For example, the name of Achilles, the main hero of the *Iliad*, might be derived from *áchos* and *láos*,⁴ the one who brings pain and grief to the people in a double sense: a) to his troop of Myrmidons and the Achaians with his retreat; b) to the Trojan enemies with his enormous strength as a wild fighter driven by a desire to avenge the death of his friend and surrogate Patroklos (NAGY [1979] 1999, 69–83).

4.4 Myth

- 44 In ‘small-scale’ and traditional ‘societies’, such as we find in the later Bronze Age and early formative phase in Asia Minor, myth and ritual in interaction and correlation constitute marked discourse (NAGY 1990, 31). The cultic setting or ritual occasion of the performance, moreover, frames the heroes’ mythic narration in an idealized past. As argued above, the entire *Iliad* can be understood as myth (MARTIN 1989), while figures inside the story tend to emphasize their

4 For a different explanation, see LATA CZ (2001) 2004, 303 n. 26: ‘It is suggested that even the name of “Achilleus” himself, for which no rational etymology has yet been found, may be traced through a possible connection with the name “Achaia”. As early as 1958, von Kamptz (1982) [= VON KAMPTZ (1958) 1982] broke the name Ἀχιλλεύς down into three components, comparing -ιλ- with the “pre-Greek Anatolian suffix -il” in the Trojan name τρωίλος, and affixing these to the “pre-Greek stem” Ἀχ-.’ The name is already attested in Mycenaean: VENTRIS/CHADWICK (1956) 1973, 529: *a-ki-re-u* = Achilleus; see also in MYC: as dative *a-ki-re-we*.

speech-acts through mythic examples. We thus have a myth-in-myth constellation, or in NAGY's 1996a, 137, words: *'the outer narrative that frames mythological exempla is itself a mythological exemplum, on a large scale.'*

In addition, numerous myths come from the infinite web of tradition, and the performer metonymically alludes to and partakes in this mythic galaxy through elliptical forms; or to put it as SLATKIN (1991) 2011, 20, does, the poet 'incorporates into his narrative another discourse, one that makes its appearance on the surface of the poem through oblique references, ellipses, or digressions, evoking for his audience themes that orient or supplement the event to the poem in particular ways.'

Myth shares with traditional narrative the feature of being authorless. Both are also transformed through endless variation and combination with a stable nucleus of motifs. In addition, mythic themes and patterns litter the Homeric epic, and LORD has already emphasized their structuring presence. In both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* we thus encounter variations of death and rebirth, disappearance and reappearance, search and retrieval, separation and reunion, hiding and epiphanic arrival (LORD 1960, 158–197).

4.5 Ritual

On the ritual side, many critics today highlight the ephebic pattern and initiation motifs, theoxeny, scenarios of the Other, relapses into the primordial or atavistic, new year and king ritual, agonistic reversals, elements of supplication, lament, *góos* or *thrénos*, marriage, *choréia* and dancing, feasting, sacrifice, prayer, epiphanies, remnants of solar imagery, burial and hero cult.

In the vein of mythic-ritual poetics (BIERL 2007), some Homeric scenes might be successfully read as symbolic expressions of the Other, rites of passage, epic encounters with death and reflections of a *katábasis* (for *Il.* 24, see HERRERO DE JÁUREGUI 2011; for *Il.* 10, see BIERL 2012a) or shamanic excursion. The rituals are both exhibited and incorporated to highlight extraordinary danger and to symbolically underline the contrast to normal life.

The entire story pattern or genre of *nóstos* not only constitutes a return home from a military expedition but a special 'return from death to life' and return to 'light' (FRAME 2009, 23–58, esp. 39–45; see also 1978, 134–152, and NAGY 1990a, 218–219; 2013, 275–278 [9§ 1–7]). Thus Odysseus' adventures must be interpreted as endless variations on the encounter with death, woven in an artful, patterned order that does not necessarily indicate a writing poet but a monumentalizing tradition, which lengthens the essential and traditional motif of death on the basis of retardations, variations and combinations (BIERL 2008; HÖLSCHER [1988]

1990, 103–185). One could also argue that the Trojan War itself represents a confrontation with death, whence the heroes must return to life and light. On the one hand, Achilles confronts the fundamental choice between *kléos* or *nóstos* – he can either die heroically and have imperishable, unwithering glory (*kléos áphthiton*) transmitted by epic song tradition, or return home without glory and die of old age. On the other hand, his withdrawal due to his *ménis* becomes a symbolic death, which causes multiple deaths on the battlefield; Patroklos, his *therápōn*, surrogate or *alter ego* (see NAGY [1979] 1999, 33, 292–293; 2013, 146–154 [6§1–23]), dons Achilles’ armor to compensate for this voluntary absence and dies early. Achilles then reappears on the battlefield – a scene we can also interpret as a *nóstos* – and transforms his *ménis* from an expression of passivity to active, furious revenge. And in ritualistic terms, *nóstos* can be seen as a reintegration into society with an anticipated, implicit immortalization as cultic hero.

4.6 Hero Cult and Epic Heroes

- 50 Panhellenization acts on all these mythic and ritual elements so that they tend to almost disappear behind a new, realistic veil. Yet they remain operable in an implicit fashion. A particularly good example is hero cult. The local and epichoric cult of a heroic figure after his death tends to be dropped in Homeric epic, but implicit allusions or anticipation of future immortalization can still be elaborated (NAGY 2012, esp. 47–71).
- 51 Heroes are mortals immortalized only after their death, receiving a local grave and cult. The *séma*, the grave, also means the sign that bears the entire significance of hero cult, becoming the medium through which to communicate with the hero by libations of oil, milk, honey and blood, as well as chthonic sacrifice. Moreover, the hero receives the right portion of the quartered victim, his *géras*, thrown into a pit (*bóthros*). The participants expect fertility as a reciprocal response to this action. This normal pattern, however, is ‘defamiliarized’ and transformed by the Panhellenic pattern. The local hero becomes an epic hero whose traits appear completely human on the surface, his main feature being his mortality; as a consequence, he attains immortality mainly through heroic death, which entails ‘eternal, unwithering’ fame (*kléos áphthiton*). Thus the hero, immortalized through death, becomes almost identical with the *kléos áphthiton* he receives via epic song in the eternal chain of future reperformances. Through his death on the battlefield, therefore, the hero encounters his last and decisive ordeal and, as expected, does not live a long life but dies prematurely, *pan-a(h)órios* (see *Il.* 24.540), sometimes still at the ephebic age. Moreover, like all heroes (BRELIICH 1958), he is extremely ambivalent, both good and terrible at the

same time. In the case of Achilles, the negative and problematic side manifests itself in his manic frenzy of revenge (*Iliad* Books 19 to the beginning of 24); this is exaggerated to the utmost when he longs to eat the flesh of his enemy (*Il.* 22.346–347), a powerful allusion to Dionysiac *mania* in myth (see NAGY 2013, *passim*, esp. 46 [1§ 54] and 2005, 86–89; 2006, § 76–116).

In the Panhellenic perspective, moreover, epic heroes stand in antagonistic 52
opposition to the god, with whom they are connected on a cultic level (NAGY 2013, 333–334 [11§ 45]). In our example, Achilles represents the ephebic counter-part of Apollo, the god of ephebes, and fights against Apollo, with whom he shares common cults. In *Iliad* 9.189 Apollo and Achilles associate with one another when the hero sings to the Apollonian lyre about the ‘glories of men’ (*kléa andrón*). Thus the god reflects the hero, and the hero the poet, who merges with him through the performance of *kléos*, the medium and essence of epic song (NAGY 2013, 55–69 [2§ 29–71]).

Moreover, the fierce, brutal battle scenes in epic stylize sacrificial division. 53
Rather than watching every detail of the sacrificial victim’s portioning, the audience of the *Iliad* is visually confronted with detailed descriptions of heroes’ bodies brutally mistreated, lacerated, transfixed, perforated and slashed. Through these brutal deaths, the epic compensates for the necessary and usual sacrifice in normal hero cult (NAGY 2013, 11–12 [0§ 13–15], and 2006, § 111–114).

4.7 Possible Influences from the Near East: Oriental Myths and Narratives

The diachronic perspective can also shed light on the allusive dialogue 54
between Homeric epic and Near Eastern parallels, in particular *Gilgamesh*. The Sumerian tradition dates back to the third millennium BC. Sumerian was then replaced by Akkadian (with Babylonian and Assyrian as dialectal variants), and *Gilgamesh* appeared, in its archaic version, in Old Babylonian in the early second millennium (2000–1600 BC), its influence spreading throughout the Levant in the 14th and 13th centuries BC, especially in Hittite translation. The standard version of the twelve-table epic, its revised form, was ascribed to the mythic poet Sin-leqe-unnini around 1200 BC, but the real end-redaction probably took place later in Uruk, and not before the 7th century BC do we have the most complete copies of this canonized epic as part of the library of King Assurbanipal (669–627 BC) in Nineveh (NOEGEL 2005). The epic thus circulated in a very fluid phase during the Bronze Age, when connections with Greece are attested. But its greater influence might be attributed to the period following the crisis around 1200 BC, when a flourishing new oriental world took shape in the first centuries of the first millennium, ‘a *koiné* of culture from Mesopotamia via Syria/Palestine to Anatolia

and Egypt,' with 'channels' (BURKERT 2005, 301) of exchange and possible transmission via Phoenicia (with the introduction of the alphabet), Lydia and Egypt (BURKERT 2005, 291–295; see also SASSON 2005).

- 55 There are striking parallels in style (i.e. long verses, formulae, type-scenes, assemblies of gods, battle scenes) and narrative structure. Such parallels were explored by JENSEN 1906/28 (Pan-Babylonian exaggeration) and later in our generation more seriously by scholars such as BURKERT (1984) 1992; 2005; MORRIS 1997; WEST 1997; PATZEK 2003.
- 56 Motif-transference or the direct influence of the *Iliad* on smaller story lines and structural elements has been repeatedly demonstrated (BURKERT [1984] 1992; 2005; WEST 1997; CURRIE 2012). One of the most conspicuous similarities is found in Enkidu, Gilgamesh's dear friend, who dies as a surrogate for him, like Patroklos for Achilles (see LORD 1960, 197, 201; CURRIE 2012, 550–551). The question remains how to explain such parallels. Do overlaps exist in the very early period? Should we depart from neoanalytic approaches of early or later incorporation in oral, semi-oral or literary form in the formative or even crystallizing phase? A bilingual oral transfer or code-switching is quite unlikely, as these oral specialists are completely immersed in a formulaic system closely linked to their own language and culture. Or should we lend credence to the quite literacy-based hypothesis that bilingual Greek poets and scribes served as intentional, multi-cultural mediators in Northern Syria or Cilicia in the middle of the 7th century BC? SCHROTT 2008 thus wildly speculates that Homer was an Akkadian-speaking Greek scribe and eunuch, who lived not in Asia Minor but in the Cilician city of Karatepe and was in the service of Assyrian dynasts; SCHROTT also claims that Homer took his inspiration from the Cilician revolts against the Assyrians (715, 705–696, 676 BC) and from the geographical ambience, when he compiled the fictionalized events of the *Iliad* on the basis of Near Eastern epics around 660 BC.⁵
- 57 Despite apparent similarities, we must not forget the differences. Cross-cultural comparison also makes it clear that such parallels are often typological and can be detected in numerous epic and narrative traditions around the world. Yet it should be stressed that the relation of the Near Eastern material to Homer is not genealogical, that is, based on cognate, diachronically and synchronically proven structures of derivation, since no clear descent of a closer linguistic relationship with the Greek *Iliad* can be traced, outside of indirect Hittite or Luwian influences. Rather, contact between Near Eastern and Greek tradition occurs late in the 7th century, a historical given that comes after the main transformations in the *Iliad* are already complete. But some fluidity remained, as well as room for

⁵ For a fair refutation of these speculations, see VISSER 2008, 80–83.

reciprocal appropriation between the analogous traditions, although some parallels are not necessarily historical and must be classified as typological (NAGY 2005, 71–76; 2006, § 1–30).

Nor can what we admire in Homer stem from the Near Eastern texts. Despite a long canonization and development toward greater human values and more homogenous structure, Gilgamesh lacks the human dimension of Achilles, and the Akkadian epic never attains the organic form for which Aristotle and all critics after him praised Homer (SLEZÁK 2012, 217–239, esp. 234–239). 58

It is obvious that a very early scribal fixation in cuneiform, which facilitated only revisions – again always written down on tablets – occurred during the phase when the Homeric epic was still in its fluid prehistory. Writing froze the cultural narration, and a fossilized text did not possess the potential an oral tradition has. As seen above, the emerging authorship affects the elaboration of the evolving product of artistry. The progress of quality thus stems from a long chain of recomposition of the same ‘word’, which is constantly transformed due to agonistic and Panhellenic influences. We can accordingly venture that extended oral fluidity entails a qualitative jump under specific socio-political and polycentric conditions. Consequently, due to a lack of hierarchical and monarchical structures, the Greek people became aware of belonging to a common culture and ethnicity. This process led to new occasions, i.e. public festivals with agonistic elements, inducing a transformation toward monumentalized, cohesive forms of narration. On the other side, literary fixation more or less froze the early standard of the narration, and centralized dynastic structures favored text as an emblem of the divine power of an all-mighty king. 59

4.8 *Mise en abyme* and Metanarrative Reflection

Metapoetic awareness or emblematic self-referentiality are the apparent features of a highly aestheticized literary art such as we encounter in the poetry of the late 19th and 20th century and in recent, postmodern times. Critics of former generations would thus never have reckoned with the existence of such sophisticated techniques in oral poetry when they judged its aesthetics in primitive terms (NOTOPOULOS 1949). In the last two decades, however, it has become increasingly evident that the *Iliad* and, even more so, the *Odyssey* tend to self-referentially reflect on their own poetic tradition (e.g. SEGAL 1994, 85–183; RENGAKOS 2002, 189–191; DE JONG 2006). 60

In this vein, critics have recently approached parts of these epic works as such, e.g. the long *ékphrasis* of the *Shield* in *Iliad* 18 (DE JONG 2011) and the scene of Achilles playing cithara in his tent and singing about the ‘glories of men’ (*Il.* 61

9.189) (NAGY 2013, 55–59 [2§ 29–40]). Other examples are found in the idealized *aidóí* Demodokos and Phemios as self-reflective figures of the performance tradition. Even Odysseus himself is several times associated with a singer; Demodokos' song of Ares and Aphrodite (*Od.* 8.266–366) in particular alludes to earlier stages of the Homeric epic, helping to shape the plot in a metanarrative fashion. Demodokos, moreover, stands in competition with Odysseus, who narrates his *Apologoi* in the new mode that reflects the situation following the reform of Homeric performance traditions. In the same way that Penelope's famous cunning (*mēchánēma*) of weaving symbolizes the process of textualization (CLAYTON 2004; BIERL 2004, 111), so does the artful web of invisible chains produced and installed by the master blacksmith contain metapoetic implications, and functions as an internal mirror of the entire plot (BIERL 2012). Through 'intratextual' strategies the *Iliad* — and even more so the *Odyssey* — tends to frame the inner contents of speeches with outer events, juxtaposing matters by creating special meaning through performative adjacency and similarity- and opposition-effects, sometimes even producing forms of a *mise en abyme*, 'a text-within-text that functions as microcosm or mirror of the text itself' (MARTIN 2000, 63–64, quote 63).

- 62 Self-reflective and metanarrative elements, after all, are not as surprising as they might at first appear, since our Homeric epic is a late, crystallized product, the culmination of a long history of reperformances in ongoing transformations. As seen above, the *kléos* of the heroes acts as the medium and essence of the performance tradition. Thus, whenever *kléos* is mentioned, the performance references itself, since with each reperformance the glory must be recalled and reactualized via the Muses who inspire each singer with the memory of the story to be reperformed (see also DE JONG 2006); the concept of *kléos* is the 'medium of total recall' (NAGY 2013, 50 [2§ 12]), and as long as the idea of performance culture thrives, the tradition will never die and thus projects its own trajectory into the future.

4.9 Memory

- 63 Against this backdrop, the study of memory and commemorative processes emerges as another major issue in recent Homeric scholarship. This highly interdisciplinary field extends from anthropology, cognitive psychology and neuroscience to archeology, history and Homeric linguistics. It explores the basic oral discourse, showing how speech formats that help human beings structure and perform routine acts of daily life are stylized into Homeric type scenes (MINCHIN 2007). The above mentioned (see 15) cooperation between cognitive science and oral poetics can yield stimulating new directions in Homeric text and culture.

BAKKER 2005 stresses the visualizing, presenting and cognitive dimension of reperformance in recall. Detailed descriptions of material objects or of a landscape can provide a historical consciousness and shed light on the commemorative act in a self-reflective manner (GRETHLEIN 2008; MINCHIN 2012a). Furthermore, in autobiographic recollections of the past heroes like Odysseus can shape their own sense of the past and instrumentalize the elements using the pragmatics of actual discourse (e.g. BIERL [in press]). MINCHIN 2012 also explores how personal, social, collective and cultural memory define the Iliadic personnel and their speeches. In a new project, she promises fascinating results by applying cutting-edge research on memory, recently assembled in volumes such as BOYER/WERTSCH 2009, on Homeric studies.

5. Conclusion and Prospect

With the new trends described above, Homeric scholarship makes its way 64 into the future. And by incorporating all these exciting approaches, both the German and the English edition of the present commentary, in their hermeneutic ‘reperformance’ and re-digest of earlier and recent research results, keep the tradition of this outstanding text alive and fresh for every rereading by their users.

Character Index

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The present index of characters^P (gods and men, along with mythical creatures and animals insofar as they have personal names) supplements the chapter ‘Cast of Characters of the *Iliad*’, to which reference is made here via the abbreviations ‘CG’ (gods) and ‘CH’ (humans). – Technical notes:

- All passages are listed in which characters are referred to by their own name or that of their father. References to patronymics (for their formation, see G 56) are generally given twice, thus for example the references to *Pheretides* (‘son of Pheres’) appear under both *Admetos* and *Pheres*; only in the case of very common patronymics has this procedure not been followed (the 86 references to *Kronides* are thus found only under *Zeus*). In the case of gods, passages in which the name is represented by a cult title or similar epithet (e.g. *Hekebolos* ‘far-striker’ for *Apollo*) are also listed.
- Names in plus-verses (e.g. *Asteropaios* in 2.848a) are taken consistent account of, whereas *variae lectiones* (like *Apollo* instead of *Athene* in 1.400) are included only selectively.
- The English forms of the Greek names are taken from the translation by R. Lattimore. Thus, in most cases the orthography follows the normal rules of transliteration. Exceptions have been made in the case of very well known characters, for whom other forms of the names are well established in English (e.g. *Hades* for *Aïdes*); other exceptions follow Lattimore’s practice of changing names that end in *-ees* to *-es*, changing some names that end in *-e* to *-a*, and using the ending *-an* for the names of certain peoples. For details, see LATTIMORE 573.
- In the case of longer entries, book numbers are printed in bold for ease of reference; in shorter entries, they are printed normally for aesthetic reasons. There is no functional distinction between the two.

Abantes A Euboian people, contributed a contingent of 40 ships under the leadership of Elephenor to the expedition against Troy: 2.536, 541, 542; 4.464.

Abarbare Trojan water-nymph, mother of Aisepos and Pedasos, sons of Boukolion: 6.22.

Abas Trojan, son of the dream-interpreter Eurydamas; killed along with his brother Polyidos II by Diomedes: 5.148.

Abioi A mythical people in the extreme north, ‘most righteous of all men’: 13.6.

Ablers Trojan, killed by Antilochos: 6.32.

Achaïans Strictly speaking, inhabitants of the region of Achaia (in northern Greece or the Peloponnese), but usually a collective designation for the united Greek peoples camped before Troy (cf. *Argives* and *Danaïns*): *passim*.

Acheloïos River-god (→ CG 34): 21.194; 24.616.

Achilleus (→ CH 2), also *Peleïdes*, *Peleïades*, *Peleïon* and *Aiakides* **1** 1, 2 (v.l.), 7, 54, 58, 74, 84, 121, 131, 146, 148, 188, 197, 199, 215, 223, 240, 245, 277, 283, 292, 306, 319, 322, 330, 348, 364, 489, 558; **2**.3, 220, 239, 241, 377, 674, 685, 688, 769, 770, 860, 874, 875; **4**.512; **5**.788; **6**.99, 414, 423; **7**.113, 228; **8**.225, 372, 474; **9**.107, 164, 166, 181, 184, 191, 193, 196, 199, 209, 217, 224, 225, 307, 434, 485, 494, 496, 513, 606, 628, 643, 663, 667, 698; **10** 106, 306 (v.l.), 323, 392, 402, 404; **11**.8, 104, 112, 599, 606, 607, 625, 652, 656, 664, 762, 772, 777, 783, 786, 791, 805, 827b, 831, 839; **12** 10; **13**.113, 324, 348; **14**.50, 136a, 139, 366; **15**.64, 68, 74, 77, 402, 614; **16**.2, 5, 21, 29, 48, 124, 134, 140, 142, 146, 153, 155, 165, 166, 168, 195, 198, 203, 220, 269, 271, 281, 467a, 575, 653, 686, 709, 799, 837, 854, 860, 865; **17**.76, 78, 105, 121, 186, 191, 195, 199, 208, 214, 271, 280, 388, 402, 426, 473, 486, 504, 557, 641, 654, 691, 701, 709; **18**.2, 18, 28, 30, 33, 69, 78, 97, 152, 166, 170, 181, 187, 203, 214, 221, 222, 226, 228, 234, 247, 261, 267, 305, 316, 343, 354, 358, 615; **19**.13, 15, 40, 45, 55, 75, 83, 89, 145, 151, 155, 188, 194, 198, 216, 268, 279, 295, 297, 343, 352, 364, 379, 384, 389, 397, 408, 419; **20**.2, 26, 27, 30a, 42, 45, 75, 80, 85, 88, 89, 94, 97, 113, 118, 120, 129, 139, 160, 164, 174, 177, 200, 261, 273, 283, 290, 294, 301, 312, 320, 322, 324, 333, 337, 341, 365, 366, 369, 376, 381, 386, 388, 413, 422, 423, 431, 439, 441, 445, 498, 503; **21**.15, 39, 47, 49, 67, 74, 116, 120, 138, 139, 144, 147, 149, 153, 160, 161, 169, 173, 174, 178, 179, 182, 208, 211, 214, 222, 233, 236, 240, 250, 251, 263, 265, 272, 288, 306, 324, 327, 328, 344, 359, 520, 525, 527, 532, 550, 553, 557, 571, 580, 583, 595, 599; **22**.7, 8, 14, 24, 36, 40, 55, 58, 92, 102, 109, 113, 131, 138, 158a, 172, 176, 188, 193, 197 (v.l.), 205, 211, 214, 216, 229, 244, 250, 258, 260, 277, 278, 279, 290, 312, 319, 326, 330, 344, 364, 376, 446, 455; **23**.4, 12, 17, 28, 35, 41, 59, 69, 80, 83, 93, 101, 125, 128, 136, 138, 140, 155, 168, 193, 208, 218, 224, 231, 249, 257, 287, 333, 353, 358, 491, 534, 542, 543, 555, 616, 651, 700, 734, 740, 748, 757, 776, 792, 793, 794, 798, 826, 828, 884, 889; **24**.3, 39, 44, 57, 59, 72, 75, 108, 110, 119, 138, 147, 151, 154, 155, 176, 180, 183, 184, 196, 226, 309, 338, 394, 406, 409, 412, 431, 434, 448, 456, 458, 462, 465, 472, 478, 483, 486, 503, 510, 511, 513, 559, 572, 575, 585, 589, 596, 621, 626, 629, 631, 643, 649, 661, 668, 675, 684, 751, 779.

Adamas Son of Asios I; Trojan lieutenant, killed by Meriones: 12.140, 193a; 13.560 f., 759, 771.

Admetos Son of Pheres, husband of Alkestis, father of Eumelos: 2.713 f., 763; 23.289, 376, 391, 532.

Adrestos I. Ruler in Sikyon, then in Argos; both grandfather and father-in-law of Diomedes: 2.572; 5.412; 14.121; 23.347. – II. Son of the seer Merops; along with his brother Amphios I, leader of the Trojan allies from the area around Adresteia; both are killed at the same time by Diomedes: 2.830; 11.329. – III. (→ CH 12): 6.37, 45, 63. – IV. Trojan killed by Patroklos: 16.694.

Agakles (-kleës) Father of Epeigeus: 16.571.

Agamede Daughter of Augeias, wife of Moulïos I: 11.740.

Agamemnon (→ CH 2), also *Atreïdes* and *Atreïon*: 1.7, 12, 16, 17, 24, 59, 90, 94, 102, 122, 130, 172, 191, 203, 224, 232, 247, 282, 285, 308, 313, 318, 335, 355, 369, 375, 378, 387, 411, 442, 506; **2**.6, 9, 18, 21, 23, 55a, 60, 100, 107, 185, 192, 221, 224, 225, 242, 243, 249, 254, 284, 344, 362, 369, 402, 411, 434, 441, 445, 477, 482, 576, 577, 612, 614, 762, 772 f.; **3**.81, 118, 120, 178, 182, 193, 267, 271, 275, 455, 461; **4**.148, 153, 178, 188, 204, 223, 255, 266, 272, 283, 311, 318, 326, 336, 350, 356, 368, 404, 413; **5**.38, 528, 537, 552; **6**.33, 53, 63, 64, 437; **7**.57, 107, 162, 176, 230, 312, 313, 314, 322, 327, 351, 373, 383, 385, 405, 470; **8**.54b, 78, 218, 261, 278, 293; **9** 9, 13, 32, 62, 69, 89, 96, 114, 163, 178, 226, 253, 260, 263, 269, 300, 315, 331 f., 339, 341, 368 f., 386, 388, 439, 516, 613, 627a, 648, 669, 672, 677, 697; **10**.3, 9, 42, 64, 81, 86, 88, 103, 119, 233, 326; **11**.15, 91, 99, 107, 126, 130, 131,

- 153, 158, 165, 169, 177, 180, 187, 202, 216, 219, 231, 233, 238, 246, 251, 254, 262, 268, 272, 284, 661, 766; **13.112**, 378; **14.22**, 24, 29, 41, 64, 83, 103, 134, 137, 139, 380, 516; **16.26**, 58, 59, 72, 76, 273; **17.249**, 710 (v.l.); **18.111**, 257, 445; **19.35**, 51, 56, 76, 146, 172, 181, 184, 199, 241, 249, 252, 272, 310; **22.117**, 378 (v.l.); **23.36**, 38, 49, 110, 155, 156, 161, 233, 236, 272, 295, 296, 332 (v.l.), 486, 525, 658, 887, 890, 895; **24.395**, 654, 687 f.
- Agapenor* Son of Angkaios I; leader of the Arkadians with a contingent of 60 ships: 2.609.
- Agasthenes* Son of Augeias, father of Polyxeinos: 2.624.
- Agastrophos* Trojan, son of Paion, killed by Diomedes: 11.338 f., 368, 373.
- Agathon* Son of Priam, upbraided by the latter as a poor fighter: 24.249.
- Agauē* Nereid: 18.42.
- Agauos* see *Dios*.
- Agelaos* I. Trojan, son of Phradmon, killed by Diomedes: 8.257. – II. Achaian lieutenant killed by Hektor: 11.302.
- Agenor* I. Trojan lieutenant, son of Antenor and Theano: 4.467; 8.55c; 11.59; 12.93; 13.490, 598; 14.425; 15.340; 16.535; 21.545, 579, 595, 600. – II. (= I?) Father of Eheklos I: 20.474.
- Aglaia* Wife of Charopos, mother of Nireus: 2.672.
- Agrios* Great-uncle of Diomedes: 14.117.
- Aiakides* see *Achilleus*.
- Aiakos* Father of Peleus, grandfather of Achilleus: 21 189 and 24x *Aiakides*.
- Aiantes* (generally Aias I+II, rarely Aias I and his half-brother Teukros: → CH 3 with n. 15): **2.406**; **4.273**, 280, 285; **5.519**; **6.436**; **7.164**; **8.79**, 262; **10.53** (v.l.), 228; **12.265**, 335, 342, 343, 353, 354; **13.46**, 47, 126, 197, 201, 313; **15.301** (v.l.); **16.555**, 556; **17.507**, 508, 531, 668, 669, 707, 732, 747, 752; **18.157**, 163.
- Aias* I (→ CH 3), also *Telamoniades*: **1.138**, 145; **2.528**, 557, 768; **3.225**, 229; **4.473**, 479, 489; **5.610**, 615, 617; **6.5**; **7.179**, 183, 187, 203, 206, 211, 219, 224, 234, 245, 249, 260, 266, 268, 283, 288, 305, 309, 311, 321; **8.224**, 267, 268, 272, 330; **9.169**, 223, 622 f., 644, 689; **10.53**, 112; **11.7**, 464, 465, 485, 489, 496, 526, 542, 544, 556, 563, 566, 589, 591, 594; **12.342** (v.l.), 343 (v.l.), 349, 362, 364, 370, 378, 400, 404; **13.67**, 68, 76, 190, 313, 321, 702, 709, 809, 824; **14.402**, 409, 459 f., 469, 511; **15.249**, 289, 301, 415, 419, 429, 431, 434, 436, 471, 483, 501, 516, 560, 674, 685, 727, 745; **16.102**, 114, 116, 119, 358; **17.102**, 115, 120, 123, 128, 132, 137, 166, 174, 230, 235, 237, 279, 284, 293, 303, 304, 312, 356, 360, 626, 628, 651, 715; **18.193**; **23.708**, 720, 722, 811, 818, 822, 838, 842.
- Aias* II (→ CH 3), also *Oiliades* (v.l. *Iliades*): **2.527**; **10.110**, 175; **12.365**, 366; **13.66**, 203, 681, 695, 701, 712; **14.442**, 446, 520; **15.334**; **16.330**; **17.256**; **18.157**, 163; **23.473**, 483, 488, 493, 754, 759, 774, 779, 789.
- Aïdes*, *Aïdoneus* see *Hades*.
- Aigaion* 100-handed giant, called 'Briareos' by the gods; taken by Lattimore as a patronymic: 1.403 f.
- Aigeus* Father of Theseus: 1.265.
- Aigialeia* Daughter of Adrestos I, wife of Diomedes: 5.412.
- Aineias* (→ CH 8): **2.820**; **5.166**, 180, 217, 230, 247, 263, 272, 297, 305, 311, 323, 378, 432, 435, 445, 450, 468, 512, 514, 534, 541, 559, 564, 571; **6.75**, 77; **8.55b**, 108; **11.58**; **12.99**; **13.459**, 463, 477, 482, 489, 494, 500, 502, 504, 541; **14.425**; **15.332**; **16.536**, 608, 614, 616, 620; **17.323**, 327, 333, 344, 484, 485, 491, 513, 534, 754, 758; **20.79**, 83, 86, 112, 117, 160, 161, 175, 178, 199, 263, 267, 274, 278, 286, 288, 293, 307, 311, 320, 323, 325, 327, 332, 347; **23.292**.
- Ainienes* (v.l. *Enienes*) Inhabitants of northwest Thessaly, formed part of the Achaian contingent of 22 ships under the leadership of Gouneus: 2.749.

- Ainios* Paionian, killed by Achilleus: 21.210.
- Aiolos* Father of Sisyphos, great-grandfather of Bellerophon, great-great-grandfather of Sarpedon and Glaukos I, leaders of the Lykians: 6.154.
- Aipyros* Arkadian hero; buried on Mt. Kyllene: 2.604.
- Aisepos* Son of Boukolion and the nymph Abarbare; grandson of Laomedon; killed by Euryalos along with his brother Pedasos I: 6.21.
- Aisyyetes* I. Trojan hero; buried in the plain before Troy: 2.793. – II. (= I?) Father of Alkathoös: 13.427.
- Aisymnos* Achaian lieutenant killed by Hektor: 11.303.
- Aithe* Mare belonging to Agamemnon, gift of Echeolos II: 23.295, 409, 525.
- Aithikes* A Thessalian people: 2.744.
- Aithiopians* A mythical people living by the world-encircling Ocean (i.e. at the 'edge of the earth'), happily visited by the gods: 1.423; 2.744 (v.l.); 23.206.
- Aithon* Horse belonging to Hektor: 8.185.
- Aithre* Servant of Helen; daughter of Pittheus, according to later sources ('Apollodor' *Bibl.* 3.10.7 [= 3.128], etc.), mother of Theseus: 3.144.
- Aitolians* A people in west central Greece, contributed a contingent of 40 ships under the leadership of Thoas I to the expedition against Troy: 2.638, 643; 4.527; 5.843; 9.529, 531, 549, 575, 597; 13.218; 15.282; 23.471, 633.
- Akamias* I. Son of Antenor and Theano; leader of the Trojan Dardanians along with his brother Archelochos and Aineias; killed by Meriones: 2.823; 8.55d; 11.59 f.; 12.100; 14.476, 478, 488; 16.342. – II. Son of Eussoros; along with Peiros, leader of the Trojan allies from Thrace; killed by Aias I: 2.844; 5.462; 6.8.
- Akessamenos* Great-grandfather of Asteropaos: 21.142.
- Akrisios* Father of Danaë: 14.319.
- Aktaie* Nereid: 18.41.
- Aktor* I. Father of Astyoche, grandfather of Askalaphos and Ialmenos: 2.513. – II. Father of Menoitios, grandfather of Patroklos: 11.785; 16.14. – III. Father of Ehekles, step-grandfather of Eudoros: 16.189. – IV. Foster-father of the 'Aktoriones' Eurytos I and Kteatos (→ CH 6): 2.621; 11.750; 13.185; 23.638.
- Aktoriones* (→ CH 6), also *Moliones*: 2.621; 11.709, 750; 13.185; 23.638.
- Alastor* I. Lykian, killed by Odysseus: 5.677. – II. Lieutenant of the Pylians (8.333 companion of Salaminian Aias): 4.295; 8.333; 13.422. – III. Father of Tros II: 20.463.
- Alazones, Alizones* see *Halizones*.
- Alegenor* Father of Promachos: 14.503.
- Aleisios, Alisios* see *Alesios*.
- Alektryon* Father of Leïtos: 17.602.
- Alesios* (v.l. *Aleisios, -isios*) Eleian hero; a hill is named after him (cf. 2.617): 11.757.
- Alexandros* see *Paris* (→ CH 8).
- Alkandros* Lykian, killed by Odysseus: 5.678.
- Alkathoös* Husband of Anchises' daughter Hippodameia II, brother-in-law and foster-father of Aineias; killed by Idomeneus: 12.93; 13.428, 465, 496.
- Alke* Personification of 'battle strength' (→ CG 38; otherwise generally used as a substantive): 5.740.
- Alkestis* Daughter of Pelias, wife of Admetos, mother of Eumelos: 2.715.
- Alkimedon/Alkimos* Son of Laërkes, grandson of Haimon III; companion of Achilleus and lieutenant of the Myrmidons: 16.197; 17.467, 475, 481, 500, 501; 19.392; 24.474, 574.

- Alkmaon* Achaian, Son of Thestor III, killed by Sarpedon: 12.394.
- Alkmene* Lover of Zeus, mother of Herakles: 14.323; 19.99, 119.
- Alkyone* see *Kleopatre*.
- Aloeus* Father (or foster-father: *Od.* 11.305 f.) of Otos I and Ephialtes: 5.386.
- Alpheios* River-god (→ CG 34): 2.592; 5.545; 11.712, 726, 728.
- Altes* Ruler of the Leleges with a seat in Pedasos (in the Troad), father of Laothoë, grandfather of Lykaon II and Polydoros I: 21.85, 86; 22.51.
- Althia* Wife of Oineus, mother of Meleagros: 9.555.
- Amaryngkeus* Ruler of the Epeians; as a young man, Nestor participated in his funeral games; father of Dioreas I: 2.622; 4.517; 23.630.
- Amatheia* Nereid: 18.48.
- Amazons* Mythical race of female warriors: 2.856 (*v.l.*), 857 (*v.l.*); 3.189; 6.186; 24.804 (*v.l.*).
- Ameibos* Leader of the Kaukonians, son of Polykles: 2.855a (*v.l.*).
- Amisodaros* Ruler in Lykia who raised the Chimaira; father of Atymnios II and Maris: 16.328.
- Amopaon* (*v.l. Opaon*) Trojan, son of Polyaimon, killed by Teukros: 8.276.
- Amphidamas* I. From Kythera, temporary owner of Meriones' boar's tusk helmet: 10.268, 269. – II. From Opous; father of the playmate killed by Patroklos: 23.87.
- Amphigyeis* see *Hephaistos*.
- Amphiklos* Trojan, killed by Meges: 16.313.
- Amphimachos* I. Son of Kteatos (one of the 'Aktoriones'), cousin of Thalpios; one of the four leaders of the Epeian contingent of 40 ships; killed by Hektor: 2.620; 13.185, 189, 195, 203. – II. Son of Nomion, leader of the Trojan allies from Karia along with his brother Nastes; he (or his brother Nastes, see *s.v.*) was killed by Achilleus: 2.870, 871.
- Amphinome* Nereid: 18.44.
- Amphion* Lieutenant of the Epeians: 13.692.
- Amphios* I. Son of the seer Merops; along with his brother Adrestos II, leader of the Trojan allies from the area around Adresteia; both are killed at the same time by Diomedes: 2.830; 11.329. – II. Trojan ally, son of Selagos from Paisos, killed by Aias I: 5.612.
- Amphithoë* Nereid: 18.42.
- Amphitryon* Husband of Alkmene, foster-father of Herakles: 5.392.
- Amphoter* Lykian, killed by Patroklos: 16.415.
- Amyntor* Father of Phoinix I; original owner of Meriones' boar's tusk helmet: 9.448; 10.266.
- Amthaon* see *Apisaon* II.
- Anchialos* Achaian, killed by Hektor: 5.609.
- Anchises* I. Lover of Aphrodite, by whom he is the father of Aineias; father of Hippodameia II and father-in-law of Alkathoos: 2.819, 820; 5.247, 268, 313, 468; 12.98; 13.428; 17.491, 754; 20.112, 160, 208, 239, 240. – II. Father of Echebolos II: 23.296.
- Andraimon* Father of Thoas I: 2.638; 7.168; 13.216; 15.281.
- Andromache* (→ CH 8): 6.371, 377, 395, 405; 8.187; 17.208; 24.723.
- Angkaios* I. Father of Agapenor: 2.609. – II. (= I?) Hero from Pleuron, defeated by the young Nestor in a wrestling-match: 23.635.
- Anteia* Wife of Proitos, tried to seduce Bellerophon and then slandered him: 6.160.
- Antenor* (→ CH 9): 2.822; 3.122 f., 148, 203, 262, 312; 4.87; 5.69; 6.299; 7.347, 357; 8.55c; 11.59, 221, 249, 262; 12.99; 13.433a; 14.463, 473; 15.517; 19.53; 20.396; 21.546, 579.
- Anthemion* Trojan, father of Simoeisios: 4.473, 488.
- Antilochos* (→ CH 4), also *Nestorides*: 4.457; 5.565, 570, 580, 584, 589; 6.32 f.; 13.93, 396, 400, 418, 479, 545, 550, 554, 565; 14.513; 15.568, 569, 579, 582, 585, 589; 16.317 f., 320; 17.378, 653, 681,

- 685, 694, 704; **18.2**, 16, 32; **23.301**, 306, 353 f., 402, 419, 423, 425, 426, 429, 439, 514, 522, 538a, 541, 556, 558, 567, 570, 576, 581, 586, 596, 602, 612, 756, 785, 795.
- Antimachos* Father of Peisandros I and Hippolochos II (→ CH 12): 11.123, 132, 138. – II (= I?) Father of Hippomachos: 12.188.
- Antinoös* see *Autonoös* II.
- Antiphates* Trojan, killed by Leonteus: 12.191.
- Antiphonos* Son of Priam, upbraided by the latter as a poor fighter: 24.250.
- Antiphos* I. Son of Thessalos, grandson of Herakles; along with his brother Pheidippos, leader of an Achaian contingent of 30 ships from Kos and the adjacent islands: 2.678. – II. Son of Talaimenes and the nymph of the Gygaian lake; along with his brother Mesthles, leader of the Trojan allies from Maionia: 2.864. – III. Son of Priam, killed along with his half-brother Isos by Agamemnon: 4.489 f.; 11.101 f., 104, 109.
- Aphareus* Son of Kaletor II; Achaian lieutenant, killed by Aineias: 9.83; 13.478, 541.
- Aphrodite* (→ CG 4), also *Kypris* (5.330 etc., ‘lady of Kypros’, in reference to her cult on Cyprus): **2.820**; **3.54**, 64, 374, 380, 389, 413, 424, 425a; **4.10**; **5.131**, 248, 312, 330, 348, 370, 375, 422, 427, 458, 468a, 760, 820, 883; **9.389**; **14.188**, 193, 211, 224; **19.282**; **20.40**, 105, 209; **21.416**, 430; **22.470**; **23.185**; **24.699**.
- Apisaon* I. (v.l. *Opisaon*) Son of Phausios (or Phausias); Trojan lieutenant, killed by Eurypylos I: 11.578, 582. – II. (v.l. *Amythaon*) Son of Hippasos III; lieutenant of the Paionians, killed by Lykomedes: 17.348.
- Apollo* (→ CG 5), also *Argyrotoxos* (1.37 etc., ‘with a silver bow, silver-archer’), *Hekatebolos/Hekebolos* (1.14, 1.370, 1.385 etc., probably ‘striking from afar, far-striker’), *Hekaergos* (1.147 etc., probably ‘working from afar, far-worker’), *Phoibos* (1.43 etc., meaning uncertain) and *Smintheus* (probably ‘exterminator of mice’, see 1.39n.): **1.1** (v.l.), 3 (v.l.), 9, 14, 21, 36, 37, 39, 43, 64, 72, 75, 86, 96, 110, 147, 182, 315, 370, 373, 380, 385, 400 (v.l.), 438, 443, 451, 457, 474, 479, 603; **2.371**, 766, 827; **4.101**, 119, 288, 507; **5.105**, 344, 433, 437, 439, 444, 445, 449, 454, 509, 517, 760; **7.20**, 23, 34, 37, 58, 81, 83, 132, 272, 452; **8.311**, 540; **9.405**, 560, 564; **10.515**; **11.353**, 363; **12.17**, 24, 34; **13.827**; **15.55**, 59, 143, 220, 221, 231, 236, 243, 253, 256, 307, 318, 326, 355, 360, 365, 441, 521; **16.94**, 97, 513, 527, 666, 667, 676, 700, 703, 706 (v.l.), 711, 715, 720, 725, 728, 788, 793, 804, 845, 849; **17.11**, 118, 322, 326, 333, 582, 585, 683a; **18.454**; **19.413**; **20.39**, 68, 71, 79, 82, 103, 118, 138, 152, 295, 375, 443, 450; **21.228**, 229, 278, 435, 436, 448, 461, 472, 478, 515, 538, 545, 596, 600, 604; **22.7**, 15, 71, 203, 213, 220, 302, 359; **23.188**, 292, 383, 388, 660, 865, 872; **24.18**, 32, 56, 605, 758.
- Apseudes* Nereid: 18.46.
- Archelochos* Son of Antenor and Theano, leader of the Trojan Dardanians along with his brother Akamas and Aineias; killed by Aias I: 2.823; 12.100; 14.463 f.
- Archeptolemos* Son of Iphitos II; for a short time, replacement charioteer for Hektor, killed by Teukros: 8.128, 312.
- Areilykos* I. Father of Prothoënor: 14.451. – II. Trojan, killed by Patroklos: 16.308.
- Areithoös* I. Father of Menesthios I; famous for fighting with a club, killed by Lykourgos II: 7.8, 10, 137, 138. – II. Thracian, charioteer for Rhigmos, killed by Achilles: 20.487.
- Ares* (→ CG 6), also *Enyalios* (2.651 etc.): **2.110**, 401, 440, 479, 512, 515, 540, 627, 651, 663, 704, 745, 767, 842; **3.128**, 147, 165 (v.l.); **4.439**, 441; **5.30**, 31, 35, 289, 355, 363, 385, 388, 390, 430, 454, 455, 461, 507, 518, 563, 576, 592, 594, 604, 699, 702, 704, 717, 757, 762, 824, 827, 829, 830, 841, 844, 845, 846, 851, 859, 861, 863, 866, 904, 909; **6.67**, 203; **7.146**, 147, 166, 208, 241, 330, 382; **8.54d**, 79, 215, 264, 349; **9.82**; **10.228**; **11.295**, 300 (v.l.), 344a, 604, 734; **12.130**, 188; **13.127**, 295, 298, 328, 444, 500, 519, 521, 528, 802; **14.149**, 485 (v.l.); **15.110**, 112, 113, 127, 142, 302, 605, 733;

- 16.245, 543, 613, 784; 17.72, 210 f., 259, 398, 529, 536; 18.100 (v.l.), 134, 213 (v.l.), 264, 309, 516; 19.47, 78; 20.38, 46, 51, 69, 78, 138, 152, 238, 358; 21.391, 402, 406, 421, 431; 22.132, 267, 378 (v.l.); 23.841; 24.260, 474, 498, 804a.
- Aretaoon* (v.l. *Etaon*) Trojan, killed by Teukros: 6.31.
- Aretos* Trojan; killed by Automedon in the course of an attempt to drive away Achilles' horses: 17.494, 517, 535.
- Argeas* Father of Polymelos: 16.417.
- Argeiphontes* see *Hermes*.
- Argikeraunos* see *Zeus*.
- Argives* Strictly speaking, inhabitants of the city/region of Argos in the Peloponnese, but usually a collective designation for the united Greek peoples camped before Troy (cf. *Achaians* and *Danaöns*): *passim*.
- Argyrotoxos* see *Apollo*.
- Ariadne* According to later sources (Hes. *Th.* 947 f. etc.), daughter of Minos of Krete; Daidalos built a dancing floor for her: 18.592.
- Arion* Horse of Adrestos I, renowned for its speed: 23.346.
- Arisbas* Father of Leiokritos: 17.345.
- Arkadians* Inhabitants of the middle of the Peloponnese, contributed a contingent of 60 ships under the leadership of Agapenor to the expedition against Troy: 2.611; 7.134.
- Arkesilaos* One of the five leaders of the Boiotian contingent of 50 ships; killed by Hektor: 2.495; 15.329.
- Arsinoös* Father of Hekamede: 11.626.
- Artemis* (→ CG 7), also *Iocheaira* (5.53 etc., probably 'she who pours arrows') and *Keladeine* (16.183 etc., 'clamorous' or 'taking pleasure in clamor'): 5.51, 53, 447; 6.205, 428; 9.533, 536, 538; 16.183; 19.59; 20.39, 71; 21.471, 480, 511; 24.606.
- Asaios* Achaian lieutenant, killed by Hektor: 11.301.
- Asios* I. (→ CH 10): 2.837, 838; 12.95, 96, 110, 136, 139, 140, 163, 193a; 13.384, 403, 414, 561, 759, 771. – II. (= I?) Father of Phainops III: 17.583. – III. Son of the Phrygian Dymas; brother of Hekabe; taking his shape, Apollo drives Hektor into battle: 16.717 f.
- Askalaphos* Son of Ares and Astyoche, grandson of Aktor I, great-grandson of Azeus; leader of an Achaian contingent of 30 ships from Aspledon and Orchomenos, along with his brother Ialmenos; killed by Deiphobos: 2.512; 9.82; 13.478, 518, 526, 527; 15.112.
- Askaniös* I. Leader of the Trojan allies from Phrygia, along with Phorkys: 2.862. – II. (= I?) Phrygian leader, arrived belatedly as a reinforcement: 13.792.
- Asklepiades* see *Machaon*.
- Asklepios* Healing hero, according to later sources ('Hes.' *fr.* 50 M.-W.), son of Apollo; father of Machaon and Podaleirios: 2.731; 4.194, 204; 11.518, 614; 14.2.
- Assarakos* Son of Tros I, great-grandfather of Aineias: 20.232, 239.
- Asteropaios* (→ CH 10): 2.848a; 12.102; 17.217, 351, 352; 21.140, 152, 163, 170; 23.560, 808.
- Astyalos* Trojan, killed by Polypoites: 6.29.
- Astyanax* (→ CH 8): 6.402, 403; 22.500, 506.
- Astydameia* see *Astyocheia*.
- Astynoös* I. Trojan, son of Protiaon; replacement charioteer for Polydamas: 15.455. – II. Trojan, killed by Diomedes: 5.144.
- Astyoche* Mother of Ares' sons Askalaphos and Ialmenos: 2.513.
- Astyocheia* Mother of Herakles' son Tlepolemos I: 2.658.
- Astypylos* Paionian, killed by Achilles: 21.209.

Ate Personification of 'delusion' (→ CG 38; otherwise generally used as a substantive): 9.504, 505, 512; 19.91, 126, 129.

Athene/Athenaie (→ CG 8), also *Atrytone* (2.157 etc., meaning uncertain), *Glaukopsis* (1.206 etc., probably 'with light-colored/shining eyes'), *Obrimopatre* (5.747 etc., 'daughter of a mighty father'), *Pallas* (1.200 etc., original meaning uncertain, later understood as 'maiden'), *Tritogeneia* (4.515 etc., meaning uncertain): 1.194, 200, 202, 206, 221, 400; 2.156, 157, 166, 172, 279, 371, 446, 547 f.; 3.439; 4.8, 20, 22, 64, 69, 69a, 73, 78, 92 (v.l.), 104, 128, 288, 390, 439, 515, 541; 5.1, 29, 61, 115, 117, 121, 133, 256, 260, 290, 333, 405, 418, 420, 430, 510, 676, 713, 714, 719, 733, 747, 765, 793, 815, 825, 840, 844, 853, 856, 908; 6.88, 92, 269, 273, 279, 293, 297, 300, 301, 303, 304, 305, 311, 312, 379, 384; 7.17, 24, 33, 43, 58, 132, 154; 8.30, 39, 287, 351, 352, 357, 373, 384, 391, 406, 420, 426, 427, 444, 447, 457, 459, 540; 9.254, 390; 10.245, 275, 277, 278, 280, 284, 295, 296, 366, 460, 482, 497, 507, 516, 553, 571, 578; 11.45, 438, 714, 721, 729, 736, 758; 13.128, 827; 14.178; 15.71, 123, 213, 412, 614, 668; 16.97; 17.398, 544, 561, 567; 18.203, 217, 227, 311, 516; 19.341, 349; 20.33, 48, 69, 94, 115, 146, 192, 314, 358, 438; 21.284, 290, 304, 392, 403 (v.l.), 408, 419, 420, 423; 22.177, 183, 186, 214, 224, 238, 247, 270, 276, 299, 446; 23.388, 399, 405, 769, 771, 774; 24.26, 100.

Athenians Inhabitants of Athens, contributed a contingent of 50 ships under the leadership of Menestheus to the expedition against Troy: 2.551, 558; 4.328; 13.196, 689; 15.337, 516 (v.l.).

Atreïdes, Atreïon see *Agamemnon* and *Menelaos*.

Atreus Son of Pelops, father of Agamemnon and Menelaos: 2.23, 60, 105, 106; 3.37; 4.98, 115, 195; 6.46; 11.131; 17.1, 79, 89, 553; also 167x as a patronymic.

Atrytone see *Athene*.

Atymnios I. Father of Mydon I: 5.581. – II. Lykian; son of Amisodaros, brother of Maris, companion of Sarpedon; killed by Antilochos: 16.317.

Augeias Ruler of Elis, waged war against Nestor's father Neleus; father of Agasthenes and Agamede, father-in-law of Moullos I, grandfather of Polyxeinos: 2.624; 11.701, 739.

Autolykos Famous thief, maternal grandfather of Odysseus (*Od.* 19.394 ff.); stole Amyntor's boar's tusk helmet, which later passed into Meriones' possession: 10.267.

Automedon (→ CH 4): 9.209; 16.145, 148, 219, 472, 684, 864; 17.429, 452, 459, 468, 469, 474, 483, 498, 525, 536; 19.392, 397; 23.563; 24.474, 574, 625.

Autonoös I. Achaian lieutenant, killed by Hektor: 11.301. – II. (v.l. *Antinoös*) Trojan, killed by Patroklos: 16.694.

Autophonos Father of Lykophontes I: 4.395.

Axios River-god (→ CG 34): 21.141, 157, 158.

Axylos Son of Teuthras II; Trojan ally from Arisbe, killed by Diomedes: 6.12 f.

Azeus Great-grandfather of Askalaphos and Ialmenos: 2.513.

Balios Immortal horse of Achilleus, born of the wind-god Zephyros and the harpie Podarge: 16.149; 19.400.

Bathykles (-kleës) Son of Chalkon, Myrmidon, killed by Glaukos I: 16.594.

Bellerophontes (v.l. *Ellerophontes*) Grandfather of the cousins Glaukos I and Sarpedon; driven out of Ephyre in Argos to Lykia by Proitos: 6.155, 162, 164, 190, 196, 216, 220.

Bias I. (v.l. *Thoon*) Lieutenant of the Pylaios: 4.296. – II. Athenian, follower of Menestheus: 13.691. – III. Father of Laogonos II and Dardanos II: 20.460.

Bienor (v.l. *Bianor*) Trojan, killed by Agamemnon: 11.92.

Biotians A people in east central Greece, contributed a contingent of 50 ships under the lead-

- ership of Peneleos and others to the expedition against Troy: 2.494, 510, 526; 5.710; 13.685, 700; 15.330.
- Boreas* (*Boreës*, v.l. *Borreës*, -es, -as) God of the North Wind (→ CG 37): 5.524, 697; 9.5; 14.395; 15.26, 171; 19.358; 20.223; 21.346; 23.195, 208, 692.
- Boros* I. Father of Phaistos: 5.44. – II. Foster-father of Menesthios II: 16.177.
- Borreës*, -es, -as see *Boreas*.
- Briareos* 100-handed giant, called 'Aigaion' by men: 1.403 f.
- Briseis* (→ CH 2): 1.184, 323, 336, 346, 392; 2.689; 9.106, 132, 274; 19.246, 261, 282; 24.676.
- Briseus* Father of Briseis: 1.392; 9.132, 274.
- Boukolion* Illegitimate eldest son of Laomedon, father of Aisepos and Pedasos I: 6.22, 23.
- Boukolos* Grandfather of Iasos: 15.338.
- Centaur*s Half-horse/half-human creatures, also called 'Pheres' (see s.v.): 11.832.
- Chalkodon* Father of Elephenor: 2.541; 4.464.
- Chalkon* Father of Bathykles: 16.595.
- Charis* Wife of Hephaistos: 18.382.
- Charites* Goddesses of charm ('the Graces') (→ CG 33): 5.338; 14.267, 275; 17.51.
- Charopos* Father of Nireus: 2.672.
- Charops* Son of Hippasos I; killed along with his brother Sokos by Odysseus: 11.426, 431.
- Cheiron* Centaur, instructed Asklepios and Achilleus in medicine: 4.219; 11.832; 16.143; 19.390.
- Chersidamas* Trojan, killed by Odysseus: 11.423.
- Chimaira* Fire-breathing monster, killed by Bellerophon: 6.179; 16.328.
- Chromios* I. Son of Priam, killed along with his brother Echemmon by Diomedes: 5.159 f. – II. (v.l. *Schedios*) Brother of Nestor (*Od.* 11.286), lieutenant of the Pylians: 4.295. – III. Lykian, killed by Odysseus: 5.677. – IV. Trojan, killed by Teukros: 8.275. – V. Leader along with Ennomos I of the Trojan allies from Mysia; also called 'Chromis': 2.858; 17.218, 494, 534.
- Chromis* see *Chromios* V.
- Chryseis* (→ CH 2): 1.111, 143, 182, 310, 369, 439.
- Chryses* (→ CH 11): 1.11, 143, 182, 370, 442, 450.
- Chrysothemis* Daughter of Agamemnon: 9.145, 287.
- Daidalos* Famous artisan in Knossos on Krete: 18.592.
- Daitor* Trojan, killed by Teukros: 8.275.
- Damosos* Trojan, killed by Polypoites: 12.183.
- Damastor* Father of Tlepolemos II: 16.416.
- Danaäns* One of the collective designations for the united Greek peoples camped before Troy (along with *Achaians* and *Argives*, see s.v.): *passim*.
- Danaë* Daughter of Akrisios, lover of Zeus, mother of Perseus: 14.319.
- Dardanians* Inhabitants of Dardania (the 'mother city' of Troy on the slope of Mt. Ida) or descendants of Dardanos I; occasionally also a synonym for 'Trojan': 2.701, 819; 3.456; 6.111 (v.l.); 7.348, 368, 414; 8.154, 173, 497; 11.286; 13.150; 15.425, 486; 16.807; 17.184; 18.122, 339.
- Dardanides* see *Priam*.
- Dardanos* I. Son of Zeus, founder of Dardanie, progenitor of the Trojan royal house: 3.40b, 303; 5.159; 7.366; 11.166, 372; 13.376; 20.215, 219, 304; 21.34; 22.352; 24.171, 354, 629, 631. – II. Trojan, son of Bias III, killed along with his brother Laogonos II by Achilleus: 20.460.
- Dares* Trojan priest of Hephaistos, father of Phegeus (killed by Diomedes) and Idaios II (rescued by Hephaistos): 5.9, 27.

- Deïkoön* (v.l. *Demokoön*) Son of Pergasos; companion of Aineias, killed by Agamemnon: 5.534 f.
Deïleon see *Demoleon*.
- Deimos* Personification of terror (→ CG 38): 4.440; 11.37; 15.119.
- Deïochos* Achaian, killed by Paris: 15.341.
- Deïopites* Trojan, killed by Odysseus: 11.420.
- Deïphobos* (→ CH 8): **12.94 f.**; **13.156 f.**, 162, 258, 402, 413, 446, 455, 490, 517, 527, 758, 770, 781; **22.227, 233, 294, 298; 24.251.**
- Deïpylos* Achaian, companion of Sthenelos I: 5.325.
- Deïpyros* Achaian lieutenant, killed by Helenos I: 4.296 (v.l.); 9.83; 13.92, 478, 576.
- Deisenor* Trojan ally: 17.217.
- Demeter* (→ CG 9): 2.696; 5.500; 13.322; 14.326; 18.551a; 21.76.
- Demokoön* I. Illegitimate son of Priam, from Abydos, killed by Odysseus: 4.499. – II. see *Deïkoön*.
- Demoleon* (v.l. *Deïleon*) Son of Antenor and Theano, killed by Achilleus: 20.395.
- Demouchos* Trojan, son of Philetor, killed by Achilleus: 20.457.
- Deukalides* see Idomeneus.
- Deukalion* I. Son of Minos, father of Idomeneus: 12.117; 13.307, 451, 452; 17.608. – II. Trojan, killed by Achilleus: 20.478.
- Dexamene* Nereid: 18.44.
- Dexios* Father of Iphinoös: 7.15.
- (*Dia*) Wife of Ixion, lover of Zeus (the name 'Dia' is given in schol. T *ad loc.*): 14.317.
- Diokles* (-*kleës*) Rich Achaian from Pherai on the Alpheios, father of Krethon and Ortilochos I: 5.542, 547, 548.
- Diomede* Daughter of Phorbas I from Lesbos, captive woman, mistress of Achilleus: 9.665.
- Diomedes* (→ CH 3), also *Tydeïdes*: 2.406, 563, 563a, 567; **4.365, 401, 411; 5.1, 16, 18, 25, 85, 93, 97, 114, 124, 134, 143, 151, 163, 181, 184, 207, 225, 232, 235, 240, 242, 243, 251, 277, 281, 286, 303, 320, 329, 335, 347, 362, 376, 406, 410, 415, 432, 440, 443, 457, 519, 596, 600, 781, 793, 814, 826, 837, 846, 849, 855, 866, 881; 6.12, 96, 119, 122, 145, 212, 235, 277, 306, 437; 7.163, 179, 399, 404; 8.91, 99, 115, 118, 131b, 134, 138, 139, 145, 149, 152, 161, 167, 194, 254, 532; 9.23a, 31, 51, 53, 696, 711; 10.109, 150, 159, 219, 227, 234, 241, 249, 255, 283, 340, 341, 349 (v.l.), 363, 367, 369, 446, 476, 477, 487, 489, 494, 497, 502, 508, 509, 516, 528, 536, 559, 566, 568; 11.312, 313, 316, 333, 338, 345, 357, 361, 370, 384, 660; 12.366 (v.l.); 14.29, 109, 380; 16.25, 74; 19.48; 21.396; 23.290, 357, 377, 383, 389, 398, 405, 472, 499, 538, 681, 812, 820, 824.**
- Dione* Mother of Aphrodite: 5.370, 381.
- Dionysos* (→ CG 10): 6.132, 135; 14.325.
- Diores* I. Son of Amarynkeus; one of four leaders of the Epeian contingent of 40 ships; killed by Peiros I: 2.622; 4.517. – II. Father of Automedon: 17.429, 474.
- Dios* (or *Agauos*) Son of Priam, upbraided by the latter as a poor fighter: 24.251.
- Dolon* (→ CH 11): 10.314, 390, 412, 426, 447, 478, 570.
- Dolopes* A Thessalian people, ruled by Phoinix I: 9.484.
- Dolopion* Trojan priest of the river-god Skamandros, father of Hypsenor I: 5.77.
- Dolops* I. Son of Lampos I, grandson of Laomedon; killed by Menelaos: 15.525 f., 555. – II. Son of Klytios II; Achaian lieutenant, killed by Hektor: 11.302.
- Doris* Nereid: 18.45.
- Doryklos* Illegitimate son of Priam, killed by Aias I: 11.489 f.
- Dotō* Nereid: 18.43.
- Drakios* Lieutenant of the Epeians: 13.692.
- Dresos* Trojan, killed by Euryalos: 6.20.

- Dryas* I. One of the Lapithai, whom the young Nestor supported in battle against the Centaurs: 1.263. – II. Father of Lykourgos I: 6.130.
- Dryops* Trojan, killed by Achilleus: 20.455.
- Dymas* Phrygian, father of Asios III and Hekabe: 16.718.
- Dynamene* Nereid: 18.43.
- Echekles* (-kleēs) Husband of Polymele, step-father of Eudoros: 16.189.
- Echeklos* I. Son of Agenor II, killed by Achilleus: 20.474. – II. (*v.l. Opites*) Trojan, killed by Patroklos: 16.694.
- Echemon* Son of Priam, killed along with his brother Chromios I by Diomedes: 5.159 f.
- Echepolos* I. Trojan, son of Thalysios, killed by Antilochos: 4.458. – II. Son of Anchises II from Sikyon; gave Agamemnon the mare Aithe in lieu of military service: 23.296.
- Echios* I. Father of Mekisteus II: 8.333; 13.422. – II. (= I?) Achaian, killed by Polites: 15.339. – III. Lykian, killed by Patroklos: 16.416.
- Eēlios* see *Helios*.
- Eēriboia* Second wife of Aloeus, step-mother of Otos I and Epialtes: 5.389.
- Eētion* I. Father of Andromache; ruler of the Kilikians in Thebe beneath Mt. Plakos (in the southern Troad), killed by Achilleus: 1.366; 6.395, 396, 416; 8.187; 9.188; 16.153, 467a; 22.472, 480; 23.827. – II. Guest-friend of Priam from Imbros, ransomed Lykaon: 21.43. – III. Father of Podes: 17.575, 590.
- Eileithyia*, *Eileithyiai* Goddess(es) of childbirth (→ CG 11): 11.270; 16.187; 19.103, 119.
- Eioneus* I. Achaian, killed by Hektor: 7.11. – II. Father of Rhesos: 10.435.
- Elasos* Trojan, killed by Patroklos: 16.696.
- Elatos* Trojan ally from Pedasos, killed by Agamemnon: 6.33.
- Eleians* Inhabitants of the city of Elis (in the territory of the Epeians, see s.v.): 11.671.
- Elephenor* Son of Chalkodon, leader of the Abantian (from Euboia) contingent of 40 ships; killed by Agenor I: 2.540 f.; 4.463 f.
- Ellerophontes* see *Bellerophontes*.
- Enienes* see *Ainienes*.
- Eniopeus* Son of Thebaios, charioteer for Hektor, killed by Diomedes: 8.120.
- Ennomos* I. Augur; leader, along with Chromios V (Chromis), of the Trojan allies from Mysia; killed by Achilleus: 2.858; 17.218. – II. (*v.l. Ormenos*) Trojan, killed by Odysseus: 11.422.
- Ennosigaios* see *Poseidon*.
- Enops* I. (*v.l. Oinops*) Father of Satnios: 14.444, 445. – II. (= I?) Father of Thestor I: 16.401. – III. (*v.ll. Oinops, Phainops*) Father of Klytomedes: 23.634.
- Enosichthon* see *Poseidon*.
- Enyalios* see *Ares*.
- Enyeus* Ruler of the city of Skyros, which Achilleus sacked; father of Iphis: 9.668.
- Enyo* War goddess (→ CG 12): 5.333, 592.
- Eos* Goddess of the dawn (→ CG 38; more often used as a substantive): 1.477; 2.48; 6.175; 7.451, 458; 8 1, 565; 9.240, 662, 707; 11.1, 723; 18.255; 19.1; 23.109, 227; 24.12, 417, 695, 781, 785, 788.
- Epaltēs* Lykian, killed by Patroklos: 16.415.
- Epeians* People in the northwest Peloponnese, contributed a contingent of 40 ships under the leadership of Amphimachos I and others to the expedition against Troy: 2.619; 4.537; 11.688, 694, 732, 737, 744; 13.686, 691; 15.519; 23.630, 632.

- Epeigeus* Son of Agakles; ruler of Boudeion, found asylum with Peleus after killing a relative; sent by Peleus to Troy and killed there by Hektor: 16.571.
- Epeios* (→ CH 5): 20.30c; 23.665, 689, 694, 838, 839.
- Ephialtes* see *Epialtes*.
- Ephyroi* A Greek people, probably situated in Thessaly: 13.301.
- Epialtes* (v.l. *Ephialtes*) Son of Aloeus (or Poseidon: *Od.* 11.305 f.), a giant; along with his brother Otos I, he chained Ares: 5.385.
- Epikles* (-kleës; v.l. *Oïkles*) Lykian, killed by Aias I: 12.379.
- Epistor* Trojan, killed by Patroklos: 16.695.
- Epistrophos* I. Son of Iphitos I, grandson of Naubolos; leader along with his brother Schedios I of a Phokian contingent of 40 ships: 2.517. – II. Leader of the Halizones (Trojan allies from Alybe) along with Hodios I (called Odios by Lattimore): 2.856. – III. Son of Euenos I, grandson of Selepios; killed along with his brother Mynes by Achilleus during the sack of Lyrnessos: 2.692.
- Epytos* Father of Periphass II: 17.324.
- Erechtheus* Son of the earth-goddess (Gaia), progenitor of the Athenians: 2.547.
- Ereuthalion* Arkadian hero, inherited the club of Areithoös I from Lykourgos II; killed by the young Nestor: 4.319; 7.136, 149.
- Erichthonios* Son of Dardanos I, great-great-grandfather of Priam; famed for his horses that were as swift as the wind: 20.219, 230.
- Erinyes*, *Erinyes* Goddess(es) of revenge ('the Furies') (→ CG 13): 9.454, 571; 15.204; 19.87, 259, 418; 21.412.
- Eriopis* Wife of Oïleus I, mother of Aias II, step-mother of Medon I: 13.697; 15.336.
- Eriounios* see *Hermes*.
- Eris* Personification of strife (→ CG 38; otherwise generally used as a substantive): 4.440; 5.518, 740; 8.65a; 11.3, 73; 18.535; 20.48.
- Erylaos* Trojan, killed by Patroklos: 16.411.
- Erymas* I. (v.l. *Orymas*) Trojan, killed by Idomeneus: 16.345. – II. Lykian, killed by Patroklos: 16.415.
- Etaon* see *Aretaon*.
- Eteokles* (-kleës) Ruler of Thebe, in the sack of which Diomedes' father Tydeus participated: 4.386.
- Euaimon* Father of Eurypylos I: 2.736; 5.76, 79; 7.167; 8.265; 11.575, 810.
- Euchenor* Son of the seer Polyidos I from Korinth; went to Troy despite foreseeing his own death there; killed by Paris: 13.663.
- Eudoros* Son of Hermes and Polymele, daughter of Phylas; lieutenant of the Myrmidons: 16.179, 186.
- Euenos* I. Father of Mynes and Epistrophos III: 2.693. – II. Father of Marpessa, grandfather of Kleopatra: 9.557.
- Euhaimon* see *Euaimon*.
- Euippos* Lykian, killed by Patroklos: 16.417.
- Eumedes* Trojan herald, father of Dolon: 10.314, 412, 426.
- Eumelos* Son of Pheres' son Admetos and Alkestis, daughter of Pelias, from Thessalian Pherai, leader of an Achaian contingent of 11 ships; owner of the best horses after those belonging to Achilleus: 2.714, 764; 23.288, 354, 376, 380, 391, 481, 532, 559, 565.
- Euneos* Son of Jason and Hypsipyle; ruler of Lemnos, trades with the Achaians camped before Troy: 7.468, 471; 21.41; 23.747.
- Euphemos* Son of Troizenos, grandson of Keas; leader of the Kikonians (Trojan allies): 2.846.

- Euphetes* Ruler in Ephyra (Elis); gave a suit of armor to his guest-friend Phyleus, which saved the life of the latter's son Meges: 15.532.
- Euphorbos* Son of Panthoös and Phrontis; brother of Hyperenor and Polydamas; wounds Patroklos and is killed by Menelaos: 16.808, 850; 17.9, 23, 59, 70, 81.
- (*Europa*) Daughter of Phoinix II (her name 'Europa' or 'Europeia' is first given at 'Hes.' fr. 140 f. M.-W.); lover of Zeus, mother of Minos and Rhadamanthys: 14.321.
- Euros* God of the East Wind (→ CG 37): 2.145; 16.765.
- Euryalos* Son of Mekisteus I, grandson of Talaos; leader, along with Diomedes and Sthenelos I, of an Achaian contingent of 80 ships from the territory around Argos and Tiryns: 2.565; 6.20, 28; 23.677.
- Eurybates* I. One of Agamemnon's heralds: 1.320; 9.170. – II. Odysseus' herald: 2.184.
- Eurydamas* Trojan, dream-interpreter; father of Abas and Polyidos II: 5.149.
- Eurymedon* I. Son of Ptolemaios, grandson of Peiraios; charioteer for Agamemnon: 4.228. – II. Follower of Nestor: 8.114; 11.620.
- Eurynome* Daughter of Ocean, she welcomed Hephaistos when Hera cast him out: 18.398, 399, 405.
- Eurypylos* I. (→ CH 4): 2.736; 5.76, 79; 6.36; 7.167; 8.265; 11.576, 580, 583, 592, 662, 809 f., 819, 822, 838; 12.2; 15.392, 399; 16.27. – II. Former ruler of Kos: 2.677.
- Eurystheus* Son of Sthenelos II, grandson of Perseus; through Hera's trickery he became ruler of Argos in place of Herakles: 8.363; 15.639; 19.123, 133.
- Eurytos* I. One of the 'Aktoriones' (→ CH 6): 2.621; 11.709, 750; 23.638. – II. Former ruler of Oichalia: 2.596, 730.
- Eussoros* Father of Akamas II: 6.8.
- Exadios* One of the Lapithai, whom the young Nestor supported in battle against the Centaurs: 1.264.
- Gaia/Ge* Earth-goddess (→ CG 27/38; otherwise generally used as a substantive): 2.548; 3.104, 278; 15.36; 19.259.
- Gaieochos* see *Poseidon*.
- Galateia* Nereid: 18.45.
- Ganymedes* Son of Tros I, abducted by Zeus: 5.266; 20.232.
- Glauke* Nereid: 18.39.
- Glaukopis* see *Athene*.
- Glaukos* I. (→ CH 10): 2.876; 6.119, 144, 234; 7.13; 12.102, 309, 310, 329, 387, 392; 14.426; 16.492, 508, 530, 593, 597; 17.140, 170, 216. – II. Father of Bellerophon, great-grandfather of Glaukos I: 6.154, 155.
- Gorgon* (better *Gorgo*) Monster (→ CG 31): 5.741; 8.349; 11.36.
- Gorgythion* Son of Priam and Kastianeira, killed by Teukros: 8.302 f.
- Gouneus* Leader of the Ainienes and Perrhaibians (from the territory around Dodona) with a contingent of 22 ships: 2.748.
- Gygaia* Nymph of the Gygaian lake, mother of Mesthles and Antiphos II the sons of Talaimenes: 2.865.
- Gyrtios* Father of Hyrtios: 14.512.
- Hades* (*Aïdes/Aïdoneus*) (→ CG 14), also *Zeus katachthónios* (9.457, 'subterranean Zeus'): 1.3; 3.322; 5.190, 395, 646, 654, 845; 6.284, 422, 487; 7.131, 330; 8.16, 367, 368; 9.158, 312, 457, 569; 11.55, 263, 445; 13.415; 14.457; 15.188, 191, 251; 16.625, 856; 20.61, 294, 336; 21.48; 22.52, 213, 362, 389, 425, 482; 23.19, 71, 74, 76, 103, 137, 179, 244; 24.246, 593.

Haimon I. Lieutenant of the Pylians: 4.296. – II. Father of Maion: 4.394. – III. (v.l. *Harmon*) Grandfather of Alkimedon: 17.467.

Halia Nereid: 18.40.

Halios Lykian, killed by Odysseus: 5.678.

Halizones (v.l. *Alazones*, *Alizones*, *Olizones*) Allied with the Trojans, led by Hodios I and Epistrophos II; from Alybe (cannot be situated with certainty): 2.856; 5.39.

Harmon I. Grandfather of Phereklos: 5.60 (ambiguous text: probably 'Phereklos, son of Tekton who was Harmon's son'; taken by Lattimore as 'Phereklos, son of Harmonides, the smith'). – II. see *Haimon* III.

Harpalion Paphlagonian, son of Pylaimenes II, killed by Meriones: 13.644.

Harpie Storm-goddess (→ CG 37): 16.150.

Hebe Goddess of youth (→ CG 38; more often used as a substantive): 4.2; 5.722, 905.

Hekabe (→ CH 8): 6.293, 451; 13.363 (v.l.); 16.718; 22.234, 430; 24.193, 283, 747.

Hekargos see *Apollo*.

Hekamede Daughter of Arsinoös; captured in the sack of Tenedos and allotted to Nestor as a prize: 11.624, 626; 14.6.

Hekatebolos/Hekatos/Hekebolos see *Apollo*.

Hektor (→ CH 8), also *Priamides*: 1.242; 2.416, 701 (v.l.), 802, 807, 816 f.; 3.38, 59, 76, 83, 85, 116, 314, 324; 4.505; 5.211, 467, 471, 472, 493, 590, 595, 601, 608, 680, 684, 689, 699, 704; 6.75, 77, 86, 102, 110, 116, 237, 263, 313, 317, 318, 325, 333, 342, 359, 369, 374, 382, 390, 398, 401, 402, 403, 429, 440, 460, 466, 472, 494, 498, 500, 515, 520; 7.1, 11, 38, 42, 46, 47, 54, 66, 75, 90, 98, 105, 112, 129, 158, 160, 169, 192, 204, 216, 225, 226, 233, 250, 258, 263, 284, 287; 8.55a, 88, 90, 110, 117, 124, 131a, 148, 153, 158, 160, 172, 216, 235, 301, 310, 312, 316, 324, 337, 341, 348, 356, 377, 473, 489, 493, 542; 9.237, 304, 351, 353, 356, 651, 655; 10.46, 49, 104, 200, 299, 318, 319, 337, 356, 388, 391, 406, 414, 526, 563; 11.57, 61, 64, 163, 186, 197, 200, 211, 284, 295, 300, 309, 315, 327, 343, 347, 354, 359, 497, 502, 522, 523, 820, 827a; 12.10, 39, 49, 60, 61, 78, 80, 83, 88, 92, 174, 196, 210, 211, 230, 255, 290, 437 f., 445, 453, 462; 13.1, 40, 54, 80, 123, 129, 136, 143, 183, 188, 191, 205, 316, 347, 674, 688, 720, 725, 726, 748, 757, 775, 802 f., 823; 14.44, 364 f., 375, 388, 390, 402, 406, 418, 440; 15.9, 15, 42, 59, 65, 68, 221, 231, 239, 244, 246, 269, 279, 288, 291, 304, 306, 327, 329, 346, 415, 422, 440, 449, 458, 462, 484, 504, 507, 515, 545, 552, 583, 589, 596 f., 604, 610, 637, 644, 649, 652, 671, 688, 693, 704, 716, 744; 16.77, 93 (v.l.), 114, 242, 358, 367, 382, 536, 538, 553, 577, 588, 649, 654, 656, 712, 717, 721, 727, 730, 731, 737, 755, 760, 762, 799, 818, 828, 833, 840, 844, 858; 17.72, 75, 83, 94, 96, 101, 107, 122, 125, 129, 141, 142, 169, 188, 210, 244, 262, 291, 304, 316, 334, 335, 428, 449, 472, 483, 503, 513, 525, 534, 565, 576, 582, 586, 601, 605, 616, 638, 693, 710, 719, 754, 758; 18.14, 21, 82, 91, 96, 103, 115, 131, 149, 154, 155, 164, 175, 251, 284, 310, 312, 334, 456; 19.63, 134, 204, 414; 20.3a, 76 f., 240, 364, 375, 376, 379, 419, 428, 430, 440; 21.5, 95, 225, 279, 296; 22.5, 38, 78, 82, 91, 96, 107, 136, 143, 158a, 161, 170, 188, 193, 202, 206, 211, 212, 218, 226, 232, 249, 261, 274, 277, 278, 291, 296, 311, 320, 331, 337, 355, 371, 374, 384, 393, 395, 426, 438, 444, 455, 471, 477, 486; 23.21, 24, 64, 182 f.; 24.15, 22, 34, 50, 57, 58, 66, 72, 76, 108, 115, 116, 136, 175, 254, 258, 276, 390, 501, 509, 553, 561, 579, 593, 657, 660, 704, 714, 724, 736, 738, 742, 748, 762, 786, 789, 804.

Helen (*Helene*) (→ CH 8): 2.161, 177, 356, 590; 3.70, 91, 121, 154, 161, 171, 199, 228, 282, 285, 329, 383, 418, 426, 458; 4.19, 174; 6.292, 323, 343, 360; 7.350, 355, 401; 8.82; 9.140, 282, 339; 11.125, 369, 505; 13.766; 19.325; 22.114; 23.81a; 24.761.

Helenos I. (→ CH 8): 6.76; 7.44; 12.94 f.; 13.576, 582, 586, 758, 770, 781; 24.249. – II. Achaian, son of Oinops I, killed by Hektor: 5.707.

Helikaon Son of Antenor, husband of Laodike I, daughter of Priam: 3.122, 123.

Helikonios see *Poseidon*.

Helios (*Eēlios*) Sun-god (→ CG 38; more often used as a substantive), also *Hyperion* (8.480, probably originally ‘who goes on high’): 3.104, 277; 7.421; 8.68, 480; 14.344; 16.777, 779; 18.239; 19.197, 259, 398.

Hellenes Inhabitants of the region of Hellas in Thessaly (probably southwest of Phthia), followers of Achilles: 2.684.

Helloi (v.l. *Selloi*) Oracle-priests in Dodona: 16.234.

Heosphoros Morning star (properly ‘light-bringer’), personified as harbinger of daylight: 23.226.

Hephaistos (→ CG 15), also *Amphigyēis* (1.607 etc., probably ‘the bent-legged one’) and *Kylopodion* (18.371 etc., ‘club foot, bent leg’ vel sim.): 1.463a or 464a, 571, 600, 607 f.; 2.101, 102, 426; 5.10, 23; 8.195; 9.468; 14.167, 239, 339; 15.214, 310; 17.88; 18.137, 143, 191, 369, 371, 383, 391, 392, 393, 429, 462, 473, 587, 590, 614, 617; 19.10, 368, 383; 20.12, 36, 73, 270; 21.330, 331, 342, 355, 357, 367, 378, 379, 381; 22.316; 23.33.

Hera (*Here*) (→ CG 16): 1.55, 195, 208, 400, 519, 523, 536, 545, 551, 568, 572, 595, 611; 2.15, 32, 69, 156; 4.5, 8, 20, 24, 50; 5.392, 418, 711, 721, 731, 748, 755, 767, 775, 784, 832, 893, 908; 7.411; 8.198, 209, 218, 350, 381, 383, 392, 407, 421, 426, 444, 447, 457, 461, 471, 484; 9.254; 10.5, 329; 11.45, 271; 13.154, 826; 14.153, 159, 194, 197, 222, 225, 243, 263, 277, 292, 298, 300, 313, 329, 342, 360; 15.5, 13, 14, 34, 49, 78, 83, 90, 92, 100, 130, 143, 149, 214; 16.88, 432, 439; 18.119, 168, 184, 239, 356, 357, 360; 19.97, 106, 114, 407; 20.33, 70, 112, 133, 309; 21.6, 328, 367, 369, 377, 384, 418, 434, 479, 512; 24.25, 55, 65, 101.

Herakles (*-kleēs*) (→ CH 6): 2.653, 658, 666, 679; 5.628, 638; 11.690; 14.266, 324; 15.25, 640; 18.117; 19.98; 20.145.

Hermes (→ CG 17), also *Argeiphontes* (2.103 etc., meaning uncertain) and *Eriounios* (20.34 etc., meaning uncertain): 2.103, 104; 5.390; 14.491; 15.214; 16.181, 185; 20.35, 72; 21.497; 24.24, 109, 153, 182, 333, 334, 339, 345, 353, 360, 378, 389, 410, 432, 440, 445, 457, 461, 469, 679, 690, 694.

Hiketaon Son of Laomedon, brother of Priam; member of the Trojan council of elders; father of Melanippos II: 3.147; 15.546, 576; 20.238.

Hippasos I. Trojan, father of Charops and Sokos: 11.426, 431, 450. – II. Father of Hypsenor II: 13.411. – III. Father of Apisaon II: 17.348.

Hippemolgoi ‘Mare-milkers’, name for the Skythians: 13.5.

Hippodamas Trojan, killed by Achilles: 20.401.

Hippodameia I. Wife of Peirithoös, ruler of the Lapithai, mother of Polypoites: 2.742. – II. Daughter of Anchises I, wife of Alkathoös, sister of Aineias: 13.429.

Hippodamos Trojan, killed by Odysseus: 11.335.

Hippokoön Cousin of the Thracian leader Rhesos: 10.518.

Hippolochos I. Lykian, son of Bellerophontes, father of Glaukos I: 6.119, 144, 197, 206; 7.13; 12.309, 387; 17.140. – II. (→ CH 12): 11.122, 145.

Hippomachos Trojan, son of Antimachos II, killed by Leonteus: 12.189.

Hippoноös Achaian lieutenant, killed by Hektor: 11.303.

Hippothoös I. Son of Lethos, grandson of Teutamios; leader of the Pelasgians (Trojan allies from Larissa) along with his brother Pylaios; killed by Aias I: 2.840, 842; 17.217, 289, 313, 318. – II. Son of Priam, upbraided by the latter as a poor fighter: 24.251.

Hippotion I. Father of Morys: 13.792. – II. (= I?) Trojan, killed by Meriones: 14.514.

Hodios (v.l. *Odios*) I. Leader of the Halizones (Trojan allies from Alybe), along with Epistrophos II; killed by Agamemnon: 2.856; 5.39. – II. Achaian herald: 9.170.

Hours (*Horai*) Goddesses of the seasons (→ CG 35): 5.749; 8.393, 433.

- Hypeirochos* I. Father of Itymoneus: 11.673. – II. Trojan, killed by Odysseus: 11.335.
- Hypeiron* Trojan lieutenant, killed by Diomedes: 5.144.
- Hyperenor* Son of Panthoös and Phrontis, brother of Euphorbos and Polydamas; Trojan lieutenant, killed by Menelaos: 14.516; 17.23, 24.
- Hyperion* see *Helios*.
- Hypnos* God of sleep (→ CG 38; otherwise generally used as a substantive): 14.231, 233, 242, 264, 270, 286, 354; 16.454, 672, 682.
- Hypsenor* I. Trojan, son of Dolopion the priest of Skamandros, killed by Eurypylos I: 5.76. – II. Son of Hippasos II, Achaian lieutenant, killed by Deïphobos: 13.411.
- Hypsipyle* Mother of Euneos, son of Jason: 7.469.
- Hyrtaeos* From Arisbe, father of Asios I, grandfather of Adamas: 2.837, 838; 12.96, 110, 163; 13.759, 771.
- Hyrrios* Son of Gyrtios, lieutenant of the Mysians, killed by Aias I: 14.511 f.
- Iaira* Nereid: 18.42.
- Ialmenos* Son of Ares and Astyoche, grandson of Aktor I, great-grandson of Azeus; along with his brother Askalaphos, leader of an Achaian contingent of 30 ships from Aspledon and Orchomenos: 2.512; 9.82.
- Iamenos* Trojan lieutenant, companion of Asios I, killed by Leonteus: 12.139, 193.
- Ianassa* Nereid: 18.47.
- Ianeira* Nereid: 18.47.
- Iaones* see *Ionians*.
- Iapetos* Titan banished to the underworld (→ CG 26): 8.479.
- Iason* see *Jason*.
- Iasos* Son of Sphelos, grandson of Boukolos; lieutenant of the Athenians, killed by Aineias: 15.332, 337.
- Idaios* I. (→ CH 11): 3.248; 7.276, 278, 284, 372, 381, 405, 406, 413, 416; 24.325, 470. – II. Son of Dares the Trojan priest of Hephaistos, brother of Phegeus; saved by Hephaistos from Diomedes: 5.11, 20.
- Idas* (*Ides*) Husband of Marpessa, father of Kleopatra: 9.558.
- Idomeneus* (→ CH 3), also *Deukalides*: 1.145; 2.405, 645, 650; 3.230; 4.252, 253, 256, 257, 265; 5.43, 45, 48; 6.436; 7.165; 8.78, 263; 10.53, 58, 112; 11.501, 510; 12.117, 248; 13.210, 219, 221, 232, 240, 255, 259, 266a, 274, 297, 304, 307, 311, 330, 362, 370, 384, 387, 402, 405, 424, 434, 439, 445, 467, 469, 470, 476, 500, 502, 506, 509; 15.301; 16.345; 17.258, 605, 608, 621, 624; 19.311; 23.113, 124, 450, 474, 493, 528, 538b, 860, 888.
- Ieson* see *Jason*.
- Ileus*, *Iliades* see *Oileus*, *Oiliades*.
- Ilioneus* Trojan, son of Phorbas II, killed by Peneleos: 14.489, 492, 501.
- Ilos* Son of Tros I, father of Laomedon, grandfather of Priam (20.231 ff.); his funerary monument was in the plain before Troy: 10.415; 11.166, 372; 20.232, 236; 24.349.
- Imbrasos* Father of Peiros I: 4.520.
- Imbrians* Inhabitants of the island of Imbros: 21.43.
- Imbrios* Son of Mentor, husband of Medesikaste, daughter of Priam; killed by Teukros: 13.171, 197.
- Iocheaira* see *Artemis*.
- Ioke* Personification of onslaught (→ CG 38; otherwise used 2x as a substantive): 5.740.
- Ionians* (*Iaones*) Name for the Athenians: 13.685 (cf. 689).
- Iope* Captive woman: 8.291 (*v.l.*).

- Ipheus* Lykian, killed by Patroklos: 16.417.
- Iphianassa* Daughter of Agamemnon: 9.145, 287.
- Iphidamas* Son of Antenor and Theano; grew up in the house of her father Kisses in Thrace; married a daughter of Kisses (Iphidamas' own aunt); killed along with his brother Koön by Agamemnon: 11.221, 234, 257, 261.
- Iphiklos* Son of Phylakos I, father of Protesilaos and Podarkes; defeated by the young Nestor in a foot-race: 2.705; 13.698; 23.636.
- Iphinoös* Achaian, son of Dexios, killed by Glaukos I: 7.14 f.
- Iphis* Captive woman, mistress of Patroklos, from Skyros: 9.667.
- Iphition* Son of Otrynteus and a water-nymph, lieutenant of the Maionians, killed by Achilleus: 20.382f., 389.
- Iphitos* I. Father of Epistrophos and Schedios I: 2.518; 17.306. – II. Father of Archeptolemos: 8.128.
- Iris* Personification of the rainbow (1x as a substantive: 17.547), messenger of the gods (→ CG 38): 2.786, 790, 795; 3.121, 129; 5.353, 365, 368; 8.398, 399, 409, 425; 11.185, 186, 195, 199, 210; 15.55, 144, 157, 158, 168, 172, 200, 206; 18.166, 182, 183, 196, 202; 23.198, 201; 24.77, 87, 95, 117, 143, 144, 159, 188.
- Isandros* (v.l. *Peisandros*) Son of Bellerophon, killed by Ares: 6.197, 203.
- Isos* Illegitimate son of Priam; charioteer for his half-brother Antiphos III, killed along with him by Agamemnon: 11.101f.
- Ithaimenes* Father of Sthenelaos: 16.586.
- Ithakesians* Inhabitants of the island of Ithaka, followers of Odysseus: 2.184.
- Itymoneus* Son of Hypeirochos I from Elis; killed by the young Nestor: 11.672f.
- Ixion* Husband of Dia: 14.317.
- Jason* (*Ieson*) Father of Euneos: 7.468, 469, 471; 21.41; 23.747.
- Kadmeians/Kadmeiones* Inhabitants of Boiotian Thebes and called after its founder Kadmos: 4.385, 388, 391; 5.804, 807; 10.288; 23.680.
- Kaineus* One of the Lapithai, whom the young Nestor supported in battle against the Centaurs; grandfather of Leonteus: 1.264; 2.746; 12.130a, 190a.
- Kalchas* (→ CH 5): 1.69, 86, 105; 2.300, 322; 13.45, 70.
- Kalesios* Charioteer for Axylos from Arisbe, killed along with him by Diomedes: 6.18.
- Kaletor* I. Son of Klytios I, cousin of Hektor, killed by Aias I: 15.419. – II. Father of Aphaeus: 13.541.
- Kallianassa* Nereid: 18.46.
- Kallianeira* Nereid: 18.44.
- Kapaneïades* see *Sthenelos* I.
- Kapaneus* Participant in the expedition of the 'Seven against Thebes', father of Sthenelos I: 2.564; 4.367, 403; 5.108, 109, 241, 319.
- Kapys* Son of Assarakos, father of Anchises I, grandfather of Aineias: 20.239.
- Karians* A people on the west coast of Asia Minor (in and around Miletus); allies of the Trojans, led by Amphimachos II and Nastes: 2.867; 4.142; 9.664 (v.l.); 10.428.
- Kassandra* Daughter of Priam, engaged to Othryoneus: 13.365 f.; 24.699.
- Kastianeira* (v.l. *Kassiepeia*) Additional wife of Priam (beside Hekabe), from Aisyme in Thrace; mother of Gorgythion: 8.305.
- Kastor* Brother of Polydeukes and Helen: 3.237.

- Kaukonians* A people of Asia Minor (incapable of being situated more precisely), allies of the Trojans: 2.855a; 10.429; 20.329.
- Keas* Grandfather of Euphemos: 2.847.
- Kebriones* Illegitimate son of Priam; Trojan lieutenant, replacement charioteer for Hektor, killed by Patroklos: 8.318; 11.521; 12.91, 92; 13.790; 16.727, 738, 751, 754, 756, 759, 772, 781.
- Keladeine* see *Artemis*.
- Kelainepheës* see *Zeus*.
- Kentaurs* see *Centaurs*.
- Kephalenians* Subjects of Odysseus (inhabitants of the west Ionian islands and the mainland opposite), contributed a contingent of 12 ships to the expedition against Troy: 2.631; 4.330.
- Ker* Death-*daemon* (→ CG 29/31; more often used as a substantive): 8.65a; 18.535.
- Kikonians* (*Kikones*) Thracian people; allies of the Trojans, led by Euphemos: 2.846; 17.73.
- Kilikians* A people in the southern Troad, subjects of Eëtion I: 6.397, 415.
- Kinyres* Ruler of Cyprus; guest-friend of Agamemnon, and gave him a suit of armor: 11.20.
- Kisses* (*v.l. Kisseus*) Thracian, father of Theano; both grandfather and simultaneously father-in-law of Iphidamas: 6.299; 11.223.
- Kleitos* Son of Peisenor; charioteer for Polydamas, killed by Teukros: 15.445.
- Kleoboulos* Trojan, killed by Aias II: 16.330.
- Kleopatra* Daughter of Idas and Marpessa the daughter of Euenos, wife of Meleagros; also called 'Alkyone': 9.556, 562.
- Klonios* One of five leaders of the Boiotian contingent of 50 ships; killed by Agenor I: 2.495; 15.340.
- Klymene* I. Nereid: 18.47. – II. Servant of Helen: 3.144.
- Klytaimestra* (*v.l. Klytaimnestre*) Wife of Agamemnon: 1.113.
- Klytios* I. Son of Laomedon, brother of Priam; member of the Trojan council of elders; father of Kaletor I: 3.147; 15.419, 427; 20.238. – II. Father of Dolops II: 11.302.
- Klytomedes* Son of Enops III, defeated by the young Nestor in boxing: 23.634.
- Koiranos* I. Lykian, killed by Odysseus: 5.677. – II. Charioteer for Meriones, killed by Hektor: 17.611, 614.
- Koön* Eldest son of Antenor and Theano; wounds Agamemnon (in an attempt to avenge his brother Iphidamas) and is killed: 11.248, 249, 256, 262; 19.53.
- Kopreus* Father of Periphetes I; served as messenger between Eurystheus and Herakles: 15.639.
- Koronos* Son of Kaineus, father of Leonteus: 2.746; 12.130a, 190a.
- Kouretes* People opposed to the Aitolians in the story of Meleagros: 9.529, 532, 549, 551, 589.
- Kreion* Father of Lykomedes: 9.84; 19.240.
- Kretans* Inhabitants of the island of Krete, contributed a contingent of 80 ships under the leadership of Idomeneus and Meriones to the expedition against Troy: 2.645; 3.230, 231; 4.251, 265; 13.219, 221, 255, 259, 266a, 274, 311; 23.450, 482.
- Krethon* Son of Diokles from Pherai on the Alpheios, great-grandson of the river-god Alpheios; killed along with his brother Ortilochos I by Aineias: 5.542, 549.
- Kroismos* Trojan, killed by Meges: 15.523.
- Kronion/Kronides* see *Zeus*.
- Kronos* (→ CG 26): 2.205, 319; 4.59, 75; 5.721; 6.139; 8.49 (*v.l.*), 383, 415, 479; 9.37; 12.450; 13.345; 14.194, 203, 243, 274, 346; 15.91, 187, 225; 16.431; 18.293; 21.216; also 86x as a patronymic.
- Kteatos* One of the 'Aktoriones' (→ CH 6): 2.621; 11.709, 750; 13.185; 23.638.
- Kyanochaites* see *Poseidon*.
- Kydoimos* Personification of the tumult of battle (→ CG 38; more often used as a substantive): 8.65a; 18.535.

Kylaimenes see *Pylaimenes* II.

Kyllenians Inhabitants of Kyllene in the territory of the Epeians: 15.518.

Kyllopodion see *Hephaistos*.

Kymodoke Nereid: 18.39.

Kymothoë Nereid: 18.41.

Kypris see *Aphrodite*.

Kytherians Inhabitants of the island of Kythera: 10.268; 15.431.

Laërkes Father of Alkimedon: 16.197; 17.467.

Laërtes Father of Odysseus: 2.173; 3.200; 4.358; 8.93; 9.308, 624; 10.144; 11.316a, 346a; 19.185; 23.723.

Laërtiades see *Odysseus*.

Lampos I. Son of Laomedon, brother of Priam; member of the Trojan council of elders; father of Dolops I: 3.147; 15.526 f.; 20.238. – II. One of Hektor's horses: 8.185.

Laodamas Son of Antenor, Trojan lieutenant, killed by Aias I: 15.516.

Laodameia Daughter of Bellerophon; lover of Zeus, mother of Sarpedon; killed by Artemis: 6.197, 198.

Laodike I. Daughter of Priam and Hekabe, wife of Helikaon the son of Antenor; Iris appears to Helen in her shape: 3.124; 6.252. – II. Daughter of Agamemnon: 9.145, 287.

Laodokos I. Son of Antenor; Athene appears to Pandaros in his shape: 4.87. – II. Companion of Antilochos: 17.699.

Laogonos I. Trojan, son of Onetor the priest of Zeus, killed by Meriones: 16.604. – II. Trojan, son of Bias III, killed along with his brother Dardanos II by Achilles: 20.460.

Laomedon Son of Ilos, father of Priam, Hiketaon, Klytios I, Lampos I, Tithonos and Boukolion; during his reign, Troy was destroyed by Herakles: 3.250; 5.269, 640, 649; 6.23; 7.453; 15.527; 20.236, 237; 21.443, 452; 23.348.

Laomedontiades see *Priam*.

Laothoë Daughter of Altes of Pedasos (in the Troad), ruler of the Leleges; additional wife of Priam (beside Hekabe), mother of Lykaon II and Polydoros I: 21.85; 22.48.

Lapithai Thessalian people, victorious in battle with the Centaurs; contributed a contingent of 40 ships under the leadership of Polypoites and Leonteus to the expedition against Troy: 1.266; 12.128, 181.

Leiokritos Achaian, son of Arisbas, companion of Lykomedes; killed by Aineias: 17.344 f.

Leïtos Son of Alektryon; one of five leaders of the Boiotian contingent of 50 ships; wounded by Hektor: 2.494; 6.35; 13.91; 17.601, 605.

Leleges A people in the southern Troad, allies of the Trojans, subjects of Altes: 10.429; 20.96; 21.86.

Leonteus Lapith, son of Koronos, grandson of Kaineus; leader, along with Polypoites, of an Achaian contingent of 40 ships: 2.745; 12.130, 188; 23.837, 841.

Lesbians Women abducted by Achilleus on Lesbos: 9.129, 271.

Lethos Father of Hippothoös I and Pylaios: 2.843; 17.288.

Leto (→ CG 18): 1.3 (v.l.), 9, 36; 5.447; 14.327; 16.849; 19.413; 20.40, 72; 21.497, 498, 502; 24.607.

Leukos Companion of Odysseus, killed by Antiphos III: 4.491.

Likymnios Brother of Alkmene, killed by his great-nephew Tlepolemos I: 2.663.

Linnoreia Nereid: 18.41.

Litai Personified 'prayers' (→ CG 38): 9.502, 508, 513.

Lokrians People in east central Greece (north of Boiotia), contributed a contingent of 40 ships under the leadership of Aias II to the expedition against Troy: 2.527, 535; 13.686, 712.

- Lykaon* I. Trojan from Zeleia, father of Pandaros: 2.826; 4.89, 93; 5.95, 101, 169, 179, 193, 197, 229, 246, 276, 283. – II. (→ CH 12): 3.333; 20.81, 87; 21.35, 97, 127; 22.46; 23.746.
- Lykians* A people in southwest Asia Minor; allies of the Trojans, led by Sarpedon and Glaukos I; also a collective term for all the Trojan allies: 2.876; 4.197, 207; 5.482, 633, 647, 673, 676, 679; 6.78, 111 (v.l.), 194; 7.13; 8.173; 10.430; 11.285, 286; 12.315, 317, 321, 330, 346, 359, 376, 408, 409, 417, 419; 13.150; 14.426; 15.424, 425, 485, 486; 16.421, 422, 490, 495, 525, 532, 541, 564, 584, 593, 659, 685; 17.140, 146, 154, 184.
- Lykoërgos*, -*koorgos* see *Lykourgos*.
- Lykomedes* Son of Kreion, Achaian lieutenant: 9.84; 12.366; 17.345, 346; 19.240.
- Lykon* Trojan, killed by Peneleos: 16.335, 337.
- Lykophontes* (v.l. *Polyphontes*) I. Son of Autophonos, Theban, killed by Tydeus: 4.395. – II. Trojan, killed by Teukros: 8.275.
- Lykophron* Son of Mastor; after committing manslaughter, fled from Kythera to Aias I; taken by the latter to Troy as a follower and killed by Hektor: 15.430, 438.
- Lykourgos* (also -*koorgos*, v.l. -*koërgos*) I. Son of Dryas II; committed sacrilege against Dionysos and soon lost his life as a consequence: 6.130, 134. – II. Arkadian hero, killed Areithoös I, who was known for fighting with a club: 7.142, 144, 148.
- Lysandros* Trojan, killed by Aias I: 11.491.
- Machaon* (→ CH 5), also *Asklepiades*: 2.732; 4.193, 200, 204; 11.506, 512, 517, 598, 613 f., 651, 833; 14.2, 3.
- Maenad* (*Mainas*) 'Frenzied' woman in the retinue of Dionysos: 22.460.
- Magnesians* Thessalian people, under the leadership of Prothoös, contributed a contingent of 40 ships to the expedition against Troy: 2.756.
- Maimalos* Father of Peisandros III: 16.194.
- Mainad* see *Maenad*.
- Maion* Son of Haimon II; one of the Thebans who laid an ambush for Tydeus: 4.394, 398.
- Maionians* People in west Asia Minor; allies of the Trojans, led by Mesthles and Antiphos II: 2.864, 866; 4.142; 5.43; 10.431.
- Maira* Nereid: 18.48.
- Makar* Former ruler of Lesbos: 24.544.
- Maris* Lykian; son of Amisodaros, brother of Atymnios II, companion of Sarpedon; killed by Thrasymedes I: 16.319.
- Marpessa* Wife of Idas, mother of Kleopatra: 9.557.
- Mastor* Father of Lykophron: 15.430, 438.
- Medesikaste* Illegitimate daughter of Priam, wife of Imbrios: 13.173.
- Medon* I. Illegitimate son of Oileus I and Rhene, half-brother of Aias II; leader of an Achaian contingent of 7 ships from the area of Methone in place of Philoktetes; killed by Aineias: 2.727; 13.693, 695; 15.332, 334. – II. Trojan ally: 17.216.
- Megas* Father of Perimos: 16.695.
- Meges* (→ CH 4), also *Phyleïdes*: 2.627 f.; 5.69, 72; 10.110, 175; 13.692; 15.302, 519, 520, 528, 535; 16.313; 19.239.
- Mekisteus* I. Son of Talaos, father of Euryalos; victorious in all the contests at the funeral games for Oidipous: 2.566; 6.28; 23.678. – II. Son of Echios I, killed by Polydamas: 8.333; 13.422; 15.339.
- Melanippos* I. (v.l. *Polyeidos*) Trojan, killed by Teukros: 8.276. – II. Son of Hiketaon, cousin of Hektor; killed by Antilochos: 15.546 f., 553, 576, 582. – III. Trojan, killed by Patroklos: 16.695. – IV. Achaian: 19.240.

Melanthios Trojan, killed by Eurypylos I: 6.36.

Melas Great-uncle of Diomedes: 14.117.

Meleagros Aitolian, son of Oineus and Althaia, brother of Tydeus, husband of Kleopatra; Phoenix I tells his story as a cautionary tale for Achilles: 2.642; 9.543, 550, 553, 590.

Melite Nereid: 18.42.

Menelaos (→ CH 2), also *Atrēides*: 1.16, 17, 159, 375; 2.249, 408, 586, 762; 3.21, 27, 52, 69, 90, 96, 136, 206, 210, 213, 232, 253, 281, 284, 307, 339, 347, 350, 361, 364, 403, 430, 432, 434, 439, 449, 452, 457; 4.7, 13, 19, 94, 98, 100, 115, 127, 146, 150, 154, 169, 177, 181, 183, 189, 195, 205, 210, 220; 5.50, 55, 207, 552, 561, 578, 715; 6.37, 44, 46, 55, 437; 7.94, 104, 109, 327 (v.l.), 351, 373, 385 (v.l.), 392, 470; 8.261; 9.140a, 341, 627a; 10.25, 36, 43, 60, 114, 230, 240; 11.125, 139, 463, 487; 13.581, 591, 593, 601, 603, 605, 606, 610, 641, 646; 14.516; 15.540, 568; 16.311; 17.1, 6, 11, 12, 18, 34, 46, 60, 69, 71, 79, 89, 113, 124, 138, 237, 238, 246, 249, 346 (v.l.), 507, 508, 553f., 556, 560, 578, 580, 587, 626, 651, 652, 656, 665, 673, 679, 684, 697, 702, 716; 19.310; 22.117; 23.236 (v.l.), 272 (v.l.), 293, 355, 401, 407, 422, 425, 434, 438, 515, 516, 522, 529, 538a, 566, 576, 588, 597, 600, 658 (v.l.).

Menesthes (v.l. *Menestes*, *-sthles*) Achaian, killed by Hektor: 5.609.

Menestheus Son of Peteos, leader of an Athenian contingent of 50 ships: 2.552; 4.327, 338; 12.331, 355, 373; 13.195, 690; 15.331.

Menesthios I. Son of Areithoös I and Phylomedousa, from Arne in Boiotia, killed by Paris: 7.8 f. – II. Son of the river-god Spercheios and Polydore the daughter of Peleus, but acknowledged by Polydore's husband Boros II; lieutenant of the Myrmidons: 16.173.

Menesthles see *Menesthes*.

Menoitiades see *Patroklos*.

Menoitios Son of Aktor II from Opous, father of Patroklos: 9.202; 11.605, 765, 771, 785, 814, 837; 12.1; 16.14, 278, 307, 626, 665, 827; 18.12, 325, 455; 19.24; 23.85; also 19x as a patronymic.

Menon Trojan, killed by Leonteus: 12.193.

Mentes (v.l. *Peiros*) Lieutenant of the Kikonians, in whose shape Apollo appears to Hektor: 17.73.

Mentor Father of Imbrios: 13.171.

Meriones (→ CH 4): 2.651; 4.254; 5.59, 65; 7.166; 8.264; 9.83; 10.59, 196, 229, 260, 270; 13.93, 159, 164, 246, 249, 254, 266, 295, 304, 306, 328, 479, 528, 531, 567, 575, 650; 14.514; 15.302; 16.342, 603, 607a, 608, 617, 619, 627; 17.259, 610, 620, 668, 669, 717; 19.239; 23.113, 124, 351, 356, 528, 538b, 614, 860, 870, 877, 882, 888, 893, 896.

Mermeros Trojan, killed by Antilochos: 14.513.

Merops Seer from Perkote on the Hellespont, father of Adrestos II and Amphios I: 2.831; 11.329.

Mesthles Son of Talaimenes and the nymph of the Gygaian lake; leader of the Trojan allies from Maionia along with his brother Antiphos II: 2.864; 17.216.

Mestor Son of Priam, no longer alive at the dramatic date of the *Iliad*: 24.257.

Minos Son of Zeus and Europe, former ruler of Krete, grandfather of Idomeneus: 13.450, 451; 14.322.

Minyai The inhabitants of Aspledon and Orchomenos (north of Boiotia), contributed a contingent of 30 ships under the leadership of Askalaphos and Ialmenos to the expedition against Troy: 2.511.

Mnesos Paionian, killed by Achilles: 21.210.

Moirā, *Moirai* Goddess(es) of fate (→ CG 29; otherwise generally used as a substantive): 19.87, 410; 24.49, 209.

Molion Follower of Thymbraios, killed by Odysseus: 11.322.

Moliones see *Aktoriones*.

- Molos* I. Father of Meriones: 10.269; 13.249. – II. Maternal grandfather of the ‘Aktoriones’ Eurytos I and Kteatos, after whom they are sometimes called ‘Moliones’ (→ CH 6): 11.709, 750.
- Morys* Son of Hippotion I; Phrygian leader, arrived belatedly as a reinforcement, killed by Meriones: 13.792; 14.514.
- Moulios* I. Husband of Agamede the daughter of Augeias; killed by the young Nestor in the battle between the Pylians and Epeians: 11.739. – II. Trojan, killed by Patroklos: 16.696. – III. Trojan, killed by Achilles: 20.472.
- Muses* Goddesses of song, daughters of Zeus (→ CG 19): 1.1 (v.l.), 604; 2.484, 491, 594, 598, 761; 11.218; 14.508; 16.112.
- Mydon* I. Son of Atymnios I, charioteer for the Paphlagonian leader Pylaimenes, killed by Antilochos: 5.580 f. – II. Paionian, killed by Achilles: 21.209.
- Mygdon* Phrygian ruler, aided by the young Priam in a battle against the Amazons: 3.186.
- Mykenaians* Inhabitants of Mykenai: 15.638, 643.
- Mynes* Son of Euenos I, grandson of Selepios; ruler of Lyrnessos, killed along with his brother Epistrophos III by Achilles during the capture of the city: 2.692; 19.296.
- Myrine* Heroine; eponym of a hill near Troy: 2.814.
- Myrmidons* Inhabitants of the Thessalian region of Phthia, subjects of Peleus, contributed a contingent of 50 ships under the leadership of Achilles to the expedition against Troy: 1.180, 328; 2.684; 7.126; 9.185, 652; 11.797; 16.12, 15, 39, 65, 129a, 155, 164, 194, 200, 220, 240, 266, 269, 506, 546, 564, 570, 596; 18.10, 69, 323, 355; 19.14, 278, 299; 21.188; 23.4, 6, 60, 129; 24.397, 449, 536.
- Mysians* Thracian people: I. European Mysians (on the lower Danube, later the Roman province of Moesia): 13.5, 792a. – II. A branch that migrated to Asia Minor (southeast of the Troad); allies of the Trojans, led by Chromios V and Ennomos I: 2.858; 10.430; 14.512; 24.278.
- Nastes* Son of Nomion, leader of the Trojan allies from Karia along with his brother Amphimachos II; he (or his brother Amphimachos II, see s.v.) was killed by Achilles: 2.867, 870, 871.
- Naubolos* Grandfather of Epistrophos I and Schedios I: 2.518.
- Neleïdes/Neleïades* see *Nestor*.
- Neleus* Former ruler of Pylos; son of Poseidon (*Od.* 11.235 ff.), father of Nestor: 2.20; 8.100; 10.18, 87, 555; 11.511, 597, 618, 682, 683, 692, 717; 14.42; 15.378; 23.303, 349, 514, 652.
- Nemertes* Nereid: 18.46.
- Neoptolemos* (v.l. *Pyres*) Son of Achilles, grows up on Skyros: 19.327.
- Nereids* Sea-nymphs, daughters of Nereus (→ CG 20): 18.38, 49, 52.
- Nereus* Father of the Nereids, including Thetis (→ CG 20); the name occurs only as a patronymic and is otherwise replaced by the expression *hálíos gērōn* (‘old man of the sea’): 1.538, 556; 11.795a; 18.38, 49, 52, 141; 20.107; 24.562.
- Nesaie* Nereid: 18.40.
- Nestor* (→ CH 3), also *Neleïdes* and *Neleïades*: 1.247; 2.20 f., 54, 57, 77, 336, 405, 433, 555, 601; 4.293, 317; 5.565; 6.33, 66; 7.123, 170, 181, 325; 8.80, 100, 112, 113, 116, 137, 151, 192; 9.52, 81, 94, 162, 179; 10.18, 54, 73, 87, 102, 128, 138, 143, 157, 168, 196, 203, 220, 229, 532, 543, 555; 11.501, 510, 511, 516, 597, 611, 618, 637, 655, 761, 840; 13.400, 555; 14.1, 27, 40, 42, 52, 65; 15.370, 378, 589, 659; 16.317; 17.382, 653, 681; 18.16; 19.238, 311; 23.302 f., 349, 353, 411, 541, 596, 616, 652, 755.
- Nestorides* see *Antilochos*.
- Niobe* Heroine from Asia Minor; Achilles tells her story as a paradigm for Priam: 24.602, 606.
- Nireus* Son of Charopos and Aglaia, leader of three ships from Syme; most handsome Achaian after Achilles: 2.671, 672, 673.

Noëmon I. Lykian, killed by Odysseus: 5.678. – II. Pylian, companion of Antilochos: 23.612.

Nomion Father of Amphimachos II and Nastes: 2.871.

Notos God of the south wind (→ CG 37): 2.145, 395; 3.10; 11.306; 16.765; 21.334.

Nymphs Goddesses of rivers, lakes, mountains, etc.; daughters of Zeus (→ CG 36): 6.21, 420; 14.444; 20.8, 384; 24.616.

Nyx Goddess of night (→ CG 38; more often used as a substantive): 14.259, 261.

Obrimopatre see *Athene*.

Ocean River encircling the world, progenitor of the gods (→ CG 27/34): **1.423; 3.5; 5.6; 7.422; 8.485; 14.201, 246, 302, 311; 16.151; 18.240, 399, 402, 489, 607; 19.1; 20.7; 21.195; 23.205.**

Ochesios Father of Periphas I: 5.843.

Odios see *Hodios*.

Odysseus (→ CH 3), also *Laërtiades*: **1.138, 145, 311, 430, 440; 2.169, 173, 220, 244, 259, 272, 278, 335, 407, 631, 636; 3.191, 200, 205, 211, 216, 223, 224, 268, 314; 4.329, 339 (v.l.), 349, 358, 491, 494, 501; 5.519, 669, 674, 679; 6.30; 7.168; 8.92, 93, 97, 222; 9.169, 180, 192, 218, 223, 308, 346, 624, 657, 673, 676; 10.109, 137, 144, 148, 231, 243, 248, 260, 271, 277, 340, 363, 382, 400, 423, 460, 476, 488, 490, 498, 513, 527, 529, 530 (v.l.), 536, 544, 554, 571; 11.5, 140, 312, 316a, 321, 335, 346, 346a, 396, 401, 419, 430, 439, 449, 459, 466, 473, 482, 661, 767, 806; 14.29, 82, 104, 380; 16.26; 19.48, 141, 154, 185, 215, 247, 310; 23.709, 719, 720, 723, 725, 727, 729, 755, 759, 763, 765, 768, 778, 783.**

Oichalians Inhabitants of the Thessalian city of Oichalia, formed part of the Achaian contingent of 30 ships under the leadership of Machaon and Podaleirios: 2.596, 730.

Oidipous Former ruler of Thebes; his funeral games: 23.679.

Oikles see *Epikles*.

Oileus I. (v.l. *Ileus*) Husband of Eriopis, father of Aias II and Medon I: 2.527, 727, 728; **12.365; 13.66, 203, 694, 697, 701, 712; 14.442, 446, 520; 15.333, 336; 16.330; 17.256; 23.473, 488, 754, 759.** – II. Charioteer for Bienor, killed by Agamemnon: 11.93.

Oiliades (v.l. *Iliades*) see *Aias* II.

Oineïdes see *Tydeus*.

Oineus Son of Portheus, ruler of Kalydon; husband of Althaia, father of Meleagros and Tydeus, grandfather of Diomedes: 2.563a, 641; 5.813; 6.216, 219; 9.535, 540, 543, 581; 10.497; 14.117.

Oinomaos I. Aitolian, killed by Hektor: 5.706. – II. Trojan lieutenant, companion of Asios I, killed by Idomeneus: 12.140, 193a; 13.506.

Oinops I. Father of Helenos II: 5.707. – II./III. see *Enops* I/III.

Okeanos see *Ocean*.

Olizones see *Halizones*.

Olympios see *Zeus*.

Oneiros Dream-god (→ CG 38; otherwise used as a substantive): 2.6, 8, 16, 22, 56.

Onetor Priest of Zeus of Mt. Ida (near Troy); father of Laogonos I: 16.604.

Opaon see *Amopaon*.

Ophelstes I. Trojan, killed by Teukros: 8.274. – II. Paionian, killed by Achilleus: 21.210.

Opheltios I. Achaian lieutenant, killed by Hektor: 11.302. – II. Trojan, killed by Euryalos: 6.20.

Opisaon see *Apisaon* I.

Opites I. Achaian lieutenant, killed by Hektor: 11.301. – II. see *Echeklos* II.

Oreithyia Nereid: 18.48.

Oresbios Wealthy Boiotian from Hyle, killed by Hektor: 5.707.

- Orestes* I. Son of Agamemnon: 9.142, 284. – II. Trojan lieutenant, companion of Asios I, killed by Leonteus: 12.139, 193. – III. Achaian, killed by Hektor: 5.705.
- Ormenos* I. Father of Amyntor, grandfather of Phoinix I: 9.448; 10.266. – II. Trojan, killed by Teukros: 8.274. – III. Trojan, killed by Polyipoites: 12.187. – IV. see *Ennomos* II.
- Oros* Achaian lieutenant, killed by Hektor: 11.303.
- Orsilochos* I. Trojan, killed by Teukros: 8.274. – II. see *Ortilochos*.
- Orthaios* Trojan lieutenant: 13.791.
- Ortilochos* (v.l. *Orsilochos*) I. Son of Diokles from Pherai on the Alpheios, great-grandson of the river-god Alpheios; killed along with his brother Krethon by Aineias: 5.542, 549. – II. Grandfather of Krethon and Ortilochos I: 5.546, 547.
- Orymas* see *Erymas* I.
- Ossa* Personification of rumor (→ CG 38): 2.93.
- Othryoneus* (→ CH 12): 13.363, 374, 772.
- Otos* I. Son of Aloeus (or Poseidon: *Od.* 11.305f.), a giant; along with his brother Epialtes, he chained Ares: 5.385. – II. Epeian lieutenant from Kyllene, killed by Polydamas: 15.518.
- Otreus* Phrygian ruler, aided by the young Priam in a battle against the Amazons: 3.186.
- Otrynteus* Father of Iphition: 20.383, 384, 389.
- Oukalegon* Member of the Trojan council of elders: 3.148.
- Paiëon* Healing-god (→ CG 21): 5.401, 899, 900.
- Paion* Father of Agastrophos: 11.339, 368.
- Paionians* A people on the Thermaic Gulf (in the area of what was later Makedonia); allies of the Trojans, led by Pyraichmes: 2.848; 10.428; 16.287, 291; 21.155, 205, 211.
- Pallas* see *Athene*.
- Palmys* Trojan lieutenant: 13.792.
- Pammon* Son of Priam, upbraided by the latter as a poor fighter: 24.250.
- Panachaians* ‘all the Achaians’, designation for the united Greek peoples camped before Troy (clarification for *Achaians*, see s.v.): 2.404; 7.73, 159, 327, 385; 9.198 (v.l.), 301, 421 (v.l.); 10.1; 11.149 (v.l.); 19.193; 22.378 (v.l.); 23.236, 272 (v.l.), 658 (v.l.).
- Pandaros* (→ CH 11): 2.826f.; 4.88, 89, 93; 5.95, 101, 168, 169, 171, 179, 229, 246, 276, 283, 795.
- Pandion* Companion of Teukros: 12.372.
- Pandokos* Trojan, killed by Aias I: 11.490.
- Panhellenes* ‘all the Hellenes’, like *Panachaians*, the name of a people used in a wider sense as a collective designation for all Greeks (see *Hellenes*): 2.530.
- Panope* Nereid: 18.45.
- Panopeus* Father of Epeios: 23.665.
- Panthoïdes* see *Polydamas*.
- Panthoös* Member of the Trojan council of elders; husband of Phrontis, father of Polydamas, Euphorbos and Hyperenor (17.23): 3.146; 13.433a, 756; 14.450, 454; 15.446, 522; 16.535, 808; 17.9, 23, 40, 59, 70, 81; 18.250.
- Paphlagonians* A people on the south coast of the Black Sea; allies of the Trojans, led by Pylaimenes: 2.851; 5.577; 13.656, 661.
- Paris* (→ CH 8), also *Alexandros* and *Priamides*: 3.16, 27, 30, 37, 39, 58, 87, 100, 136, 253, 281, 284, 289, 325, 329, 346, 352, 356, 366, 366a, 390, 403, 421, 423 (v.l.), 425, 437, 450, 452; 4.96; 5.62; 6.280, 290, 313, 332, 356, 503, 512, 517; 7.2, 355, 374, 388, 389, 400; 8.82; 11.124, 369, 505, 581; 12.93; 13.490, 660, 766, 769, 774; 15.341; 22.115, 359; 24.28, 249, 763.
- Pasithea* One of the Charites (‘Graces’), offered by Hera to Hypnos as his wife: 14.269, 276.

- Patroklos* (→ CH 2), also *Menoitiades*: 1.307, 337, 345; 8.476; 9.190, 195, 201, 202, 205, 211, 216, 220, 620, 658, 666; 11.602, 605, 608, 611, 616, 644, 647, 807, 814, 823, 837; 12.1; 15.65, 390; 16.2, 7, 11, 20, 49, 80, 125, 126, 130, 219, 257, 268, 278, 284, 291, 307, 372, 377, 394, 420, 427, 434, 438, 452, 460, 463, 478, 480, 490, 543, 554, 581, 584, 626, 647, 665, 684, 693, 699, 703, 707, 710, 724, 732, 733, 744, 754, 760, 763, 783, 787, 812, 815, 816, 818, 827, 830, 839, 843, 859; 17.2, 6, 10, 15, 80, 92, 113, 120, 125, 132, 137, 159, 182, 187, 229, 240, 255, 267, 270, 286, 299, 341, 355, 369, 379, 400, 402, 477, 538, 543, 564, 574, 665, 670, 690, 706; 18.12, 20, 28, 81, 93, 102, 151, 171, 179, 195, 232, 315, 333, 345, 355, 451, 455; 19.4, 24, 38, 283, 287, 302, 403, 412; 21.28, 100, 107, 134; 22.323, 331, 387; 23.9, 19, 25, 45, 65, 105, 126, 134, 151, 179, 192, 211, 221, 239, 619, 747, 776, 800; 24.6, 16, 512, 575, 592, 756.
- Pedaios* Illegitimate son of Antenor, killed by Meges: 5.69.
- Pedaso* I. Son of Boukolion and the nymph Abarbare, grandson of Laomedon; killed along with his brother Aisepos by Euryalos: 6.21. – II. Trace horse of Achilles: 16.152, 467.
- Peiraios* Grandfather of Eurymedon I: 4.228.
- Peireos* see *Peiros*.
- Peirithoös* Ruler of the Lapithai, whom the young Nestor supported in battle against the Centaurs; son of Zeus, husband of Hippodameia I, father of Polypoites: 1.263; 2.741, 742; 12.129, 182; 14.318.
- Peiros* (-eos, -oos, *Peros*) I. Son of Imbrasos, father of Rhigmos; leader of the Trojan allies from Thrace, along with Akamas II; killed by Thoas I: 2.844; 4.520, 525; 20.484. – II. see *Mentes*.
- Peisandros* I. (→ CH 12): 11.122, 143. – II. Trojan, killed by Menelaos: 13.601, 606, 611. – III. Son of Maimalos, lieutenant of the Myrmidons: 16.193 f. – IV. see *Isandros*.
- Peisenor* Father of Kleitos: 15.445.
- Pelagon* I. Follower of Nestor, lieutenant of the Pyliaos: 4.295. – II. (*v.l. Selagon*) Friend of Sarpedon: 5.695.
- Pelasgians* Collective designation for the original inhabitants of Greece and Asia Minor; specifically the inhabitants of Larisa (in the Troad?); allies of the Trojans, led by Hippothoös I and Pylaioi: 2.840, 843; 10.429; 17.288.
- Pelagon* Father of Asteropaioi: 2.848a; 21.141, 152, 159.
- Peleïdes*/*Peleïades*/*Peleïon* see *Achilleus*.
- Peleus* Elderly ruler of Phthia; son of Aiakos, husband of Thetis, father of Achilles: 1.489; 7.125; 9.147, 252, 289, 394, 400, 438, 480; 11.769, 772, 783; 16.15, 21, 33, 175, 203, 381, 574, 867; 17.443; 18.18, 60, 84, 87, 331, 433, 441; 19.216, 334; 20.2, 206; 21.139, 189; 22.8, 250, 421; 23.89, 144, 278; 24.61, 534; also 104x as a patronymic.
- Pelias* Father of Alkestis, grandfather of Eumelos: 2.715.
- Pelops* Ruler of Argos, father of Atreus and Thyestes, grandfather of Agamemnon and Menelaos: 2.104, 105.
- Peneleos* One of five leaders of the Boiotian contingent of 50 ships: 2.494; 13.92; 14.487, 489, 496; 16.335, 340; 17.597.
- (*Penthesileia*) Amazon, daughter of Ares (the name occurs first in the so-called *Aethiopsis*: Proclus, *Chrest.* § 1 and *fr.* 1 West): 24.804 (*v.l.*).
- Perrhaibians* Inhabitants of northwest Thessaly, formed part of the Achaian contingent of 22 ships under the leadership of Gouneus: 2.749.
- Pergasos* Father of Deïkoön: 5.535.
- Periboia* Grandmother of Asteropaioi: 21.142.
- Perieres* Father of Boros II, step-grandfather of Menesthios II: 16.177.

- Perimedes* Father of Schedios II: 15.515.
- Perimos* Son of Megas, killed by Patroklos: 16.695.
- Periphas* I. Son of Ochesios, best fighter among the Aitolians, killed by Ares: 5.842, 847. – II. Son of Epytos, old herald of Anchises I, in his shape Apollo appears to Hektor: 17.323 f.
- Periphetes* I. Son of Kopreus from Mykenai, killed by Hektor: 15.638. – II. Trojan, killed by Teukros: 14.515.
- Perkosians* Inhabitants of Perkote on the Hellespont: 2.831; 6.30; 11.329.
- Persephone* (*Persephoneia*, v.l. *Phersephoneia*) (→ CG 22): 9.457, 569.
- Perseus* Son of Zeus and Danaë, father of Sthenelos II, grandfather of Eurystheus: 14.320; 19.116, 123.
- Peteos* Father of Menestheus: 2.552; 4.327, 338; 12.331, 355; 13.690.
- Phainops* I. Trojan, father of Xanthos I and Thoön I: 5.152. – II. Father of Phorkys: 17.312. – III. Son of Asios II; guest-friend of Hektor from Abydos, in his shape Apollo appears to Hektor: 17.583. – IV. see *Enops* III.
- Phaistos* Son of Boros I; Trojan ally from Maionia, killed by Idomeneus: 5.43.
- Phalkes* Trojan lieutenant, killed by Antilochos: 13.791; 14.513.
- Phausios* (or *Phausias*) Father of Apisaon I: 11.578.
- Phegeus* Son of Dares the Trojan priest of Hephaistos, brother of Idaios II, killed by Diomedes: 5 11, 15.
- Pheidias* Athenian, follower of Menestheus: 13.691.
- Pheidippos* Son of Thessalos, grandson of Herakles; leader of an Achaian contingent of 30 ships from Kos and the adjacent islands, along with his brother Antiphos I: 2.678.
- Phereklos* Son of Tekton, grandson of Harmon I; master ship-builder for Paris, killed by Meriones: 5.59.
- Pheres* Father of Admetos, grandfather of Eumelos: 2.763; 23.376.
- Pheres* (pl.) Aeolic form of *thēres* '(wild) animals', apparently understood by the *Iliad*-poet as an older name for the Centaurs (see s.v.): 1.268; 2.743.
- Pherousa* Nereid: 18.43.
- Phersephoneia* see *Persephone*.
- Philetor* Father of Demouchos: 20.457.
- Philoktetes* Leader of an Achaian contingent of 7 ships from the area of Methone; abandoned by the Achaians on Lemnos, he was replaced as leader by Medon I: 2.718, 725.
- Phlegyes* Thessalian people: 13.302.
- Phobos* Personification of terror and flight (→ CG 38; more often used as a substantive): 2.767; 4.440; 5.739; 9.2; 11.37; 13.299; 15.119.
- Phoenicians* A people on the Syrian coast with extensive trade relations: 23.744.
- Phoibos* see *Apollo*.
- Phoinix* I. (→ CH 5): 9 168, 223, 427, 432, 607, 621, 659, 690; 14 136a; 16 196; 17.555, 561; 19.311; 23.360. – II. Father of Europa: 14.321.
- Phokians* People in central Greece (in and around Delphi), contributed a contingent of 40 ships under the leadership of Schedios I and Epistrophos I to the expedition against Troy: 2.517, 525; 15.516; 17.307.
- Phorbos* I. Father of Diomedes: 9.665. – II. Trojan, father of Ilioneus: 14.490.
- Phorkys* Son of Phainops II, leader of the Trojan allies from Phrygia along with Askanios I; killed by Aias I: 2.862; 17.218, 312, 318.
- Phradmon* Father of Agelaos I: 8.257.

- Phrontis* Wife of Panthoös, mother of Euphorbos, Hyperenor and Polydamas: 1740.
- Phrygians* A people in Asia Minor; allies of the Trojans, led by Askanios I and Phorkys: 2.798a, 862; 3.185; 10.431.
- Phthians* Thessalian people, inhabitants of Phthiotis (northeast of Achilleus' homeland of Phthia), contributed a contingent of 40 ships under the leadership of Podarkes to the expedition against Troy: 13.686, 693, 699.
- Phylakos* I. Father of Iphiklos, grandfather of Protesilaos and Podarkes I: 2.705; 13.698. – II. (v.l. *Schedios*) Trojan, killed by Leïtos: 6.35.
- Phylas* Father of Polymele, grandfather and foster-father of Eudoros: 16.181, 191.
- Phyleïdes* see *Meges*.
- Phyleus* Father of Meges; defeated by the young Nestor in spear-throwing: 2.628; 5.72; 10.110, 175; 13.692; 15.519, 528, 530; 16.313; 19.239; 23.637.
- Phylomedousa* Wife of Areithoös I, mother of Menesthios I: 7.10.
- Phyza* Personification of panic fear (→ CG 38; more often used as a substantive): 9.2.
- Pidytes* Trojan from Perkote, killed by Odysseus: 6.30.
- Pittheus* Father of Aithre: 3.144.
- Pleuronians* Inhabitants of the city of Pleuron in Aitolia: 23.635.
- Podaleirios* (→ CH 5): 2.732; 11.833.
- Podarge* Harpie, bore Achilleus' immortal horses Balios and Xanthos to the wind-god Zephyros: 16.150; 19.400.
- Podargos* I. One of Hektor's horses: 8.185. – II. One of Menelaos' horses: 23.295.
- Podarkes* Son of Iphiklos, grandson of Phylakos I; leader of an Achaian contingent of 40 ships from the area around Phylake (in place of his older brother Protesilaos, who was killed at the beginning of the war): 2.704; 13.693.
- Podes* Son of Eëtion III, friend of Hektor, killed by Menelaos: 17.575, 590.
- Polites* Son of Priam, Trojan look-out: 2.791; 13.533; 15.339; 24.250.
- Polyaimon* see *Poly(h)aimon*.
- Polybos* Son of Antenor, Trojan lieutenant: 8.55c; 11.59.
- Polydamas* (*Poulydamas*) (→ CH 9), also *Panthoïdes*: 8.55a; 11.57; 12.60, 80, 88, 109, 196, 210, 231; 13.725, 748, 751, 756, 790; 14.425, 449 f., 453, 454, 462, 469, 470; 15.339, 446, 454, 518, 521, 522; 16.535; 17.23, 600; 18.249 f., 285, 313; 22.100.
- Polydeukes* Brother of Kastor and Helen: 3.237.
- Polydore* Daughter of Peleus, mother of Menesthios II the son of Spercheios: 16.175.
- Polydoros* I. Youngest son of Priam and Laothoë the daughter of Altes from Pedasos, brother of Lykaon II; killed by Achilleus: 20.407 f., 419; 21.91; 22.46. – II. Achaian, defeated by the young Nestor in spear-throwing: 23.637.
- Poly(e)idos* I. Seer from Korinth, father of Euchenor: 13.663, 666. – II. Trojan, son of the dream-interpret Eurydamas, killed along with his brother Abas by Diomedes: 5.148. – III. see *Melanippos* I.
- Poly(h)aimon* Father of Amopaon: 8.276.
- Polykles* (*-kleës*) Father of the Kaukonian leader Ameibos: 2.855a.
- Polyktor* (supposititious) Name of the father of a Myrmidon Hermes impersonated before Priam: 24.397.
- Polymele* Mother of Hermes' son Eudoros: 16.180.
- Polymelos* Lykian, son of Argeas; killed by Patroklos: 16.417.
- Polyneikes* Brother of Eteokles; leader of the expedition of the 'Seven against Thebes', in which Diomedes' father Tydeus participated: 4.377.

- Polyphemos* One of the Lapithai, whom the young Nestor supported in battle against the Centaurs: 1.264.
- Polyphetes* Trojan lieutenant: 13.791.
- Polyphontes* see *Lykophontes*.
- Polypoites* Lapith, son of Peirithoös and Hippodameia I, grandson of Zeus; leader of an Achaian contingent of 40 ships along with Leonteus: 2.740; 6.29; 12.129, 182; 23.836, 844, 848.
- Polyxeinos* Son of Agasthenes, grandson of Augeias; one of four leaders of the Epeian contingent of 40 ships: 2.623.
- Portheus* Grandfather of Meleagros and Tydeus, great-grandfather of Diomedes: 14.115.
- Poseidon (Poseidaon)* (→ CG 23), also *Gaieochos/Ennosigaios/Enosichthon* (9.183, 7445, 7455 etc., 'earth-shaker'), *Helikonios* (20.404, probably after the cult-place 'Helike') and *Kyanochaites* (13.563, 'the black-haired one'): 1.400; 2.479, 506; 7.445, 455; 8.54d, 200, 201, 208, 440; 9.183, 362; 11.728, 751; 12.17, 27, 34; 13.10, 19, 34, 43, 59, 65, 83, 89, 125, 206, 215, 218a (v.l.), 231, 345, 351, 434, 554, 563, 677; 14.135, 150, 241b, 355, 356 (v.l.), 357, 384, 390, 510; 15.8, 41, 51, 57, 158, 173, 174, 184, 201, 205, 218, 222; 20.13, 20, 34, 57, 63, 67, 115, 132, 144, 149, 291, 310, 318, 330, 404, 405; 21.284, 287, 435, 462, 472, 477; 23.277, 307, 584; 24.26.
- Potamoi* River-gods (→ CG 34; more often used as a substantive): 3.278.
- Poulydamas* see *Polydamas*.
- Priam* (→ CH 8), also *Laomedontiades* und *Dardanides*: 1.19, 255; 2.37, 160, 176, 304, 332, 373, 414, 788, 791, 803; 3.105, 117, 124, 146, 161, 250, 261, 288, 303, 314; 4.18, 28, 31, 35, 47, 165, 173, 290, 499; 5.159, 463, 464, 535, 614, 704; 6.242, 246, 250, 283, 317, 449, 451, 512; 7.44, 47, 296, 346, 366, 386, 427; 8.303, 377, 552; 9.136, 278, 651; 11.102, 197, 200; 12.11, 15, 95; 13.14, 173, 176, 365, 368, 376, 460; 15.239, 244, 551; 16.448, 738; 17.160; 18.154, 288; 20.81, 181, 182, 237, 240, 306; 21.34, 88, 97, 105, 309, 526; 22.25, 158a, 165, 173, 230, 234, 251, 352, 453, 478; 23.746; 24.28, 37, 76, 117, 145, 160, 169, 171, 217, 278, 279, 282, 299, 336, 353, 354, 372, 386, 405, 447, 469, 477, 483, 485, 552, 563, 583, 598, 629, 631, 634, 659, 669, 674, 680, 777, 803; also 33x as a patronymic (for various sons, usually Hektor; 13.433b collective 'Priamides').
- Priamides* see *Hektor* and *Paris* (and cf. *Priam* end).
- Proitos* Ruler of Ephyra in Argos, husband of Anteia, adversary of Bellerophon: 6.157, 160, 163, 164, 177.
- Promachos* Son of Alegenor, Boiotian, killed by Akamas I: 14.476, 482, 503.
- Pronoös* Trojan, killed by Patroklos: 16.399.
- Protesilaos* Son of Iphiklos, grandson of Phylakos I; leader of an Achaian contingent of 40 ships from the area around Phylake; killed at the beginning of the war, after which his younger brother Podarkes assumed command: 2.698, 706, 708; 13.681; 15.705; 16.286.
- Prothoënor* Son of Areilykos I, one of five leaders of the Boiotian contingent of 50 ships: 2.495; 14.450 f., 471.
- Prothoön* Trojan, killed by Teukros: 14.515.
- Prothoös* Son of Tenthredon, leader of an Achaian contingent of 40 ships from the Thessalian region of Magnesia: 2.756, 758.
- Protiaon* Father of Astynoös I: 15.455.
- Proto Nereid*: 18.43.
- Prytanis* Lykian, killed by Odysseus: 5.678.
- Ptolemaios* Father of Eurymedon I: 4.228.
- Pygmaians* A mythical dwarf people living by the world-encircling Ocean (i.e. at the 'edge of the earth'): 3.6.

- Pylaimenes* I. Leader of the Trojan allies from Paphlagonia, killed by Menelaos: 2.851; 5.576. – II. (*v.l. Kylaimenes*) Father of the Paphlagonian Harpalion: 13.643. – III. see *Talaimenes*.
- Pylaios* Son of Lethos, grandson of Teutamos; leader of the Pelasgians (Trojan allies from Larissa) along with his brother Hippothoos I: 2.842.
- Pylartes* I. Trojan, killed by Aias I: 11.491. – II. Trojan, killed by Patroklos: 16.696.
- Pylians* People in the southwest Peloponnese, contributed a contingent of 90 ships under the leadership of Nestor to the expedition against Troy: 1.248; 4.293; 5.545; 7.134; 11.687, 724, 737, 753; 17.704; 23.633.
- Pylon* Trojan, killed by Polypoites: 12.187.
- Pyraichmes* Leader of the Trojan allies from Paionia, killed by Patroklos: 2.848; 16.287.
- Pyrasos* Trojan, killed by Aias I: 11.491.
- Pyres* see *Neoptolemos*.
- Pyris* Lykian, killed by Patroklos: 16.416.
- Rhadamanthys* Son of Zeus and Europa the daughter of Phoinix, brother of Minos: 14.322.
- Rhea* (also *Rheia*, *v.l. Rheie*) (→ CG 26): 14.203; 15.187.
- Rhene* Mother of Medon I the son of Oileus: 2.728.
- Rhesos* Son of Eioneus II; leader of a Thracian contingent that belatedly arrived as reinforcements; killed by Diomedes: 10.435, 474, 519.
- Rhigmos* Son of Peiros the Thracian leader, killed by Achilles: 20.484 f.
- Rhodians* Inhabitants of the island of Rhodes, contributed a contingent of 9 ships under the leadership of Tlepolemos I to the expedition against Troy: 2.654.
- Sarpedon* (→ CH 10): 2.876; 5.471, 493, 629, 633, 647, 655, 658, 663, 672, 675, 683, 692; 6.199; 12.101, 292, 307, 379, 392, 397; 14.426; 15.67; 16.327, 419, 433, 445, 464, 466, 477, 496, 522, 533, 541, 553, 559, 638, 649, 663, 668, 678; 17.150, 162; 23.800.
- Satnios* Trojan ally, son of Enops I and a nymph, killed by Aias II: 14.443 f.
- Schedios* I. Son of Iphitos I, grandson of Naubolos; leader of a Phokian contingent of 40 ships along with his brother Epistrophos I; killed by Hektor: 2.517; 17.306. – II. Son of Perimedes, lieutenant of the Phokians, killed by Hektor: 15.515. – III. see *Chromios* II. – IV. see *Phylakos* II. – V. see *Stichios*.
- Selagon* see *Pelagon* II.
- Selagos* Father of Amphios II: 5.612.
- Selepios* Grandfather of Mynes and Epistrophos III: 2.693.
- Selloi* see *Helloi*.
- Semele* Lover of Zeus, mother of Dionysos: 14.323, 325.
- Sidonians* Inhabitants of Sidon in Phoenicia, renowned for their craftwork: 6.290; 23.743.
- Simoeis* River-god (→ CG 34): 4.475; 5.774, 777; 6.4; 12.22; 20.53; 21.307.
- Simoeisios* Trojan, son of Anthemion, killed by Aias I: 4.473 f., 477, 488.
- Sintians* Pre-Greek inhabitants of the island of Lemnos: 1.594.
- Sisyphos* Son of Aiolos, grandfather of Bellerophon, great-great-grandfather of the Lykian leaders Sarpedon and Glaukos I: 6.153, 154.
- Skamandrios* I. see *Astyanax* (→ CH 8). – II. Trojan, son of Strophios, killed by Menelaos: 5.49.
- Skamandros* River-god (→ CG 34), called 'Xanthos' by the gods: 5.36, 77, 774; 6.4; 7.329; 8.560; 11.499; 12.21; 14.434; 20.40, 74; 21.2, 15, 124, 146, 223, 305, 332, 337, 383, 603; 22.148; 24.693.
- Smintheus* see *Apollo*.

- Sokos* Son of Hippasos I; wounds Odysseus (in an attempt to avenge his brother Charops) and is killed: 11.427, 428, 440, 450, 456.
- Solymoi* People in Lykia: 6.184, 204.
- Speio* Nereid: 18.40.
- Spercheios* Thessalian river-god (→ CG 34): 16.174, 176; 23.142, 144.
- Sphelos* Father of Iasos: 15.338.
- Stentor* Achaian, renowned for his loud voice; Hera takes his shape: *app. crit.* for 2.609; 5.785.
- Sthenelaos* Son of Ithaimenes, killed by Patroklos: 16.586.
- Sthenelos* I. (→ CH 4), also *Kapaneïades*: 2.564; 4.367, 403; 5.108, 109, 111, 241, 319, 835; 8.114; 9.48; 23.511. – II. Son of Perseus, father of Eurystheus: 19.116, 123.
- Stichios* Athenian, follower of Menestheus; killed by Hektor: 13.195 (where *v.l. Schedios*), 691; 15.329.
- Strophios* Father of Skamandrios II: 5.49.
- Styx* Goddess of the river of the underworld, by whose water the gods swear (cf. Hes. *Th.* 775): 2.755; 8.369; 14.271, 278 (*v.l.*); 15.37.
- Talaimenes* (*v.l. Pylaimenes*) Father of Mesthles and Antiphos II: 2.865.
- Talaos* Father of Mekisteus I, grandfather of Euryalos: 2.566; 23.678.
- Talthybios* (→ CH 5): 1.320; 3.118; 4.192, 193; 7.276; 19.196, 250, 267; 23.897.
- Tekton* Father of Phereklos: 5.59 (taken by Lattimore as the noun ‘smith’; cf. *s.v.* Harmon I).
- Telamon* Father of Aias I and Teukros: 8.283; 13.177; 17.284, 293; also 49x as a patronymic or adj. (functioning as a patronymic).
- Telamoniades* see *Aias* I.
- Telemachos* Son of Odysseus: 2.260; 4.354.
- Tenthredon* Father of Prothoos: 2.756.
- Tethys* (→ CG 27): 14.201, 302.
- Teukros* (→ CH 4): 6.31; 8.266, 273, 281, 292, 309, 322; 12.336, 350, 363, 371, 372, 387, 400; 13.91, 170, 177, 182, 313; 14.515; 15.302, 437, 458, 462, 466, 484; 16.511; 23.859, 862, 870 (*v.l.*), 883.
- Teutamios* Grandfather of Hippothoos I and Pylaios: 2.843.
- Teuthras* I. Achaian, killed by Hektor: 5.705. – II. Father of Axylos: 6.13.
- Thaleia* Nereid: 18.39.
- Thalpios* Son of Eurytos (one of the ‘Aktoriones’), cousin of Amphimachos I; one of four leaders of the Epeian contingent of 40 ships: 2.620.
- Thalysios* (or Thalysias) Father of Echebolos I: 4.458.
- Thamyris* Thracian singer who competed with the Muses and was blinded by them: 2.595.
- Thanatos* God of death (→ CG 38; more often used as a substantive): 14.231; 16.454, 672, 682.
- Tharsites* see *Thersites*.
- Theano* (→ CH 9): 5.70; 6.298 f., 302; 11.224.
- Thebaios* Father of Eniopeus: 8.120.
- Themis* Goddess, guardian of what is right (→ CG 38; more often used as a substantive): 15.87, 93; 20.4.
- Thersilochos* Trojan ally from Paionia, killed by Achilleus: 17.216; 21.209.
- Thersites* (*v.l. Tharsites*) (→ CH 5): 2.212, 244, 246.
- Theseus* Son of Aigeus, Attic hero, participated in the battle of the Lapithai against the Centaurs: 1.265.
- Thessalos* Son of Herakles, father of Antiphos I and Pheidippos: 2.679.

- Thestor* I. Son of Enops II, charioteer for Pronoös, killed by Patroklos: 16.401. – II. Father of Kalchas: 1.69. – III. Father of Alkmaon: 12.394.
- Thetis* (→ CG 20): 1.413, 495, 512, 538, 556; 4.512; 6.136; 8.370; 9.410; 11.795a; 13.350; 15.76, 598; 16.34, 222, 574, 860, 867a; 18.51, 94, 127, 146, 332, 369, 381, 385, 392, 398, 405, 407, 422, 424, 428; 19.28, 39a; 20.207; 23.14; 24.74, 83, 88, 89, 102, 104, 120, 562.
- Thoas* I. Son of Andraimon, leader of the Aitolians with a contingent of 40 ships: 2.638; 4.527, 529; 7.168; 13.92, 216, 222, 228; 15.281; 19.239. – II. Former ruler of Lemnos (according to later sources, father of Hypsipyle and grandfather of Euneos): 14.230; 23.745. – III. Trojan, killed by Menelaos: 16.311.
- Thoë* Nereid: 18.40.
- Thoön* I. Son of Phainops I, killed along with his brother Xanthos I by Diomedes: 5.152. – II. Trojan lieutenant, companion of Asios I, killed by Antilochos: 12.140, 193a; 13.545. – III. Trojan, killed by Odysseus: 11.422. – IV. see *Bias* I.
- Thoötes* Herald of Menestheus: 12.342, 343.
- Thracians* Inhabitants of Thrace; allies of the Trojans, led by Akamas II and Peiros: 2.595, 844; 4.519, 533, 537; 5.462; 6.7; 10.434, 464, 470, 487, 506, 518; 13.4; 14.227; 24.234.
- Thrasios* Paionian, killed by Achilleus: 21.210.
- Thrasydemos* see *Thrasymelos*.
- Thrasymedes* I. Son of Nestor, brother of Antilochos, lieutenant of the Pylians: 9.81; 10.57, 196, 229, 255; 14.10; 16.317, 321; 17.378, 705. – II. see *Thrasymelos*.
- Thrasymelos* (v.l. *Thrasymedes*, *-medos*, *-demos*) Companion of Sarpedon, killed by Patroklos: 16.463.
- Thyestes* Son of Pelops, brother of Atreus: 2.106, 107.
- Thymbraios* Trojan lieutenant, killed by Diomedes: 11.320.
- Thymoites* Member of the Trojan council of elders: 3.146.
- Titans* (*Titenes*) (→ CG 26): 14.279.
- Tithonos* Son of Laomedon, lover of the goddess Eos: 11.1; 20.237.
- Tlepolemos* I. Son of Herakles and Astyocheia, grandson of Zeus; leader of an Achaian contingent of 9 ships from Rhodes; killed by Sarpedon: 2.653, 657, 661; 5.628, 632, 648, 656, 660, 668. – II. Lykian, son of Damastor, killed by Patroklos: 16.416.
- Trechos* Aitolian, killed by Hektor: 5.706.
- Tritogeneia* see *Athene*.
- Troilos* Son of Priam, no longer alive at the dramatic date of the *Iliad*: 24.257.
- Troizenos* Father of Euphemos: 2.847.
- Trojans* Inhabitants of the city of Ilion (Ilios)/Troy, also a collective designation for them and their allies: *passim*.
- Tros* I. Grandson of Dardanos I, great-grandfather of Priam and Anchises I; owner of the marvelous horses that Zeus gave him as compensation for his abducted son Ganymedes: 5.222, 265; 8.106; 20.230, 231; 23.291, 378; 24.279 (v.l.). – II. Trojan, son of Alastor III; begs Achilleus in vain to spare his life: 20.463.
- Tychios* Leatherworker from Hyle in Boiotia; produced the great shield of Aias I: 7.220; 11.485a.
- Tydeides* see *Diomedes*.
- Tydeus* (→ CH 6), also *Oineides*: 2.406, 563a, 642a; 4.365, 370, 372, 384, 387, 396, 399; 5.25, 126, 163, 184, 232, 235, 277, 335, 376, 406, 800, 801, 813, 881; 6.96, 119, 222, 277, 437; 7.179; 8.118, 152; 10.159, 285, 487, 494, 497, 509, 516; 11.338; 14.114; 23.383, 472, 538; also 68x as a patronymic.
- Typhoeus* Monster, banished under the earth by Zeus (cf. Hes. *Th.* 820 ff.): 2.782, 783.

Ukalegon see *Oukalegon*.

Uranos God of the heavens (→ CG 27/38; otherwise generally used as a substantive): 1.570; 5.373, 898; 15.36; 17.195; 21.275, 509; 24.547, 612.

Xanthos I. Trojan, son of Phainops I, killed along with his brother Thoön I by Diomedes: 5.152. – II. Immortal horse of Achilleus, offspring of the wind-god Zephyros and the Harpie Podarge: 16.149; 19.400, 405, 420. – III. One of Hektor's horses: 8.185. – IV. see *Skamandros*.

Zephyros God of the west wind (→ CG 37): 2.147; 4.276, 423; 7.63; 9.5; 11.305; 16.150; 19.415; 21.334; 23.195, 200, 208.

Zeus (→ CG 24), also *Argikeraunos* (19.121 etc., 'with brightly shining/swift lightning, caster of swift lightning'), *Kelainepheës* (1.397 etc., 'with dark [storm] clouds, maker of black clouds'), *Olympios* (1.353, 'Olympian, ruler of Olympos'), *Kronion/Kronides* (1.397, 1.498 etc., 'son of Kronos'), *erígdoupos pōsis Heres* (7.411 etc, 'loud-thundering husband of Hera') and *pōsis Heres ëukómoio* (10.5, 'husband of beautifully tressed Hera'): 1.5, 9, 21, 63, 128, 175, 202, 222, 239, 279, 334, 354, 394, 395, 397, 405, 419, 423, 426, 495, 498, 502, 503, 508, 511, 517, 528, 533, 539, 544, 552, 560, 570, 578, 580, 583, 589, 609; **2.2**, 26, 33, 38, 49, 60 (v.l.), 63, 70, 94, 102, 103, 111, 116, 134, 146, 157, 169, 197, 205, 309, 319, 324, 348, 350, 371, 375, 403, 407, 412, 419, 478, 482, 491, 548, 598, 636, 669, 670, 741, 781, 787; **3.104**, 107, 199, 276, 298, 302, 308, 320, 350, 351, 365, 374, 418, 426; **4.1**, 5, 23, 25, 30, 68, 75, 84, 128, 160, 166, 235, 249, 288, 381, 408, 515; **5.33**, 34, 91, 105, 115, 131, 174, 225, 265, 312, 348, 362, 396, 398, 419, 421, 426, 457, 522, 631, 635, 637, 672, 675, 683, 693, 714, 733, 736, 742, 753, 756, 757, 762, 764, 815, 820, 869, 872, 888, 906, 907; **6.139**; 159, 198, 234, 257, 259, 266, 267, 282, 304, 312, 357, 420, 475, 476, 526; **7.23**, 24, 37, 47, 60, 69, 76, 132, 179, 194, 200, 202, 209, 274, 280, 315, 411, 443, 446, 454, 478, 481; **8.2**, 22, 31, 38, 49, 54c, 69, 132, 140, 141, 143, 170, 175, 206, 210, 216, 236, 242, 245, 249, 250, 251, 252a, 287, 335, 352, 364, 375, 381 (v.l.), 384, 387, 397, 412, 414, 415, 424, 427, 428, 438, 442, 444, 460, 462, 469, 470, 501 (v.l.), 526; **9.18**, 23, 37, 98, 117, 172, 236, 238, 357, 377, 419, 502, 508, 511, 513, 536, 608, 686; **10.5**, 16, 45, 71, 89, 104, 137, 154, 278, 284, 296, 329, 552, 553; **11.3**, 27, 53, 66, 78, 80, 163, 182, 200, 201, 278, 289, 300, 318, 336, 406, 493, 543, 544, 727, 736, 753, 761, 773, 795; **12.25**, 37, 68, 164, 173, 178 (v.l.), 180 (v.l.), 209, 235, 241, 252, 275, 279, 286, 292, 402, 437, 450; **13.1**, 16, 54, 58, 154, 226, 242, 319, 345, 347, 353, 355, 449, 524, 624, 631, 732, 783, 794, 796, 812, 818, 825, 837; **14.19**, 54, 69, 85, 120, 157, 160, 173, 193, 203, 213, 224, 236, 247, 250, 252, 265, 286, 293, 312, 330, 341, 346, 351a, 352, 359, 414, 417, 434, 522; **15.4**, 12, 46, 47, 78a, 85, 91, 97, 101, 104, 117, 122, 131, 146, 147, 152, 154, 175, 188, 192, 194, 202, 220, 242, 253 (v.l.), 254, 293, 310, 372, 375, 377, 379, 461, 489, 490, 567, 593, 599, 611, 637, 694, 719, 724; **16.37**, 51, 88, 97, 103, 121, 227, 232, 233, 241, 249, 250, 253, 298, 365, 386, 431, 440, 458, 522, 567, 604, 644, 658, 662, 666, 688, 720, 799, 804, 845; **17.19**, 46, 176, 198, 209, 251, 269, 321, 326, 331, 339, 400, 409, 441, 498, 515, 545, 548, 566, 585 (v.l.), 593, 627, 630, 632, 645, 648; **18.75**, 79, 116, 118, 149 (v.l.), 168, 184, 185, 292, 293, 311 (v.l.), 328, 356, 361, 431; **19.87**, 91, 95, 108, 112, 120, 121, 137, 197, 204, 224, 254, 258, 270, 273, 340, 357; **20.4**, 6, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, 31, 40 (v.l.), 56, 82, 92, 103, 107, 155, 192, 194, 215, 234, 242, 301, 304, 306; **21.2**, 83, 184, 187, 189, 190, 191, 193, 198, 216, 229, 230, 273, 290, 388, 401, 416, 420, 438, 444, 461 (v.l.), 479, 484, 499, 505, 508, 520, 570, 596 (v.l.); **22.60**, 130, 167, 178, 182, 209, 221, 256, 280, 302, 366, 403; **23.43**, 185, 299, 307, 724; **24.64**, 88, 98, 100, 103, 133, 140, 143, 169, 173, 175, 194, 241, 287, 290, 296, 301, 308, 314, 331, 527, 529, 561, 570, 586, 611, 693.

Zeus katachthónios see *Hades*.

Homeric – Mycenaean Word Index (MYC)

By Rudolf Wachter

The following index provides a representative selection of Homeric Greek words (especially from the *Iliad*) that are attested or assumed already in Mycenaean. Comprehensiveness cannot be attained, nor is it even aspired to, because many interpretations of Mycenaean words and forms are disputed. Equivalents that are ‘certain’ or at least ‘very probable’ are accepted, while those that are ‘improbable’ or ‘incorrect’ are omitted; the author is well aware that the decision whether or not to include something would have been made differently by others in many cases.

The index is meant to direct the attention of the reader of Homer to Mycenaean Greek. It was meant to be as short as possible; when the index’ actual – surprising – length became apparent, a number of measures were imposed: (1) the degree of remaining uncertainty in the Mycenaean interpretations is given only exceptionally (usually with ‘probably’); (2) in the transcriptions, many sorts of compromises and simplifications have been introduced, although they are reasonably defensible linguistically; (3) if various forms of a word are attested, usually only a selection is given; (4) etymological and other linguistic explanations are kept to an absolute minimum.

My heartfelt thanks are owed to Andrea Suter, lic. phil. for her reliable secretarial assistance.

Abbreviations:

comp.	the word is found in the following compound(s)
deriv.	the word is found in, or presupposed by, the following suffixed derivative(s)
relat.	the word stands in a close etymological relationship to the following
DN	Divine name
PN	Place name
HN	Human name
AN	Animal name
OH	Officeholder
instr.	instrumental (as a separate case distinct from the dative)
/d’ g’ k’/	transcriptions for <i>z</i> in medial position (consonants palatalized by a /j/ that formerly followed)
/r’/	palatalized /r/
/j/	is often a transitional sound after <i>i</i> (then frequently generalized)
/jj/	marks position length (frequently generalized)

ἀ- (113):

- comp.: *a-ka-ra-no* /a-karānos/
a-ki-ti-to /a-ktiton/ (neut.) ‘unbuilt on uncultivated (?)’
a-ko-to-no /a-ktoinoi/ (nom. pl.) ‘without ktoina’
a-na-pu-ke /an-ampukes/ (fem. nom. pl.) ‘?’
a-na-mo-to /an-ar(h)mostoi/ (fem. nom. pl.) ~ ‘not fitted together’
a-no-we ~ /an-ōwes/ and *a-no-wo-to* ~ /an-ōwoton/ (neut.) ‘handle-less’
a-ta-ra-si-jo /a-tala(n)sijoi/ (nom. pl.) ‘without a work quota’
 ~ *no-pe-re-ha* /nōp^heleha/ (neut. pl.) ‘useless’
a-da-ma-o /A-dama-os/ (HN)
a-qi-ti-ta /A-k^{wh}t^hitā/ (fem. HN)
a-tu-ko /A-t^(h)uk^h-os/ (HN)

ἄγγος (2.471): *a-ke-ha* /angeha/ (nom. pl.)

ἀγείρω (2.664, 1.126 ἐπαγείρω): *a-ke-re* ~ /ager’ei/ (3rd sg.), probably also *a-ke-rja-te* ~ /ager’antes/ (aor. part.)

relat.: *a-ko-ra* /agorā/ (see s.v.)

Ἀγέλαος (8.257): *a-ke-ra-wo* /Age-lāwos/ (HN)

ἄγορά (1.54): *a-ko-ra* /agorā/

deriv.: *a-ko-ra-ja* /agorajja/ (neut. pl.)

ἀγρέω (5.765, 1.526 παλινάγρετος): *a-ke-re-se* /agrēsei/ (fut.)

ἀγρός (5.137, 2.852 ἀγρότερος): *a-ko-ro* /agros/

deriv.: *a-ko-ro-ta* /Agrotās/ (HN)

ἄγω (1.62, 1.99): *a-ke* /agei/

comp.: *a-na-ke-e* /an-agehen/ (inf.) ‘?’

a-ke-ra-wo /Age-lāwos/ (HN)

ra-wa-ke-ta /lāwāgetās/ ‘(a higher functionary)’

deriv.: adj. *ra-wa-ke-si-jo* /lāwāgesijos/

perhaps *ku-na-ke-ta-i* /kun-āgetāhi/ (dat. pl.) ‘leader of the hounds, hunter’
 (originally from ἡγέομαι?)

relat.: *a-ko-to* /Aktōr/ (HN)

ἀείρω (2.151, 11.31 ἀορ-τ-):

comp.: *o-pa-wo-ta* /op-aworta/ (neut. pl.) ~ ‘attached’

ἀέξω (6.261):

deriv.: *a-we-ke-se-u* /Awekseus/ (HN)

Ἀθήνη (1.194):

comp.: perhaps *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* /At^hānāi potnijai/ (dat.) (DN?)

Αἴας (1.138): *ai-wa* /Aiwans/ (AN)

Αἰγύπτιος (9.382): *ai-ku-pi-ti-jo* /Aiguptijos/ (HN)

αἰθαλόεις (2.415): *ai-ta-ro-we* /Ait^halowens/ (HN)

αἶθω (6.182):

relat.: *ai-ti-jo-ḡo* /Ait^hij-ok^{ws}/ (HN)

Αἰθίοψ (1.423): *ai-ti-jo-ḡo* /Ait^hij-ok^{ws}/ (HN)

αἴνυμαι (4.531, 11.582 ἐπαινύμενος): *ai-nu-me-no* /Ainumenos/ (HN)

relat.: probably *tu-ma-i-ta* /T^hūmaitās/ (HN)

αἶξ (1.41, 3.247 αἶγιος):

deriv.: *ai-za* /aig’a/ (fem. nom. sg. adj.) ‘goat’

comp.: *ai-ki-pa-ta* /aigi-/ (OH)

αἰόλος (5.295, 2.816 κορυθαἰόλος): *ai-wo-ro* /Aiwolos/ (AN)

αἰπύς (2.538):

comp.: *ai-pu-ke-ne-ja* /Aipu-genejjāi/ (dat.) (fem. HN)

αἰχμή (3.348, 1.152 αἰχητήρ): *ai-ka-sa-ma* /aiksmans/ (acc. pl.)

Ἄκτωρ (2.513): *a-ko-to* /Aktōr/

ἄκων (4.137):

deriv.: *a-ko-te-u* /Akonteus/ (HN)

ἄλεισον (11.774): *a-re-se-si* /aleise(s)si/ (dat. pl. s-stem) ~ ‘sack, skin’

ἄλειφαρ (18.351): *a-re-<pa>* /aleip^har/, *a-re-pa-te* /aleip^hatei/ (dat.) ‘ointment’

comp.: *a-re-pa-zo-o* /aleip^ha-zohōi/ (dat.) and *a-re-po-zo-o* /aleip^ho-zohos/ (nom.)
perhaps *we-(j)a-re-pe* /?-aleip^hes/ (neut. adj.)

relat.: *a-ro-pa* /aloip^hā/ ~ ‘annointing’

a-ro-po /aloip^hos/ ‘annointer’

Ἀλεκτρυών (17.602): *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* /Alektroōn/ (HN)

Ἀλέξανδρος (3 16): *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* /Aleks-andrā/ (HN)

ἀλέξω (1.590):

comp.: *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* /Aleks-andrā/ (HN)

deriv.: *a-re-ki-si-to* /Aleksitos/ (HN)

relat.: *a-re-ko-to-re* /Alektorei/ (dat.) (HN)

ἀλοιφή (9.208): *a-ro-pa* /aloip^hā/ ~ ‘annointing’

ἄλς (1.141):

comp.: *a-pi-ha-ro* /Amp^hi-halos/ (HN)

o-pi-ha-ra /opi-hala/ (acc. pl.)

ἀμάω (24.451, 11.67 ἀμητήρες): perhaps based on *a-ma* /amā/ ‘harvest (?)’

ἄμπυξ (22.469): *a-pu-ke* /ampukes/ ‘(piece of equipment for a horse)’

comp.: *a-na-pu-ke* /an-ampukes/ (fem. nom. pl.)

a-pu-ko-wo-ko /ampuk(o)-worgos/

ἀμφί (1.37): *a-pi* /amp^hi/

comp.: *a-pi-ḡo-ro* /amp^hi-k^woloi/ (fem. nom. pl.)

a-pi-po-re-we /amp^hi-p^horēwes/ (see s.v.)

probably *a-pi-ḡo-to* /amp^hi-/ (fem.) ‘?’

a-pi-e-ḡe /amp^hihek^wei/

a-pi-do-ra /Amp^hi-dōrāi/ (dat.) (fem. HN)

a-pi-do-ro /Amp^hi-dōros/ (HN)

a-pi-ha-ro /Amp^hi-halos/ (HN)

a-pi-ra-wo /Amp^hi-lāwos/ (HN)

a-pi-me-de /Amp^hi-mēdēs/ (HN)

a-pi-ḡo-(i)-ta /Amp^hi-/ (HN)

ἀμφ(ι)έπω (2.525): *a-pi-e-ḡe* /amp^hihek^wei/

ἀμφίπολος (3.143): *a-pi-ḡo-ro* /amp^hi-k^woloi/ (fem. nom. pl.)

ἀμφιφορέυς (23.92): *a-pi-po-re-we* /amp^hi-p^horēwes/ (nom. pl.), already also *a-po-re-we* /amp^horēwe/ (dual)

ἀμφοτέρωθεν (this form 5.726): probably *a-po-te-ro-te* /amp^hoterōt^hen/ ‘?’ (adv.)

ἄμφω (1.196): *-a-po* /amp^hō/

ἀνά (1.10):

comp.: *a-na-ke-e* /an-agehen/ (inf.) ‘?’

probably also *a-no-qa-si-ja* /ano-g^wasijās/ (subst. gen.)

probably also *a-pu-ke* /am-pukes/ ‘(piece of equipment for a horse)’

(see s.v.)

ἀνάγειν (1.478): *a-na-ke-e* /an-agehen/ (inf.) ‘?’

ἀναβαίνω (1.312, 1.497):

relat.: probably *a-no-qa-si-ja* /ano-g^wasijās/ (subst. gen.)

ἀναξ (1.7): *wa-na-ka* /wanaks/ (nom.), *wa-na-ka-to* /wanaktos/ (gen.)

deriv.: *wa-na-ka-te-ro* /wanakteros/ (adj.) ‘regal’

ἀνήρ (1.7):

comp.: *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* /Aleks-andrā/ (HN)

a-ta-no /Ant-ānōr/ (HN)

ka-sa-no /Kass-ānōr/ (HN)

ne-ti-ja-no /Nestij-ānōr/ (HN)

o-pe-ra-no /Op^bel-ānōr/ (HN)

perhaps *me-ta-no* /Met-ānōr/ (HN)

probably also *ka-wa-do-ro* /Kalw-andros/ (HN)

probably also *ke-sa-da-ra* /-andrā/, *ke-sa-do-ro* /-andros/ (HN)

deriv.: *a-di-ri-ja-pi-qe* /andrijamp^{hi} k^we/ (instr. pl.), *a-di-ri-ja-te-qe* /andrijantē k^we/ (instr. sg.) ‘human being’

ἄνεμος (1.481): *a-ne-mo* /Anemōn/ (gen. pl.) (DN)

ἄνθρωπος (1.250): *a-to-ro-qa* /ant^brōk^wōi/ ‘human being’

ἄντηνωρ (2.822): *a-ta-no* /Ant-ānōr/ (HN)

ἀντί (8.163, 1.31 ἀντιάω):

comp.: *a-ta-no* /Ant-ānōr/ (HN)

a-ti-ke-ne-ja /Anti-genejjāi/ (dat.) (fem. HN)

a-ti-pa-mo /Anti-p^bāmos/ (HN)

deriv.: probably *a-ti-ja* /antija(i)/ (fem. or neut. nom. pl.) ‘(component)’

ἄξων (5.723): *a-ko-so-ne* /aksones/ (nom. pl.)

ἄπειμι 1 (6.362): *[a-pe-e-ʃi]* /ap-ehensi/ (3rd pl.), *a-pe-o* /ap-ehōn/ (masc. sg. part.), *a-pe-o-te* /ap-ehontes/ (pl.), *a-pe-a-sa* /ap-ehasai/ (fem. nom. pl.) ‘absent’

ἄπειμι 2 (10.289): *a-pe-i-si* /ap-eisi/ (3rd sg.) ‘goes away (?)’

ἀπό (1.67): ~ *a-pu* /apu/

comp.: *a-pe-do-ke* /ap-edōke/ (see s.v.)

a-pe-i-si /ap-eisi/ (3rd sg.) ‘goes away (?)’

[a-pe-e-ʃi] /ap-ehensi/ (see ἄπειμι 2)

perhaps *a-pe-e-ke* /ap-ehēke/ ‘?’

ἀποδίδωμι (1.134): *a-pe-do-ke* /ap-edōke/ and *a-pu-do-ke* /apu-dōke/

relat.: *a-pu-do-si* /apu-dosis/ ‘delivery’

ἀραρίσκω, ἀρηρώς (3.331, 4 134): *a-ra-ru-ja* /arāruijā/ (fem. perf. part.), *a-ra-ru-wo-a* /arārwoha/ (neut. pl.)

ἀργός (1.50):

comp.: probably *to-ma-ko* /Stom-argos/ (AN)

ἄργυρος (2.857, 1.37 Ἀργυρότοξος): *a-ku-ro* /argurō/ (instr. sg.)

ἀρείων (1.260): ~ *a-rjo-a* /arjoha/ (neut. pl.)

Ἄρετῶν (6.31): *a-re-ta-wo* /Aretāwōn/ (HN)

ἀρετή (8.535, 6.31 Ἄρετῶν):

deriv.: *a-re-ta-wo* /Aretāwōn/ (HN)

ἀρήν (1.66, 9.154 πολύρρην):

- deriv.: *wo-ro-ne-ja* /wronejja/ (neut. pl.) ‘lamb’s wool (?)’
probably *we-re-ne-ja* /wrēnejjā/ (fem.) ‘of a lamb (?)’
- ἄρης (2.110): *a-re* /Arei/ (dat.) (DN)
comp.: perhaps *e-u-wa-re* /Ehu-arēs/ (HN)
deriv.: probably *a-re-i-jo* /Arehijos/ (HN)
- ἄρμα (2.384): ~ *a-mo* /ar(h)mo/, *a-mo-te* /ar(h)mote/ (dual), *a-mo-ta* /ar(h)mota/ (pl.)
deriv.: *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* (see ἀρμόζω)
a-mo-te-jo-na-de /ar(h)motejjōna-de/ (acc.) ‘chariot workshop’
probably *a-mo-te-wo* /ar(h)mo(s)tēwos/ (gen. from /-eus/) ‘chariot-builder (?)’
deriv.: *a-mo-te-wi-ja* /ar(h)mo(s)tēwijā/ (fem. nom. adj.)
- ἀρμόζω (3.333): *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na*, *a-ra-ro-mo-to-me-ṛa* /arār(h)motmenā/ (fem. perf. part.)
comp.: *a-na-mo-to* /an-ar(h)mostoi/ (fem. nom. pl.) ~ ‘not fitted together’
deriv.: *a-mo-te-re* /ar(h)mostērei/ (dat.) ‘fitter (?)’
- ἄρουρα (2.548): *a-ro-u-ra* /aroura/
Ἄρτεμις (5.51): ~ *a-te-mi-to* /Artemitos/ (gen.), *a-ti-mi-te* /Artimitei/ (dat.) (DN)
- ἀρχός (1.144, 2.837 ὄρχαμος):
relat.: *o-ka* /ork^hā/ ‘command unit (?)’
ἀσάμινθος (10.576): *a-sa-mi-to* /asamint^hoi/ (nom. pl.)
ἄσαι (ἄω) (5.289): *-a-se-so-si* /asēsōnsi/ (fut. from aor.) ‘feed, fill’
ἀσπάζομαι (10.542, 7.118 ἀσπασίος):
deriv.: *a-pa-si-jo-jo* /Aspasijojjo/ (gen.) (HN)
ἀσπασίος (7.118): *a-pa-si-jo-jo* /Aspasijojjo/ (gen.) (HN)
- ἄστνυ (2.332): *wa-tu* /wastu/
comp.: *wa-tu-o-ko* /Wastu-hok^hos/ (HN), ~ *wa-tu-wa-o-ko* /Wastuwā-hok^hos/ (HN)
- ἄστυόχη (2.513): *wa-tu-o-ko* /Wastu-hok^hos/ (HN), *wa-tu-wa-o-ko* /Wastuwā-hok^hos/ (HN)
- αὐλός (17.297): *au-ro* /auloi/ oder /aulō/ (nom. pl. or dual) ‘(part of a chariot)’
- αὐτός (1.4, 4.395 Ἀυτοφόνος): *au-to-te-qa-jo* /Auto-t^hēg^wajjos/ (HN)
- ἄφθιτος (2.46): *a-qi-ti-ta* /A-k^wh^titā/ (fem. HN)
- ἄφιημι (1.25): perhaps *a-pe-e-ke* /ap-ehēke/ ‘?’
- Ἀχαιῖς (1.254 Ἀχαιίδα γαῖαν, 1.2 Ἀχαιοί): *a-ka-wi-ja-de* /Ak^haiwian-de/ (PN)
- Ἀχιλλεύς (1 1): *a-ki-re-we* /Ak^hil(I)ēwei/ (dat.) (HN)
- βαίνω, ἔβη (1.34, 1.437):
relat.: -βατόν (6.434 ἀμβρατός, 1.426 χαλκοβατήτης): comp.: *pe-qa-to* /peg-g^waton/ ‘chariot floor (?)’
-βασίη (3.107 ὑπερβασίη): comp.: *a-no-qa-si-ja* /ano-g^wasijās/ (gen.)
- βασιλεύς (1.9): *qa-si-re-u* /g^wasileus/
deriv.: *qa-si-re-wi-ja* /g^wasilēwijā/ (subst.) ‘?’
- βόσκω (5.162):
comp.: *qo-qo-ta-o* /g^wo(u)-g^wōtāōn/ (gen. pl.) ‘cowherds’, *qo-u-qo-ta* /G^wou-g^wōtāi/ (dat.) (HN)
su-qo-ta /su-g^wōtāi/ (dat.) ‘swineherd’
perhaps *pa-qo-ta* /Pan-g^wōtās/ (HN)
- βοῦς (1.154): *qo-o* /g^wōns/ (acc. pl.)
comp.: *qo-u-ko-ro* /g^wou-kolos/ ‘cowherd’
qo-qo-ta-o /g^wo(u)-g^wōtāōn/ (gen. pl.) ‘cowherds’, *qo-u-qo-ta* /G^wou-g^wōtāi/ (dat.) (HN)

qo-u-ka-ra /g^wou-karās/ or /g^wou-krās/ ‘with the head of a cow (?)’
probably *ta-ti-qo-we-u* /Stāti-g^woweus/ (HN)

βουκόλος (5.313): *qo-u-ko-ro* /g^wou-kolos/ ‘cowherd’

γένος (2.852, 1.337 διογενής, 1.477 ἡριγένεια):

comp.: *ai-pu-ke-ne-ja* /Aīpu-genejjāi/ (dat.) (fem. HN)

a-ti-ke-ne-ja /Anti-genejjāi/ (dat.) (fem. HN)

Γερήνιος (2.336): perhaps based on *ke-re-no* /Gerēnōi/ (dat.) (HN in Pylos)

γερούσιος (4.259):

deriv.: *ke-ro-si-ja* /geronsijā/ ‘council of elders (?)’

γέρων (1.33): *ke-ro-te* /gerontes/

deriv.: *ke-ro-si-ja* /geronsijā/

γίγνομαι, ἐγενόμην (1.49, 2.468):

comp.: *o-u-pa-ro-ke-ne[-to]* /ou paro-geneto/ (3rd sg. aor.) ‘did not appear’

relat.: γένος (see s.v.)

Γλαύκος (2.876, 16.34 γλαυκός): *ka-ra-u-ko* /Glaukos/ (HN)

γλυκός (1.249):

relat.: *de-ṛe-ṽ-ko* /dleukos/ ‘new wine’

Γόρτυς (2.646): *ko-tu-we* /Gortūwei/ (dat./loc.) (PN)

γραῖα (*Od.* 1.438, *Il.* 3.386 γρηῖς): *ka-ra-u-ja* and *ka-ra-wi-ja* /grāwja-/

γυνή (1.348): *ku-na-ja* /gunajjā / (fem. adj.) ‘for women’

Δαίδαλος (18.592, 3.358 πολυδαίδαλος):

deriv.: *da-da-re-jo-de* /Daidalejjon-de/ (PN, probably a sanctuary)

δαμάζω, δάμνημι (1.61): *da-ma-o-te* /damahontes/ (fut. part.)

δατέομαι (1.125): *da-sa-ṭo* /da(s)sato/ (3rd sg. aor.)

comp.: *e-pi-de-da-to* /epi-dedastoi/ (3rd sg. perf.), *e-pi-da-to* /epi-dastos/ ‘distributed’

δέ (1.4): -de /de/

δέμω (6.245, 2.513 δόμος): *de-me-o-te* /demehontes/ (fut. part.)

relat.: *na-u-do-mo* /nau-domoi/ ‘shipbuilder (?)’

to-ko-do-mo /^{t(h)}oik^ho-domos/ ‘wallbuilder (?)’

do-po-ta /Dom-potās/ or /Do(m)s-potās/ (DN)

δέπας (1.471): *dī-pa* /dīpas/, *dī-pa-e* /dīpahe/ (dual)

δεσμός (1.401): *de-so-mo* /desmō/ or /desmois/ (instr. sg. or pl.)

comp.: *o-pi-de-so-mo* /opi-desmoi/ (nom. pl.) ‘attachment’

Δευκαλίων (13.451): *de-u-ka-ri-jo* /Deukalijōn/ (HN)

δεῦρο (1.153): *de-we-ro-ai-ko-ra-i-ja* /Deuro-/ (PN) (see πέρην)

δέχομαι (1.20, 1.446): *de-ka-sa-to* /deksato/

relat.: *ra-wo-do-ko* /Lāwo-dokos/ (HN)

δέω (1.406): *de-de-me-no* /dedemenō/ (neut. dual perf. part.)

comp.: *ka-ko-de-ta* /k^halko-deta/ (neut. pl.) ‘fitted with bronze’

relat.: *de-so-mo* (see δεσμός)

Δῖ- (5.325 Δηῖπυλος): *da-i-qo-ta* /Dāi-k^{wh}ontās/ (HN)

δήμιος (17.250): *da-mi-jo* /dāmijos/

δήμος (2.198): *da-mo* /dāmos/

comp.: *o-pi-da-mi-jo* /opi-dāmijoi/ (nom. pl.) ‘?’

e-u-da-mo /Ehu-dāmos/ (HN)

e-u-ru-da-mo /Euru-dāmos/ (HN)

wi-pi-da-mo[/Wi^{pi}-dāmos/ (HN)

deriv.: *da-mi-jo* /dāmijos/

διδάσκω (5.51, 9.442):

relat.: *di-da-ka-re* /didaskal-/ (form unclear)

δίδυμος (23.641): *di-du-mo* /Didumōi/ (dat.) (HN)

δίδωμι (1.96, 10.213 δόσις): *di-do-si* /didonsi/ (3rd pl.)

comp.: *a-pe-do-ke* /ap-edōke/ and *a-pu-do-ke* /apu-dōke/

relat.: *a-pu-do-si* /apudosis/ ‘delivery’

relat.: *do-ra-qe* /dōra k^{we}/

probably also *do-so-mo* /dosmos/ ‘tax (?)’

Διώνυσος (6.132): *di-wo-nu-so-jo* /Diwo(s)-nūsojjo/ (gen.) (DN)

δόρυ (1.303): *do-wa* /dorwa/ (nom. pl.)

deriv.: *do-we-jo* /dorwejjō/ (instr.) ‘wooden’

relat.: *du-ru-to-mo* /dru-tomoi/ (see s.v.)

δούλη (3.409): *do-e-ra* /dohelā/

relat.: *do-e-ro* /dohelos/

δραμῆν (4.524, 2.812 περίδρομος, 18.281 δρόμος):

relat.: *do-ro-me-u* /Dromeus/ (HN)

δρυτόμος (11.86): *du-ru-to-mo* /dru-tomoi/ (pl.) ‘woodcutter’

δύο (1.250): *dwo* /dwo/ (nom., acc.), *du-wo-u-pi* ~ /d(u)woup^{pi}/ (instr.)

δῶ (1.426): *do-de* /dō(n)-de/ ‘homeward’

δῶρον (1.213): *do-ra-qe* /dōra k^{we}/

comp.: *a-pi-do-ra* /Amp^{pi}-dōrāi/ (dat.) (fem. HN), *a-pi-do-ro*[/Amp^{pi}-dōros/ (HN)

te-o-do-ra-‘qe’ /T^{he}o-dōrā k^{we}/ (fem. HN)

ἐάνος (3.385): *we-ha-no-i* /wehanoihi/ (dat. pl.) ‘garment’

ἐγκείμει (22.513): *e-ke-jo-to* /en-kejjo(n)toi/ (3rd pl.)

ἐγχείη (2.530): *e-ke-i-ja* /enk^hehijai/ (pl.) ‘spear (?)’

ἔγχος (2.389): *e-ke-a* /enk^heha/ (pl.)

deriv.: *e-ke-i-ja* /enk^hehijai/ (pl.) ‘spear (?)’

ἔδος (1.534):

comp.: *o-pi-e-de-i* /opi-hedehi/ (dat. pl.) ‘abode (?)’

ἐέργω (2.617):

relat.: probably *we-re-ke* /wreges/ (pl. root-noun) ‘enclosure (?)’

Εἰλείθια (11.270): ~ *e-re-u-ti-ja* /Eleut^hijāi/ (dat. sg.) (DN)

εἰμί (1.63, 1.153): *e-e-si* /ehensi/ (3rd pl.)

comp.:]*a-pe-e-ši*[/ap-ehensi/ (see ἄπειμι 1)

e-ne-e-si /en-ehensi/ (3rd)

εἶμι (1 169): *i-jo-te* /ijontes/ (part.)

comp.: *a-pe-i-si* /ap-eisi/ (3rd sg.) ‘goes away (?)’

εἶρος (*Od.* 9.426, *Il.* 3.387 εἶροκόμος, 5.137 εἶροπόκος):

deriv.: *we-we-e-a* /werwehe(jj)a/ (neut. pl.) ‘from wool’

we-we-si-je-ja /werwesijejjai/ (fem. pl.) ‘woolworker (?)’

εἶς (1 144): ~ *e-me* /hemē/ (instr.) ‘with one’

Ἔκτωρ (1.242): *e-ko-to* /Hektor/ (HN)

ἔλαιον (2.754): *e-rai-wo* /elaiwon/

ἐλαύνω (1.154): *e-ra-se /elase/* (3rd sg. aor.)

ἔλαφος (1.225):

deriv.: *e-ra-pe-ja /elap^hejjā/* (fem. nom.) ‘from deer-hide’

ἐλεύθερος (6.455): *e-re-u-te-ro /eleut^heron/* (neut.)

deriv.: *e-re-u-te-ro-se /eleut^herōse/* (3rd sg. aor.) ‘let go free’

ἐλέφας (4 141): *e-re-pa /elep^has/*

deriv.: *e-re-pa-te-ja /elep^hantejjā/* (fem.) ‘from ivory’

Ἐλεών (2.500): *e-re-o-ni /Eleōni/* (dat.-loc. sg.) (PN)

(ἔλιξ) (1 98 ἔλικώπις):

deriv.: *e-ri-ka /helikā/* ‘pasture’ (form and meaning attested in Arcadian)

ἐν (1.14):

comp.: *e-ne-e-si /en-ehensi/* (3rd pl.)

e-ke-jo-to /en-kejjo(n)toi/ (3 pl.)

e-ke-ro-qa-no ~ /en-k^he(h)ro-k^woinoi/ ‘the one who receives the wages in his hand’ (pl.)

e-to-ro-qa-ta /en-trok^wātai/ ‘oar-loop (?)’

probably also *ē-mi-to /em-mist^hōn/* (gen. pl.) ‘wage-laborer’

ἐνεκα (1.94, 1.214): *e-ne-ka /h)eneka/*

ἐνεμι (1.593): *e-ne-e-si /en-ehensi/* (3rd pl.)

ἐννέα (2.96):

comp.: *e-ne-wo-pe-za /en(n)ewo-ped’a/* (fem. adj.)

Ἐν(ν)οσί- (7.445 -χθων, 7.455 -γαιος):

comp.: perhaps *e-ne-si-da-o-ne /En(n)esi-dāhōnei/* (dat.) (DN?)

Ἐνυάλιος (2.651): *e-nu-wa-ri-jo /Enūalijos/* (DN)

ἕξ (5.270): *we-pe-za ~ /hwes-ped’a/* ‘six-footed’ (fem. nom. sg.)

ἐπί (1.12): *e-pi /epi/, e-pi-qe /epi k^we/, ~ o-pi /opi/*

comp.: *e-pi-ko-ru-si-jo /epi-korusijō/* (neut. dual), *o-pi-ko-ru-si-ja /opi-korusija/* (pl.) ‘on the helmet’

e-pi-ko-wa /epi-k^howāi/ (dat.) ‘pouring (of oil) (?)’

e-po-mi-jo /ep-ōmijō/ (dual) ‘shoulder-guard’

o-pa-wo-ta /op-aworta/ (neut. pl.) ~ ‘attached’

o-po-qa /op-ōk^wois/ (neut. instr. pl.) ‘blinkers (?)’

o-pi-da-mi-jo /opi-dāmijoi/ (nom. pl.) ‘?’

o-pi-de-so-mo /opi-desmoi/ (nom. pl.) ‘attachment’

o-pi-ha-ra /opi-hala/ (acc. pl.)

o-pi-ri-mi-ni-jo /Opi-limnijos/ (HN)

o-pi-ro-qa /opi-loik^wos/ ‘remaining’

o-pi-su-ko /opi-sūkoi/ (nom. pl.) ‘overseer of figs (?)’

o-pi-te-ke-e-u /opi-t^(h)e(u)k^heheus/ (nom.), *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we /opi-t^(h)ek^hehēwei/* (dat.) ‘overseer of equipment (?)’

o-pi-tu-ra-jo /opi-t^hurajjōi/ (dat.) ‘door-keeper’

probably also *e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja /epi-k^hitōnijai/* (fem. nom. pl.?) ‘?’

perhaps also *e-pi-ja-ta ~ /Epi(h)altās/* (HN)

ἐπαείρω (7.426): ~ *o-pa-wo-ta /op-aworta/* (neut. pl.) ~ ‘attached’

ἐπιδήμιος (9.64): ~ *o-pi-da-mi-jo /opi-dāmijoi/* (nom. pl.) ‘?’

ἔπομαι (1.158):

comp.: *a-pi-e-qe /amp^hi /hek^wei/*

- relat.: probably *e-qe-ta* /hek^wetās/ ‘follower’
 deriv.: *e-qe-si-jo* /hek^wesijoi/ (nom. pl. adj.)
o-qa-wo-ni /Hok^wāwoni/ (dat.) (HN)
- ἐργάζομαι (18.469):
 relat.: *we-ke-i-ja* /wergehijā/ ‘work group (?)’
we-ka-ta /wergatai/ (pl.) ‘worker (oxen)’
- ἔργον (1.115):
 comp.: *ma-na-si-we-ko* /Mnāsi-wergos/ (HN)
pi-ro-we-ko /P^hilo-wergos/ (HN)
- ἔρδω, ῥέζω (1.315, 1.147): ~ *wo-ze* /worg[’]ei/ (3rd sg.), *wo-ze-e* /worg[’]ehen/ (inf.), *wo-zo* /worg[’]ōn/ (part.)
 relat.: -εργής (5.585 εὐεργής):
 comp.: probably *ke-re-si-jo we-ke* /krēsijo-wergēs/ (masc. nom.) ‘made in a Cretan style (?)’
 -εργος (1 147 Ἐκάεργος, 5.403 ὀβριμοεργός, 24.277 ἐντεσιεργός):
 comp.: *a-pu-ko-wo-ko* /ampuk(o)-worgos/ ~ ‘maker of headbands’
e-to-wo-ko /?-worgōi/ (dat.)
i-je-ro-wo-ko /i(h)ero-worgos/
ko-wi-ro-wo-ko /kowilo-worgos/ ‘?’
ku-ru-so-wo-ko /k^hrūso-worgoi/ (pl.) ‘goldsmith’
ku-wa-no-wo-ko-i /kuwano-worgoihi/ (dat. pl.)
to-ko-so-wo-ko /tokso-worgoi/ (pl.) ‘maker of bows’
to-ro-no-wo-ko /t^hrono-worgoi/ (pl.)
- ἐρέσσω (9.361): based on *e-re-ta* /eretai/ (nom. pl.)
 based on *e-re-e* /erehen/ (pres. inf.) ‘row’
- ἐρέτης (1.142): *e-re-ta* /eretai/ (nom. pl.)
- ἐρι- (1.155 ἐριβῶλαξ):
 comp.: *e-ri-ke-re-we* /Eri-klewēs/ (HN)
 perhaps *e-ri-we-ro* /Eri-wērōi/ (dat.) (HN)
- ἐρίηρος, -εξ (3.47): perhaps *e-ri-we-ro* /Eri-wērōi/ (dat.) (HN)
- Ἐρινύς (9.454): *e-ri-nu* /Erīnus/ (DN)
- ἔρμα (14.182): *e-ma-ta* /h)ermata/ ‘sandal-strap’
- Ἐρμείας (2.104, 20.72 Ἐρμῆς): *e-ma-ha* /h)ermāhās/ (DN)
- ἐρυθρός (9.365, 2.499 Ἐρυθραί): *e-ru-ta-ra* /erut^hrā/ (fem. nom.), *e-ru-to-ro* /Erut^hros/ (HN)
- ἔρυμαι (1.216, 239), ῥύομαι (9.396, 15.141): *o-u-ru-to* /ou wruntoi/ (3rd pl.) ‘guard’
 comp.: in the derivative *e-pi-u-ru-te-we* /epi-wrūtēwei/ (dat. of /-eus/) ‘?’
- ἔρχομαι (1.120, 1.535 ἐπερχόμενος): *e-ko-me-no* (see Ὀρχομενός)
- ἐσχάρη (10.418): *e-ka-ra* /esk^harā/ (nom. sg.) ‘brazier’
- Ἐτεοκλῆς (4.386 βίη Ἐτεοκληεῖη):
 deriv.: *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* /Etwoklewehijos/ (patronymic adj.)
- ἐτέος (2.300):
 comp.: *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* /Etwoklewehijos/ (patronymic adj.)
 deriv.: *e-te-wa* /Etwās/ (HN)
- ἔτος (2.328): *we-to* /wetos/, *we-te-i-we-te-i* /wetehi-wetehi/ ‘year after year’
- εὐ- (1.17):
 comp.: *e-u-da-mo* /Ehu-dāmos/ (HN)
e-u-me-de /Ehu-mēdēs/ (HN)

e-u-me-ne /Ehu-menēs/ (HN)

e-u-me-ta /Ehu-mētās/ (HN)

e-u-po-ro-wo /Ehu-plowos/ (HN)

probably *e-u-wa-re* /Ehu-arēs/ (HN)

Εὐμήδης (10.314): *e-u-me-de* /Ehu-mēdēs/ (HN)

εὐπλοῖη (9.362):

relat.: *e-u-po-ro-wo* /Ehu-plowos/ (HN)

εὐρύς (1.102):

comp.: *e-u-ru-da-mo* /Euru-dāmos/ (HN)

ε-υ-ρυ-πο-τε-μο-ιο /Euru-ptolemojjo/ (gen.) (HN)

Εὐτρησις (2.502):

relat.: probably *e-u-te-re-u* /Eutreis?/ (nom. sg.?) (PN)

εὐχομαι (1.43): *e-u-ke-to-qe* /euk^hetoi k^we/ (3rd sg.), *e-u-ko-me-no* /Euk^homenos/ (HN)

ἔφαλος (2.538): ~ *o-pi-ha-ra* /opi-hala/ (acc. pl.)

Ἐφιάλτης (5.385): *e-pi-ja-ta* ~ /Epi(h)altās/ (HN)

Ἐχίνα (2.625):

relat.: *e-ki-no* /Ek^hinos/ (HN)

ἔχμα (12.260): *e-ka-ma-te-qe* / (h)ek^hmatē k^we/ (instr. sg.), *e-ka-ma-pi* / (h)ek^hmapp^hi/ (instr. pl.)
'grip'

ἔχω (1.14, 1.51 ἔχεπευκῆς): *e-ke* / (h)ek^hei/

comp.: *e-ke-me-de* / (H)ek^he-mēdēs/ (HN)

e-ke-da-mo / (H)ek^he-dāmos/ (HN)

relat.: *e-ka-ma-te-qe* / (h)ek^hmatē k^we/ (see ἔχμα)

-όχος (1.279 σκηπτοῦχος):

comp.: *ko-to-no-o-ko* /ktoino-(h)ok^hos/ 'ktoina-possesser'

wa-tu-o-ko /Wastu-(h)ok^hos/ (HN), *wa-tu-wa-o-ko* /Wastuwā-(h)ok^hos/ (HN)

Ζάκυνθος (2.634):

deriv.: *za-ku-si-ja* /Zakunsija/ (neut. pl. adj.), *za-ku-si-jo* /Zakunsijōi/ (dat.) (HN)

ζεῦγος (18.543): *ze-u-ke-si* /zeugessi/ (dat. pl.)

deriv.: *ze-u-ke-u-si* /zeugeusi/ (dat. pl.) 'one responsible for a team (?)'

Ζεύς (1.5): *di-wo* /Diwos/ (gen.), *di-we* /Diwei/ (dat.) (DN)

deriv.: *di-u-ja*, *di-wi-ja* /Diwjās/ (gen.) (DN), *di-wi-jo-jo* /Diwjojjo/ (gen.) (month name),

di-wi-jo-de /Diwjon-de/ 'into the sanctuary of Zeus'

di-wo /Diwōn/ (HN)

Ζέφυρος (2.147): *ze-phu-ro* /Zep^huros/ (HN)

deriv.: *ze-phu-rai* /zeph^hur'ai/ (fem. pl. adj.)

ζέω (18.349): *ze-so-me-no* /ze(s)somenōi/ (dat. fut. part.) 'that which ought to be boiled'

comp.: *a-re-pa-zo-o* /aleip^ha-zohōi/ (dat.) and *a-re-po-zo-o* /aleip^ho-zohos/ (nom.)
'unguent-boiler'

relat.: *zo-a* /zohāi/ (dat.) 'boiled oil (?)'

ἡγέομαι (1.71):

comp.: perhaps *ku-na-ke-ta-i* /kun-āgetāhi/ (dat. pl.) 'leader of the hounds, hunter'

ἡδομαι (*Od.* 9.353), ἡδύς (*Il.* 2.270, 1.248 ἡδυεπής): *wa-do-me-no* /Hwādomenōi/ (dat.) (HN)

ἡμίονος (2.852): *e-mi-jo-no-i* /hēmij/onoihi/ (dat. pl.)

ἡνία (3.261): *a-ni-ja* ~ /anhijai/ (fem. nom. pl.)

Ἥρα (1.55): *e-ra* / (H)ērāi/ (dat.) (DN)

ἦρωσ (1.4):

comp.: probably *ti-ri-se-ro-e* /Tris-(h)ērōhei/ (dat.) (DN)

Ἥφαιστος (1.571):

deriv.: *a-pa-i-ti-jo* / (H)āp^haistijos/ or / (H)āp^haistijōn/ (HN)

θεῖνω (1.588):

relat.: -φόνος (1.242 ἀνδροφόνος): *ra-wo-qa-no* /Lāwo-k^{wh}onos/ (HN)

-φόντης (2.103 Ἀργεῖφόντης, 4.395 Πολυφόντης):

comp.: *da-i-qa-ta* /Dāi-k^{wh}ontās/ (HN)

qe-re-qa-ta-o /K^wēle-k^{wh}ontāo/ (gen.), ~ (?) *pe-re-qa-ta* /Pēle-k^{wh}ontās/ (HN)

ra-wo-qa-ta /Lāwo-k^{wh}ontās/ (HN)

θεῖος (2.22): *te-i-ja* /^tehijāi/ (dat.)

θεός (1.18): *te-o-jo* /^tehojjo/ (gen.), *te-o* /^tehōi/ (dat.) ‘god, goddess’, *pa-si-te-o-i* /pansi^tehoihi/ (dat. pl.)

comp.: *te-o-po-ri-ja* /^Teho-p^horija(i)/ (nom. pl.) (festival name?)

te-o-do-ra-ʿqe /^Teho-dōrā k^we/ (fem. HN)

deriv.: *te-i-ja* /^tehijāi/ (dat.)

θεράπων (1.321): *te-ra-po-ti* /^Teraponti/ (dat.) (HN)

relat.: *te-ra-pi-ke* /^terapiskei/ (3rd sg.)

Θηβαῖος (8.120): *te-qa-jo* /^Tēg^wajjōi/ (dat.-loc.) (HN), *te-qa-ja* /^Tēg^wajjā/ (fem. HN)

Θῆβαι (6.223, 1.366 Θήβη): *te-qa-de* /^Tēg^wans-de/ ‘toward Thebes’ (PN)

deriv.: *te-qa-jo* /^Tēg^wajjōi/ (dat.-loc.) (HN), *te-qa-ja* /^Tēg^wajjā/ (fem. HN)

comp.: *au-to-te-qa-jo* /Auto-^tēg^wajjos/ (HN)

Θησεύς (1.265): *te-se-u* /^Tēseus/ (HN)

θρήνυς (14.240): *ta-ra-nu* /^thānus/

θρόνος (1.536): ~ *to-no* /^thornos/

comp.: *to-ro-no-wo-ko* ~ /^throno-worgoi/ (pl.)

θυγάτηρ (1.13): *tu-ka-te-qe* /^tugatēr k^we/, *tu-ka-te-re* /^tugatrei/ (dat.)

θυμός (1.24): *tu-ma-i-ta* /^Thūmaitās/ (HN)

θύος (6.270): *tu-wo* /^thuwos/, *tu-we-a* /^thuweha/ (neut.) ‘(aromatic material)’

θύραι (2.788):

comp.: *o-pi-tu-ra-jo* /opi-^th^wurajjōi/ (dat.) ‘door-keeper’

θώραξ (2.544): *to-ra-ka* /^thōrāks/

Ἰδομενεύς (1.145):

relat.: *i-do-me-ne-ja* /Idomenēja/ (fem. HN)

probably also *i-ḏo-me-ni-jo* /Idomenijōi/ (dat.) (HN)

ἱερός (1.99): *i-je-ro* /i(h)eros/

comp.: *i-je-ro-wo-ko* /i(h)ero-worgos/

deriv.: *i-je-re-ja* /i(h)erejja/ ‘priestess’

i-je-re-u /i(h)ereus/ ‘priest’

ἱέρεια (6.300): *i-je-re-ja* /i(h)erejja/ ‘priestess’

ἱερεύς (1.23): *i-je-re-u* /i(h)ereus/

ἦμι (1.479):

comp.: perhaps *a-pe-e-ke* /ap-ehēke/ ‘?’

ἰητήρ (2.732): *i-ja-te* /ijātēr/

ἰκέτας (21.75, 3.147 Ἴκετάων): *i-ke-ta* /Hiketās/ (HN)

ἵππειος (5.799): *i-qe-ja* / (h)ikkwejjāi/ (dat.) (epithet for a DN)

ἵππος (1.154): *i-go* / (h)ikkwoi/ (nom. pl.)

comp.: *i-po-po-go-i-qe* / (h)ippo-p^horg^woihi k^we/ and *i-go-po-go-i* / (h)ikkwo-p^horg^woihi/ (dat. pl.)

deriv.: *i-qe-ja* / (h)ikkwejjāi/ (see s.v.)

i-qi-ja / (h)ikkwijā/ ‘chariot (?)’

ἴσος (1.163):

comp.: *wi-so-wo-pa-na* /wiswo-/ (neut. pl. adj.)

ἴσθημι (2 151):

comp.: probably *ta-ti-go-we-u* /Stāti-g^woweus/ (HN)

ἰστός (1.31):

deriv.: *i-te-u* /histeus/ ‘weaver’ (also HN)

i-to-we-sa /histowessa/ (fem. sg. adj.) ‘?’

ἴφι (1.38):

comp.: *wi-pi-no-o* /Wip^hi-nohos/ (HN)

wi-pi-da-ṃo /Wip^hi-dāmos/ (HN)

Ἰφίνους (7.14): *wi-pi-no-o* /Wip^hi-nohos/ (HN)

καίω (1.40): *ke-ka-u-me-ṃo* /kekaumenos/ (perf. part.)

comp.: *pu-ka-wo* /pur-kawoi/ (pl.) (OH)

κακός, κακίων (1 10, 9.601): ~ *ka-zo-e* /kak’ohes/ (nom. pl. comparative)

καλός, Καλλι- (1.473, 1 143 καλλιπάρης):

comp.: *ka-wa-do-ro* /Kalw-andros/ (HN)

κάνεον (9.217): *ka-ne-ja* /kanejja/ (neut. pl. adj.) ‘from willow’

καπνός (1.317):

deriv.: *ka-pi-ni-ja* /kapnijās/ (gen.) ‘chimney’

κάρη (2.11, 8.84 κράνιον): *ka-ra-a-pi* /karahapp^hi/ or /krāhapp^hi/

comp.: *a-ka-ra-no* /a-karānos/

go-u-ka-ra /g^wou-karās/ or /g^wou-krās/ ‘with a cow-head (?)’

se-re-mo-ka-ra-a-pi /seirēmo-karahapp^hi/ or /-krāhapp^hi/ (instr. pl.), *se-re-mo-ka-*

ra-o-re /seirēmo-karahorē/ or /-krāhorē/ (instr. sg.)

καρπός (1 156): *ka-po* /karpoi/ (pl.)

κασί- (3.333 κασίγητος):

comp.: perhaps *ka-si-ko-no* /kasi-konos/ or /kasi-gonos/ ‘?’

Κασσάνδρη (13.366):

relat.: *ka-sa-no* /Kass-ānōr/ (HN)

-κάστη (13.173 Μηδεσικάστη, 8.305 Καστιάνειρα):

comp.: perhaps *po-to-ri-ka-ta* /Ptolī-kastāi/ (dat.) (masc. HN)

deriv.: perhaps *ka-to* /Kastōr/ (HN)

Κάστωρ (3.237): probably *ka-to* /Kastōr/ (HN)

κείμει (1.124):

comp.: *e-ke-jo-to* /en-kejo(n)toi/ (3rd pl.)

κελαινός (1.303): *ke-ra-no-qe* /Kelainos k^we/ (AN)

κέρας (4.109): *ke-ra-a* /keraha/ (neut. pl.)

deriv.: *ke-ra-(i-)ja-pi* /kerajjāp^{hi}/ (fem. instr. pl.) ‘horn’

κεραμεύς (18.601, 5.387 κέραμος): *ke-ra-me-u* /kerameus/

κήρυξ (1.321): *ka-ru-ke* /kārūkei/ (dat.)

Κινύρης (11.20): *ki-nu-ra* /Kinurās/ (HN)

κλέος (1.337, 2.325):

comp.: *e-ri-ke-re-we* /Eri-klewēs/ (HN)

ke-ro-ke-re-we-o ~ /K^he(h)ro-klewehos/ (gen.) (HN)

probably *na-u-si-ke-re* /Nausi-kle[wēs]/ (HN)

in the derivative *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* /Etewoklewehijos/ (patronymic adj.)

κληίς (6.89): *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* /klāwi-p^oros/ (fem. OH)

Κλυμένη (3.144): *ku-ru-me-no* /Klumenos/ (HN)

κλύω (1.43): *ku-ru-me-no* /Klumenos/ (HN)

Κνωσός (2.646): *ko-no-so* /Knōsos/ (PN)

κοῖλος (1.26): *ko-wi-ro-wo-ko* /kowilo-worgos/ ‘?’

Κοπρεύς (15.639): *ko-pe-re-u* /Kopreus/ (HN)

Κόρινθος (2.570): *ko-ri-to* /Korint^os/ (PN)

deriv.: *ko-ri-si-ja* /Korinsijā/ (fem. HN)

κόρυς (3.362, 2.816 κορυθαίολος): *ko-ru* /korus/, *ko-ru-to* /korut^hos/ (gen.)

comp.: probably *e-pi-ko-ru-si-jo* /epi-korusijō/ (neut. dual), *o-pi-ko-ru-si-ja* /opi-korusija/ (pl.) ‘on the helmet’

probably *ko-ru-to* /Korut^hos/ (HN)

κούρη (1.98): *ko-wa* /korwā/

κοῦρος (1.470): *ko-wo* /korwos/

Κρήτη (2.649, 2.645 Κρήτες):

comp.: probably *ke-re-si-jo we-ke* /krēsijo-wergēs/ ‘made in Cretan style (?)’

κρητήρ (1.470): *ka-ra-te-ra* /krātēra/ (acc.?)

κρίνω (1.309):

comp.: *me-ki-to-ki-ri-ta* /Megisto-kritā/ (fem. HN)

(κτίζω) (2.501 -κτίμενος, 2.592 -κτιτος): *ki-ti-je-si* /ktijensi/ (3rd pl. athematic pres.), *ki-ti-me-na* /ktimenā/ (fem. part.)

comp.: *a-ki-ti-to* /a-ktiton/ (neut.) ‘unbuilt on, uncultivated (?)’

me-ta-ki-ti-ta /meta-ktitās/ ‘resettler (?)’

relat.: *ko-to-na* /ktoina/ ‘plot of land’

comp.: *ko-to-no-o-ko* /ktoino-(h)ok^hos/ ‘ktoina-possessor’

a-ko-to-no /a-ktoinoi/ (nom. pl.) ‘without ktoina’

κύανος (11.24): *ku-wa-no* /kuwanō/ (instr.) ‘lapis lazuli (?)’

comp.: *ku-wa-no-wo-ko-i* /kuwano-worgoihi/ (dat. pl.)

κύκλος (11.33):

deriv.: *ku-ke-re-u* /Kukleus/ (HN)

Κύπρος (11.21, 5.330 Κύπρις):

deriv.: *ku-pi-ri-jo* /Kuprijos/ (HN)

κύων (1.4): *ku-ne* /kunei/ (dat.), *ku-si* /kunsi/ (dat. pl.)

comp.: *ku-na-ke-ta-i* /kun-āgetāhi/ (dat. pl.)

Κυπάρισσος (2.519): *ku-]pa-ri-so* /Kuparissos/

deriv.: probably *ku-pa-ri-si-jo* /Kuparissijoi/ (nom. pl. adj.)

see also *ku-pa-ri-se-ja* /kuparisseja/ (neut. pl.) ‘from cypress’

κύπειρος (21.351): ~ *ku-pa-ro* /kupaɾ'on/ and *ku-pa-rjo* /kupaɾjon/
 deriv.: *ku-pa-ro-we* /kupaɾ'owen/ (neut.)

λάας (2.319, 3.57 λάϊνος):
 deriv.: *ra-e-ja* /lāhejja/ (fem. adj.)

Λακεδαίμων (2.581):
 deriv.: probably [*ra-]ke-da-mo-ni-jo-* /Lakedaimonio-/
 Λαόδοκος (4.87): *ra-wo-do-ko* /Lāwo-dokos/ (HN)

λαός (1.10):
 comp.: *ra-wa-ke-ta* /lāwāgetās/ (see ἄγω)
ra-wo-do-ko /Lāwo-dokos/ (HN)
ra-wo-qa-no /Lāwo-k^{wh}onos/ (HN)
ra-wo-qa-ta /Lāwo-k^{wh}ontās/ (HN)
a-ke-ra-wo /Age-lāwos/ (HN)
a-pi-ra-wo /Amp^{hi}-lāwos/ (HN)
ne-e-ra-wo /Nehe-lāwōi/ (dat.) (HN)
pe-ri-ra-wo /Peri-lāwos/ (HN)

λείπω (1.235): *re-qa-me-no* /leik^womenoi/ (nom. pl. part.)
 relat.: *o-pi-ro-qa* /opi-loik^wos/ 'remaining'
pe-ri-ro-qa /peri-loik^woi/ (pl.)

λεπτός (9.661): *re-po-to* /lepton/ (neut.) 'fine'

λευκός (1.480, 1.55 λευκώλενος [see also ὠλένη]): *re-u-ko* /leukos/

comp.: *re-u-ko-nu-ka* /leukōnuk^ha/ (neut. pl. adj.)
re-u-ko-ro-o-phu-ru /Leuk(r)-op^hrūs/ (HN)

λέχος (1.31, 2.697 λεχεποιός): *re-ke(-e)-to-ro-te-ri-jo* /lek^he(s)-strōtērijo-/ (dat. sg. or gen. pl.)
 (festival name)

λέων (3.23, 2.745 Λεοντεύς): *re-wo-pi-* /lewom(p)p^hi/ (instr. pl.)

λίμνη, λίμνη (1.432, 2.711): *o-pi-ri-mi-ni-jo* /Opi-limnijos/ (HN)

λίνον (5.487): *ri-no* /linon/
 deriv.: *ri-ne-ja* /linejja/ 'female linen-weaver (?)'

λίτι, λίτα (18.352, 8.441): ~ *ri-ta* /lita/ (neut. pl. adj.)

λοετρόν (14.6):
 deriv.: *re-wo-te-re-jo* /lewotrejjo-/ (dual or pl.?) 'for the bath'
 comp.: *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* /lewotro-k^howoi/ (pl.) (fem. OH)

λοετροχός (18.346): *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo* /lewotro-k^howoi/ (pl.) (fem. OH)

λύκος (4.471, 2.826 Λυκάων): *ru-ko* /Lukos/ or /Lukōn/ (HN)

μαλθακός (17.588): *ma-ta-ko* /Malt^hakos/ (HN)

Μαχάων (2.732): *ma-ka-wo* /Mak^hawōn/ (HN)

μαχητής (5.801): *ma-ka-ta* /Mak^hātās/ (HN)

μάχομαι, μαχέομαι, μάχη (1.8, 1.153, 1.177):

relat.: *ma-ka-ta* /Mak^hātās/ (HN)
ma-ka-wo /Mak^hawōn/ (HN)

μέγας, μείζων, μέγιστος (1.78, 1 167, 1.525): ~ *me-zo* /meg^ōs/ (nom. sg. comparative), *me-zo-e*
 /meg^ōhes/ (pl.)

comp.: *me-ki-to-ki-ri-ta* /Megisto-kritā/ (fem. HN)

μέθυ (7.471): *me-tu-wo* /met^huos/ (gen.)

μείς (2.292): *me-no* /mēnhos/ (gen. sg.)

deriv.: *me-ni-jo* /mēnhijon/ ‘month’s ration’

μείων (2.528): *me-u-jo*, *me-wi-jo* /me(i)wjos/ (nom. sg.), *me-u-jo-e* /me(i)wjohe/ (nom. pl.)

Μελάνθιος (6.36): perhaps based on *me-ra-to* /Melant^hos/ (HN)

μέλι (1.249): *me-ri* /meli/, *me-ri-to* /melitos/ (gen.)

deriv.: *me-ri-te-wo* /melitēwos/ (gen. from nom. /-eus/) ‘honey-gatherer (?)’

me-ri-ti-jo /melitijos/ ‘honey (wine)’

μένος (1.103):

comp.: *e-u-me-ne* /Ehu-menēs/ (HN)

μέσ(σ)ατος (8.223): *me-sa-to* /mesatoi/ (nom. pl.) ‘middling’

μετά (1.48):

comp.: *me-ta-ki-ti-ta* /meta-ktitās/ ‘resettler (?)’

me-ta-ke-ku-me-na /meta-k^(h)ek^humenā/ (fem. perf. part.) ‘?’

me-to-qe-u /Metōk^weus/ (HN)

perhaps *me-ta-no* /Met-ānōr/ (HN)

μέτωπον (4.460):

deriv.: *me-to-qe-u* /Metōk^weus/ (HN)

μηδός (2.340):

comp.: *a-pi-me-de* /Amp^hi-mēdēs/ (HN)

e-ke-me-de /^(H)ek^he-mēdēs/ (HN)

e-u-me-de /Ehu-mēdēs/ (HN)

pe-ri-me-de /Peri-mēdēs/ (HN)

deriv.: *me-de-i-jo* /Mēdehijos/ (HN)

μήτηρ (1.280): *ma-te* /mātēr/

μητις (2.169, 1.175 μητίετα):

relat.: -μήτης (4.59 ἀγκυλομήτης):

comp.: perhaps *e-u-me-ta* /Ehu-mētās/ (HN)

Μίλητος (2.647, 2.868):

deriv.: *mi-ra-ti-ja* /Milātijā/ (fem.) (ethnic adj.)

μίσγω (2.232):

relat.: *mi-ka-ta* /miktās/ ‘mixer (?)’

μιλτο- (2.637 μιλτοπάρηος): *mi-to-we-sa* /miltowessa/ (fem.) ‘rich in vermilion’

μιν (1.29): *da-mo-de-mi* /dāmos de min/

μισθός (10.304):

comp.: probably *e-mi-to* /em-mist^hōn/ (gen. pl.) ‘wage-laborer’

μνήσασθαι (1.407, 21.210 Μνήσος):

relat.: *ma-na-si-we-ko* /Mnāsi-wergos/ (HN)

μόλιβος (11.237): ~ *mo-ri-wo-do* /moliwdos/ ‘lead’

Μολίων (11.322): *mo-ri-wo* /Moliwōn/ (HN)

ναῦς (1.12):

comp.: *na-u-do-mo* /nau-domoi/ ‘shipbuilder (?)’

na-u-si-ke-re /Nausi-kle[wēs?]/ (HN)

o-ku-na-wo /Ōku-nāwos/ (HN)

o-ti-na-wo /Orti-nāwos/ (HN)

νέομαι (1.32, 1.247 Νέστωρ, 2.20 Νηλήϊος):

- comp.: (act.) *ne-e-ra-wo* /Nehe-lāwōi/ (dat.) (HN)
ne-ti-ja-no /Nestij-ānōr/ (HN)
- νέος (1.259): *ne-wo* /newon/ (neut.)
- νηός (1.39):
 deriv.: probably *na-wi-jo* ~ /nāwijon/ (masc. acc. sg.)
- νηπύτιος (13.292): *na-pu-ti-jo* /Nāputijos/ (HN)
- νήσος (2.108):
 deriv.: perhaps *na-si-jo* /Nāsijos/ oder /Nāsijōn/ (HN)
- νίζω (7.425):
 relat.: *ke-ni-qa* ~ /k^he(h)r-nig^wa/ (see χέρνιβον)
- νόος (1.132):
 comp.: *wi-pi-no-o* /Wip^hi-nohos/ (HN)
- ξανθός, Ξάνθος (1.197, 2.877): *ka-sa-to* /Ksant^hos/ (HN)
- ξείνος (4.377, 2.623 Πολύξεινος):
 deriv.: *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* /ksenwija/ (neut. pl.)
ke-se-nu-wo /Ksenwōn/ (HN)
- ξένιος (11.779): *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* /ksenwija/ (neut. pl.)
- ξίφος (1.194): *qi-si-pe-e* /k^wsip^hehe/ (dual)
- ξύν (1.8):
 comp.: *ku-su-pa* /ksum-pan/ (neut.), *ku-su-pa-ta* /ksum-panta/ (pl.)
- ὀδούς, ὀδών (4.350):
 deriv.: *o-da-tu-we-ta* /odatwenta/ and *o-da-ku-we-ta*, *o-da-ke-we-ta* /odakwenta/ (neut. pl.)
- οἶκος (1.19, 1.30): *wo-i-ko-de*, *wo-ko-de* /woikon-de/
- οἶνος (1.462): *wo-no* /woinos/
 comp.: probably *wo-no-qa-so* (see οἶνοψ)
 deriv.: probably *wo-na-si* /woinasi/ (dat.-loc. pl. from nom. /-ades/) ‘vines (?)’
- οἶνοψ (2.613, with βοῦς 13.703): *wo-no-qa-so* /Woin-ok^w(o)s/ ~ ‘with wine-colored brow’, or more likely included within: /Woinok^w-orsos/ ~ ‘with wine-colored loin’ (AN)
- οἶο (3.333): *wo-jo* /swojjo/ (gen.) ‘his’
- οἶος (1.118):
 comp.: probably *o-wo-we* ~ /oiw-ōwēs/ (masc. nom. sg.) ‘one-handed’ (rather than ~ /ōwowens/ ‘provided with handle(s)’)’
- ὀλίγος (1.167): *o-ri-ko* /oligoi/ (pl.)
- ὀνίνημι, ὀνήσαι (1.503, 16.604 Ὀνήτωρ):
 relat.: *o-na-se-u* /Onāseus/ (HN)
- ὄνος (11.558): *o-no* /onoi/ (pl.)
 comp.: *e-mi-jo-no-i* /hēmijonoihi/ (dat. pl.)
- ὄνουξ (8.248): probably *o-nu* /onu/(neut.), *o-nu-ke* /onuk^hei/(dat.), *o-nu-ka* /onuk^ha/(pl.)?’
 comp.: probably *po-ki-ro-nu-ka* /poikilōnuk^ha/ (neut. pl.)
 probably *re-u-ko-nu-ka* /leukōnuk^ha/ (neut. pl. adj.)
- ὀπάων (7.165): *o-qa-wo-ni* /Hok^wāwoni/ (dat.) (HN)
- ὄπλον, ὄπλομαι etc. (18.409, 19.172):
 deriv.: perhaps *o-po-ro-me-no* /Hoplomenos/ (HN)

ὄπωπα (2.799, 2.105 Πέλοψ):

relat.: -οψ (1.423):

comp.: *ai-ti-jo-qa* /Ait^hij-ok^ws/ (HN)
po-ki-ro-qa /Poikil-ok^w(o)s/ (HN)
 perhaps *ka-ro-qa* /K^har-ok^w(o)s/ (HN)
 probably *wo-no-qa-so* (see οἴνοψ)

-ωπον (4.460):

comp.: *o-po-qa* /op-ōk^wois/ (neut. instr. pl.) ‘blinkers (?)’
me-to-qa-u /Metōk^weus/ (HN)

ὄράω, ἰδεῖν, οἶδα (1.56, 1.203, 1.385): *wi-de* /wide/ (3rd sg. aor.)

deriv.: *wi-do-wo-i-jo*, *wi-dwo-i-jo* /Widwohijos/ (HN)

Ὀρέστης (5.705): *o-re-ta* /Orestās/ (HN)

ὄρθός (23.271, 2.739 Ὀρθη PN): *o-tu-wo-we* ~ /Ort^hw-ōwēs/ (HN)

ὄρνις (2.459):

deriv.: *o-ni-ti-ja-pi* /ornit^hijāp^hi/ (fem. instr. pl. adj.)

ὄρομαι (23.112): *o-ro-me-no* /horomenoi/ (part.) ‘watching’

ὄρος (1.235): *o-ṛe-i* /orehi/ (loc. sg.)

comp.: *o-re-ta* /Orestās/ (HN)

deriv.: *o-re-ha* /Orehās/ (HN)

(ὄρσος) (3.33 παλίνορσος):

comp.: probably *wo-no-qa-so* /Woinok^w-orsos/ (see οἴνοψ)

Ὀρτί- (5.542 Ὀρτίλοχος): *o-ti-na-wo* /Orti-nāwos/ (HN)

Ὀρχομενός (2.511): *e-ko-me-no* /Erk^homenoi/ (loc. sg.) (PN)

deriv.: *o-ko-me-ne-u* /Ork^homeneus/ (HN)

ὄστις (1.64, 1.230): *jō-qi* /jok-k^wi/ (neut. acc. sg.) ‘what(ever)’

ὄς (1.2):

comp.: *jō-qi* /jok-k^wi/ (neut. acc. sg.), apparently also *jo-* /jo/ (neut. acc. sg.)

ὄτε (1.80): *o-te* /(j)ote/

οὐ (1.28): *o-u-* /ou/

οὐρος (21.405): *wo-wo* /worwos/ ‘border’

deriv.: *wo-we-u* /worweus/ (OH)

wo-wi-ja /worwijā/ (fem.) or /worwija/ (neut. pl.) ~ ‘border, region’

οὐός (10.535, 11.633 ‘handle’):

comp.: *a-no-we* ~ /an-ōwes/ and *a-no-wo-to* ~ /an-ōwoton/ (neut.) ‘handle-less’

o-wo-we (masc. nom. sg.) ‘one-handled’ (see οἶος)

ti-ri-jo-we ~ /trij-ōwes/ (neut.) ‘three-handled’

qa-to-ro-we ~ /k^wetr-ōwes/ (neut.) ‘four-handled’

o-tu-wo-we ~ /Ort^hw-ōwēs/ (HN)

ὄφειλω (1.353): *o-pe-ro-si* /op^hellonsi/ (3rd pl.), *-o-po-ro* /ōp^hlon/ (3rd pl. aor.), *o-pe-ro* /op^hellōn/ (pres. part.), *o-pe-ro-te* /op^hellontes/ (masc. pl.), *o-pe-ro-sa* /op^hellonsa/ (fem. sg.), *o-pe-ro-ta* /op^hellonta/ (neut. pl.)

comp.: *o-pe-ra-no* /Op^hel-ānōr/ (HN)

relat.: *o-pe-ta* /Op^heltās/ (HN)

o-pe-ro /op^helos/ (neut. sg.) (see s.v.)

ὄφελος (13.236): *o-pe-ro* /op^helos/ (neut. sg.)

comp.: *no-pe-re-ha* /nōp^heleha/ (neut. pl.) ‘useless’

ὄφρῦς (1.528):

comp.: *re-u-ko-ro-o-phu-ru* /Leuk(r)-op^hrūs/ (HN)

ὄχος (3.29):

relat.: *wo-ka* /wok^hā/ (fem.)

ὄψέ, ὄψιμος (4.161, 2.325): probably relat.: *o-pi-si-jo* /Opsijos/ (HN)

Παιήων (5.401): *pa-ja-wo-ne* /Pajjāwonei/ (dat.) (DN)

παλαιός (6.215): *pa-ra-jo* /palajjoi/ (pl.) ‘last year’s’

Πανδίων (12.372): *pa-di-jo* /Pandijōn/ (HN)

παρά (1.26):

comp.: *o-u-pa-ro-ke-ne[-to]* /ou paro-geneto/ (3rd sg. aor.) ‘did not appear’

πᾶς (1.15): *-pa* /pans/, *pa-te* /pantes/ (pl.)

comp.: *pa-si-te-o-i* /pansithehoihi/ (dat. pl.)

ku-su-pa /ksum-pan/ (neut.), *ku-su-pa-ta* /ksum-panta/ (pl.)

perhaps *pa-qa-ta* /Pan-g^wōtās/ (HN)

πατήρ (1.98): *pa-te* /patēr/

comp.: *pi-ro-pa-ta-ra* /P^hilo-patrā/ (fem. HN)

πέδιλον (2.44): *pe-di-ra* /pedīla/ (pl.)

πειθεσθαι (1.33): *pe-pi-te-me-no-jo* /Pepit^hmenojjo/ (gen.) (HN)

πέλω, -ομαι (1.284):

relat.: -πόλος (1.63 ὄνειροπόλος):

comp.: *qo-u-ko-ro* /g^wou-kolos/ ‘cowherd’

a-pi-qa-ro /amp^hi-k^woloi/ (fem. nom. pl.)

perhaps *a-ko-ro-qa-ro* /Agro-k^wolos/ (HN)

πέρην (2.535): *pe-rai-ko-ra-i-ja*, *pe-ra-ko-ra-i-ja*, *pe-ra-a-ko-ra-i-jo* /Perā-/ (PN and ethnic adj.)
(see δεῦρο)

περί (1.236):

comp.: *pe-ri-ro-qa* /peri-loik^woi/ (pl.) ‘remaining’

pe-ri-ra-wo /Peri-lāwos/ (HN)

pe-ri-me-de /Peri-mēdēs/ (HN)

Περιμήδης (15.515): *pe-ri-me-de* /Peri-mēdēs/ (HN)

πέσσω (2.237):

relat.: *a-to-po-qa* /arto-pok^wos/

Πετεών (2.500):

deriv.: perhaps *pe-ta-o-ni-jo* /Petāōnijos/ (HN?)

Πλευρών (2.639): *pe-re-u-ro-na-de* /Pleurōna-de/ (PN)

πλέω (3.444):

relat.: *e-u-po-ro-wo* /Ehu-plowos/ (HN)

po-ro-u-te-u /Plouteus/ (HN)

πλοῦτος (1.171):

deriv.: *po-ro-u-te-u* /Plouteus/ (HN)

Πόδαργος (8.185): *po-da-ko-qa* /Pod-argos k^we/ (AN)

ποικίλος (3.327):

comp.: *po-ki-ro-nu-ka* /poikilōnuk^ha/ (neut. pl.)

po-ki-ro-qa /Poikil-ok^w(o)s/ (HN)

ποιμήν (1.263): *po-me* /poimēn/, *po-me-no* /poimenos/ (gen.)

ποίνη (3.290, 1.13 ἄποινα):

comp.: *e-ke-ro-ḡo-no* ~ /en-k^he(h)ro-k^woinoi/ ‘the one who receives the wages in his hand’
(pl.)

πόκος (12.451):

relat.: *po-ka* /pokai/ (fem. pl.) ~ ‘sheepskin’

πολιός (1.350): *po-ri-wa* /poliwa/ (neut. pl. adj.)

πολύ (1.3, 1.34 πολύφλοιβοσ):

comp.: *po-ru-po-de-ḡe* /polu-podē k^we/ (instr.)

πόρτις (5.162): *po-ti-pi-ḡe* /portip^hi k^we/ (instr.) ‘calf’

πορφύρεος (1.482): *po-pu-re-ja* /porp^hurejjai/ (fem. pl.)

Ποσειδάων (1.400): *po-se-da-o* /Posei-dāhōn/, *po-se-da-o-no* /Posei-dāhōnos/ (gen.) etc. (DN)

relat.: *po-si-da-i-jo* /Posidāhijon/ (see s.v.)

see also *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* /En(n)esi-dāhōnei/ (dat.) (DN?)

Ποσιδήϊος (2.506): *po-si-da-i-jo* /Posidāhijon/ (neut. acc.) ‘sanctuary of Poseidon’

πόσις (3.163):

comp.: *po-se-da-o* /Posei-dāhōn/ (see s.v.)

relat.: *do-po-ta* /Dom-potās/ or /Do(m)s-potās/ (DN)

πότνια (1.357): *po-ti-ni-ja* /potnijās/ (gen.)

comp.: *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* /At^hānāi potnijāi/ (dat.) (DN)

si-to-po-ti-ni-ja /Sito-potnijāi/ (dat.) (DN)

πούς (1.58): *po-de* /podē/ (instr.), *po-pi* /popp^hi/ (instr. pl.)

comp.: *po-ru-po-de-ḡe* /polu-podē k^we/ (instr.)

ti-ri-po /tri-pōs/ (see s.v.)

ḡe-to-ro-po-pi /k^wetro-popp^hi/ (instr.) ‘four-legged’

po-da-ko-ḡe /Pod-argos k^we/ (AN)

relat.: *πεδ-* (2.465 *πεδίον* etc.):

comp.: *pe-ḡa-to* /peg-ḡaton/ ‘chariot floor (?)’

comp.: *pe-de-we-sa* /pedwessa/ (fem. adj.)

-*πεζα* (1.538 *ἀργυρόπεζα*):

comp.: *e-ne-wo-pe-za* /en(n)ewo-ped’a/ (fem. adj.)

we-pe-za ~ /hwes-ped’a/ (fem. nom. sg.)

also *to-pe-za* ~ /tor-ped’a/ (fem. subst.)

πρέσβυς (4.59):

deriv.: *pe-re-ku-ta* /presgutās/ ‘?’

πρήσσω (1.562):

deriv.: *pa-ra-ke-se-we* /Prāksēwei/ (dat.) (HN)

πρίασθαι (*Od.* 1.430, *Il.* 1.99 ἀπρίατος): *qi-ri-ja-to* /k^wrijato/ (3rd sg. aor. mid.)

πρό (1.3):

comp.: *-po-ro-te-ke* /pro-t^hēke/ (3rd sg. aor.)

po-ro-ko-wa /pro-k^howāi/ (dat.) ‘pouring (?)’

po-ro-ko-wo /pro-k^howoi/ (pl.) ‘jug’

πρός, ποτί (1.84, 1.245): ~ *po-si* /posi/

προτίθημι (24.409): *-po-ro-te-ke* /pro-t^hēke/ (3rd sg. aor.)

προχοή (17.263): *po-ro-ko-wa* /pro-k^howāi/ (dat.) ‘pouring (?)’

πρόχοος (24.304): *po-ro-ko-wo* /pro-k^howoi/ (pl.) ‘jug’

πρώτος (1.6):

deriv.: *po-ro-te-u* /Prōteus/ (HN)

πτελέα (6.419): *pte-re-wa* /ptelewās/ (gen.)

πτέρνη (22.397): *pte-no* /pternō/ (dual)

π(τ)όλεμος (1.61, 1.492):

comp.: *ε-υ-ru-po-to-re-mo-jo* /Euru-ptolemojjo/ (gen.) (HN)

relat.: *po-to-re-ma-ta* /Ptolemātās/ (HN)

π(τ)όλις (1.19, 2.130, 1.164 πτολίεθρον):

comp.: *po-to-ri-ka-ta* /Ptolī-kastāi/ (dat.) (masc. HN)

deriv.: *po-to-ri-jo* /Ptolijōn/ (HN)

(πύξος) (24.269 πύξινος): *pu-ko-so e-ke-e* /pukso?-ehe/ (fem. dual s-stem) ‘with ? from boxwood’

πῦρ (1.104, 1.52 πυρή, 7.428 πυρκαϊή):

comp.: *pu-ka-wo* /pur-kawoi/ (pl.) (OH)

deriv.: *pu-ri* /Puris/ (HN)

pu-wo /Purwos/ (HN), *pu-wa* /Purwā/ (fem. HN)

deriv.: *pu-wi-no* /Purwinos/ (HN)

Πύρις (16.416): *pu-ri* /Puris/ (HN)

πῶλος (11.680): *po-ro* /pōlō/ (nom. dual)

ῥάπτω (12.296): *e-ra-pe-me-na* /errap^(h)mena/ (neut. pl. perf. part.)

relat.: *ra-pte* /raptēr/, *ra-pi-ti-rja* /raptrija/

ῥέζω (see ἔρδω)

ῥίζα (9.542): *wi-ri-za* /wrid’a/

ῥινός (4.447, 10.155): *wi-ri-no* /wriinos/

deriv.: *wi-ri-ne-jo* /wriinejois/, *wi-ri-ne-o* /wriine(jj)ois/ and *wi-ri-ni-jo* /wriinjois/ (instr. pl.) ‘leathern’

(ῥόδον) (1.477 ῥοδοδάκτυλος, 23 186 ῥοδόεις):

deriv.: *wo-do-we* ~ /wordowen/ (neut. adj.) ‘with rose perfume’

wo-de-wi-jo ~ /wordewijos/ ‘month of roses’

σέλινον (2.776): *se-ri-no* /selinon/

Σήσαμον (2.853): *sa-sa-ma* /sāsama/ (pl.)

σίαλος (9.208): *si-ha-ro* /sihalons/ (acc. pl.)

σίτος (5.341): *si-to* /sītos/

comp.: *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* /Sīto-potnijāi/ (dat.) (DN)

si-to-ko-wo /sīto-k^howoi/ (pl.) ‘one who pours out grain (?)’

σκέλος (16.314): *ke-re-ha* /skeleha/ (pl.)

Σμινθεύς (1.39): *si-mi-te-u* /Smint^heus/ (HN)

σπέρμα (*Od.* 5.490, *Il.* 20.303 ἄσπερμος): *pe-mo* /spermo/, *pe-ma* /sperma/

σταθμός (2.470): *ta-to-mo* /stat^hmos/ ‘weight; stable; pillar’

στόμα (2.489):

comp.: probably *to-ma-ko* /Stom-argos/ (AN)

στόρνυμι (9.213, 10.155): *re-ke(-e)-to-ro-te-ri-jo* /lek^he(s)-strōtērijo-/ (dat. sg. or gen. pl.) (festival name)

σύμπας (1.90): *ku-su-pa* /ksum-pan/ (neut.), *ku-su-pa-ta* /ksum-panta/ (pl.)

σῦς (4.253):

comp.: *su-ḡo-ta* /su-g^wōtāi/ (Dat.) ‘swineherd’

σφεῖς (1.368): ~ *pe-i* /sp^hehi/ or /sp^heihi/ or perhaps /sp^heis/ (dat.)

- τάλαντον (8.69, 2.169 ἀτάλαντος):
 deriv.: *ta-ra-si-ja* /tala(n)sijā/ ‘work quota’
 comp.: *a-ta-ra-si-jo* /a-tala(n)sijoi/ (nom. pl.) ‘without a work quota’
- ταμίης (4.84): *ta-mi-je-u* /Tamijeus/ (HN)
- τάμνω (2.124):
 comp.: *du-ru-to-mo* /dru-tomoi/ (pl.)
 relat.: *te-me-no* /temenos/
ta-mi-je-u /Tamijeus/ (HN)
- ταναός (16.589): *ta-na-wa* /tanawa/ (neut. pl.) ‘old, worn’
- ταῦρος (1.41): *ta-u-ro* /Tauros/ (HN)
- τε (1.5): *-qe* /k^we/
- τέκτων (4.110): *te-ko-to* /tektōn/
- τελείω (1.5):
 relat.: *te-re-ja* ~ /telejjāi/ (3rd sg. *a*-stem), *te-re-ja-e* /telejjāhen/ (inf.) ~ ‘carry out’
te-re-ta /telestās/ (OH)
- τέμενος (2.696): *te-me-no* /temenos/
- τετρα- (1.128 τετραπλῆ):
 comp.: *qe-to-ro-po-pi* /k^wetro-popp^{hi}/ (instr.) ‘four-legged’
qe-to-ro-we ~ /k^wetr-ōwes/ (neut. adj.) ‘four-handled’
 also *to-pe-za* ~ /tor-ped’a/ (fem. subst.)
- τεύχος (2.808): *te-u-ke-pi* /t^(h)euk^hesp^{hi}/ (instr. pl.)
 comp.: *o-pi-te-ke-e-u* /opi-t^(h)e(u)k^heh-eus/ and *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we* /opi-t^(h)euk^hehēwei/
 (dat.) ‘equipment overseer (?)’
- τεύχω (1.4): *te-tu-ko-wo-a* /t^(h)et^(h)uk^hwoha/ (neut. pl. perf. part.)
 relat.: probably *a-tu-ko* /A-t^(h)uk^hos/ (HN)
- Τηλε- (2.260 Τηλέμαχος): *qe-re-qa-ta-o* /K^wēle-k^{wh}ontāo/ (gen.) ~ (?) *pe-re-qa-ta* /Pēle-k^{wh}ontās/
 (HN)
- τίθημι (1.2): *te-ke* /t^hēke/ (3rd sg. aor.)
 comp.: *-po-ro-te-ke* /pro-t^hēke/ (3rd sg. aor.)
- τις (1.62):
 comp.: *jo-qi* /jok-k^wi/ (neut. acc. sg.)
- τοιχος (9.219): *to-ko-do-mo* /t^(h)oik^ho-domos/ ‘wall-builder (?)’
- τόξον (1.45, 1.37 Ἄργυροτόξος):
 comp.: *to-ko-so-wo-ko* /tokso-worgoi/ (pl.) ‘bow-maker’
 deriv.: *to-ko-so-ta* /toksotās/
- τοξότης (11.385): *to-ko-so-ta* /toksotās/
- τόσ(σ)ος (1.64, 2.120 τοσόνδε): *to-so* /tosos/
 deriv.: *to-so-de* /tososde/
- τοσ(σ)οσδε (2.120): *to-so-de* /tososde/
- τράπεζα (11.628): ~ *to-pe-za* ~ /tor-ped’a/ (fem. subst.)
- τρεῖς (4.51, 1.128 τριπλῆ): *ti-ri-ši* /trisi/ (dat.)
 comp.: *ti-ri-po* /tri-pōs/ (see s.v.)
ti-ri-jo-we ~ /trij-ōwes/ (neut.) ‘three-handled’
 probably *ti-ri-se-ro-e* /Tris-(h)ērōhei/ (dat.) (DN)
- τρέπω (8.399, 1.160 -τρέπη, 1.199 ἐτρέπετ(ο), 6.367 -τροπος):
 relat.: *e-to-ro-qa-ta* /en-trok^wātai/ ‘oarloop (?)’
to-ro-qe-jo-me-no /trok^wejjomenos/ (part.)

to-ro-qa /trok^wos/ ‘rope-maker’

to-qi-de /tork^widē/ (instr.) ‘spiral’

deriv.: *to-qi-de-ja* /tork^widejjai/ (fem. pl.)

to-qi-de-we-sa /tork^widwessa/ (fem.)

τρίπους (8.290): ~ *ti-ri-po* /tri-pōs/, *ti-ri-po-de* /tri-pode/ (dual)

deriv.: *ti-ri-po-di-ko* /tripodiskoi/ (pl.)

τροπέω (18.224): *to-ro-qe-jo-me-no* /trok^weijomenos/ (part.)

τυρός (11.639): *tu-rjo* /tūrjoi/ (pl.) ‘cheese’

ὔδωρ (2.307): *u-do* /udōr/

deriv.: *u-do-ro* /udroi/ (pl.) ‘water-container’

υῖος (1.9): probably *i-jo* ~ /hijos/ (nom.), likewise probably *i-*65* ~ /hijus/, *i-je-we* /hijewei/ (dat.)

ὔλη (2.455): *u-ra-jo* / (H)ūlajjos/ (HN)

ὔλη (2.500):

deriv.: perhaps *u-re-we* / (H)ūlēwei/ (dat. sg.) (HN)

ὑπό (1.486, 1.148 ὑπόδρα): *u-po* /upo/

comp.: probably *u-po-di-jo-no* /Upo-dijonos/ (gen.) (HN)

Φαιστός (2.648): *pa-i-to* /P^haistos/ (PN)

φάρμακον (4.218): *pa-ma-ko* /p^harmakon/

φάρσος (2.43): *pa-wo* /p^harwos/ (sg.), *pa-we-ha* /p^harweha/ (pl.) ‘piece of cloth’

φάσγανον (1.190): *pa-ka-na* /p^hasgana/ (pl.)

(φέρβω):

relat.: *po-qa* /p^horg^wā/ ‘feeding’

po-qe-wi-ja /p^horg^wēwijai/ (fem. pl.) ‘halter (?)’

i-po-po-qa-i-qe / (h)ippo-p^horg^woihi k^we/ and *i-qa-po-qa-i* / (h)ikkwo-p^horg^woihi/ (dat. pl.) ‘horse-feeder’

φέρω (1.13): *pe-re* /p^herei/ (3rd sg.)

relat.: -φόρος (1.144 βουληφόρος):

comp.: *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* /klāwi-p^horos/ (fem. OH)

deriv.: *a-pi-po-re-we* /amp^hi-p^horēwes/ (see s.v.)

te-o-po-ri-ja /T^heho-p^horija(i)/ (nom. pl.) (festival name?)

φημί (1.521, 1.22 ἐπευφημέω): *pa-si* /p^hāsi/ (3rd sg.)

relat.: *a-ti-pa-mo* /Anti-p^hāmos/ (HN)

φθίνω (1.251): *e-qi-ti-wo-e* /ek^{wh}t^hiwohe(s)/ (nom. dual or pl. perf. part.)

comp.: *a-qi-ti-ta* /A-k^{wh}t^hitā/ (fem. HN)

φιάλη (23.243): *pi-ha-ra* /p^hihalai/, *pi-je-rai* /p^hi(h)elai/ (fem. pl.)

φίλος (1.98, 1.86 δίφλος, 2.718 Φιλοκτήτης):

comp.: *pi-ro-pa-ta-ra* /P^hilo-patrā/ (fem. HN)

pi-ro-we-ko /P^hilo-wergos/ (HN)

probably *pi-ra-ka-ra* /P^hil-agrā/ (fem. HN)

φοίνιξ (4.141 ‘purple’): *po-ni-ke-qe* /p^hoinikē k^we/ (instr.), *po-ni-ki-pi* /p^hoinik^(h)p^hi/ (instr. pl.) ‘palm (?)’

deriv.: *po-ni-ki-ja* /p^hoinikijā/ and *po-ni-ke-a* /p^hoinike(jj)ā/ (fem. nom. sg.) ‘purple’, *po-ni-ke-ja* /p^hoinikejja/ (fem. nom. sg.) ‘purple-dyer (?)’

φορβή (5.202): *po-qa* /p^horg^wā/ ‘feeding’

φύω (1.235, 1.115 φύή, 6.419 φυτεύω):

- relat.: probably *pe-]phu-te-me-no* /p^hep^hutēmenon/ (part.)
pu-te /p^hutēr/, *phu-te-re* /p^hutēres/ (pl.) ‘planter (?)’
pu-ta /p^huta/ (pl.)
pu-ta-ri-ja /p^hūtaliija(i)/ (see s.v.)

φυταλιή (6.195): *pu-ta-ri-ja* /p^hūtaliija(i)/ (nom. sg. or pl.) ‘tree or vine garden’

φυτόν (14.123): *pu-ta* /p^huta/ (pl.)

χάλκεος/χαλκεῖος (2.490): *ka-ke-ja-pi* /k^halkejǰāp^hi/ (fem. instr. pl.)

χαλκεύς (4.187): *ka-ke-u* /k^halkeus/

χαλκός (1.236): *ka-ko* /k^halkos/

comp.: *ka-ko-de-ta* /k^halko-deta/ (neut. pl.) ‘fitted with bronze’

deriv.: *ka-ki-jo* /k^halkijō/ (neut. dual), ~ *ka-za* /k^halk’a/

ka-ke-ja-pi /k^halkejǰāp^hi/ (fem. instr. pl.)

ka-ke-u /k^halkeus/

χάρις (1.39):

deriv.: *ka-ri-si-jo* /K^harisijos/ (HN)

comp.: perhaps *ka-ro-ǰo* /K^har-ok^w(o)s/ (HN)

Χάροπος or Χάροψ (2.672, 11.426): *ka-ro-ǰo* /K^har-ok^w(o)s/ (HN)

χείρ (1.14):

comp.: *e-ke-ro-ǰo-no* ~ /en-k^he(h)ro-k^woinoi/ ‘one who receives the wages in his hand’

ke-ro-ke-re-we-o ~ /K^he(h)ro-klewehos/ (Gen.) (HN)

ke-ni-qa ~ /k^he(h)r-nig^wa/ (see χέρνιβον)

χέρνιβον (24.304, 1.449 χερνίπτομαι): *ke-ni-qa* ~ /k^he(h)r-nig^wa/ (neut. pl.)

relat.: *ke-ni-ǰe-te-we* ~ /k^he(h)rnik^wtēwes/ (nom. ll.) ‘wash-bowl’

χέω (1.357, 2.128 οἰνοχόος):

comp.: probably *me-ta-ke-ku-me-na* /meta-k^hek^humenā/ (fem. perf. part.) ‘?’

relat.: *e-pi-ko-wa* /epi-k^howāi/ (dat.) ‘pouring (of oil) (?)’

po-ro-ko-wa /pro-k^howāi/ (dat.) ‘pouring (?)’

po-ro-ko-wo /pro-k^howoi/ (pl.) ‘jug’

re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo /lewotro-k^howoi/ (fem. pl.) ‘pouurer of washing-water’

si-to-ko-wo /sīto-k^howoi/ (pl.) ‘one who pours out grain (?)’

χίην (2.460): *ka-no* /k^hanhōn/ (gen. pl.), *ka-si* /k^han(s)si/ (dat. pl.)

χιτών (2.42, 1.371 χαλκοχίτων): *ki-to* /k^hitōn/

comp.: perhaps *e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja* /epi-k^hitōnijai/ (fem. nom. pl.?) ‘?’

χρίω (16.670):

relat.: *ki-ri-se-we* /k^hrīsēwes/ (pl.) ‘annointer’

χρυσός (2.229, 1.15 χρύσειος): *ku-ru-so-jo* /k^hrūsojjo/ (gen.)

comp.: *ku-ru-so-wo-ko* /k^hrūso-worgoi/ ‘goldsmith’

χῶρος (3.315): *ko-ro* /k^hōrōn/ (gen. pl.) ‘plot of land’

ὠκύς (1.58):

comp.: *o-ku-na-wo* /Ōku-nāwos/ (HN)

(ὠλένη) (1.55 λευκώλενος):

deriv.: *o-re-ne-ja* /ōleneja/ and *o-re-ne-a* /ōlene(jj)a/ (neut. nom. pl.) ‘with chevron pattern (?)’

ῥῶμος (1.45): *e-po-mi-jo* /ep-ōmijō/ (dual) ‘shoulder-guard’

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