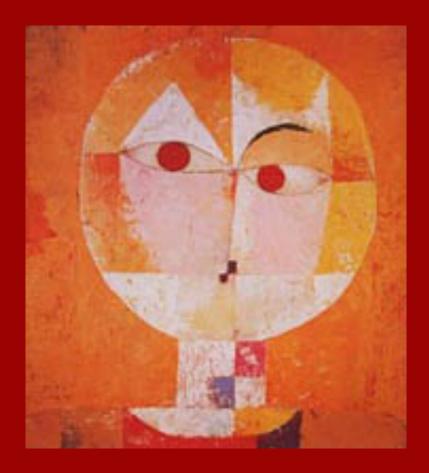
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Weaving a song in new hymns": An Introduction. The seven-line groupings in the *Iliad** (I)

di Luigi De Cristofaro

The paper focuses on the 7-line groupings in the *Iliad*, which are the most often recurring modular blocks in the poem. The overall objective is to highlight the compositional techniques and the linguistic components related to the synchronic and diachronic development of the Homeric traditions within the Aegean-Mediterranean historical framework. This essay introduces a long-term work-in-progress that aims to analyze the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, focusing on the frequency of compositional patterns, synchronic and diachronic analysis, and comparison with other Indo-European and non-Indo-European oral traditions. I would argue that Homeric poetry is mainly made of regular and recurring modular blocks of hexameters, made, in turn, of independent or interdependent lines, related to earlier and later phases of the epic traditions: the text dissection enables the rough text stratigraphy, uncovering unexpected facets of Pre-Archaic Greek civilization. My preliminary work, *Histologia Homerica*, Rome 2016, only focused on two recurring patterns in the 9-line groupings in the *Iliad*. The forthcoming monograph should be a more comprehensive study entitled *Weaving a Song in New Hymns. Uncovering Patterns in the Tapestry of Homer's Rhapsodies*.

Questo saggio introduce un work in progress, volto allo studio delle tecniche di composizione orale nell'Iliade e nell'Odissea. La dissezione sistematica dei testi mostra che essi risultano composti sostanzialmente da blocchi modulari, regolari e ricorrenti, di esametri. Questi possono essere, a loro volta, costituiti da versi indipendenti o interdipendenti. I versi indipendenti sono in sé stessi autonomi, dal punto di vista della sintassi e del contenuto, intercambiabili e possono essere utilizzati in differenti contesti narrativi. Questo tipo di versificazione risulta estremamente utile per la composizione orale estemporanea. I versi interdipendenti, al contrario, non sono autonomi dal punto di vista della sintassi e del contenuto e sono necessariamente collegati ai versi precedenti o successivi. La presenza di blocchi modulari e di esametri indipendenti è da ricondurre, verosimilmente, alle fasi primitive di composition-in-performance e alla formazione delle tradizioni epiche più antiche. L'analisi diacronica e sincronica delle componenti linguistiche sembra confortare tale ipotesi. La metodologia proposta consente, di conseguenza, un'approssimativa stratigrafia del testo, evidenziando elementi della civiltà greca pre-arcaica altrimenti difficilmente rilevabili. Il lavoro preliminare, Histologia Homerica, era dedicato ai due schemi che ricorrono con maggiore frequenza nei raggruppamenti di nove versi nell'Iliade. La monografia di prossima pubblicazione, Weaving a Song in New Hymns. Uncovering Patterns in the Tapestry of Homer's Rhapsodies, si propone come un lavoro di più ampio respiro.

Keywords: Homeric Poetry – Homeric Language – Oral-Extemporaneous Composition Techniques – Oral Traditions – Indo-European Heritage – Pre-Archaic Greek Civilization

1. The methodological approach

έν Δήλωι τότε πρῶτον έγὼ καὶ "Ομηρος ἀοιδοὶ μέλπομεν, ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες ἀοιδήν, Φοῖβον 'Απόλλωνα χρυσάορον, ὃν τέκε Λητώ (Hes. fr. 357 M.-W.)

"At that time in Delos, Homer and I, the singers, were weaving a song in new hymns, firstly celebrating Phoebus Apollo with the sword of gold, to whom Leto gave birth." Hesiod's line synthesizes epic Bards' work-in-progress using the keywords of their craft: "to celebrate with a performance (μέλπειν)", 1 "to weave (ῥάπτειν)", 2 "song" (ἀοιδή). 3 The wording "in new hymns (ἐν

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 $^{^{1}}$ "To celebrate with song and dance", *LSJ*: $1100 \, s.v.$ μέλπω; cf. *DELG*: 683-684, *GEW*/2: 204, *EDG*/2: 928, *s.v.* μέλπω. Cf. also Hsch, μ 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67 (2 Latte: 646).

² "To sew together, stitch", *LSJ*: 1556 s.v. ῥάπτω; cf. *DELG*: 967, *GEW*/2: 643, *EDG*/2: 1275-1276, s.v. ῥάπτω. Cf. also Hsch. ρ 163, 164, 165, 166, 167 (3 Hansen: 232); see also *DMic*/1: 234 s.v. e-ra-pe-me-na at KN L 647.B.

³ "Song", *LSJ*: 172, *s.v.* ἀοιδή; cf. *DELG*: 21-22, *GEW*/1: 22-23, *EDG*/1: 23 *s.v.* ἀείδω. Cf. also Hsch. α 5657, 5662 (1 Latte: 260, 261), and Hsch. α 5656 (1 Latte: 260), α 5658, 5659, 5660, 5661, 5663 (1 Latte: 261); see also α 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256 1260, 1261 (1 Latte: 59). On the etymological relation with the noun αὐδή and cognate Homeric verb αὐδάω, see *DELG*: 22, *GEW*/1: 22-23; cf. *EDG*/1: 23 (< *h₂ueid-).

νεαροῖς ὕμνοις)" indicates the outcome of their creative efforts, the epic songs. ⁴ A similar idea is expressed in Homer's phrase ἀοιδῆς ὅμνον ἀκούων, "listening to the hymn of the singer"⁵, and Bacchylides' ὑφάνας ὅμνον, "weaving a hymn". ⁶ The verb ὑφαίνειν is often associated with ἰστός, "handloom", in Homer's formula ἰστόν ὑφαίνειν, referring to goddesses, queens, and princesses. ⁷ Pindar's lines 'Ομηρίδαι / ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων τὰ πόλλ' ἀοιδοί, also refer to Bards who weave words into songs, and, probably, to the plural meaning of ἔπος, "dactylic hexameters". ⁸ The word ῥαψωδία, "rhapsody", was another term indicating the epic song, as exemplified in Plato's *Laws*. (658b). This is a compound name formed from the roots of ῥάπτειν ("to weave") and ἀοιδή ("song"). The same word indicated the epic recitation as well (Pl. Ion. 533b), while, in Aristotle's Politics, the noun ῥαψωδία embraced all poetic genres (Pol. 1447b 22). In the first and second centuries AD, the word "Rhapsody" was also used to indicate a portion of an epic poem. ⁹ The idea of "fabric of singing" referring to epics was, therefore, always living in the Greek mindset and language from the late 8th c. BC up to the early 4th c. BC at least, and survived in the 1st -2nd c. AD.

Milman Parry's discovery of the formulaic system in the first decades of the last century and the research of his assistant and intellectual heir Albert Lord¹⁰ gave scientific validity to the seminal intuitions of Friedrich August Wolf on the oral genesis of Homer's poetry.¹¹ The Mycenaean linguistic features embedded in Homeric diction and a few old formulaic expressions show that the early phases of epic poetry must date back to the Late Bronze Age at least.¹² But were there any empirical techniques, in carding and sewing the formulas together in forming the epic episodes, used by the early Bards in their 'live' composing and performing? Or was it the result of a long trial and error process?

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⁴ "Hymn, ode, in praise of gods and heroes", *LSJ*:1849 *s.v.* ὕμνος; ὕμνος is a cognate word to ὑμήν, "thin skin, membrane" (*ibid.* 1849 *s.v.* ὑμήν) and verb ὑφαίνω, "to weave" (*ibid.* 1906 *s.v.* ὑφαίνω); cf. *DELG*: 1156, *GEW*/2: 965, *EDG* /2: 1531-1532 *s.v.* ὕμνος. Cf. also Hsch. υ 194 (4 Hansen/Cunningham: 102); see also Hsch. υ 181, 188, 190, 191, 192 (4 Hansen/Cunningham: 102), 862, 871, 897 (4 Hansen/Cunningham: 133, 134, 135).

⁵ Hom. *Od.* 8.429: δαιτί τε τέρπηται καὶ ἀοιδῆς ὅμνον ἀκούων ("so that he might take delight in the feast and in listening to the hymn of the singer"; see Eust. *Od.* 8.429 (1 Stallbaum: 309, 11-13; Hainsworth 1990: 375; cf. Marshall 2021. About Demodocus singing an Iliadic episode, comparable with *Iliad* Rhapsody 1, see Hom. *Od.* 8. 65-82. This is an 18-line grouping comprising a sequence of 7 + 7 + 4 hexameters: 65-71, 72-78, 79-82. *Od.* 8. 65-71 and 72-78 are two 7-line groupings consisting of 2 + 5 and 4 + 3 independent hexameters, with a preponderance of archaic words and expressions, as unaugmented verbs, uncontracted forms, and Aeolic-Thessalian elements. See, e.g., *Od.* 8.67: κὰδ δ' ἐκ πασσαλόφι κρέμασεν φόρμιγγα λίγειαν, with Thessalian apocope and progressive assimilation κὰδ δ', Mycenarean ending *-pi*, πασσαλόφι, and unaugmented aorist κρέμασεν; Cf. Hainsworth 1990: 349-352; Sch. Hom. *Od.* 8.67 (1 Dindorf: 361); Eust. *Od.* 8.67 (1 Stallbaum: 283, 21-27); Hainsworth 1990: 350; cf. also Hom. *Od.* 8.64, 83-92.

⁶ Bacchyl. Epin. 5, 9-10 Maehler. Cf. Hom. II. 3.212, ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μύθους καὶ μήδεα πᾶσιν ὕφαινον; cf. Kirk 2002: 295; Krieter-Spiro 2015: 90.

⁷ Cf., e.g. *Il*. 6.456, *Od*. 2.104; see De Cristofaro 2016d.

⁸ Pind. Nem. 2.1-2; schol. in Nem. 2.1c (3 Drachmann: 30-32); cf. LSJ 676 s.v. ἔπος: "In pl. epic poetry", "lines, verses".

⁹ Plut. 2.186e; Luc. *DMort*. 20.2, *Cont*. 7.

¹⁰ Parry 1987; Lord 2010. Parry and Lord's findings on orality and formularity identified the primary tools of the Homeric Bards, namely the formulas: a series of standard, rhythmic, interchangeable expressions and entire lines, which were necessary for composition-in-performance and useful to lead the attention of the audience.

¹¹ Wolf 2014 (1795).

¹² On the Homeric language see Bozzone 2024; cf. Nagy 2004; Id. 2010a and 2021b; Wachter 2015b; Bennet 2014; Ruijgh 2011; on Proto-Greek see Filos 2014.

1. 1. The usual approach in analyzing Homer's texts has been to examine both poems from the first line to the last one, as if they were composed sequentially in the order in which they have survived, just like Apollonius' *Argonautica* or Virgil's *Aeneid*. This system turns out to be unsatisfactory for the Homeric songs, which are the result of ongoing oral compositional practices. The Homeric traditions were gradually formed in different environments as a consequence of multi- and intercultural interactions, over the span of 10 centuries at least, following norms of oral and extemporaneous composition dictated by the rhythm of singing and narration¹³. The tools of canonical philology are, therefore, necessary but not sufficient.

The systematic 'dissection' deconstructing the Homeric texts clearly shows that they are mainly made up of regular and recurring modular blocks consisting of 7, 9, 10, 12, and 14 hexameters, which, in turn, are made of hexametric 'segments' comprising 2, 3, 4, 5 lines. ¹⁴ Sometimes the line-grouping is closed by a separate ending line. ¹⁵ Regular and recurring verse or musical bar groupings occur in various theatrical or musical improvisation forms, such as the *Commedia dell'Arte* or blues songs and ballads arranged in sequences of 8, 10, or 12 bars, which also arose as oral-extemporaneous genres. Cyrano's improvised verses are an example of such a composition technique (Edmond Rostand's *Comédie héroïque*, Act 1, Scene 4). This mechanism is very close to that of Homeric Bards weaving the tapestry of their songs. ¹⁶ This phenomenon is also detectable in cases of compression or expansion, i.e., shorter or longer versions of a given group of lines that we know from different sources. ¹⁷ It is remarkable that the same phenomenon is not apparent in Hesiodic and later epics.

The single sections are made of independent or interdependent lines. The independent lines are syntactically autonomous and complete, which can be joined to other verses elsewhere in other hexametric segments. These specific oral composition marks may hence be connected to the earliest stages in processing the epic traditions. By contrast, the interdependent lines can hardly join to hexameters that are not the previous or the following one, showing insoluble syntactical links between the lexical units that form the sequence of two or more hexameters. This is a possible mark of written composition, which does not need interchangeable or standard lines. The text dissection, therefore, enables a rough text stratigraphy and an approximate chronology: the epic sections entirely made of recurring hexametric modular blocks, independent lines, and unreplaceable or easily restorable old linguistic forms can be envisaged as the remains of the earliest phases of oral composition. Accordingly, the novel methodology allows us to unveil some previously undetectable details of pre-Archaic Greek civilization. On the can be previously undetectable details of pre-Archaic Greek civilization.

1. 2. The 'dissection' of Homeric Rhapsodies points out the earliest technique of composition-inperformance, also accounting for the root cause of Homer's multi-text. Uncovering the hexametric modular blocks and independent lines, therefore, provides the 'connecting bridge' between the findings of Parry and Lord on orality and formularity and today's research on Homer's multitextuality.²¹ The age-long written transmission, from the Alexandrian grammarians up to

¹³ Cf. Zieliński, 2023; Blankenborg 2014; Bonifazi 2012; cf. also Stocking 2023: 224-249.

¹⁴ See, eg., *Il.* 1.285-291, 14.414-420, 24.552-558 (7 lines); 1.206-214, 15.253-261, 22.238-246 (9 lines); 2-559-568, 11.185-194, 24.649-658 (10 lines); 8.397-408, 10.283-294, 20.19-30 (12 lines); 2.681-694, 6.297-310, 17.169-182 (14 lines); cf. De Cristofaro 2016a: 29-35.

¹⁵ See, e.g., *Il.* 3.455-461, 6. 66-72, 7. 37-43, 13. 149-155, 14. 469-475, 16. 744-750; there are two ending lines at, e.g., *Il.* 13.76-82.

¹⁶ Hom. Od. 8.254369, 471-547. The Greek terms ὕμνον, ῥαψωδία, ὑφαίνειν, ῥάπτειν, were probably related to this composition system.
¹⁷ See, e.g., Il. 3.302-310 compared with fragment L, column I of P. Hibeh 19 [= p40], made up of 9 and 14 independent lines, respectively; cf. Nagy 2021b; on the glossaries to the *Iliad* preserved on papyrus, see Fontanella 2023.

 $^{^{18}}$ See, e.g., II. 1.212 = II. 8.401, 23.672, Od. 21.337; ≈ II. 1.204, 8.286, 8.454, 23.40, Od. 16.440, 19.487; cf. also II. 2.257, Od. 2.187, 17.229, 18.82.

¹⁹ See, eg., *Il.* 1.9-16, 11.531-539, 12.1-9, 15.59-67.

²⁰ The Mycenaean administrative texts, a few of Ancient Near Eastern documents, and archaeological evidence are the only sources about the pre-archaic Greek civilization. The traces of ancestral and primeval phases of Greek civilization, which we can uncover in early Homer's songs, may somehow integrate the sources mentioned, providing a better, although approximate, knowledge of the primitive Greek culture and language.

Nagy 2010b and 2020a; Dué/Ebbott 2019 and 2016; Dué 2016 and 2017. Cf. *The Homer Multitext Project*: http://www.homermultitext.org/; http://chs.harvard.edu/chs/homer_multitext.

Medieval copyists, handed over the fixed texts, preserving some alternative lines that are not considered variants anymore, but as equally genuine outcomes from different traditions.²² The novel methodology makes clear the concrete and objective bond between the transmitted texts and the oral composition process through which Homer's songs were born and developed over time.

The first step of the inquiry is to select and set the single modular blocks out, according to the regular recurring length, identifying the most numerous hexameter groupings in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* that are the most statistically recurring patterns. This procedure highlights the interconnections between the rhythmic structures comprised of fixed hexametric sequences, the diverse narrative typologies (such as speeches, battle scenes, descriptive sections, similes, prayers, and so forth), and the various stages of composition. The Oxford Classical Text of David B. Monro and Thomas W. Allen is the edition used in the paper. Nevertheless, the methodology is consistent with Helmut van Thiel's text enumerating the lines one-by-one, as a sequence of single or independent hexameters. On the other hand, the approach is also compatible with Martin West's decision to provide Homer's texts as a seamless continuum of Rhapsodies.

The second step is the linguistic diachronic and synchronic analysis of the single Homeric sections. The distinction between the main language groups, namely Ionic, Doric, Arcado-Cypriot, and Aeolic, coalesced during the Late Bronze Age. 23 The 'Aeolic' dialect is a fundamental component of Homer's Kunstsprache. It was spoken in Thessaly in the North-East of the Greek mainland, in Lesbos and facing coastal territories in Asia Minor, and in Boeotia in central Greece. The Aeolic component of Homeric diction mostly turns out "to be not exclusively Aeolic". Gregory Nagy's definition, "Aeolicisms", seems, therefore, the best way to indicate these features, 24 which are possibly related to the pre-Archaic phases of Homer. A good example may be the pan-Greek verb π έλομαι, having the labial Aeolic outcome of Indo-European labiovelars followed by the sound -e-. ²⁵ Recent studies reveal a fluid situation and suggest that "the most logical place to look for the origins of Aeolic is south-eastern Thessaly in the palatial period", 26 between 1400-1200 BC. 27 Besides Homer, the earliest surviving source for the Aeolic dialects is the poetry of Alcaeus, Sappho and Corinna, while the epigraphic evidence is much later.²⁸ Several Aeolic-Thessalian linguistic items are shared with Achaean-Mycenaean and Arcado-Cypriot:²⁹ for example, genitive endings -oio and -āo, the possible gemination of the liquid consonant and absorption of yod into a preceding s or rwithout palatalizing them, 30 *-ss-, *-ts-, *-thy- not changed into -s- (cf., e.g., 6 oooi, Il. 2.681), 31 the

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²² Nagy 2007: 53: "The fact is that *multiformity*, as a characteristic of oral poetry, is a matter of degrees and historical contingencies: for example, even if 'our' *Iliad* is less multiform than, say, a poem of the so-called Epic Cycle like the *Cypria*, it does not follow that Homeric poetry is absolutely uniform while 'Cyclic' poetry is multiform (HTL 25-39)". See also Id. 2004: 25-39; Cerri 2010: 47-48; Bird 2010; cf. Graziosi 2019: 11-20.

²³ Janko 2018; Nagy 2011b.

²⁴ Nagy 2011a, where he listed and analyzed nine "Aeolicisms", that is, Aeolic features shared with other archaic dialects and, in some cases, with Mycenaean: (1) conversion of labiovelars in front of the vowel e to bilabials and not to dentals; (2) perfect active participles with a thematic formant; (3) dative plural endings in -εσσι added to the stems of non-es-stem consonantal declensions; (4) infinitive endings in -μεναι; (5) pronouns of the type ἄμμι 'to us' and ὅμμι 'to you'; (6) θεά 'goddess' as the feminine counterpart of θεός 'god'; (7) the thematic genitive singular in -οιο; (8) the prepositions / preverbs ποτι- or προτι-, not προσ-; (9) genitives in -ᾱο and -ᾱων.

²⁵ DELG: 877-878 s.v. πέλομαι; GEW/2: 500-501 s.v πέλομαι; EDG/2: 1168-1169 s.v πέλομαι; cf. DMic/2: 199 s.v.]qe-ro-me-no in PYAd 697a interpreted as *κ^ωελόμενος (> πελόμενος). Cf. Eust. ad Hom. Il. 1. 268 (1 van der Valk: 159, 16-21): "Οτι φῆρας ὀρεσκώους τοὺς Κενταύρους φησὶ τουτέστι θῆρας ὀρειφοίτας. Αἰολικὴ δὲ λέξις κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς τὸ φῆρες ἀντὶ τοῦ θῆρες ὡς τῶν Αἰολέων οὕτω λεγόντων. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἡ τοῦ θ μετάληψις εἰς τὸ φ καὶ 'Αττικῆς ποτε διαλέκτου ἐστίν. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τὸ θλᾶν φλᾶν λέγουσι. τὸ μέντοι φλίψεται τὸ ἐν 'Οδυσσεία καὶ τὸ παρὰ Θεοκρίτω ἐν 'Αδωνιαζούσαις Αἰολικὸν καὶ αὐτό. τινὲς δὲ τοὺς Κενταύρους φῆράς φασι. ²⁶ Janko 2018:122; on the Greek language and dialects, see van Beek 2024.

²⁷ Janko 2018, 119-120, 120-127.

²⁸ On the relations between Aeolic poety and Homer, see Mueller 2023; on the Aeolic language see Scarborough 2023; cf. van Beek 2024: 185-187; Helly 2018: 351-352; Méndez Dosuna 2018: 280-291; Id. 1985; García Ramón 2018: 90-91, 66-99.

²⁹ Méndez-Dosuna 2007; Miller D.G. 2014: 219-233, 255-269, 270-288, 289-311; cf. *ibid*. 234-254, 312-356; on the relation between the Myceanaean and Arcado-Cypriot dialects, see Thompson 2024: 251-252; van Beek 2024: 182-184; "Achaeans" was probably the name by which the peoples we call 'Mycenaeans' called themselves: Nagy 2011b: 82; Miller D.G. 2014: 107-115; cf. *DMic*/1: 35 s.v. a-ka-wi-ja-de, KN C914.B.

³⁰ Thompson 2024: 234-235, 237; Nieto Izquierdo 2018: 386.

³¹ Thompson 2024: 234; cf. Woodard 1986; Id. 2019.

vowel change o>u, the retention of digamma.³² The treatment of double Proto-Indo-European double resonant in Sankrit-Vedic also shows a more advanced phase in developing language than the redoubling in Thessalian Aeolic.³³

The presence of uncontracted forms is further clear evidence of early formation. Many of these morphological-phonological items are due to the retention of digamma just mentioned. This phenomenon is shared with Achaean-Mycenaean and the Greek dialects in the Archaic and Classical Ages, except for Ionic and Attic, such as the retention of long alpha. But the absence of contraction is especially significant in the words with stems in *sigma*, for it indicates that such uncontracted forms date back to the period when intervocalic sibilant sound was still preserved. Like in the formula ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσή $\ddot{\upsilon}$ δα < * $\ddot{\tau}$ επεσά πτερό $\ddot{\tau}$ εντα προσά $\ddot{\upsilon}$ δα (with $\bar{\alpha}$), where $\ddot{\epsilon}$ πεα is preserving intervocalic sigma or its change into -h-, Fέπεhα, so showing an older linguistic phase than the retention of digamma itself in the archaic dialects, just as the formula θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐ(σ)όντες (Il. 21.518).³⁴ Some formulaic expressions may be affected by the 'normalization' made by later Bards and Alexandrian grammarians, who did not have any awareness of the Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean languages. For example, ἄλγε' ἔθηκε possibly stemmed from an older *ἄλγε(σ)α θῆκε (Il. 1.2), like τεύχε' ἐσύλα from *τεύχε(σ)α σύλα (Il. 6.28), κήδε' ἔθηκεν from *κήδε(σ)α θῆκεν (Il. 21.525), or δ' ἔθηκε πόνον from *δὲ θῆκε πόνον (ΙΙ. 21.524), ὅρκι' ἔχευαν from *ὅρκια χεῦαν (ΙΙ. 4.269), μ' ἔβαλε from *με βάλε (Il. 5.119), τ' ἐφάμην from *τε φάμην (Il. 17.171), μ' ἔτεκεν from *με τέκεν (Il. 24.562), and so on. Some other expressions were impossible to be 'normalized' into Classical and Hellenistic Greek, for example, Mycenaean' ἶφι (F)ἀνάσσεις (Il. 1.452) or Mycenaean-Aeolic formula θεοῖς μενεαινέμεν ἶφι μάχεσθαι (Il. 5.606). Just like the "Aeolicisms" mentioned above (see n. 24) and several Mycenaean linguistic and lexical features.

The Homeric perfect participle $-\bar{o}n$, -ontos is also especially significant because this is the only innovation shared by Thessalian, Lesbian and Boeotian.³⁵ By contrast, the Aeolic retention of -ti is a conservative form that predates the Mycenaean innovations, like some very few Homeric 'linguistic fossils' (e.g., the formulas κλέος ἄφθιτον and λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην).³⁶ Nevertheless, retention of -ti is shared with the Doric dialects and attested in some Linear B tablets from Pylos and Knossos.³⁷ Syntagmata having apocope, syncope, and regressive assimilation are Thessalian characteristics that are unreplaceable in the verse-making (see, e.g., II. 2.692: κὰδ δὲ Μύνητ' ἔβαλεν) and are found in association with pre-archaic morphemes, like in the formulaic expression κὰδ δ' ἶζον with the unaugmented form ἶζον (see, e.g., II. 21.520). These 'Thessalianisms' also occur in some Laconic glossae:³⁸ "The Achaeans were Phthiotae in race, but they lived in Lacedaemon" (Strab. 8.7.1),³⁹ as Hoekstra wrote:

And since in spite of the amalgam, we can indeed isolate some Ionic formulae but are not able to distinguish between Aeolic and Achaean formulae, there is every reason

³² Thompson 2024: 247; cf. Janko 2018: 113.

³³ This phenomenon is also attested in Mycenaean: see above n. 30; cf. Beekes 2014: 20-21; about the syllabic liquids in pre-Archaic Greek and Homeric language, see van Beek 2022; cf. Batisti 2017. On the double resonant and the treatment of labiovelars and syllabic liquids in Vedic-Sankrit, see Nikolaev 2021 and Clayton 2022, respectively.

³⁴ On this formula see Létoublon 1999; cf. *DELG*: 362 s.v. ἔτος; *ibid*.: 947 and 978 (ethymlogy) s.v. πτερόν. The formula stems from an original ϝέπεσἄ πτερόγεντα προσάΰδα (with also retention of ᾱ, shared in archaic and classical age between all the Greek dialects except for Ionic and Attic). About this formula, see Letoublon 1999; cf. Thompson 2024: 235-236, 241-242; see also Sch. *Il*. 1.201a-b (1 Erbse: 63); cf. De Cristofaro 2016: 10-11, 18, 70, 139; on suffix -ϝεντ-, see Chantraine 1979: 270.

³⁵ Nagy 2011a: 167-169; Janko 2018: 121-122.

³⁶ On the formula κλέος ἄφθιτον, see Nagy 1974: 27-36, 103-117, 153-165; 229-261; cf. *EWA*/2: 666-667 *s.v. ŚRAV*. On the formula λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην, see van Beekes 2022: 493-495; Willi 2011: 463; about the Homeric language, cf. Ruijgh 2011; Tsagalis 2014; Wachter 2015a; Kahane 2018.

³⁷ Nagy 1968: 674-675; Woodard 1986: 50, 63-66, 73-74. On the new editions of the Pylian and Knossos tablets, see Godart/Sacconi 2019/20 and Firth/Melena 2019, respectively. On Linerar B texts and updated literature see *DĀMOS*, https://damos.hf.uio.no/about/texts/.

³⁸ Hsch. κ 9, 11 (1 Latte: 386).

³⁹ Cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.679; Brügger/Stoevesandt/Visser 2010: 217-219; Eust. *Il.* 2.676-80, 677: 318.20-33, 318.33-319.14 (1 van der Valk: 495-496); Sch. *Il.* 2.677a-b (1 Erbse: 322).

to assume that in epic diction the Aeolic-Achaean phase was a historical reality around 1200 BC. $^{\rm 40}$

The Aeolian influence in pre-Archaic Peloponnese is recorded in *Il.* 6.152-155, Thuc. 1.2-3, 4.42.2, and Strabo 8.1.2, 8.7.1. Also, Margalit Finkelberg pointed out some decades ago the origin of the epic heroes from Aeolus' offspring.⁴¹ The mythological traditions link Aeolus and his ancestors Hellen and Deucalion to Thessaly, while the names of Hellen's sons were already documented in Linear B texts.⁴² Is Homer's Aeolic essentially a set of very ancient features embedded in the oldest epic diction? Are Homeric Aeolians related to the ancestral past and primeval Greeks (*Il.* 2.681-685)?⁴³

The archaeological evidence shows that new ceramics were introduced in Thessaly two centuries earlier than in Central Greece and Peloponnese between the Early and Middle Bronze Age,⁴⁴ and confirms movements of peoples from the Carpathians and Balkans into mainland Greece.⁴⁵ Thessaly was probably the place where the Indo-European speakers, who will become 'the Greeks' afterwards, settled at first. If the archaeological evidence is right, it is highly probable that Thessaly was the birthplace of Greek language.⁴⁶ Recent studies on the DNA of Mycenaean subjects demonstrate the Northern and Eurasian origin of the newcomers,⁴⁷ thus explaining why Homer's Greek heroes and beautiful women are said to be "blonde haired".⁴⁸ The Thessalian origin of Achilles, the pivotal hero in the founding myth of Greek identity,⁴⁹ and Jason, the main hero of a pre-Homeric saga,⁵⁰ the Thessalian ancestry of the heroes of the Theban cycle,⁵¹ are consistent with both literary and archaeological remains: "The integration of Thessalian forms in Homeric diction is parallel to the integration of Thessalian myths in the overall framework of Homeric poetry."⁵²

1.3 Here are some examples of 7-, 9-, 10-, 12-, and 14-line groupings in the *Iliad*. One speech and a narrative section are included for each type of line grouping. The Mycenaean-Archaizing features and the Aeolicisms are in bold.

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II. 1.285-291: 1+6=(1)+(4+2)
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1.285: Τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων 'Αγαμέμνων'

1.286: "ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα, γέρον, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.

1.287: ἀλλ' ὅδ' ἀνὴρ ἐθέλει περὶ πάντων ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,

1.288: πάντων μὲν κρατέειν ἐθέλει, πάντεσσι δ' ἀνάσσειν,

1.289: πᾶσι δὲ σημαίνειν, ἄ τιν'οὐ πείσεσθαι ὀίω.

And mighty Agamemnon said replying to him: "Yes, my old sir, you rightly said all that. But this man wishes to be above anyone, to predominate over anyone, to rule over anyone, to give orders to anyone, things that I guess any of us will ever agree on (LSJ: wherein I think some will not obey). Even though the always-

⁴⁰ Hoekstra 1990: 154; cf. ibid.: 226, 228, 249.

⁴¹ Finkelberg 1999.

⁴² Hes. fr. 9-10 M.-W.; Apollod. Bibl. 1.7.2-3; DMic/1: 141 s.v.]a-wo-re-u-si interpreted as *Aiρολεῦσι at KN Ws 1707.α.1-2, and 142 s.v. a₃-wo-ro, *Aἴρολος, as a bull name * at KN Ch 896; 1 DMic/1: 90 s.v. do-ri-je-we as the dative of anthroponym Δωριεύς at PY Fn 867.5 cf. ibid. s.v. do-re-we, as a possible dative *Δωρήρει at KN Fh 342; DMic/1: 388-389 s.v. ko-so-u-to, as an anthroponym Ξοῦθος at PY Jn 389.13 and as a bull name at KN Ch 900.

⁴³ About the references on literature and commentaries on this Homeric passage, see De Cristofaro 2019a; Id. 2016b.

⁴⁴ Wiersma 2016; Rutter 2017.

⁴⁵ Wiersma/Voutsaki 2017; Maran/Papadimitrou 2021; Maran/Wright 2020; Maran/Van de Moortel 2014:529-548; Maran 2007.

⁴⁶ See above nn. 26-27; cf. Karnava/Skafida 2018; Rousioti 2016; Stamatopoulou 2013; Skafida/Karnava/Olivier 2012.

⁴⁷ Lazaridis *et Al.* 2025; *Eid.* 2017; *ibid.*: 216: "the Mycenaeans had approximately 4-16% ancestry from a 'northern' ultimate source related to the hunter-gatherers of eastern Europe and Siberia"; *ibid.*: 217: "some gene flow from geographically contiguous areas to the north where steppe ancestry was present since at least the mid-third millennium BC"; cf. Gibbons 2017; *University of Washington Health Sciences*, https://org/new/2017-08-civilizations-greece-revealing-stories-science.html: "While both Minoans and Mycenaeans had both 'first farmers' and eastern' genetic origins, Mycenaean traced an additional minor component of their ancestry to ancient inhabitants of Eastern Europe and northern Eurasia. This type of so-called Ancient North Eurasian ancestry is one of the three ancestral populations of present-day Europeans and is also found in modern Greeks. [...]. The peoples of the Greek mainland had some admixture with Ancient North Eurasians and peoples of the Eastern European steppe both before and after the time of Minoans and Mycenaeans, which may provide the missing link between Greek speakers and their linguistic relatives elsewhere in Europa and Asia".

⁴⁸ See, e.g., II. 1.197 and 23.141 (Achilles); II. 3.284, 23.293 (Menelaus); II. 11.740 (Agamede); cf. LH/1: 1175 s.v. ξαντός.

⁴⁹ Thuc. 1.3; cf. 1 Hornblower: 15-18.

⁵⁰ Cf. Hoekstra 1990: 118, 121.

⁵¹ Cf. Barker/Christiensen 2019; about Mycenaean Thebes, see Bánai 2019b; cf. Aravantinos/Godart/Sacconi 2001-2006.

⁵² Nagy 2011a: 171.

1.290: εί δέ μιν αίχμητὴν ἔθεσαν θεοὶ αίὲν ἐόντες 1.291: τοὔνεκά οἱ προθέουσιν ὀνείδεα μυθήσασθαι;" living gods granted him to be a warrior, for this reason, have they also given him the grant to say outrageous words?"

II. 2.41-47: 1+6=(1)+(2+2+2)

- 2.41: ἔγρετο δ' ἐξ ὕπνου, θείη δέ μιν ἀμφέχυτ' ὀμφή.
- 2.42: ἔζετο δ' ὀρθωθείς, μαλακὸν δ' ἔνδυνε χιτῶνα
- 2.43: καλὸν νηγάτεον, περὶ δὲ μέγα βάλλετο φᾶρος·
- 2.44: ποσσὶ δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσιν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα.
- 2.45: ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἄμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον,
- 2.46: είλετο δὲ σκῆπτρον πατρώιον ἄφθιτον αἰεὶ
- 2.47: σύν τῷ ἔβη κατὰ νῆας 'Αχαιῷν χαλκοχιτώνων

Then he woke from sleep while the divine enveloping voice was still around him. He sat upright, wore his soft, fair, and new tunic, and put his wide mantle over; he bound fair sandals on his strong feet. Then he put his silver-studded sword around his shoulders and took the forever imperishable scepter of his ancestors; holding it, he went to the ships of the bronze-clad Achaeans.

II. 4.317-325: 1+8=(1)+(2+2+2+2)

- 4.317: Τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ·
- 4.318: " Ατρείδη, μάλα μέν τοι έγων έθέλοιμι καὶ αὐτὸς
- 4.319: ὡς ἔμεν, ὡς ὅτε δῖον Ἐρευθαλίωνα κατέκταν.
- 4.320: ἀλλ' οὔ πως ἄμα πάντα θεοὶ δόσαν ἀνθρώποισιν
- 4.321: εἰ τότε κοῦρος ἔα νῦν αὖτέ με γῆρας ἱκάνει.
- 4.322: άλλὰ καὶ ὧς ἱππεῦσι μετέσσομαι ήδὲ κελεύσω
- 4.323: βουλῆ καὶ μύθοισι· τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ γερόντων.
- 4.324: αἰχμὰς δ' αἰχμάσσουσι νεώτεροι, οἵ περ ἐμεῖο
- 4.325: ὁπλότεροι γεγάασι πεποίθασίν τε βίηφι.

Then Nestor, the charioteer of Gerenia, replied to him: "Son of Atreus, I would strongly wish to be the man I was when I killed illustrious Ereuthalion. The gods did not give men everything at the same time; if I was then a boy, now old age attains me. But I still can go with my knights and bid them with counsel and words: this is the privilege of the elders. The young men wield the spears instead, for they are younger than me and prevail with strength."

II. 6.20-28: 1 + 8 = (1) + (2 + 2 + 2 + 2)

- 6.20: Δρῆσον δ' Εὐρύαλος καὶ 'Οφέλτιον ἐξενάριξε· (DELG 345 s.ν. ἔναρα)
- 6.21: βῆ δὲ μετ' Αἴσηπον καὶ Πήδασον, οὕς ποτε νύμφη
- 6.22: νηὶς 'Αβαρβαρέη τέκ' ἀμύμονι Βουκολίωνι.
- 6.23: Βουκολίων δ' ήν υἰὸς ἀγαυοῦ Λαομέδοντος
- 6.24: πρεσβύτατος γενεῆ, σκότιον δέ ἐ γείνατο μήτηρ·
- 6.25: ποιμαίνων δ' ἐπ' ὅεσσι μίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῆ·
- 6.26: ἢ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη διδυμάονε γείνατο παῖδε.
- 6.27: καὶ μὲν τῶν ὑπέλυσε μένος καὶ φαίδιμα γυῖα
- 6.28: Μηκιστηιάδης καὶ ἀπ' ὅμων τεύχε' ἐσύλα.

Euryalus slew Dresus and Opheltius; then he chased Aesepus and Pedasus, whom the naiad nymph Abarbarea had borne to blameless Boucolion. Boucolion was the eldest son of noble Laomedon, but his mother begat him not in lawful wedlock. While he was tending his sheep, he made love with the nymph; then she got pregnant and conceived twin sons. And now, the son of Mecisteus made their strength and glistening limbs fail and stripped away the armor from their shoulders.

II. 6.253-262: 1+9=(1)+(1+3+3+2)

- 6.253: ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·
- 6.254: "τέκνον τίπτε λιπών πόλεμον θρασύν είλήλουθας;
- 6.255: ἦ μάλα δὴ τείρουσι δυσώνυμοι υἶες 'Αχαιῶν
- 6.256: μαρνάμενοι περί ἄστυ, σὲ δ' ἐνθάδε θυμὸς ἀνῆκεν
- 6.257: ἐλθόντ' ἐξ ἄκρης πόλιος Διὶ χεῖρας ἀνασχεῖν.
- 6.258: ἀλλὰ μέν', ὄφρά κέ τοι μελιηδέα οἶνον ἐνείκω,
- 6.259: ὡς σπείσης Διὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι
- 6.260: πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὐτὸς ἀνήσεαι αἴ κε πίησθα.
- 6.261: ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκμηῶτι μένος μέγα οἶνος ἀέξει,
- 6.262: ὡς τύνη κέκμηκας ἀμύνων σοῖσιν ἔτησι."

Then she held his hand and spoke a word and said: "My son, why have you come here leaving the fierce battle? Perhaps the hateful sons of the Achaeans fighting about the city may have distressed you hard, and your spirit sent you to come here to uplift your hands to Zeus from the citadel. But stay, please, so I can bring you some sweet wine so you can first make offerings to Father Zeus and the other immortals, and then you may drink to be refreshed. Wine gives a weary man great strength, just as you are exhausted from warding off ruin from your kinsmen."

II. 17.43-52: 1+9=(1)+(3+3+3)

- 17.43: "Ως εἰπὼν οὕτησε κατ' ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' ἐίσην-
- 17.44: οὐδ' ἔρρηξεν χαλκόν, ἀνεγνάμφθη δέ οἱ αἰχμὴ
- 17.45: ἀσπίδ' ἐνὶ κρατερῆ· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ὄρνυτο χαλκῷ
- 17.46: 'Ατρείδης Μενέλαος ἐπευξάμενος Διὶ πατρί·
- 17.47: ἂψ δ' ἀναχαζομένοιο κατὰ στομάχοιο θέμεθλα

As he spoke, he struck the evenly balanced shield full; but he did not break the bronze, the spearhead was bent back in the stout shield; then Menelaus, son of Atreus, rushed on him with his bronze, praying to Father Zeus; drawing back, Menelaus pierced him at the roots of his throat and pushed hard on, trusting in his strong hand. The spearhead went right on 17.48: νύξ', ἐπὶ δ' αὐτὸς ἔρεισε, βαρείη χειρὶ πιθήσας·

17.49: ἀντικρὺ δ' ἀπαλοῖο δι' αὐχένος ἤλυθ' ἀκωκή.

17.50: δούπησεν δὲ πεσών, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

17.51: αἵματί οἱ δεύοντο κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι

17.52: πλοχμοί θ', οι χρυσφ τε καὶ ἀργύρφ ἐσφήκωντο.

through his tender neck. He fell with a dull sound, dropping to the ground; his armor rang, rattling around him. His hair was equal to the locks of the Charities, bound tightly of silver and gold, drenched in blood.

II. 24.559-570: 1+11=(1)+(3+2+3+3)

24.559: Τὸν δ' ἄρ ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς ᾿Αγιλλεύς·

24.560: "μηκέτι νῦν μ' ἐρέθιζε γέρον νοέω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς

24.561: Έκτορά τοι λῦσαι, Διόθεν δέ μοι ἄγγελος ἦλθε

24.562: μήτηρ, ή μ' ἔτεκεν, θυγάτηρ ἀλίοιο γέροντος.

24.563: καὶ δέ σε γιγνώσκω, Πρίαμε, φρεσίν, οὐδέ με λήθεις,

24.564: ὅττι θεῶν τίς σ' ἦγε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας 'Αχαιῶν.

24.565: οὐ γάρ κε τλαίη βροτὸς ἐλθέμεν, οὐδὲ μάλ' ἡβῶν,

24.566: ἐς στρατόν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν φυλάκους λάθοι οὐδέ κ' ὀχῆα

24.567: ρεῖα μετοχλίσσειε θυράων ἡμετεράων.

24.568: τὸ νῦν μή μοι μᾶλλον ἐν ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ὀρίνης,

24.569: μή σε, γέρον, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἐνὶ κλισίησιν ἐάσω

24.570: καὶ ἱκέτην περ ἐόντα, Διὸς δ' ἀλίτωμαι ἐφετμάς."

Looking askance at him, swift-footed Achilles said: "Rouse me to anger no longer, old man; I am aware that I must release Hector to you, for a messenger came to me from Zeus, my mother who begot me, daughter of the old man of the sea. And I understand in my heart, Priam, and you cannot hide it, that someone of the gods led you to the fast ships of the Achaeans. No mortal man would dare to come to our camp, however young at the full strength; neither one could pass our sentinels unseen, nor draw the bolt of our gates easily. Therefore, make arise pain in my soul no further, so that, old man, I won't let you stay in my tents, although you are a suppliant, and I don't transgress the commandments of Zeus".

21.514-525: 1 + 11 = (1) + (3 + 2 + 2 + 4)

21.514: "Ως οι μεν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον

21.515: αὐτὰρ ᾿Απόλλων Φοῖβος ἐδύσετο εΙλιον ἰρήν·

21.516: μέμβλετο γάρ οἱ τεῖχος ἐυδμήτοιο πόληος,

21.517: μὴ Δαναοὶ πέρσειαν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἤματι κείνω.

21.518: οὶ δ' ἄλλοι πρὸς "Ολυμπον ἴσαν θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες,

21.519: οἱ μὲν χωόμενοι, οἱ δὲ μέγα κυδιόωντες·

21.520: κὰδ δ' ἴζον παρὰ πατρὶ κελαινεφεῖ. αὐτὰρ 'Αγιλλεὺς

21.520: Καθ ο τζον καρα πατρι κεκαινεφει. αυταρ Αχακκείο. 21.521: Τρῶας ὁμῶς αὐτούς τ' ὅλεκεν καὶ μώνυχας ἵππους.

21.522: ὡς δ' ὅτε καπνὸς ἰὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἱκάνει

21.523: ἄστεος αἰθομένοιο, θεῶν δέ ἑ μῆνις ἀνῆκε,

21.524: πᾶσι δ' ἔθηκε πόνον, πολλοῖσι δὲ κήδε' ἐφῆκεν,

21.525: ὡς ἀχιλεὺς Τρώεσσι πόνον καὶ κήδε' ἔθηκεν.

Thus they were speaking to each other; but Phoebus Apollo got into sacred Ilion; he worried that the Danaans would destroy the well-built walls of the city on that very day beyond fate. The other ever-living gods came to Olympus, some angry and some greatly exulting; then they took their seats beside the cloud-wrapped father. Meanwhile, Achilles was unceasingly slaughtering both the Trojans and their single-hoof horses. As when the smoke rising from a burning city reaches wide heaven, for the anger of the gods lighted fire, and caused everybody trouble, and gave many people grief, thus Achilles caused the Trojans trouble and grief.

17.169-182: 1+13=(1)+(1+2+3+3+4):

17.169: Τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη κορυθαίολος

17.170: "Γλαῦκε τί ἢ δὲ σὰ τοῖος ἐ(σ)ὼν ὑπέροπλον ἔειπες;

17.171: ὂ πόποι ἦ τ' ἐφάμην σὲ περὶ φρένας ἔμμεναι ἄλλων

17.172: τῶν ὅσσοι Λυκίην ἐριβώλακα ναιετάουσι·

17.173: νῦν δέ σευ ἀνοσάμην πάγχυ φρένας οἶον ἔειπες,

17.174: ὅς τέ με φὴς Αἴαντα πελώριον οὐχ ὑπομεῖναι.

17.175: οὔ τοι ἐγὼν ἔρριγα μάχην οὐδὲ κτύπον ἵππων·

17.176: ἀλλ' αἰεί τε Διὸς κρείσσων νόος αἰγιόχοιο,

17.177: ὅς τε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἄνδρα φοβεῖ καὶ ἀφείλετο νίκην

17.178: ἡηϊδίως, ότὲ δ' αὐτὸς ἐποτρύνει μαχέσασθαι.

17.179: ἀλλ' ἄγε δεῦρο πέπον, παρ' ἔμ' ἵστασο καὶ ἴδε ἔργον,

17.180: ἠὲ πανημέριος κακὸς ἔσσομαι, ὡς ἀγορεύεις,

17.181: ἦ τινα καὶ Δαναῶν ἀλκῆς μάλα περ μεμαῶτα

17.182: σχήσω ἀμυνέμεναι περὶ Πατρόκλοιο θανόντος."

Looking askance at him, Hector of the shining helmet said: "Glaucus, why did you speak so insolently, you, such a valiant one? I always said that you are endowed with greater understanding than any men who dwell in all very fertile Lycia; but now I wholeheartedly find fault in your thoughts, for you said such a thing, and you said that I can't resist terrible Ajax. I never shuddered neither at battle nor the sound of horses' feet; but the thinking of aegis-bearing Zeus is always stronger than ours, who, at one time, easily scares a brave man and takes victory away from him, while, at another, he leads him to fight. Come here then, my friend, stand by my side and see my deeds, whether I will be a coward the whole day as you say, or whether I will stay warding off anyone of the Danaans, even if the furiously boldest one, around dead Patroclus."

22.189-202: 1+13=(1)+(5+5+3):

22.189: "Εκτορα δ' ἀσπερχὲς κλονέων ἔφεπ' ἀκὺς 'Αχιλλεύς.

Swift Achilles was unceasingly pursuing Hector, driving him into confusion. As a hound, after it flushed a fawn of a deer

22.190: ὡς δ' ὅτε νεβρὸν ἄρεσφι κύων ἐλάφοιο δίηται

22.191: ὄρσας έξ εὐνῆς διά τ' ἄγκεα καὶ διὰ βήσσας

22.192: τὸν δ' εἴ πέρ τε λάθησι καταπτήξας ὑπὸ θάμνῳ,

22.193: ἀλλά τ' ἀνιχνεύων θέει ἔμπεδον ὄφρά κεν εύρη·

22.194: ὡς Ἔκτωρ οὐ λῆθε ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα.

22.195: όσσάκι δ' ὁρμήσειε πυλάων Δαρδανιάων

22.196: ἀντίον ἀΐξασθαι ἐυδμήτους ὑπὸ πύργους,

22.197: εἴ πως οἶ καθύπερθεν ἀλάλκοιεν βελέεσσι,

22.198: τοσσάκι μιν προπάροιθεν ἀποστρέψασκε παραφθάς

22.199: πρὸς πεδίον· αὐτὸς δὲ ποτὶ πτόλιος πέτετ' αἰεί.

22.200: ὡς δ' ἐν ὀνείρω οὐ δύναται φεύγοντα διώκειν·

22.201: οὕτ' ἄ' ὃ τὸν δύναται ὑποφεύγειν οὕθ' ὃ διώκειν

22.202: ὡς ὁ τὸν οὐ δύνατο μάρψαι ποσίν, οὐδ' ὡς ἀλύξαι.

from its lair in the mountains, chases it through glens and thickets; and it may even escape him, crouching under a shrub, but he runs tracking it without resting until he finds it. Thus, Hector did not escape the swift-footed son of Peleus. As many times as he tried to quickly set to get towards the Dardanian gates and under the well-built towers, on the chance that some people would ward him by shooting darts from above, so many times Achilles would overtake him and compel him to turn back towards the plain: Achilles was always keeping himself on the city side. Like in a dream, a man can't chase a runaway; neither the one can escape the other one, nor the other can pursue him; thus, neither Achilles succeeded in catching Hector, nor Hector was able to escape Achilles.

The Rgveda is the most ancient evidence of Indo-European poetry: the early oral composition phases are dated to the first half of second millennium BC at least and related to Proto-Indo-European (PIE) developments of language. Books (Mandala) 2-7 of the Rgveda Samhitā are considered to be the most ancient Vedic texts.⁵³ Although content, metrical structures, origin and transmission are quite different, close linguistic relations between Homeric and Vedic formulaic expressions have been recognized in some fundamental works. The Homeric formula κλέ(F)ος ἄφθιτον, "imperishable glory" and the corresponding śráva(s) ákṣitam and ákṣiti śrávas, have been studied in the respective metrical contexts by Gregory Nagy, also highlighting the correlation of phraseology and meter.⁵⁴ The verb εὔχομαι, "I say, declare" with a strong amplifying connotation, has been compared with the transitive and intransitive usage of the etymologically corresponding Vedic verb $\bar{u}h$ - by Leonard Muellner.⁵⁵ The correspondences suggest that the Homeric expressions probably trace back to the earliest linguistic phases of the development of Greek language, predating the Mycenaean innovations, and are related to PIE linguistic traditions just like the mentioned formula λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην. ⁵⁶ If the archaeological evidence on the coming of new populations in Thessaly earlier than in central Greece and Peloponnese, and the recent linguistic speculations mentioned above, are right, these Homeric features are probably related to Thessalian environments where seminomadic tribes of PIE speakers settled at first. Is it possible to find connections between the Thessalian component embedded in Homeric diction and cognate linguistic and formulaic elements in Indic traditions?⁵⁷

The *Rgveda* composition system consists of $p\bar{a}das$ (= verse lines) groupings, and their meter consists of fixed number of syllables, generally arranged into trimeters and dimeters. Rigvedic and Homeric lines are, however, 'quantitative' since they are arranged in patterns of heavy and light syllables. The Rigvedic composition techniques use something similar to recurring modular blocks: a) 4-line groupings, consisting of 4 dodecasyllables (*Jagatī*); 4-line groupings, consisting of 4 hendecasyllables (*Triṣṭubh*); 4-line groupings, consisting of 4 octosyllables (*Anuṣṭubh*); 4-line groupings, consisting of 8 + 8 + 12 + 8 syllables (*Bṛhatī*); 4-line groupings, consisting of 12 + 8 + 12 + 8 syllables (*Satobṛhatī*); b) 3-line groupings, consisting of 3 octosyllables (*Gāyatrī*); c) 2-line groupings, consisting of (8 + 8 + 12) + (8 + 8 + 8 + 4) syllables (*Uṣṇih*), and 5 + 5 syllables (*Dvipadā*

⁵³ About *Rgveda Saṃhitā* commentary and English translation, see Jamison/Bereton 2014 and 2020. On the linguistic, metrical, and philological aspects, see *VedaWeb Project. Online Research Platform for Old Indic Texts*, https://vedaweb.uni-koeln.de/; Mondaca/Rau 2020; Mayrhofer 1986-2001 (*EWA*) and 1978; Kümmel 2024; Gunkel - Ryan 2022, 2018, and 2011; Sadovski 2020 and 2012). See also *GRETIL*, http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil.html and *CDSD*, https://www.sanskrit-lexicon.uni-koeln.de/.

⁵⁴ Cf. above n. 36.

⁵⁵ Muellner 1976, 17-67, 69-98, 100-107, 114-146; *EWA*/1: 283 *sv. OH*; cf. *ibid.*: 246 *sv. ŪH* (*ŪH*^{2a}); see *LH*/1: 510-511, *s.v.* εὕχομαι; *DELG*: 389, *GEW*/1: 595-596, *EDG*/1: 485-486, *s.v.* εὕχομαι; cf. *DMic*/1: 261-262 *ss.vv. e-u-ke-to-qe* at PY Eb 297.1, 3rd pers. pres. med. *εὕχετοι = εὕχεται, and *e-u-ko-me-no*, anthroponym *Εὐχόμενος at PY Jn 725.23.

⁵⁶ Willi 2011, 463; on relations between Greek poetic language and phraseology and Indo-European heritage, see Massetti 2019; cf. Bubenik 2021; Giannakis 2021; Kulikov 2021; García Ramón 2020.

⁵⁷ The treatment of double PIE double resonant in Sankrit-Vedic also seem to show a more advanced phase in developing language than the redoubling in Thessalic/Aeolic, a phenomenon also attested in Mycenaean Greek: see above nn. 30 and 33.

Virāj). The syllable-counting metrical structure is similar to Aeolic meters, which are syllable-counting and quantitative, possibly cognate to Vedic meter. If Aeolic meters are directly connected to PIE heritage, might they indirectly confirm that the Aeolic/Thessalian background was the earliest phase in developing Greek language and civilization before Homer?

I will give just two examples from *Maṇḍala* VII 18, *Battle of the Ten Kings*, in which King *Sudās* and his *Bharata* followers, with god Indra on their side, defeat an alliance of ten kings, which includes their former allies, the $P\bar{u}rus$. The hymn is composed in *Triṣṭubh* verses consisting of 4 hendecasyllables and is made of three main sections: VII 18.1-4 (proem), 18.5-21 (the battle), ending section (18.22-25). In VII 18.5-8 (4 verses), there is the catalogue of foes, while the core of the narration is at VII 18.9-21, showing the symmetrical order of 2 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 2 *stanze* (VII 18.9-10, 11-13, 14-16, 17-19, 20-21). I report below sections VII 18.14-16 and 18.17-19, both consisting of 4 + 4 + 4 *pādas*, where the intervention of Indra supporting the outnumbered forces of newcomers' king *Sudās* to defeat the enemy coalition is emphasized. Sequences of 4 + 4 + 4 lines, forming 12-line groupings, are also attested in the *Iliad*: e.g., *Il.* 1.428-439, 5.180-191, 16.83-94, 20.187-198, 22.25-36. In the very short overview, I will use the metrically restored version of the texts edited by Barend A. van Nooten and Gary B. Holland, ⁵⁹ and the translation of Stephanie W. Jamison and Joel P. Bereton. ⁶⁰

Mandala VII 18.14-16:

7.018.14a: ní gavyávo ánavo druhyávas ca

7.018.14b: şaştíḥ śatā suşupuḥ şát sahásrā

7.018.14c: şaştír vīrāso ádhi sád duvoyú 7.018.14d: vísvéd indrasya vīriyā kṛtāni

7.018.15a: índreṇaité tṛtsavo véviṣāṇā

7.018.15b: āpo ná srstā adhavanta nīcīh

7.018.15c: durmitrāsah prakalavín mímānā

7.018.15d: jahúr víśvāni bhójanā sudāse

7.018.16a: ardhám vīrásya śṛtapām anindrám

7.018.16b: párā śárdhantam nunude abhí kṣām

7.018.16c: índro manyúm manyumíyo mimāya 7.018.16d: bhejé pathó vartaním pátyamānaḥ

14. The cow-seeking Anu and Druhyu people fell down to sleep—sixty hundred, six thousand (of them). (But on the other side there were just) sixty heroes with six on top, in search of (Indra's) favor. All these are the manly deeds of Indra.

15. These Trtsus, constantly laboring alongside Indra, ran like waters released downward. The ill-allied ones, meting (their supplies) out with a miser's eye, (yet) left behind all their goodies for Sudās.

16. The (mere) half a hero, who drinks the cooked oblation without Indra, who vaunts himself, did he thrust away to the ground. Indra confounded the battle fury of the one who confounds the battle fury (of others). He took to the course of the path, being master of it.

Mandala VII 18.19-19:

7.018.17a: ādhréṇa cit tád u ékaṃ cakāra 7.018.17b: siṃhíyaṃ cit pétuvenā jaghāna 7.018.17c: áva ṣraktīr veśiyāvṛścad índraḥ 7.018.17d: prāyachad víśvā bhójanā sudāse

7.018.18a: śáśvanto hí śátravo rāradhúş ţe 7.018.18b: bhedásya cic chárdhato vinda rándhim

7.018.18c: mártām éna stuvató yáḥ kṛṇóti 7.018.18d: tigmám tásmin ní jahi vájram indra

7.018.19a: avad índram yamúnā trtsavas ca 7.018.19b: prātra bhedám sarvátātā muṣāyat 7.018.19c: ajāsas ca sígravo yákṣavas ca 7.018.19d: balím sīrṣāṇi jabhrur ásviyāni 17. Even with a feeble thing he performed this unique (deed): he smote even the lioness with a wether. Indra hewed down the poles with a pin. He handed over all the goodies to Sudās. 18. "Because one after the other, the rivals become subject to you, procure the subjugation even of vaunting Bheda. Who(ever) commits an offense against mortals who praise, smash your sharp mace down on him, o Indra."

19. The Yamunā (River) helped Indra, as did the Trtsus. He despoiled Bheda there entirely, and the Ajas, Śighras, and the Yaksus brought horses's heads as tribute.

10

⁵⁸ Bereton/Jamison 2014/2, 902-905.

⁵⁹ van Nooten/Holland 1995. The texts based on van Nooten - Holland edition are also available at https://lrc.la.utexas.edu/books/rigveda/RV00.

⁶⁰ Bereton/Jamison 2014/2, 904-905.

1.5 The setting of the *Iliad* also demands comparison with Anatolian sources. The connections between the LBA Greeks and Anatolian populations have been extensively studied. The question of the Greek reception of Anatolian traditions would also introduce the question why the Romans connected their founding myth to an Anatolian war refugee, Aeneas and not to a Homeric hero from the winning side. The main source, beside Virgil's *Aeneid*, is *IG* 14.1286 = *Tabula Iliaca* B p. 49 Sadurska, and there are some allusions in *Iliad* 20.292-308, 1 + 16 lines = (1) + (7 + 9). This passage was well known by Virgil and the Greek historians of the Augustan age. However the traditions flowed into Hesiod's *Theogony* in the $7^{th} - 6^{th}$ c. BC, lines 1011-1016, connect Latinus' ancestry to Odysseus and not Aeneas.

The idea of mythological singing as a weaving action was shared between Hittite and Greek cultures, as is clear from the verbal form in the Hittite mythological proems, $i\check{s}hamihhi$ ("I sing"). The Hittite verb is related to nouns ishiya- "tie", "bind", ishima(n)- "line", "cord", possibly stemming from the root of Greek oĭµn and Vedic $s\bar{a}$ - in a suffixed form * $s\acute{e}E_2$ -m- , from which Vedic $s\acute{a}m$ -an-, "song". Is this coincidence a common PIE heritage or an independent phenomenon? Also, it should be especially interesting to focus on linguistic and formulaic parallels not previously pointed out, examining the Hurrian rituals, which show contact points with Homeric prayers and religious liturgies, and the Hurrian mythological texts. Familiarity with mythology and rituals from LBA Kizzuwatna, roughly corresponding to Classical Cilicia, suggests that the Achaeans had direct knowledge of Hurrian religious and literary practices, which flowed into both Homeric and Hesiodic traditions (see below § 2.2 and § 3.2). 68

I give here just a very few examples of stylistic and conceptual similarities between Homeric and Hurrian expressions. The formulaic speech introduction ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε (see above *Il.* 6.253), semantically corresponds to the Hurrian formula "(PN) *tiwena* (PN) *alumai(n) katija*", "(PN) the words (to PN) speaking says", attested in several mythological fragments: 69 d *IŠTAR-g*[a *a*] l $^{ti-we}$ e- na d U- $^{ta-al}$ $^{a-lu-ma-in}$ l $^{ka-a-ti}$, "Sauska (the goddess of love and war) the words to Tessub (the Storm-god) speaking says". 70 A variant of the Hurrian speech-introduction formula changes $^{a-lu-ma-in}$ $^{ka-a-ti}$ (- ja), "speaking the words", into $^{hu-u-te-ma-e}$ $^{qa-ti-ia}$, "declaring the words". The

⁶¹ On the Anatolian literary sources, texts, and updated literature, see *HPM*, https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.php; cf. van den Hout 2020.

⁶² The literature is too exentsive to be summarized here. It is worthwhile to cite the fundamental work of Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer (2007) and the *corpus* of Hittite documents concerning political, economic, and military relations between Hittite kings, Anatolian chiefs, and Achaean rulers, edited by Gary Beckman, Trevor Bryce, and Eric Cline (2011). The updated edition of one of the most important documents has been provided by Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer and Elisabeth Rieken (2019). Ian Rutherford and Mary Bachvarova have published two comprehensive works on the connections between Greek and LBA Anatolian religions (2020), and Homeric poetry and Hittite texts (2016), respectively. About the relations between Hittites and Achaeans, see, e.g., Bryce, 2019; Oreshko 2018, Taracha 2018a and 2018b.

⁶³ Cf. Petrain 2014. *IG* 14 is not yer available in the ongoing online edition, *IG: Inscriptiones Graecae*, https://www.bbaw.de/en/research/inscriptiones-graecae.

⁶⁴ See Aen. 3.97-98; cf.Il. 20.307-308.

⁶⁵ Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 1.72.2.

⁶⁶ Cf. Hellan. FrGrHist 4 F31; Dion. Hal., Ant. Rom. 1.45.4-1.48.1; see also Strabo 13.1.52.

⁶⁷ Cf. HED/E-I, 395

⁶⁸ Morris 2013 (see below § 2.2); cf. Warbinek/Giusfredi 2023; Görke 2022; Gilan 2019. Andrea Trameri recently published a comprehensive and interdisciplinary volume on Kizzuwatna (Trameri 2024), substantially facing issues of political history, historical geography, culture and religion, population and language, including a discussion on the *Ahhiyawa* question and *Tanaja: ibid.* 40, 42-43, 237, 455 (*Ahhiyawa*), 35-37 (*Tanaja, tny* in the Egytpian sources); on society, culture and religion in Kizzuwatna, see *ibid.* 459-513. The Conference *The Kingdom of Kizzuwatna: Recent Developments in Research*, Leiden, 2023, March 23-25, updated the state-of-the-art. Various points of history, sociolinguistic and cultural layout, remain unclear. The presence of Hurrian-speaking population in Kizzuwatna is a debated theme: Yakubovich 2022; Simon 2020. Some similarities between the Hurrian-Hittite bilingual *Song of Release* and the *Iliad* have been pointed out by Eric Neu (Neu 1996; cf. von Dassow 2013) and many other scholars (see, e.g., Bachvarova 2016, 111-165). On the Hurrian rituals, see *Corpus der hurritischen Sprachdenkmäler* (Rome 1984-); Miller 2004; cf. Kaynar 2018; about the Hurrian mythological fragments, see Salvini/Wegner 2004. On the Hurrian language, see Giorgieri 2000; Wegner 2007 and Wegner/Bomhard 2020; Wilhelm 2018; on orality and metrical issues, see Sanker 2018; Archi 2009; Bachvarova 2011 and 2014.

⁶⁹ Salvini/Wegner 2004: 15; cf. De Cristofaro 2016c: 229-230.

⁷⁰ *KBo* 12.80 + *KUB* 5.62 Ro. I 6-7, Salvini/Wegner 2004: 40.

⁷¹ Cf. KUB 47.17, Salvini/Wegner 2004: 53.

form hu-u-te-ma-e is a gerundive from the root * $h\bar{u}d$ -, "beten, preisen, erhören". The meaning is similar to Homeric verb εὕχομαι and corresponding Indic $\bar{u}h$ - (cf. above § 2.1), which also show a certain level of correspondence with Hurrian *tal-, e.g., e-e-e-ri ta-al-ma- $a\bar{s}$ -ti-i-i $i\bar{s}$ -i[-tu-u-ri], "I want to praise the ma[iden]" in line 2 of the proemium of the Song of Release. One alternative proemial line of the Iliad, Μούσας άείδω καί ἀπόλλωνα κλυτότοξον, "I sing the Muses and glorious-bow Apollo", recalls the proemial expressions $\bar{s}iratili$ $Te\bar{s}\bar{s}ub$, in the same Song of Release, "I want to sing Tessub" (KBo 32.11 Ro I 1), read $\bar{s}iratili$ $kia\bar{s}e$, "I want to sing the Sea", in the proemium of the Song of the Sea (KUB 45.63 Ro. I 3). In the translation of KUB 45.63 Ro. I, I adopt the emendations and expansions of Meindert Dijkstra.

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KBo 32.11 Ro. I (Neu 1996: 30)
                                                                       I want to sing Tessub, the g[reat] lord of Kummi.
1 ši-ra-ti-li dIM-ub uruKum-mi-ni-wi<sub>i</sub> t[a-la-a-wu<sub>u</sub>-ši]
                                                                       I want to praise the ma[iden]
                                                                       Allani, the "latch" of the earth.
2 e-eb-ri ta-al-ma-aš-ti-i-li ši-i[-tu-u-ri]
3 ni-ik-ri e-še-ne-e-bi A-al-la-a[-ni]
                                                                       And together (with them) I want to speak about
4 ma-an-zu-u-ra-ma ka-ti-il-li i-š[a-aš]
                                                                       the maid, Ishara, the word [...]
5 ši-tu-u-ri dIš-ha-ra ti-wi (rasur) ta-a-an[-
                                                                       unattainable wisdom, the goddess.
6 ma-a-ti a-mu-tu-u-pa-ti e-ne
                                                                       I want to speak about Pizikarra, who to E[bla
                                                                       will bring [...]. Pizikarra (will?) destroy[...]
7 <sup>m</sup>Pí-zi-kar-ra ka-ti-li <sup>uru</sup>E[-eb-la
8 a-ki-tu-u-ri <sup>m</sup>Pí-zi-kar-ra-aš pa-hſé-
                                                                       Nunassa and Ebla.
9 <sup>uru</sup>Nu-u-ḥa-aš-še-ni <sup>uru</sup>E-eb-la-am
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KUB 45.63 Ro. I (Salvini/Wegner 2004: 46-47).
                                                                    1 A song which I composed?, [I will] perform? []
1 [x]-i-ra hi-iš-ti-ú-ša ka-a-[
                                                                    2 in the presence of heaven-and-earth
2 ¬e¬-še ha-a-wu<sub>u</sub>-u-ru-un-ni-i-ra [
                                                                    3 I will sing about begetting? Sea [... where he]
3 ši-i-ra-a-ti-li ki-i-ia-ši wu<sub>u</sub>-u-[
                                                                    4 in former times reached, ten thou[sand?...]
4 a-wi<sub>i</sub>-i-in a-am-mi-i-ni-i-in nu-[
                                                                    5 did not exist. Unknown were the hea[vens above, below]
5 \text{ } \acute{u}-ru-\acute{u}-uk-ku pa-a-lu-uk-ku ha-[x]-x[-
                                                                    6 the earth did not exist. Above in the midst [of. . .
6 e-še ú-ru-uk-ku a-aš-hu-un e-ki-x-[
                                                                    7 ú-e-ru-uḥ-ḥa-a-al DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>-na ḥu-u-ul-l[i(-)
                                                                    8 The nine? gods wished to stretch out a [.....]
                                                                    9 turned to below. [The nine? gods wished] to set up?
8 zi-i-it(-)ku-ú-li DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>-na ta-am-[
                                                                    10 a Massigga-tree turned to above. The hea[ven?]
9 pa-a-ri tu-ú-ri-i-in a-ra-an-nu-ú[(-)
                                                                    11 above the enti turned down [to the earth?] below
10 par-zi-i-ga pa-a-ri a-aš-ḥu-un ḥa-x/
11 a-aš-ḥu pa-a-re-en-tu-ú-uš tu-ú-r[i
                                                                    12 The ancestor gods ....[]
                                                                    13 the tendon? of their feet []
12 a-ma-a-at-ti-i-na DINGIR<sup>meš</sup>-na i-ki-ia?¬-x[
                                                                    14.....
13 hi-i-tu-ú-ri/tal ú-ri-ia-ša-an-[
14 \text{ x-} n - i? \neg x \quad x \quad x \quad x - DINGIR \neg \text{m} \text{ [eš ?]}
```

The proemial section of the *Song of Release* is a 9-line grouping, made of 3+3+3 lines, similar to 3-line groupings $G\bar{a}yatr\bar{\iota}$ in the Rgveda (cf. above § 1.4). A certain number of Indo-Iranian elements in some very ancient Hurrian names and technical expressions suggest that contacts and relations between the Hurrian non-Indo-European civilization and Proto-Indo-European cultural and

⁷² Salvini/Wegner 2004: 23 n. 32.

⁷³ Neu 1996: 33-36.

⁷⁴ Sch. *Il*. 1.1a, n. 1; 1 Erbse, 3.

⁷⁵ Neu 1996, 30.

Salvini/Wegner 2004: 46; De Cristofaro 2006: 277-284. On the Hurrian mythological text *The Song of the Sea*, see Salvini/Wegner 2004: 21-22; 46-51 (fragments No. 12-18); cf. Rutherford 2020: 148. On the perception of the sea in the Hittite culture, see Vigo 2012.
 Dijkstra 2011: 66-68.

linguistic environments occurred somewhere during the Bronze Age.⁷⁸ The kings of Hurrian Mittani kingdom in upper Syria and North-Western Mesopotamia had dynastic names etymologically related to the Indo-Aryan linguistic area.⁷⁹ Some Vedic deities were worshiped by the Mittanian royal family and mentioned in the treaty between the Hittite Great King Šuppiluliuma I and the Mittanian prince Šattiwaza (14th c. BC): "The Mitra-gods", "The Varuna-gods", "Indra", and "The Nasatiya-gods"⁸⁰. The 3 + 3 + 3 grouping is also one of the most recurring patterns in the *Iliad*: see, e.g., *Il*. 6.494-502, 13.567-575, 14.283-291, 16.756-764, 17.491-499, 20.4-12.

The proemium of the *Song of the Sea*, *KUB* 45.63 Ro. I 1-14, is a 7 + 7 section, arranged in 2 + 5 (Ro. I 1-2 and Vs. I 3-7) and 4 + 3 (Ro. I 8-11 and Ro I 12-14) lines, respectively.⁸¹ The 2 + 5 and 4 + 3 patterns and the 7 + 7-line groupings frequently occur in the *Iliad*: see, e.g., *Il*. 1.1-7, 3.1-7, 5.835-841, 8.53-59, 9.284-290, 15.518-524, 18.316-322, 19.12-18, 23.17-23, 24.788-794 (2 + 5); *Il*. 2.95-101, 4.463-469, 6.5-11; 9.9-15, 10.183-189, 13.206-212, 14.402-408, 15.429-435, 16.652-658, 17.312-318, 18.490-496, 20.394-400, 21.233-239, 24.621-627 (4 + 3); *Il*. 3.1-14, 4.169-182, 14.486-499, 15.128-141,17.553-566, 22.7-20, 22. 131-144, 22.330-343 (7 + 7). Are the coincidences between Hurrian, Indic, Homeric, and Aeolic composition patterns in sung poetry merely random phenomena? Are there connections between these different oral traditions? If so, how may they be explained?

2. The seven-line groupings in the Iliad. A short overview

This article is protreptic to ongoing research, which aims to analyze the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, focusing on the frequency of compositional patterns and the comparison of Indo-European with non-Indo-European traditions. The overall objective is to highlight the compositional techniques and the linguistic component related to the synchronic and diachronic development of the Homeric traditions within the Aegean-Mediterranean historical framework. The paper provides a brief overview of seven-line groupings in the *Iliad*, which are the most recurring modular blocks in the poem. ⁸² There are 308 occurrences of seven-line sections: 2,156 lines in 15,696 total hexameters, forming 13.73% of the verses in the *Iliad*. ⁸³ For example, the opening section, *Il*. 1.1-32, comprises a symmetrical sequence of 7 + 9 + 7 + 9 lines: *Il*. 1.1-7, 1.8-16, 1.17-23, 1.24-32⁸⁴.

Many documents curated by the *Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature* at Harvard University (*MPCOL*) consist of independent lines and regularly recurring modular blocks, which are especially suited to oral improvisation but are unnecessary for written composition. ⁸⁵ A comparison with the *MPCOL* documents would aim to investigate similarities and differences between Homeric and South Slavic Bards' tools of composition-in-performance 3000 thousand years later. ⁸⁶ Parry and Lord particularly focused on formulaic diction. I would rather focus on the presence of regular and recurring modular blocks and independent lines. Is the use of such a technique due to cultural heritage or independent phenomena? The question would aim to be the starting point of comparison between compositional, metrical, and prosodic tools in different oral traditions, still living close to the 'western' world and beyond. Comparison with similar studies would be intriguing, such as e.g., "Oral Tales of Mongolian Bards", edited by Walther Klaus Heissig Sagaster, including epic poems and the

⁷⁸ On the Indo-Iranian elements in Hurrian language, see Fournet/Bomhard 2010; on the Indo-Iranian terms in Hippological instructions of Kikkuli of Mittani (*CTH* 284), see Masson 1998; on the literature on *CTH* 284 see *HPM*, https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk abfrage.php?c=284.

⁷⁹ de Martino 2000: 69-70; Id. 2014: 68-69; cf. Cotticelli-Kurras/Pisaniello 2023.

⁸⁰ Beckman 1999: 43 and 49, Text No. 6A (*CTH* 51) §14 and Text No. 6B (*CTH* 52) §11, respectively; about the mentions of the Indo-Aryan deitis in *CTH* 51, cf. Wilhelm 2016a (*CTH* 51 Text A₁₊₂ §17' Rs 55'-56'); on updated literature on *CTH* 51 and *CTH* 52, see *HPM*, https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk_abfrage.php?c=51, and https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk_abfrage.php?c=52; on the Indo-Aryan deities in Hurrian contexts see Fournet 2010. The Indo-Aryan names of the ancestors of Mittanian ruler Šattiwaza are mentioned in *CTH* 52: Beckman 1996: 44, Text 6B §1.

⁸¹ Salvini/Wegner 2004: 46-47.

⁸² See below nn. 90, 93-96.

⁸³ Cf. De Cristofaro 2016a: 37-39 (Tables 3-4) and 360-367 (Appendix No. 2).

⁸⁴ De Cristofaro 2016a: 42-45.

⁸⁵ MPCOL, https://mpc.chs.harvard.edu/.

⁸⁶ See, e.g., Bonifazi 2016 and 2012.

s.-c. "Tales of the fiddle", which show several parallels with the MPCOL texts. ⁸⁷ I report below just one example, consistent with the focus on the 7-line groupings in the Iliad, from Petar Vidić's song $Marko\ Kraljević\ i\ Mina\ od\ Kostura$, recorded at Pileta (Stolac) in 1933. ⁸⁸ The 7-verse proemial sequence is made of 4+3 independent lines followed by a speech introduction and a dialogue made of 3+2+3 lines. The further 7-line sequence (verses 15-21) is made of 4+3 independent lines. The 4+3 pattern is one of the most often recurring in the Iliad (see above §1.5):

Vino pije Kraljeviću Marko,
 A sa svojom ostarjelom majkom,
 I sa svojom vjerenicom ljubom,
 I sa svojom jedinicom sejom.
 Kad se Marko nakitio vina,
 Kad se Marko čašu utočio,
 Pak nazdravlja ostarjeloj majci.

1: Kraljevica Marko is drinking wine,

2: And with his aged mother,

3: And with his beloved wife,

4: And with his only son.

5: When Marko was drunk with wine,

6: When Marko took refuge in a glass,

7: Then he toasts his aged mother.

15: Kad je Marko došo u vojništvo,
16: Tri se puta preklonio Marko,
17: Dok je caru ruci pristupio;
18: Pa je caru ruku poljubio.
19: Car mu odmah sablju oduzeo,
20: Oduzeo sablju i šarina,
21: Da ga služi devet godin dana.

15: When Marko joined the army,
16: Marco bowed three times,
17: While he approached the emperor's hand;
18: So, he kissed the emperor's hand.
19: The emperor immediately took away his saber,
20: Took away saber and saber,
21: To serve him for nine years.

The most recurring 7-line pattern in the *Iliad* consists of 1 + 6 lines: 87 occurrences.⁸⁹ The first line introduces the six following hexameters. The 1 + 6 pattern is particularly suited to speeches: 51 of the 87 occurrences.⁹⁰ The first line is the speech introduction, while the following lines report the spoken words.⁹¹ Just a few examples follow below:

II. 4.265-271:
4.265: Τὸν δ' αὖτ' Ἰδομενεὺς Κρητῶν ἀγὸς ἀντίον ηὕδα·
4.266: "'Ατρεΐδη μάλα μέν τοι ἐγὼν ἐρίηρος ἐταῖρος
4.267: ἔσσομαι, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ὑπέστην καὶ κατένευσα·
4.268: ἀλλ' ἄλλους ὅτρυνε κάρη κομόωντας 'Αχαιοὺς
4.269: ὅφρα τάχιστα μαχώμεθ', ἐπεὶ σύν γ' ὅρκι' ἔχευαν
4.270: Τρῶες· τοῖσιν δ' αὖ θάνατος καὶ κήδε' ὀπίσσω
4.271: ἔσσετ' ἐπεὶ πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὅρκια δηλήσαντο".

Then Idomeneus, leader of the Cretans, replied to him: "Son of Atreus, I will be a faithful comrade, as I promised and assured you from the beginning. But now, urge on the other long-haired Achaeans that we may quickly join battle because the Trojans have broken the oaths; death and grief will occur in return to them, for they have been the first to attack us in violation of oaths."

90 *Il.* 1.285-291; *Il.* 1.544-550; *Il.* 2.271-277; *Il.* 3.455-461; *Il.* 4.265-271; *Il.* 4.310-316; *Il.* 4.349-355; *Il.* 5.454-460; *Il.* 5.463-469; *Il.* 5.600-606; *Il.* 6.325-331; *Il.* 7.347-353; *Il.* 7.405-411; *Il.* 8.160-166; *Il.* 10. 233-239; *Il.* 10.241-247; *Il.* 11.361-367; *Il.* 13.76-82; *Il.* 13.149-155; *Il.* 13.259-265; *Il.* 14.263-269; *Il.* 14.270-276; *Il.* 14.469-475; *Il.* 15.246-252; *Il.* 15.471-477; *Il.* 15.552-558; *Il.* 16.555-561; *Il.* 16.619-625; *Il.* 16.744-750; *Il.* 17.326-332; *Il.* 17.474-480; *Il.* 17.500-506; *Il.* 17.560-566; *Il.* 17.715-721; *Il.* 18.138-144; *Il.* 20.103-109; *Il.* 21.461-467; *Il.* 22.7-13; *Il.* 22.14-20; *Il.* 22.330-336; *Il.* 22.337-343; *Il.* 22.430-436; *Il.* 23.5-11; *Il.* 24.193-199; *Il.* 24.552-558; *Il.* 24.682-688; *Il.* 24.777-783. Four prayers are arranged according to the 1 + 6 pattern: *Il.* 1.450-456 (cf. 1.35-42, 2+6), *Il.* 5.114-120, *Il.* 6.304-310, *Il.* 6.475-481. The 7-line groupings *Il.* 3.455-461 and *Il.* 5.454-460 may be considered as part of 1 + 6 pattern even if the real speech is recorded in 5 lines (3.456-460 and 5.455-459) after the speech introduction (3.455 and 5.454 respectively). In fact, both lines 3.461 and 5.460 are connected as ending lines to both the small sections; 3.461 ends the entire Rhapsody 3, while 5.461 starts a new section.

⁹¹ Cf. Beck 2023. The speech - action - simile formula (Tucker 1969), which often appears in Latin epics, has, therefore, a Homeric pedigree; cf. Morford 1967; Dinter 2013. Lucan's proem, *Phars*. 1-7 is a 7-line section, but Latin epics are not usually patterned in interrelated patterns but in interdependent lines. This is not an oral genre like Homer's poetry, which was the model of later poets who learned Homeric stereotypes transmitted by Hellenistic literature, contrasting composition-in-performance with performance (allowing interpolations) of a written text. However, Hellenistic and Latin poets did not have an awareness of the oral-extemporaneous genesis and composition-in-performance of the Homeric poems. On the reception of Homer in Hellenistic Age and Late Anriquity see the volume edited by Christina-Panagiota Manolea (2022); on the use and rexeption in Pseudo-Plutarch and the Second Sophistic, see Keaveney/Lamberton 1996:10-29; Niehoff 2012; Heat 2022 and Kim 2022.

⁸⁷ Cf. Heissig Sagaster 2019.

⁸⁸ MPCOL, https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:2585876\$1i.

⁸⁹ See below nn. 90, 92-95.

Il. 5.600-606:

5.600: ὡς τότε Τυδεΐδης ἀνεχάζετο, εἶπέ τε λαῷ·

5.601: "ὧ φίλοι οἷον δὴ θαυμάζομεν Έκτορα δίον

5.602: αἰχμητήν τ' ἔμεναι καὶ θαρσαλέον πολεμιστήν

5.603: τῷ δ' αἰεὶ πάρα εἶς γε θεῶν, ὃς λοιγὸν ἀμύνει·

5.604: καὶ νῦν οἱ πάρα κεῖνος "Αρης βροτῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐοικώς.

5.606: εἴκετε, μηδὲ θεοῖς μενεαινέμεν ἶφι μάχεσθαι".

5.605: ἀλλὰ πρὸς Τρῶας τετραμμένοι αἰὲν ὀπίσσω

Then, the son of Tydeus drew back and said to his army: "My friends, how can we wonder that radiant spearman Hector is a daring warrior? One of the gods is always by his side and keeps the ruin off; and now Ares is there next to him with the appearance of a mortal man. But keeping always your sight on the Trojans, draw back so that we do not dare to fight with gods by force."

II. 7.347-353:

7.347: τοῖσιν δ' 'Αντήνωρ πεπνυμένος ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν

7.348: "κέκλυτέ μευ Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι ήδ' ἐπίκουροι,

7.349: ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.

7.350: δεῦτ' ἄγετ' 'Αργείην Ελένην καὶ κτήμαθ' ἄμ' αὐτῆ

7.351: δώομεν 'Ατρεΐδησιν ἄγειν· νῦν δ' ὅρκια πιστὰ

7.352: ψευσάμενοι μαχόμεσθα· τὸ οὔ νύ τι κέρδιον ἡμῖν

7.353: ἔλπομαι **ἐκτελέεσθαι**, ἵνα μὴ ῥέξομεν ὧδε."

Then, wise Antenor began to talk to them: "Please listen to me, Trojans, Dardanians, and allies, so that I may say the things my spirit led me in my heart to say. Come on, let us give back Argive Helen and the wealth she had with her to the sons of Atreus; we are now fighting in our violation of sacred oaths: I am concerned that we will not gain any advantages until we do so.".

Il. 10.233-239:

10.233: τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν ᾿Αγαμέμνων·

10.234: "Τυδεΐδη Διόμηδες ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ

10.235: τὸν μὲν δὴ ἔταρόν γ' αἰρήσεαι ὅν κ' ἐθέλησθα,

10.236: φαινομένων τὸν ἄριστον, ἐπεὶ μεμάασί γε πολλοί.

10.237: μηδὲ σύ γ' αἰδόμενος σῆσι φρεσὶ τὸν μὲν ἀρείω

10.238: καλλείπειν, σὸ δὲ χείρον' ἀπάσσεαι αἰδοῖ εἴκων

10.239: ἐς γενεὴν ὁρόων, μηδ' εἰ βασιλεύτερός ἐστιν".

Then the lord of men, Agamemnon, spoke to them: "Diomedes, son of Tydeus, the most cherished to my heart, please choose the comrade you want, the best of the ones who offered themselves of free will, because many wished to do this. Neither be you concerned in your soul to reject the better one and choose the worst, looking at his lineage, not even if he is of more royal stock."

Il. 15.471-477:

15.471: Τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα μέγας Τελαμώνιος Αἴας·

15.472: "ὧ πέπον ἀλλὰ βιὸν μὲν ἔα καὶ ταρφέας ἰοὺς

15.473: κεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ συνέχευε θεὸς Δαναοῖσι μεγήρας·

15.474: αὐτὰρ χερσὶν έλὼν δολιχὸν δόρυ καὶ σάκος ὤμῳ

15.475: μάρναό τε Τρώεσσι καὶ ἄλλους ὄρνυθι λαούς.

15.476: μὴ μὰν ἀσπουδί γε δαμασσάμενοί περ ἕλοιεν

15.477: νῆας ἐϋσσέλμους, ἀλλὰ μνησώμεθα χάρμης."

Then Ajax the great, son of Telamon, replied to him: "My good brother, let your bow and thick arrows be, for a god who feels a grudge towards the Danaans made them ineffective. But take your long spear in your hands and your shield on your back and assault the Trojans and urge the other men to do the same. They are overcoming us and would like to take without trouble the well-benched ships, so come on: let us fight as we ought."

Il. 21.461-467:

21.461: Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἄναξ ἐκάεργος ᾿Απόλλων ΄

21.462: "ἐννοσίγαι' οὐκ ἄν με σαόφρονα μυθήσαιο

21.463: ἔμμεναι, εἰ δὴ σοί γε βροτῶν ἕνεκα πτολεμίζω

21.464: δειλών, οἱ φύλλοισιν ἐοικότες ἄλλοτε μέν τε

21.465: ζαφλεγέες τελέθουσιν ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδοντες, 21.466: ἄλλοτε δὲ φθινύθουσιν ἀκήριοι. ἀλλὰ τάχιστα

21.467: παυώμεσθα μάχης· οι δ' αὐτοὶ δηριαάσθων".

Then Apollo, the sir who can do whatever he wants, addressed him in turn: "Earth-shaker, you wouldn't say I'm wise if I should fight you because of poor mortals, who are like leaves and at one time they are full of fire at prime when they lead their life eating the fruit of the earth, another time they waste away lifeless. Let's stop our fight at once: let them struggle among themselves."

Il. 22.337-343:

22.337: Τὸν δ' ὀλιγοδρανέων προσέφη κορυθαίολος Έκτωρ·

22.338: "λίσσομ' ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς καὶ γούνων σῶν τε τοκήων

22.339: μή με ἔα παρὰ νηυσὶ κύνας καταδάψαι 'Αχαιῶν,

22.340: άλλὰ σὺ μὲν χαλκόν τε ἄλις χρυσόν τε δέδεξο

22.341: δῶρα τά τοι δώσουσι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ,

22.342: σῶμα δὲ οἴκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν, ὄφρα πυρός με

22.343: Τρῶες καὶ Τρώων ἄλοχοι λελάχωσι θανόντα."

Then Hector of shining-helmet spoke to him with the last of his remaining strength: "I beg you, by your life and knees and your parents, don't let the dogs devour me at the ships of the Achaeans, but you, please, accept the bronze and gold in abundance and the gifts that my father and my revered mother will give to you to give back home my dead body, so that the Trojans and Trojans' wives may set fire to me dead."

Il. 23.5-11:

23.5: ἀλλ' ὅ γε οἶς ἐτάροισι φιλοπτολέμοισι μετηύδα·

23.6: "Μυρμιδόνες ταχύπωλοι έμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι

23.7: μὴ δή πω ὑπ' ὅχεσφι λυώμεθα μώνυχας ἵππους,

23.8: ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασιν ἄσσον ἰόντες

23.9: Πάτροκλον κλαίωμεν· ὃ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων.

But he (Achilles) said to his war-fond comrades: "Myrmidons with swift horses, my trusty comrades, don't unyoke the horses from chariots yet, but going nearer with the same horses and chariots, let us mourn Patroclus: this is the due honor to the

23.10: αὐτὰρ ἐπεί κ' ὀλοοῖο τεταρπώμεσθα γόοιο,	dead. After we take our fill of painful lamentation, after
23.11: ἵππους λυσάμενοι δορπήσομεν ἐνθάδε πάντες".	unyoking the horses, we all will take supper here."

Also, the 1 + 6 pattern is used in type scenes, such as battle scenes, similes, and descriptive and narrative passages, ⁹² especially at some crucial points in the storyline. ⁹³ For example, this pattern often occurs in the decisive Rhapsody 17 and Rhapsody 22, where the deaths of Patroclus and Hector are recounted, respectively. ⁹⁴ The 1 + 6-line groupings are modular blocks that may be autonomous small sections, represented by the letter (a), or combined with other regular and recurring fixed hexametric groups as a part of a more extensive section, represented by the letter (b). ⁹⁵

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⁹² *II.* 1.326-332 (descriptive-narrative section); *II.* 2.41-47 (descriptive-narrative section); *II.* 4.85-91 (descriptive-narrative section); *II.* 5.792-798 (battle-scene); *II.* 8.316-322 (battle-scene); *II.* 10.73-79 (descriptive-narrative section); *II.* 11.94-100 (battle-scene); *II.* 13.788-794 (battle-scene/catalogue); *II.* 14.224-230 (descriptive-narrative section); *II.* 15.572-578 (battle-scene); *II.* 17.274-280 (battle-scene); *II.* 17.456-462 (battle-scene); *II.* 17.657-663 (battle-scene); *II.* 19.242-248 (catalogue); *II.* 21.298-304 (descriptive-narrative section); *II.* 21.537-543 (descriptive-narrative section); *II.* 22.131-137 (duel-scene), *II.* 22.138-144 (simile), *II.* 22.289-295 (duel-scene); *II.* 23.109-115 (descriptive-narrative section); *II.* 23.116-122 (descriptive-narrative section); *II.* 24.228-234 (catalogue).

⁹³ Rhapsody 1: 5 occurrences (II. 1.233-239 (b); II. I 285-291; II. 1.326-332; II. 1.450-456; II. 1.544-550); Rhapsody 2: 2 occurrences (II. 2.41-47; II. 2.271-277); Rhapsody 3: 1 occurrence (II. 3.455-461); Rhapsody 4: 5 occurrences (II. 4.85-91; II. 4.265-271; II. 4.310-316; Il. 4.349-355; Il. 4.369-375); Rhapsody 5: 3 occurrences (Il. 5.114-120; Il. 5.463-469; Il. 5.600-606); Rhapsody 6: 7 occurrences (II. 6.66-72 (1 + 5 + 1); 6.123-129 (b); 6.145-151 (b); 6.215-221 (b); II. 6.304-310; II. 6.325-331; II. 6.475-481); Rhapsody 7: 3 occurrences (II. 7.37-43; II. 7.347-353; II. 7.405-411); Rhapsody 8: 3 occurrences (II. 8.92-98; II. 8.160-166; II. 8.316-322 (b)); Rhapsody 9: 5 occurrences (II. 9.121-127 (b); II. 9.307-313 (b); 9.314-320 (b); II. 9.478-484 (b); II. 9.478-484 (b)); Rhapsody 10: 3 occurrences (II. 10.46-52 (b); II. 10.73-79; II. 10.241-247); Rhapsody 11: 3 occurrences (II. 11.94-100 (b); II. 11.361-367; II. 11.670-676 (b)); Rhapsody 12: 1 occurrence (II. 12.216-222); Rhapsody 13: 4 occurrences (II. 13.76-82; II. 13.49-155; II. 13.259-265; II. 13.788-794); Rhapsody 14: 4 occurrences (II. 14.224-230; II. 14.263-269 (14.269: Πασιθέην, ἦς αἰὲν ἰμείρεαι ἤματα πάντα". [add. b e g i Eust. al.]); Il. 14.270-276); Rhapsody 15: 4 occurrences (Il. 15.246-252; 15.234-270: 7 + 3 + 7 + 9 + 9); Il. 15.471-477; Il. 15.552-558; Il. 15.572-578); Rhapsody 16: 3 occurrences (Il. 16.555-561; Il. 16.619-625; Il. 16.744-750); Rhapsody 17: 7 occurrences (Il. 17.274-280; II. 17.326-332; II. 17.456-462; II. 17.474-480; II. 17.500-506; II. 17.500-566; II. 17.715-721); Rhapsody 18: 1 occurrence (II. 18.266-272; Rhapsody 19: 1 occurrence (II. 19.242-248; cf. 9.121-127, 4+3 section); Rhapsody 20: 1 occurrence (II. 20.103-109); Rhapsody 21: 3 occurrences (II. 21.298-304; II. 21.461-467; II. 21.537-543); Rhapsody 22: 6 occurrences (II. 22.7-13; II. 22.14-20; II. 22.138-144; Il. 22.330-336; Il. 22.337-343; Il. 22.430-436); Rhapsody 23: 5 occurrences Il. 23.5-11; Il. 23.82-88 (b); Il. 23.109-115; II. 23.116-122; II. 23.657-663; Rhapsody 24: 6 occurrences II. 24.193-199; II. 24.228-234; II. 24.552-558; II. 24.682-688; II. 24.739-745 (b); *Il*. 24.777-783.

 $^{^{94}}$ *II.* 17.274-280: (1+6)=(1)+(1+6); *II.* 17.326-332: (1+6)=(1)+(4+2); *II.* 17.456-462: (1+6)=(1)+(4+2); *II.* 17.474-480: (1+6)=(1)+(4+2); *II.* 17.500-506: (1+6)=(1)+(3+3); *II.* 17.560-566: (1+6)=(1)+(2+2+2); *II.* 17.715-721: (1+6)=(1)+(1+3+2); *II.* 22.7-13: (1+6)=(1)+(3+2+1); *II.* 22.14-20: (1+6)=(1)+(3+2+1); *II.* 22.138-144: (1+6)=(1)+(4+2); *II.* 22.330-336: (1+6)=(1)+(2+2+2); *II.* 22.337-343: (1+6)=(1)+(2+2+2); *II.* 22.430-436: (1+6)=(1)+(6). In Rhapsody 22, we can count 13 seven-line groupings: 5 speeches, mentioned above, according to the 1+6 pattern; 5 occurrences as parts of a more extensive speech: *II.* 22.44-50, 59-65, 378-384, 416-422, 508-514; *II.* 22.131-137 and 289-295 as narrative-descriptive sections in the duel, *II.* 22.138-144 as a simile. See also *II.* 14.263-269, 14.270-276.

⁹⁵ *II.* 1.233-239 (b); *II.* 6.123-129 (b); *II.* 6.145-151 (b); *II.* 6.215-221 (b); *II.* 8.316-322 (b); *II.* 9.121-127 (b); *II.* 9.307-313 (b); 9.314-320 (b); *II.* 9.478-484 (b); *II.* 10.46-52 (b); *II.* 11.94-100 (b); *II.* 11.670-676 (b); *II.* 23.82-88 (b); *II.* 24.739-745 (b).

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