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

Luigi De Cristofaro

2.1 *Diomedes’ prayer to Athena (Il. 5.114-120)*

2. 1. 1 Diomedes’ prayer to Athena, *Il.* 5.114-120 (a), is part of a longer section *Il.* 5.95-132.¹ Pandarus, the son of Lycaon, injures Diomedes’ shoulder with an arrow (5.95-100) and proclaims (ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄϋσε, 5.101) that the bravest of the Achaeans is wounded and will no longer live (5.102-105). Diomedes asks for help from Sthenelus (5.106-110), who draws the arrow out (5.111-113). The son of Tydeus addresses Athena (5.114-120), who listens to his prayer (5.121-122). The goddess replies to him at *Il.* 5.123-132 (1 + 9). Line 5.123 is the speech introduction, made up of two formulaic expressions: ἀγχοῦ δ’ ἵσταμένη + ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα (see above § 1.2). Athena’s words follow at *Il.* 5.124-132, arranged in 1 + 2 + 2 + 4 independent lines. The entire section *Il.* 5.95-132 comprises seven groups made of (6 + 5) + (5 + 3 + 7 + 2 + 10) hexameters. The verses are mainly independent lines, showing a preponderance of archaizing lexical and grammatical usages: *Il.* 5.95-100,² *Il.* 5.101-105,³ *Il.* 5.106-110,⁴ *Il.* 5.111-113,⁵ *Il.* 5.114-120, *Il.* 5.121-122,⁶ *Il.* 5.123-132.⁷

<i>Il.</i> 5.114-120 ⁸ :	
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¹ Rhapsody 5 comprises four main sections, arranged in regular and recurring modular blocks, mainly consisting of independent and archaizing lines: see De Cristofaro 2016a: 82-84, 275-285.

² *Il.* 5.95-100: ἀγλα(φ)ός (5.95), uncontracted κλονέοντα (5.96), the Aeolic splitting diphthong Τυδείδῃ and unaugmented ἐπιταίνετο (5.97), unaugmented βάλ’ and Aeolic splitting diphthong ἐπαίσσοντα (5.98), the Mycenaean word θώρηκος (< θώρᾱκος) and splitting diphthong οἶστός (5.99), the restorable unaugmented aorist in δὲ πτᾶτο (δ’ ἔπατο: 5.99; see *Il.* 15.170, πτῆται for πτᾶται; cf. Janko 1999: 246), the unaugmented form παλάσσετο (5.100) and the Mycenaean word θώρηξ again. On the divided diphthong as a characteristic Aeolic feature, see Eust. *Il.* 1.22 (1 van der Valk: 46, 12-20); on ἀγλα(φ)ός, see *DELG*: 12; on θώρηξ, see *DMic*/1: 364-365 s.v. *to-ra-ka*.

³ *Il.* 5.101-105: the unaugmented aorist also having the splitting diphthong ἄϋσε and the word ἀγλα(φ)ός (5.101, the same ending formula ἀγλαὸς υἱός just as 5.95), the epic noun κέντορες (5.102), the formulaic expression ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν and pronoun εἰ in formulaic οὐδέ (φ)έ φημι (5.103; cf. *Il.* 11.589, *Il.* 18.132, *Od.* 15.213), the epic adverb δηθά (δῆθ’ 5.104), the syncopate ‘Thessalian’ ἀνσχίσεσθαι, the epic forms κρατερὸν and ἐτεόν (5.104), the Mycenaean noun (φ)άναξ (5.105); by the way, the aorist ὥρσεν might be a later graphic normalization replacing the metrically restorable unaugmented form, ὄρσεν: since the initial short vowel *o-* is followed by the consonant cluster *-rs-* the syllable remains closed and so it is the long syllable of initial dactylos. The noun κέντορες is only used in epics and it should be a very ancient feature: cf. *LSJ*: 939.

⁴ *Il.* 5.106-110: the formulaic expression Ὡς ἔφατ’ εὐχόμενος and unaugmented aorist δάμασσαν (5.106), the formula πρόσθ’ ἵππουν καὶ ὄχεσφιν (5.107), Καπανήϊον with the Aeolic diphthong divided into two syllables (5.108), the similar form Καπανηϊάδῃ and uncontracted καταβήσεο (5.109), Mycenaean and Thessalian genitive ὦμοιο and splitting diphthong οἶστόν (5.110); About the formula Ὡς ἔφατ’ εὐχόμενος, see Muellner 1976: 21-31, 112-125.

⁵ *Il.* 5.111-113: the possible graphic normalization Ὡς ἄρ’ ἔφη in place of unaugmented Ὡς ἄρα φῆ (cf. *Il.* 14.499) and the formula ἄλτο χαμᾶζε (5.111), the ‘Thessalian’ apocope πᾶρ (5.112), genitive στρεπτοῖο and the Mycenaean word χιτῶνος (5.513). Cf. Sch. *Il.* 14.499-500a¹⁻²-b¹⁻², 499a-c (3 Erbse: 675-676); cf. also *Il.* 5.473, *Od.* 7.239, *Od.* 14.117; *DMic*/1: 368 s.v. *ki-to*; cf. Kirk 2000: 66-67.

⁶ *Il.* 5.121-122: the formulas Ὡς ἔφατ’ εὐχόμενος and Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη, the restorable δὲ κλῦε in place of the possible graphic update δ’ ἔκλυε (5.121), the restorable δὲ θῆκεν in place of δ’ ἔθηκεν (5.122). About the possible restoration of expression similar to δὲ κλῦε see De Cristofaro 2016a: 44; cf. Muellner 1976: 113.

⁷ *Il.* 5.123-132: two formulaic expression ἀγχοῦ δ’ ἵσταμένη and ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα (5.123), dative Τρέσσι (5.124), and σθῆτεσσι (5.125) and the splitting diphthong πατρώϊον (5.125), σακέσπαλος and ἱππότα Τυδεύς (5.126), the unaugmented verb ἔλον and uncontracted ἐπῆεν (5.127), Aeolic αἶ κε (5.129), dative ἀθανάτοισι (5.130), the restorable Aeolic αἶ κε in place of ‘hybrid’ εἶ κε (5.131), infinitive οὐτάμεν and the splitting diphthong ὀξέϊ (5.132). About the antiquity of the formula ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα, see above § 1.2 and n. 34.

⁸ *Il.* 5.114-120 Kirk 2000: 67-68; Eust. *Il.* 5. 115-17, 116, 118, 118, 119s., (2 van der Valk: 35, 11-19; 35, 19-23, 35, 23-36, 8; 36, 8-13; 36, 13-37, 1); Sch. *Il.* 5.116-117, 116, 117, 118a-d, 119a-b (2 Erbse: 21-22). On the arrangement of Rhapsody 5 according to regular and reoccurring modular blocks, and related literature and references to ancient and

5.114: δὴ τότε ἔπειτ' ἡρᾶτο βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης· 5.115: “κλῦθί μεν αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος Ἀτρυτώνη, 5.116: εἴ ποτέ μοι καὶ πατρὶ φίλα φρονέουσα παρέσσης 5.117: δηῖω ἐν πολέμῳ, νῦν αὖτ' ἐμὲ φίλαι Ἀθήνη· 5.118: δὸς δέ μ' ἄνδρα ἐλεῖν καὶ ἐς ὀρμὴν ἔγχεος ἐλθεῖν 5.119: ὅς μ' ἔβαλε φθάμενος καὶ ἐπεύχεται, οὐδέ με φησι 5.120: δῆρὸν ἔτ' ὄψεσθαι λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελίοιο”.	Then, Diomedes, good at the war cry, invoked (Athena): “Listen to me, daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus, you, the Invulnerable, if once you loved my father and stood by him in the terrible fight, now, Athena, please love me in the same way; grant me to kill that man within my spear's cast, the one who beforehand threw his spear, overtaking me, and now boasts himself, and says that I will not see the light of the sun much longer.”
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Diomedes' prayer consists of seven independent lines according to the composition pattern (1) + (3 + 3) and has several archaisms: the aorist ἡρᾶτο⁹ and the formula βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης (5.114); the formulaic prayer introduction κλῦθί μεν¹⁰, the Mycenaean and Thessalian genitive αἰγιόχοιο, the formula Διὸς τέκος Ἀτρυτώνη (5.115); the uncontracted participle φρονέουσα (5.116); the Aeolic divided diphthong into 2-syllables sequences, δηῖω (5.117);¹¹ the uncontracted genitive ἔγχε(σ)ος of a word attested in Linear-B (5.118);¹² the restorable unaugmented form με βάλε in place of 'normalizing' μ' ἔβαλε, having identical sound and prosody, and the compound ἐπεύχεται from the verb εὔχομαι (5.119); the retained digamma in φά(φ)ος¹³ and the archaizing form ἡελίοιο also having a Mycenaean and Thessalian genitive ending, derived from *(σ)ᾱ(φ)έλι-οιο (5.120, cf. *DELG*: 411). The standard composition pattern, the independent hexameters, and lexical and grammatical archaisms suggest that this passage probably traces back to the early stages of composition-in-performance.

2.1.2 The formulaic expression κλῦθί μεν in the first verse, *Il.* 5.115, is a typical introduction in Homeric prayers. One can compare, for example, Chryses' prayer at *Il.* 1.450-456, also according to the same pattern 1 + 6 (a).¹⁴ The prayer is part of the release ritual for Chryseis (*Il.* 1.440-474).¹⁵

<i>Il.</i> 1.450-456: 1.450: τοῖσιν δὲ Χρύσης μεγάλ' εὔχετο χεῖρας ἀνασχών· 1.451: “κλῦθί μεν ἀργυρότοξ", ὅς Χρύσῃν ἀμφιβέβηκας 1.452: Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην Τενέδοιό τε Ἴφι ἀνάσσεις· 1.453: ἥ μὲν δὴ ποτ' ἐμεῦ πάρος ἔκλυες εὐξαμένοιο, 1.454: τίμησας μὲν ἐμέ, μέγα δ' ἵψαο λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν· 1.455: ἥδ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν μοι τόδ' ἐπικρήνον ἐέλδωρ· 1.456: ἥδη νῦν Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λογιὸν ἄμυνον.”	Chryses lifted his hands and prayed aloud for them: “Listen to me, god of the silver bow, that protect Chryse and Cilla, and rule Tenedos with your might; you listened to me before, when I was praying, and you oppressed hard upon the Achaeans giving me honor. Now, fulfill my wish again: ward off shameful ruin now from the Danaans”.
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modern commentaries, see De Cristofaro 2016a: 82-84 (*Il.* 5.1-352), 275-278 (5.353-532), 278-282 (5.533-710), 282-285 (5.711-909).

⁹ The aorist ἡρᾶτο is an archaizing form from ἀείρω (cf. ἡράμεθα, *Il.* 22.393; ἥραο *Od.* 24.33), here literally meaning “(he) raised (a prayer)”: see *LH*/1: 55 s.v. αἰρώ; cf. *ibid.*: 31 and *LSJ*: 27 s.v. ἀείρω; *DELG*: 22-23; *EDG*/1: 23-24; ἡρᾶτο is probably related to “a zero-grade verb from *awr-je/o” (*ibid.*: 23). “No cognates are known, but the form requires the reconstruction *h₂wer” (*ibid.*: 24).

¹⁰ About κλῦθί, see *DELG*: 541; *LH*/1:836; κλῦθί μεν: *Il.* 1.37, 1.451, 5.115 (Ced. Μ μου pro μεν), 10.278; *Od.* 2.262, 4.762, 6.324 (=5.115); κλῦθί μοι: *Il.* 5.115, 10.272; *Od.* 2.262, 6.239, 6.324, 15.172; cf. Muellner 1976: 27-29.

¹¹ On the ‘splitting’ diphthong as an Aeolic feature, see above n. 97.

¹² About the antiquity of ἔγχεος, attested in Knossos and Pylos documents, see *DMic*/1: 208 s.v. e-ke-a.

¹³ About φάος < φά(φ)ος, see *DELG*: 1169.

¹⁴ This Homeric prayer is also made up of independent lines and archaic forms: Aeolic and Ionic dative τοῖσιν (1.450); εὔχετο; κλῦθί μεν (1.451); uncontracted ζαθέην, Mycenaean and Thessalian genitive Τενέδοιό, the formula Ἴφι ἀνάσσεις showing the old IE locative and instrumental ending -phi, attested in the Linear B tablets, the derived verb from Mycenaean wa-na-ka (1.452); genitive ending of participle εὐξαμένοιο (1.453); uncontracted ἵψαο and the formula λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν, comprising two Mycenaean words (1.454); the form ἐπικρήνον and uncontracted ἐέλδωρ (1.455); ethnic Δαναοῖσιν, uncontracted ἀεικέα, and the unusual form λογιὸν (1.456). On Danaoi, probably related to Egyptian *Tnj*, see Miller D.G. 2014: 106-115. This is the second Chryses' prayer in the Poem; cf. Dué 2011c. The first one (*Il.* 1.35-42) is a 6-line grouping (1-37-42, arranged in 3 + 3 lines) preceded by a two-line speech introduction (1.35-36). The first two hexameters of both prayers, 1.38-39 and 1.451-452, are identical.

¹⁵ On the compositional structure of this Homeric section, linguistic analysis, and related commentaries and literature, see De Cristofaro 2018: 7-12.

The verb κλύω in the first line (*Il.* 5.115 and *Il.* 1.451) is in association with εὔχομαι in both prayer introductions (*Il.* 5.114 and *Il.* 1.450). The imperative κλῦθι presumes an entitlement to the prayer being granted: the notion of solemn and honoring listening, expressed by this verb, aligns with the meaning of εὔχομαι, which indicates solemn and honoring speaking.¹⁶ The correspondences of the root of κλύω and verb εὔχομαι in Sanskrit and Indic poetic languages were pointed out in two works of Gregory Nagy and Leonard Muellener, respectively.¹⁷ This detail indicates the antiquity of κλύω and εὔχομαι, and explains their special use in particular contexts. Chryses' demand, Diomedes' request, and all prayers starting with κλῦθι μεν/μοι/μου are granted by the recipient deity: "Ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων," "So he prayed, and Phoebus Apollo listened to him (*Il.* 1.457)," "Ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος· τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη," "So he prayed, and Pallas Athena listened to him (*Il.* 5.121)". This prayer introduction was considered especially effective, probably due to the amplifying characteristic of κλύω, closely related to the Homeric keyword κλέος, "glory."¹⁸ Homeric Bards possibly avoided using the formula with the verb κλύω when they were aware that the prayer should not be accepted because of the narrative economy of the storyline that they would sing.¹⁹

2. 1. 3 The formula αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς τέκος is also an early epic expression. The Mycenaean ending -οιο of αἰγίοχος, as a title referring to the Storm god Zeus, relates the word to early epic traditions. The two-syllable genitive ending is unreplaceable in the verse prosody. Therefore, it probably belongs to the earliest phases in epic verse-making development. The epithet is a compound name: αἰγίς-φοχος, "aegis-bearing". The suffix ις, -ίδος of αἰγίς is also an ancient component in the formation of Greek names,²⁰ possibly related to the Semitic feminine suffix -t.²¹ The second term is from the IE root *wegh, "bewegen, ziehen, fahren u. dgl."²² Pierre Chantraine's analysis related the meaning of αἰγίοχος to Athena's epithet, πελέμαγίς, a compound name with the root of verb πελεμίζω.²³ This is, in turn, related to the epithet Παλλάς, -άδος, whose meaning is connected to the characteristic of Athena as a war and protective deity of both men and towns, as she seems to be in Konossos tablet KN V 52: *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*, "The Lady of Athens".²⁴ The further connection of verbs ἐπ-αἰγίζω and

¹⁶ Muellner 1976: 111-113.

¹⁷ Nagy 1974: 153-261, Muellner 1976: 114-146.

¹⁸ Cf. above n. 36; see *LH*/1: 814-816 s.v. κλέος; *DELG*: 540-541 s.v. κλέος, κλέω, κλείω, κλύω; *GEW*/1: 869-870 s.v. κλέος; *EDG*/1: 712-713 s.v. κλέος; cf. *DMic*/1: 349 s.v. *ke-re-wa* at KN Xd 282, anthonym *Κλέφας.

¹⁹ Cf., eg., *Il.* 6.475-481. The exception is Antenor's speech to the Trojans (*Il.* 7.347-353, according to 1 + 6 pattern). Antenor starts his address in assembly at line 7.348: κέκλυτέ μεν Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι ἡδ' ἐπῖκουροι. His proposal is only accepted half by Paris: *Il.* 7.356-364, 1 + 8 group: see De Cristofaro 2016a: 99-100. However, this is an assembly speech and not a prayer. Furthermore, there are two different formulas: one for the present κλῦθι (granted) and one for the perfect κέκλυτε (not granted).

²⁰ Chantraine 1979: 335-336, 339.

²¹ Schniedewind/Hunt 2007: 158; Huehnergard 2011: 7; cf. De Cristofaro 2021a: 98; Id. 2018: 20-21, 113-115.

²² *IEW*/3: 1119 (see *ibid.* 1118-1120 s.v. *megh*).

²³ *DELG*: 30 s.v. αἰγίς, 875-876 s.v. πελεμίζω; cf. *GEW*/1: 32 s.v. αἰγίς, *GEW*/2: 497-498 s.v. πελεμίζω; *EDG*/1: 32-33 s.v. αἰγίς, *EDG*/2: 1167 s.v. πελεμίζω.

²⁴ KN V 52.1; *DMic*/1: 112; cf. Nagy 2020b. The Homeric epithet of Athena, Παλλάς, -άδος, is also related to her characteristic to be as a war-goddess, but with a special focus on her protective power, originally due to her capability to expel the war-evils or dangers. This peculiar feature explains her attribute as a city deity. Παλλάς, -άδος is probably derived from the same IE root of πάλλω, which is, in turn, related to the same root of Latin *pellere*: see *DELL*: 494 s.v. *pellō*; cf. *LSJ*: 1293 and *DELG*: 854 s.v. πάλλω. If so, it would be connected to verb πελεμίζω and war-term πόλεμος: *DELG*: 875-876 s.v. πελεμίζω. The original meaning of the derived term παλλακή might have been something similar to the Homeric expression ληιάδας δὲ γυναῖκας (*Il.* 20.193; see De Cristofaro 2019d), corresponding to *ra-wi-ja-ja* in the Pylian tablets PY Aa 807 and PY Ad 668 (cf. below nn. 138-139). A further element should be taken into consideration. Mycenaean name *qa-ra₂* has been commonly interpreted as *K^wαλλανς < *K^wαλγανς, with an initial PIE labiovelar, so corresponding to Πάλλας, -αντος, a masculine form related to feminine Παλλάς, -άδος; cf. *DMic*/2: 187 s.v. *qa-ra₂*. The explanation of Παλλάς, -άδος as a war-protective deity is suited to Homeric Athena: Hecuba and the Trojan women turn to her in a situation of dramatic war calamity and danger, performing the ritual recorded at *Il.* 6.297-310, asking her to

κατ-αιγίζω with winds and storms is a possible remain of pre-archaic and maybe pre-Greek heavenly attributes of Homeric Athena.²⁵ Matteo Vigo has recently compared the term αἰγίς to Hittite *palahša-*,²⁶ indicating an attribute of goddess Ištar/Šaw(u/o)ška, also pointing out the similarities in the iconographic sources.²⁷ Even though the linguistic correspondence may be uncertain, the conceptual and iconographic correspondences between αἰγίς, referring to Athena as a protective and lightning-related goddess, and the sacred garment of Hittite-Hurrian goddess of sex and war, are all the more striking.

2. 1. 4. Athena's title Ἀτρυτώνη (*Il.* 5.115) also has an unclear origin and interpretation:

Derivation is uncertain, but probably from τρύω, cf. τείρω, 'wear out', and therefore 'unworn' as in Aeschylus, *Eum.* 403, ἄτρυτον πόδα; in which case the capital letter adopted in many modern texts is unjustified. There is nothing to be said for association with Τριτογένεια (on which see 4.313-15n.), ἀτρύγετος or ὀτρύνω.²⁸

free Troy from Diomedes (see below § 2.2). The PIE labovelar documented by the Mycenaean morpheme, and the possible laryngeal in the root (de Vaan 2008: 455-456) might explain the vowel change in the Latin participle *pulsus* and other linguistic problems underlined by Antoine Arnout and Antoine Meillet (*DELL*: 494). Onofrio Carruba proposed some decades ago the interpretation of Παλλάς as the Greek version of Semitic *baalat* (Carruba 1968: 939). This is a credible linguistic association, but the semantically corresponding Homeric word is πότνια, also attested in Mycenaean texts; cf. *DELG*: 932; *DMic*/2:160-161 s.v. *po-ti-ni-ja*; Morris 2001. About the connection between the epithet Παλλάς and verbs πάλλω/*pellō* and πελεμίζω, see De Cristofaro 2021a: 98-99 and related literature; on Homeric Athena as a pre-Achaic Uranian goddess and her connection with Aegean and Near Eastern heavenly goddess, see *ibid.*: 105-110; on Athena's epithet ληϊτις at *Il.* 10.460 and her special relation with Achilles, the ancestral "Predatory Achaean", see *ibid.*: 96-98, 102-105.

²⁵ De Cristofaro 2021a: 105-115; ἐπαγίζω is attested at *Il.* 2.148 and *Od.* 15.293, while καταγίζω is probably a later feature; cf. *LSJ*: 603 (ἐπαγίζω), 892 (καταγίζω). About the possible relation between the roots of αἰγίς and verb αἴσσω ("of rapid motion, shoot, dart, glance", *LSJ*: 42), stemming from the same root of αἶλος (> *αιῖ-κ-), cf. *DELG*: 39, *GEW*/1:45-46, *EDG*/1: 44, s.v. αἴσσω.

²⁶ Cf. *CHD/P*: 60-61 s.v. ^(TÚG)*palahša-*; cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 619 s.v. ^(TÚG)*palahša-*.

²⁷ M. Vigo, *Tassonomia di un attributo divino nel lessico ittita: un possibile precursore dell'egida*, Accademia delle Antiche Civiltà. Seminario sulla civiltà ittita. 28 marzo 2022; cf. Herbordt 2009; Wegner 1995.

²⁸ Kirk 2002: 133; cf. Brügger/Stoevesandt/Visser 2010: 57: "Epitheton Athènes, bei Homer nur in der Formel (αἰγιόχοιο) Διὸς τέκος, Ἀτρυτώνη (s. Iterata außer 8.352, 8.427 [NB: line 8.427, ὃ πόποι αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, οὐκέτ' ἔγωγε, in Iris' speech at 8.425-431: 7 lines, 2 + 5 pattern], 10.278), ferner 1 x Hes. (*Th.* 925). Urspr. Bed. unsicher, vermutlich vorgriechischer Herkunft; die antike Ableitung von ἄτρυτος 'unermüde' dürfte volksetymologisch sein (schol. D; vgl. Athènes Worte Aisch. *Eum.* 403: διώκουσ' ἦλθον ἄτρυτον πόδα): *LfgRE*; West zu *Od.* 4.762." Cf. *Il.* 8.352, ὃ πόποι αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, οὐκέτι νῶϊ, in Hera's speech at *Il.* 8.350-356: 7 lines (= 2 + 5); on the 2+5 pattern, see De Cristofaro 2016a: 38-39 (Table No. 4). On Ἀτρυτώνη, see Hsch. α 8172 ἄτρυτώνη· *ἀκαταπύνητος AS ἀκοπίαστος S ἄτρωτος ἐν μάχῃ· ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ (B 157); cf. *LSJ*: 273 s.v. ἄτρυτος and Ἀτρυτώνη.

The epithet occurs in five lines in the *Iliad* and two in the *Odyssey*, as part of the formula (αἰγιόχοιο) Διὸς τέκος Ἀτρυτώνη: *Il.* 2.157,²⁹ *Il.* 5.115, 5.714,³⁰ 10.284,³¹ 21.420;³² *Od.* 4.762,³³ 6.324.³⁴ The sections where these lines are included are all made of regular and recurring modular blocks, mainly comprising independent lines consisting, in turn, of archaizing linguistic elements. In his commentary on *Il.* 10.284, Bryan Hainsworth underlined that the usual interpretation of “Unwearied” was somehow unsatisfactory:

Ἀτρυτώνη is restricted to the formula κλυθί μεν αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος Ἀτρυτώνη (5 x *Il.*, 2 x *Od.*) and this derivative, which is modified so that Diomedes as second speaker can say καὶ ἐμεῖο. The conventional rendering ‘Unwearied’, as if < ἄτρυτος (τρυεῖν) + ὤνη probably satisfied the poet but does not please modern philologists (see *Lfgre s.v.*). The original sense, and with so many divine epithets, is now lost beyond recovery.³⁵

The original meaning of Ἀτρυτώνη should be literally “unpierceable”, related to the IE root **terh₂*, “to pierce”, the same root of τρύμα, -ατος (“hole”),³⁶ and τραῦμα, -ατος (“wound, hurt”, “damage”, “heavy blow, defeat”)³⁷, both cognate to τιτρώσκω (“to wound”, “to damage”, “to injure”),³⁸ and so meaning “invulnerable”, “invincible”, or “inviolable”. The epithet refers to her war powers. But, perhaps, also to her characteristic of being a virgin.³⁹ The suffix -ωνο, -ωνη in

²⁹ *Il.* 2.157: ὦ πόποι αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος Ἀτρυτώνη, is the overture of Hera’s speech to Athena at *Il.* 2.157-165, 9 lines (3 + 3 + 3) introduced by lines 2.155-156: 2 + 9 lines; cf., eg., *Il.* 18. 228-238; tot. n. 11 vv. (2 + 9) = (2) + (7 + 2): see De Cristofaro 2016a: 353-359, 368-372, listing the 9-line and 10-line groups respectively. *Il.* 2.166 ratify the favourable outcome of Hera’s request: “Ὡς ἔφατ’, οὐδ’ ἀπίθησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη. On *Il.* 2.157-165 see Kirk 2002: 133; Brügger/Stoevesandt/Visser 2010: 55-58.

³⁰ *Il.* 5.714: ὦ πόποι αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος Ἀτρυτώνη, starts another speech of Hera at *Il.* 5.711-719: 9 lines = (2) + (1+5) + (1); *Il.* 5.719 ends the brief section: “Ὡς ἔφατ’, οὐδ’ ἀπίθησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη. Cf. Kirk 2000: 131-132.

³¹ *Il.* 10.284: κέκλυθι νῦν καὶ ἐμεῖο Διὸς τέκος Ἀτρυτώνη. The incipit of the prayer, *Il.* 10.284, has some differences in respect to his prayer at *Il.* 5.115: κέκλυθι νῦν καὶ ἐμεῖο in place of κλυθί μεν, αἰγιόχοιο. Diomedes’ prayer to Athena at *Il.* 10. 283-294, is a 12-line section: (1) + (11= 7+4): cf. De Cristofaro 2016a: 373-376 (Appendix No.4, the list of 12-line groups in the *Iliad*). Diomedes mentions Tydeus’ mission to Thebes (10.285-290) and asks the goddess for her protection, as she did for his father (10.291). Then, Diomedes promises the goddess the offering of a one-year-old heifer (10.292), unbroken and never yet brought by man under the yoke (10.293). He will sacrifice the heifer, gilding her horns (10.294); see Hainsworth 2000: 183-184.

³² *Il.* 21.420: ὦ πόποι αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος Ἀτρυτώνη. This line begins Hera’s speech at *Il.* 21.418-422: 5 lines according to the pattern 2 + 5. See Richardson 2000: 90; Coray/Krieter-Spiro 2021: 231-232.

³³ *Od.* 4.762, κλυθί μεν, αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, Ἀτρυτώνη, Penelope’s prayer at *Od.* 4.761-767, a 1 + 6 section; *Od.* 4.761 is the introduction, ἐν δ’ ἔθετ’ οὐλοχύτας κανέω, ἥρατο δ’ Ἀθήνη. The 5-line prayer follows at *Od.* 4.762-766, while *Od.* 4.767 ends the section: ὡς εἰποῦσ’ ὀλόλυξε, θεὰ δέ οἱ ἔκλυεν ἀρής.

³⁴ *Od.* 6.324, κλυθί μοι, αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, Ἀτρυτώνη, is the starting line of Odysseus’ prayer at *Od.* 6.323-328, arranged in 1 + 4 + 1 hexameters; line *Od.* 6.323 is the introduction: αὐτίκ’ ἔπειτ’ ἥρατο Διὸς κούρη μέγαλοιο; the 4-line prayer follows at *Od.* 6.324-326. Line *Od.* 6.328 ends the section: ὡς ἔφατ’ εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ’ ἔκλυε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

³⁵ Hainsworth 2000: 183.

³⁶ *LSJ*: 1830 τρύμα, -ατος (“hole”); *DELG*: 1141 s.v. τρύω; *GEW*/2: 938 s.v. τρύω; *EDG*/2: 1514 s.v. τρύω.

³⁷ *LSJ*: 1811, s.v. τραῦμα.

³⁸ *LSJ*: 1799 s.v. τιτρώσκω; cf. *DELG*: 102, *GEW*/2: 905, *EDG*/2: 1488, s.v. τιτρώσκω.

³⁹ The verb τρύω (“to wear out, distress”) has “the same zero grade as in τρύμα, -μη, τρυπάω, τρύχω”, *EDG*/2: 1514 s.v. τρύω; cf. *DELG*: 1141 and *GEW*/2: 938, s.v. τρύω (“aufreiben, erschöpfen”); cf. τρυπάω (“trouer, percer”), *DELG*: 1141 s.v. τρυπάω (see *ibid.*: 1140-1141); about the relation between the root of τρυπάω and τρυτάνη (“aiguille de la balance”, *DELG*: 1141 s.v. τρυτάνη), see *GEW*/2: 937 ss.vv. τρυπάω, “(durch)-boren”, and τρυτάνη (“das Zünglein an der Waage”); cf. *EDG*/2: 1513 ss.vv. τρυπάω “probably related to τρύω”) and τρυτάνη (“Noun in -τάνη from the verb τρύω”). See also τρύμη, “Loch”, *GEW*/2: 936 s.v. τρύμη (“Loch”); cf. *DELG*: 1141 s.v. τρύω; *EDG*/2: 1512 s.v. τρύμη; cf. *LSJ*: 1830 s.v. τρύμη: “hole. On the relation between the roots of τρύω, τρυπάω, τρυτάνη, τρύμη, and the root of τετραίνω, “to perforate, to pierce” (*LSJ*: 1780 s.v. τετραίνω), see *DELG*: 1109-1110, *GEW*/2: 885, and *EDG*/2: 1473, s.v. τετραίνω. The vocalism τρω/τραυ in τιτρώσκω and derived term τραῦμα, is due to the IE root **terh₂*, “to pierce”, also related to the mentioned τείρω and τετραίνω: see *EDG*/2: 1488-1489 s.v. τιτρώσκω. The Balto-Slavic cognates (OCS *tryg*, *tryti* ‘to rub’, Lith. *trūnėti*, 1sg. *trūniū* ‘to spoil, putrefy, decay’) point to a root **treuH-* [...]. This obviates the need to explain Gr. -ū- as taken from the pf. pass. τέτρυμαι”.

Ἄτρυτώνη is an ancient feature in the formation of Greek nouns: “Quelques-uns sont d’interprétation difficile et doivent sans doute remonter à l’indo-européenn [...]. Quelques mots, bien qu’ayant été formés sans doute très anciennement, peuvent se rattacher à d’autres mots grecs”⁴⁰. Referring to a class of plant-names made with this infixion, Chantraine added: “Peut d’être s’agit-il encore ici d’un procédé préhellénique qui a survécu”⁴¹.

The title of Ἄτρυτώνη is closely connected to the epithet Παλλάς, -άδος, in turn, related to the same IE root of Latin *pellere* and Greek πελεμίζω⁴²: she was able to repel enemy attacks and war dangers just because she was an invulnerable protective goddess. Also thanks to the protection of her supernatural armor and garment, the αἰγίς, a gift from her father, the powerful king of the gods, Zeus. The meaning “tireless”, attested in Aeschylus’ verse *Eum.* 403, is a more recent interpretation of a very ancient word embedded in a few old Homeric formulae whose original meaning has been lost in time. Just like the understanding of the legal-religious implications of some Homeric keywords, such as ληΐς, -ῖδος < λᾱΐς (“war booty”).⁴³ The word λᾱΐς stems from the same root of ‘Mycenaean’ λᾱΐός (a collective name indicating the adult males able to plunder and, so, to fight), which is, in turn, the second component of the compound name Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς, literally “Predatory Achaean”.⁴⁴ Ληΐς was granted by Zeus himself, the god who established θέμις, that is, custom and law, like the Mesopotamian and Anatolian Sun gods.⁴⁵ The ‘misappropriation’ of Achilles’ war prize is a violation of θέμις,⁴⁶ and is clearly indicated as ὕβρις at *Il.* 1.203 (ἧ ἵνα ὕβριν ἴδῃ Ἀγαμέμνωνος

⁴⁰ Chantraine 1979: 207.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*: 208.

⁴² See above § 2.1.3 and nn. 118-119.

⁴³ Although ληΐς, -ῖδος < λᾱΐς is a keyword in understanding the Homeric traditions, it is attested only in 5 and 8 occurrences in the following sections in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* respectively: *Il.* 9.128-140, 9.270-283, 11.670-681, 12.1-9, 18.323-342; *Od.* 3.102-114, 5.28-43, 10.37-45, 13.125-138, 13.253-266, 13.267-275, 14.79-88. On commentary and references, see De Cristofaro 2018: 23-59. See *LH/1*: 985-986 s.v. ληΐς; *DELG*: 626, *GEW/2*: 96, *EDG/1*: 842, s.v. λεία; cf. *DMic/2* s.v. *ra-wi-ja-ja* at PY Aa 807 (*λαΐαῖα. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 20.193 ληϊάδας δὲ γυναῖκας), gen. *ra-wi-ja-ja-o* at PY 686. See De Cristofaro 2018; *Id-* 2019b, 2019c, 2019d.

⁴⁴ The name of Achilles is a compound personal name formed on the roots of Ἀχαΐ-ια/Ἀχαΐ-ός and λᾱΐ-ός. The first component indicated the geographical and ethnic notion of Achaia and Achaeans, the name by which the Mycenaean identified themselves: cf. above n. 29. The roots of Ἀχαΐ-ια/Ἀχαΐ-ός and λᾱΐ-ός, and the personal name Ἀχιλ(λ)εύς, are attested in Mycenaean texts from Knossos (14th c. BC) and Pylos (13th c. BC): see *DMic/1*: 35 ss.vv. *a-ka-wi-ja-de* and *a-ka-wo*, in KN C 914.B, and KN Ga 783.a, respectively; *ibid.*: 44 s.v. *a-ki-re-u* at KN Vc 106, dative *a-ki-re-we* at PY Fn 79.2. Both λᾱΐός and λᾱΐς/ληΐς stem from the identical PIE root **lāu*, “erbeuten, genießen” (*IEW/2*: 655). The etymological relation between λᾱΐός and λᾱΐς has been proposed two centuries ago by Walther Prellwitz (*EWGS*: 259), “die Beute machenden Mannen”. Compound terms occur in many Linaer B documents from both Knossos and Pylos: *DMic/1*: 229-231 ss.vv. *[ra-wa-e-si-jo, ra-wa-ke-ja, ra-wa-ke-si-jo, ra-wa-ke-ta]*; *ibid.*: 233-235 ss.vv. *ra-wa-si-jo, ra-wi-ja-ja, [ra-wo, ra-wo-do-ko, ra-wo-ke-ta, ra-wo-po-qo, ra-wo-qo-no, ra-wo-te]*, *ra-wo-ti-jo*. Cf. *DELG*: 619-620 s.v. λᾱός; *GEW/2* 83-84: s.v. λᾱός; *EDG/2*: 832-833 s.v. λᾱός. See also *DELL*: 521-522 s.v. *populō*, 522 s.v. *populus*; de Vaan 2008: 480 s.v. *populus*. The Latin name *populus* originally had the same meaning and expressed the identical conceptual idea of λᾱΐός, namely the group of men able to plunder, and so, to fight. On the parallelism with Hittite *lahḫa*- “war expedition”, see Dardano 2019; cf. *CHD L-N*: 4-6, *HED L*: 5-6, *EDH*: 510-511 s.v. *lahḫa*-. On the identification between the first Achaeans and Thessalian Aeolians, just like in *Il.* 2.681-684, and the connection between piracy and the earliest Greek populations, see Thuc. 1.3. 3; 1.4.1, 5-6, 1.5; 1.7.1, 5-1.8.1, 1; 1.10.5, 1; 1.11.1, 5-9; 1.11.2, 1-2. On these topics see De Cristofaro 2021 a-b, 2019a-c, 2018, 2016b, 2014. On the interpretation of the name of Achilles as “The one who gives grief (ἄχος) to the λᾱΐ-ός”, see Palmer 1979; Nagy 2004: 131-138.

⁴⁵ On Zeus as the god who gives ληΐς and θέμις/θέμιστες, see, e.g., *Od.* 14.85-88 and *Il.* 2.205-206, respectively; De Cristofaro 2018: 57-59 (ληΐς) and 2024 (θέμις/θέμιστες). Cf. *CTH* 374.G, the Prayer of a king to the Sun-god date to the Early Empire period and are preserved in contemporary Middle Script sources: see Schwemer 2015: 362-363; cf. Rieken et al. 2017; see also *CTH* 404.1.I.A), Ritual of Maštigga of Kummanni, Miller 2004: 61-108, Mouton 2016, and *CTH* 406, Ritual of Paškuwatti of Arzawa against effeminacy, Hoffner 1987: 272, Mouton 2017. On the Babylonia background of *CTH* 374, see Schwemer 2015: 349, 361-362; cf. *ibid.*: 351; on the Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean origin of *CTH* 404, see Miller 2004: 11-17, 19-20, 26-31; on the Luwian origin of *CTH* 406, see Hoffner 1987: 271, 277, 281, 287.

⁴⁶ “Lex naturae, lex a diis sancita quam deorum timore migrare veremur, ritus”, *LH/1*: 558 s.v. θέμις; cf. *Lfgre/2*: 990-994 s.v. θέμις; *DELG*: 427-428, *GEW/1*: 660-661, *EDG/1*: 539, s.v. θέμις; this word also means “justice, right” in later authors, e.g., Sophocles and Plato (*S. Tr.* 810, *Pl. Smp.* 188d), or “penalty” and “sanctity”, e.g., Aeschylus (*A. Supp.* 436, *Id. Ag.* 1431 in association with “oaths”: ὀρκίων ἐμῶν); see *LSJ*: 789, s.v. θέμις; cf. Hesych. θ 236 (2 Latte: 311): *θέμις.

Ἀτρεΐδαιο) and *Il.* 1.214 (ὑβριος εἵνεκα τῆσδε· σὺ δ' ἴσχεο, πείθεο δ' ἡμῖν),⁴⁷ in the dialogue between Achilles (1.201-205, 215-218) and Athena (1.206-214).⁴⁸ The goddess Athena states that this kind of infringement is an unacceptable and unlawful action at both human and divine levels: ὑβρις is a sacrilegious act, a violation of the cosmic order established and preserved by Zeus and the immortals. For Homer's earliest listeners, these factors were significant enough to justify Achilles' wrath for the 'misappropriation' of his war prize, Briseis, from a legal-religious perspective.

2. 2 *Theano Kisseis' prayer to Athena (Il. 6.304-310)*

2. 2. 1. Theano's plea to Athena, *Il.* 6.304-310 (a), is the counterpoint to Diomedes' prayer. Diomedes is now the subject of the request. Purpose, formulary, and outcome are comparable features in both passages. The praying person asks for the death of the enemy. Diomedes asks for vengeance against Pandarus, son of Lycaon, who wounded him. Theano asks to set Troy free from their deadliest foe, Diomedes himself. The solemn overture 6.305, πότνι' Ἀθηναίη ἐρυσίπτολι δῖα θεάων, is made of lexical items that refer to a pre-Archaic phase: πότνια,⁴⁹ the compound name with initial cluster in the second component -πτολι,⁵⁰ the Mycenaean-Aeolic formula δι(φ)α θεάων.⁵¹ The Ionic form Ἀθηναίη, here in association with Mycenaean πότνια, is derived from an older Ἀθᾱναίᾱ.⁵² The mention of Diomedes follows at line 6.306, in the genitive uncontracted form associated with his 'Mycenaean' spear, ἔγχος *Δι(φ)ομήδε(σ)ος⁵³. Three other uncontracted forms occur at 6.307: πρηνέα, πεσέειν, πυλάων, while archaizing ἐνὶ νηῶ is associated with the symbolic number δυοκαίδεκα at 6.308 and the Aeolic αἶ κ' at 6.309.⁵⁴ Contrary to Diomedes' prayer, Theano's request is not granted by the goddess. The following, that is, ending line, 6.311, reads like a gravestone to Trojans' hopes: "Ὡς ἔφατ' εὐχομένη, ἀνένευε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη, "So she prayed, but Pallas Athena shook her head."⁵⁵

δίκαιον ASvg. ἄξιον. πρέπον Svg. καὶ δίκη n, ἥ προσήκει. καὶ ἡ τιμή. καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα. καὶ τὸ ἀρμόζον· S ἡ θέμις ἐστί (B 73). καὶ νόμος; Hesych. θ 237-248. On the presence of this world in the Linear B documents, see *DMic/2*: 348. s.v. *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e* at PY Cn 600. 7.8.11.12.13.14.15 and *ti-mi-to-a-ke-i* at PY An 661.10; cf. *ibid.*: 327-328 s.v. *te-mi* II, KN V 280.5. On Sanskrit-Vedic words stemming from the same root of θέμις, *d^heh₁*, see *EWA/1*:783-787 s.v. *DHA*. On Achilles' wrath, see Graziosi 2019: 46-56; Muellner 1996; cf. Nagy 2021a.

⁴⁷ See *LH/2*: 354 s.v. ὑβρις; "superbia s. inuria cum contumelia et petulantia"; *LSJ*: 1841 s.v. ὑβρις; "wanton violence".

⁴⁸ On these Homeric passages and related literature, see De Cristofaro 2021a: 92-93, 95-96, 105-110.

⁴⁹ *DMic/2*: 160-161 s.v. *po-ti-ni-ja*, attested in several tablets from Knossos, Thebes and Pylos; cf. *DMic* 1:110 s.v. *a-si-wi-ja*: *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* at PY Fr 1206; *ibid.*: 112, on the mentioned expression *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*.

⁵⁰ Homeric πτόλις with the initial cluster πτ- is a common feature shared by Thessalian and Cypriot: see *GEW/2*: 576 s.v. πτόλις. The form with the initial cluster πτ- is also documented in the Knossos tablets, around 1370-1350 BC: *DMic/2*:164 s.v. *po-to-ri-jo*: "Antr. masch. en KN As 1517.12 [...]. Se admite unánimemente la inter. *Πτολίων (cf. πτόλις/πόλις). See also *ibid.* on *po-to-ri-ka-ta*, KN Uf 983a: *Πτολικάστᾱς; cf. *ibid.*: 163 s.v. *po-to-re-ma-ta*, *Πτολεμάτᾱς, attested in the Pylian tablet PY Jn 601.4.

⁵¹ About δῖα, see *DELG*: 285-286 s.v. δῖος; cf. *DMic/1*: 178-183 ss.vv. *di-u-ja* up to *di-wo-nu-so*.

⁵² On Ἀθηναίη with feminine suffix -ία, see Chantraine 1979: 86: "Pour Ἀθήνη on emploie aussi un doublet Ἀθηναία. Les grammairiens anciens qui avaient observé le procédé eurent quelques doublets de ce type [...] qu'ils considèrent comme ioniens". The original form was *Ἀθᾱναίᾱ and it was probably related with the adjective formation with suffix -ιος, fem. -ια, neut. -ιον. The adjectival form used as the personal name of Athena is attested in 88 occurrences in Homeric texts: *LH/1*: 36; cf. *DELG*: 27-28, *GEW/1*: 28, *EDG/1*: 29, *LSJ*: 32, s.v. Ἀθήνη; cf. Hsch. α 1575 (Ἀθηναία· ἡ θεός. ἡ δὲ γυνή <Ἀττική· Μεγακλείδης>). On the pre-Greek origin on the name of Athena and related literature, see De Cristofaro 2021a: 114-116; cf. Beekes 2014: 160.

⁵³ On the antiquity of the word ἔγχος, "spear", and its uncontracted plural form, see *DMic/1*: 208 s.v. *e-ke-a*, *ἐγγεῖα, attested in KN R 1815 (= 4481 bis); cf. dat. plur. *e-ke-si-qe* in PY Jn 829.3; cf. also *ibid.*: 209 s.v. *e-ke-i-jo-jo*, PY Sa 760, interpreted as the anthroponym *Ἐγγέχιος. The hypothetically restored form *Δι(φ)ομήδε(σ)ος would be older than the conjectural Mycenaean/Achaean *Δι(φ)ομήδε(σ)ος.

⁵⁴ Cf. De Cristofaro 2012: 231-234; Id. 2016a: 34-35; cf. Oettinger 2008; Hoffner 2007.

⁵⁵ Kirk 2000: 200-201; Stoevesandt 2008: 106; Eust. *Il.* 6.311 (2 van der Valk: 319, 20 – 320, 2); Sch. *Il.* 6.311a-b (2 Erbse: 185-186).

<i>Il.</i> 6.304-310:⁵⁶ 6.304: εὐχομένη δ' ἥρᾱτο Διὸς κούρη μέγαλοιο· 6.305: “πότνι’ Ἀθηναίη ἐρυσίπολι δῖα θεάων 6.306: ἄξον δὴ ἔγχος Διομήδεος, ἥδὲ καὶ αὐτὸν 6.307: πρηνέα δὸς πεσέειν Σκαιὼν προπάροιθε πύλων, 6.308: ὄφρα τοι αὐτίκα νῦν δυοκαῖδεκα βοῦς ἐνὶ νηῶ 6.309: ἦνις ἡκέστας ἱερεύσομεν, αἶ κ’ ἐλείησῃς 6.310: ἄστυ τε καὶ Τρώων ἀλόχους καὶ νήπια τέκνα”.	And praying, she invoked the daughter of great Zeus: “Please, Lady Athena, defender of towns, shining among goddesses: carry the spear of Diomedes off, and grant that he falls with the face downwards in front of the Scaean Gates, so we will sacrifice twelve heifers, yearlings, untouched by the goad, in your temple at once, if you will pity our citadel and Trojans’ wives and infant children.”
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Il. 6.304-310 is part of section *Il.* 6.286-311, made of 26 hexameters arranged in three groupings made of 9 + 7 + 7 lines, introduced by the hexametric pair *Il.* 6.286-287, and followed by the ending line *Il.* 6.311: 2 + 9 + 7 + 7 + 1. Hecuba goes into the palace with her handmaidens (*Il.* 6.286-287), then she descends into the chamber and takes the best of her *peploi* as an offering to the goddess (*Il.* 6.288-296). Then she and the old Trojan women ascend to the temple of Athena in the acropolis, bearing offerings to the goddess: they will make their vow (*Il.* 6.297-303) as Helenus prescribed to Hector at *Il.* 6.73-102. Hector previously reported Helenus’ instructions to Hecuba (*Il.* 6.263-287). *Il.* 6.288-296 is a 9-line grouping according to the pattern 5 + 4; *Il.* 6.297-303 is a 7-line grouping according to the pattern 4 + 3. Then follows the 1 + 6-line grouping, *Il.* 6.304-310. The mentioned patterns (5 + 4, 4 + 3, 1 + 6) are some of the most often recurring in the *Iliad*.⁵⁷ The entire section is mainly made of independent lines showing a preponderance of lexical archaisms and probably traces back to early phases of composition-in-performance.

The first hemistich of the introduction, 6.304, εὐχομένη δ' ἥρᾱτο, starts with the participle of εὐχομαι and shows the identical prosodic sequence of 5.114, δὴ τότε ἔπειτ' ἥρᾱτο, both reserving the central position to the same archaizing verb ἥρᾱτο.⁵⁸ The second hemistich in both lines 6.304 and 5.114 is made of formulaic and archaizing expressions: Διὸς κούρη μέγαλοιο (6.304), βο(φ)ὴν ἀγαθὸς Δι(φ)ομήδης (5.114). The digamma in Δι(φ)ός, the possible original form κόρρᾱ, and the genitive ending -οιο are linguistic features shared with Mycenaean and Thessalian. The compositional structure and the linguistic analysis strongly suggest that both *Il.* 6.304 and *Il.* 5.114, like the entire section *Il.* 6.286-311, are related to old oral epic traditions.

2.2.2. Sarah Morris carefully examined the ritual performed by priestess Theano Kisseis in *Il.* 6.286-311 some years ago.⁵⁹ She focused on the Anatolian elements of this Homeric section in her seminal study. Morris highlighted several points that match some Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean rituals from Hattusa and focused on lexical-linguistic and onomastic components. She paid close attention to the name **The(w)anō*, which could be a Greek version of the Hittite title *Tawannanna* or personal name *Tunnawiya* (6.298, 302),⁶⁰ and the patronymic of the Trojan priestess (6.299): “*Kissēis*, whose spelling and versification suggest some form of **Kissēw-is*, could also be ‘Kissew-an,’ if Theano comes from a place in Anatolia known to Greeks at least by an initial term. The obvious candidate, abbreviated in Greek, would be Kizzuwatna”.⁶¹ The interpretation of *Kissēis* from **Kissēw-is* and so “Kissewan”, meaning “Kizzuwatnean”, might be related to the feminine ethnic adjective *ki-si-wi-ja*

⁵⁶ Kirk 2000: 199-200; Stoevesandt 2008: 99-106; van Thiel 1982: 241; see Eust. *Il.* 6.305, 305-10, 306, (2 van der Valk: 319, 3-5; 319, 6-16; 319, 16-20); Sch. *Il.* 6.304, 305, 307a-b (2 Erbse: 185). Cf. De Cristofaro 2016a:87, 94. On Rhapsody 6 composition structure, according to regular and recurring modular blocks, arranged in independent and archaizing lines, and showing several remains of early composition-in-performance phases, see *ibid.*: 85-91, 93-95; about the use of augmented and unaugmented verbs in *Iliad* Rhapsody 6, see De Decker 2016.

⁵⁷ De Cristofaro 2016a: 353-359, 360-367.

⁵⁸ On the antiquity of the aorist form ἥρᾱτο, see above n. 104.

⁵⁹ Morris 2013.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*: 153, 155; on the Hittite title *Tawannanna*, see Beckman 2012; on the Hittite name *Tunnawiya*, see Hutter 2014.

⁶¹ Morris 2013, 155-156. Cf. Kirk 2000: 165-165, 199-200; Stoevesandt 2008: 103; *ibid.* 38-43; see also Eust. *Il.* 6.298-300, 299, 305-10: 643, 23-27.28-29.47-53 (1 van der Valk: 317, 7-15; 317 15-319, 2; 319, 6-16); Sch. *Il.* 6.299, 300 (2 Erbse: 184).

from Pylos (13th c. BC) and personal name *ki-si-wi-je-ja* from Knossos (14th c. BC). *Ki-si-wi-ja* has been interpreted as “women from Chios.”⁶² Nevertheless, the reading **kiswīai/*ki(s)swīai* and **ki(s)swījea* as related to **Kissēw-is* is not incompatible with Linear B writing norms.⁶³ Moreover, the Mycenaean masculine forms meaning “man from Chios” are *ki-e-u* in Pylian texts and *ki-je-u* in Knossos tablets.⁶⁴ The feminine should eventually be something similar to **ki-(j)e-wa* and not *ki-si-wi-ja*. It is however clear enough that the masculine forms *ki-e-u/ki-je-u* and *ki-si-wi-jo* (attested in KN V 60.2)⁶⁵ are different in morphology and stem from different roots.

The interpretation of *Κισση(ῥ)ίς* as a sort of patronymic meaning “daughter of (the land of) Kizzuwatna” recalls the title of the Hittite queen Puduhepa, the wife of Hittite king Hattusili III (ca. 1267-1237 BC). She was a Kizzuwatnean native-born, daughter of the priest of Ištar/Šawuška from Lawazantiya.⁶⁶ The comparison with Puduhepa’s votive prayer in *AhT* 26 = *KUB* 56.15 (*CTH* 590) has been well pointed out by Sarah Morris herself.⁶⁷

What is striking about this prayer and its potential for understanding scenes in Homer is how a historical figure, who threatens or annoys the stability of the Hittite monarchy, has become a target of intercession by a Hittite queen. More than any other feature of this passage in *Iliad* 6, it suggests a powerful parallel if not precedent for the Trojan prayer, in that the queen herself intervenes to save her husband’s kingdom against a foreign intruder. Like the scrap of Luwian epic with an adventure set at “steep Wilusa,” the new Hittite prayer may simply reveal that in Anatolia, as well as the Aegean, historical encounters fed poetic and ritual narratives. But Puduhepa’s prayers could prefigure the Trojan appeal in *Iliad* 6, in the same way that other features of this passage, and other Homeric episodes, are enriched by contact with Anatolia.⁶⁸

The priestess-queen requested the Sea to deliver into her hands their terrible enemy, Piyamaradu. He was a western Anatolian chief from the Arzawa Lands who got the Hittite royal power on the ropes for three decades at least, backed by the Ahhiyawan/Achaean rulers, and mentioned in several Hittite documents.⁶⁹ The fragmentary text *KUB* 56.15 II 1-31 comprises two main parts. The initial section comprises 14 lines, arranged in 3 + 3 + 8 line groupings indicated by

⁶² *DMic*1: 364-365: *ki-si-wi-ja* PY Aa 770, Ab 194 B, *ki-si-wi-ja-o* PY Ad 675, *ki-si-wi-je-ja* KN Xd 98, *ki-si-wi* KN Od (1) 570.b. The masculine form is *ki-si-wi-jo* [KN V (2) 60.2; De Cristofaro 2021a: 100-102; cf. Sainer 1976:43: “*ki-si-wi-ja* Aa 770, [Ab 194], *ki-si-wi-ja-o*: Ad 675; the description, possibly ethnic, of 7 women and 10 children at Pylos. The women are also described as *o-nu-ke-ja* (a trade name).” On the Anatolian women mentioned in Linear B texts, see Ergin 2007.

⁶³ Cf. Melena 2014.

⁶⁴ *DMic*1: 358 s.v. *ki-e-u*, attested at PY An 724.9, PY Aq 64.16 (Dat. *ki-e-wo*), and KN Xd 94 (*ki-je-u*). In classical Greek only exists the form *Χῖος*, α, ov: see *LSJ*: 1993.

⁶⁵ *DMic*1: 365 s.v. *ki-si-wi-jo* .

⁶⁶ Morris 2013: 155-156; Martino 2023: 92; cf. Bawanypeck 2022; Frantz Szabó/Ünal 2006; she was named “Daughter of the Land of Kizzuwatna”, *ibid.*: 108-109: “Das Felsrelief zeigt den König Hattusili III. und die Königin P. jeweils vor einem Altar und einer Gottheit ein Trankopfer spendend. P. (mit Beischrift: „Puduhepa Großkönigin“ [*putu-ha-pa* MAGNÜS.DOMINA] Tochter des Landes Kizzuwatna, von der Gottheit geliebt“ [*kä-zuwa-na* REGIO FILIA DEUS *á-zila-mi*]”; on the iconography see Herbort 2006. Another her title, “Daughter of (the city of) Kummanni”, the capital and sacred town in Kizzuwatna, is attested at *KUB* 15.16: see Barjamovich 2011: 141 and n. 452; Gourney 2003; cf. *CTH* 384 (*KUB* 21.27 + 676/v + 546/u + 695/v.), Puduhepa’s prayer to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and her Circle for the well-being of Hattusili, Singer 2002: 101-107; Miller 2004: 370-371; cf. *ibid.*: 257, 372-373, 393, 492; Matessi 2020; cf. also Cammarosano 2018: 333-334; see Otten 1975; on updated literature see <https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/HPM/index.php>.

⁶⁷ Morris 2013: 159-161; see Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 248-252; cf. Tischler 2016: 19.21; Rutherford 2019.

⁶⁸ Morris 2013: 160.

⁶⁹ *AhT* 4, §§4, 5, 8, 13; *AhT* 5, §6; *AhT* 7, §4; *AhT* 15, §1; *AhT* 26, §§4, 5; see Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 119-122, 131-132, 143-144, 171. On Piyamaradu, see Heinhold-Krahmer 2006; Gander 2022: 399-407; on the History of Arzawa, see *ibid.*: 253-286 (Old Hittite Kingdom), 287-352 (Hittite New Kingdom), 353-524 (Hittite Imperial Age); cf. Bányai 2019a: 186-196; Alparslan 2015; Mac Sweeney 2010.

the paragraph lines.⁷⁰ The king is mentioned in line 1. A series of deities and offerings follow in §§ 1'-3'.⁷¹ Part two, §§ 4'-5' (II 15-29), is Puduhepa's prayer to the Sea god concerning Piyamaradu. It is not surprising that the Sea god gets the prayer. He was an important deity in the Hurrian religion and mythology.⁷² The queen is now in Iazziya on the seashore (II 15).⁷³ Line II 16 is the prayer introduction. The request follows at II 17-24 and probably continues in § 5' (II 25-29) because Piyamaradu is mentioned again at II 25 and II 28. Kummanni, the sacred town of Kizzuwatna, is also mentioned in II 25. The prayer is arranged in two sections made of 2 + 8 and 5 lines, respectively.⁷⁴ The last paragraph of the document (§ 6') only shows fragmentary lines (II 30-31) where "a precise matter" and "gold" are mentioned at II 30 and II 31, respectively.⁷⁵ The state of the text of § 6' resists translation and interpretation. Here I follow Gary Beckman's transliteration and translation of §§ 4'-5':⁷⁶

<i>KUB 56.15 ii 15-24 (§4'):</i> 15. [nu MUNUS.LUGAL ku-wa]-pí AŠ^{URU} Iz-zi-ya A-NA A.AB.BA p[a?-it?...]] 16. [o o o o o] x nu-za-kán MUNUS.LUGAL A-NA A.AB.BA 'kiš-an' [IK-RU-UB] 17. [o o o o o] ma-a-an-wa A.AB.BA EN-YA A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ¹ [iš-tar-na' ...] 18. [o o o o o] x-a-ši^m Pi-ya-ma-ra-du-un-mu-kán [...] 19. [o o o o o o-i] t-ti UL-aš-mu-kán iš-pár-za-zi [...] 20. [o o o o o o o] x ku-it SISKUR pí-iš-kán-zi [...] 21. [o o o o o o o] 'A-NA' SISKUR A<AB>.BA¹ ku-it ḥa-an-ta-a-an n[e?...]] 22. [o o o o o o o] x x-«wīš» A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ-ya-kán ku-e-da-aš [...] 23. [o o o o o o o] x 'TI¹-an e-eš-ta 'nu¹ a-pé-e-da-n[i ...] 24. [o o o o o o o] -an-da-aš NINDA.GUR₄.RA ma-'al-la¹-a-i	§4' (ii 15-24): [When the Queen went] to (the town of) Izziya, to the Sea, [...] then the Queen [made a vow] to the Sea as follows: "[...] If you, the Sea, My Lord, [... among] the gods, and you [...] Piyamaradu to me [...] so that he does not elude my grasp, [...] which offering they will give [...] which is prepared for the Ritual of the Sea(!)." [...] to/for the gods whom [...] it was living, and to/for that one [...] he will grind the [...] thick loaves of bread.
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<i>KUB 56.15 ii 25-29 (§5'):</i>	§5' (ii 25-29):
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⁷⁰ On the 14-line groupings made of 3 + 3 + 8 in the *Iliad*, cf., e.g., *Il.* 11.248-261.

⁷¹ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 248-249.

⁷² See above § 1.5 and n. 76.

⁷³ Cf. de Martino 2023; Gander 2022: 420-421; Forlanini 2015: 33, identified Iazziya with Issos/Kinet Hoyuk; de Roos 240-243.

⁷⁴ Some examples of 2 + 8-line groupings in the *Iliad*: *Il.* 2.188-197, 4.240-249, 5.461-470, 7.44-53, 11.804-813, 12.41-150, 13.66-75, 16.64-73, 17.246-255, 20.330-339, 20.428-437, 24.159-168, 24.633-642. The 5-line groupings are among the most frequently employed in the *Iliad*: see, e.g., 1.17-21, 1.188-92, 1.539-543, 2.278-282, 2.681-685, 4.148-152, 4.203-207, 4.527-531, 6.237-241, 6.376-380, 7.170-174, 7.207-211, 8.87-91, 8.384-388, 10.255-259, 10.266-270, 11.19-23, 11.24-28, 11.56-60, 11.67-71, 12.88-92, 12.93-97, 12.387-391, 13.298-302, 13.394-398, 13.436-400, 15.318-322, 15.323-327, 16.394-398, 17.463-467, 17.533-537, 18.202-206, 18.414-418, 18.478-482, 18.609-613, 19.309-313, 20.144-148, 22.93-97, 22.157-161, 22.162-166, 22.177-181, 22.189-193, 22.194-198, 23.161-165, 23.212-216, 23.217-221, 24.9-13, 24.582-586, 24.591-595, 24.628-632, 24.677-681.

⁷⁵ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 250-251.

⁷⁶ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 250-251; cf. https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/TLHdigi/tlh_xtx.php?d=KUB%2056.15. Beckman's restoration at *KUB 56.15 II 16 (Aht 26 §4: [IK-RU-UB], "[made a vow]"* is especially interesting, see *ibid.*: 250 (translation: 251); it is the rendering in Akkadian writing of intransitive and transitive verb *māld-i* / *mald-*, which literally means "to recite, make a recitation", having a connotation that somehow recalls Homeric εὔχομαι: *CHD L-N*: 132 s.v. *mald-*, *malda-*; Kolekhorst 2008 550-551 s.v. *māld-i* / *mald-*; see also Beckman 2013, on the Ritual of Palliya of Kizzuwatna (*CTH 475*), Text A obv. 3: 115, 134, 140-141; *ibid.*: 140: "These early fragments suggest that the traditions behind the Palliya rite entered Hatti as part of the wave of Hurrian influence that arrived under Tudḫaliya I/II and Arnuwanda I. The numerous later manuscripts indicate that the ceremony retained its relevance into the thirteenth century." For other parallels see *CHD L-N*: 132-135; on εὔχομαι, see above § 1.4 and n. 55.

25. [o o o o o o o o ^{URU} K] <i>um-^fma¹-an-ni ma-a-an ^mPi-ya-ma-ra[-du-un]</i>	[...] (the town of) Kummanni. If you seize Piyamaradu alone(?),
26. [o o o o o o o o] x x <i>IŠ-TU E-DÁ-TI e-ep-t[i]</i>	[... I will give you(?) a ... of gold],
27. [...] x A x KÜ.SIG ₁₇ MUŠEN KÜ.SIG ₁₇ <i>E-DA-N[U KÜ.SIG₁₇]</i>	[...] a bird of gold, and a (symbol of) a unit of time [of gold].
28. [...] ^f <i>Pi-ya-ma-ra-du-uš-ša-at-k[án ...]</i>	[...] Piyamaradu [will ...]
29. [...] ^f <i>a²¹-i</i>	[...] it/them.

2.2.3 The vow of Puduhepa is in line with a diplomatic letter her husband, Hattusili III (1267 and 1237 BC),⁷⁷ sent to the “Great King” of Ahhiyawa.⁷⁸ This is one of the most studied and commented texts of the Ahhiyawa literary corpus, the s.-c. *Letter of Tawagalawa*.⁷⁹ Piyamaradu probably fled to Ahhiyawa, and the Hittite king requested his Ahhiyawan counterpart to send Piyamaradu back.⁸⁰ Adopting a very conciliatory tone, Hattusili offered a high-ranked member of his entourage, Tapala Tarhunta, a relative of the queen, as a safe conduct for the extradition of the Arzawan renegade.⁸¹ In the passage mentioned, the Hittite king states that Tawagalawa, the brother of the king of Ahhiyawa, was trained at the Hittite court to drive the war chariot with Hattusili himself:⁸²

<i>KUB 14.3 II 58-62 (§ 8):</i>	§ 8:
58. <i>nu-wa-mu-kán KASKAL-ši da-a-ú nu ka-a-aš-ma ^mDa-ba-[-a^dU-an]</i>	I have herewith sent Tapala-Tarhunta,
59. ^{LÚ} <i>KAR-TAP-PU u<-i>-ya-nu-un ^mTa-ba-la-^dU-aš-ma Ú-UL k[u-iš-ki]</i>	the charioteer. Tapala-Tarhunta is not a person of low rank: (even) in (my) youth he mounted the chariot with me, and as a charioteer.
60. ^f <i>EGIR¹-iz-zi-iš UN-aš TUR-an-na-aš-ma ^{LÚ}KAR-TAP-PU A-NA ^{GIŠ}GIGIR</i>	he often mounted [the chariot] with your brother Tawagalawa. And [have I not offered ...] Piyamaradu a pledge of safe-conduct? ⁸³
61. <i>GAM-an ti-iš-ki-iz-zi A-NA ŠEŠ-KA-ya-aš-kán A-NA ^mTa-wa-ka-la-^fwa¹ [A-NA ^{GIŠ}GIGIR]</i>	
62. <i>GAM-an ti-iš-ki-it nu A-NA ^mPi-ya-ma-ra-du ²za-ar-ši-ya-an x [...AD-DIN]</i>	

This detail suggests that an Ahhiyawan prince or king was hosted at Hattusa for some indefinite, but not short, time.⁸⁴ Hospitality was probably a usual and reciprocal practice between ruling classes in the first half of the 13th century BC, showing a radical but gradual change in Achaean-Hittite relationships: Achaean raids and more intense engagements in Anatolia are recorded in the Hittite documents from the last decades of 15th century and early 14th century BC,⁸⁵ enriching the the

⁷⁷ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 8; Bryce 2005: 266-294; on Hattusili III see especially *CTH* 81, the s.c. “Apology” and *CTH* 82, “Annals”; on updated literature see https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk_abfrage.php?c=81 and https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk_abfrage.php?c=82, respectively.

⁷⁸ Warbinek 2025; Bányaí 2019b; Waal 2019; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 6: “So, is it possible that Ahhiyawa was similarly a confederation of Mycenaean kingdoms, rather than one single kingdom? Such a suggestion may resolve many of the lingering questions about Ahhiyawa, including the problem of why there was a single “Great King” recognized by the Hittites, when we know that there were multiple Mycenaean kings ruling at the same time. If so, we might perhaps draw a parallel and see Ahhiyawa as a very early version of the Delian League (which itself morphed into the Athenian Empire), with members contributing money, men, and ships to a common cause such as overseas trade or warfare.”

⁷⁹ *AhT* 4 (*CTH* 181, *KUB* 14.3), Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011, 101-119 (transliterated text and translation), 119-122 (commentary); Heinhold-Krahmer 2019 a (introduction), 2019b (transliterated text and translation), 2019c (commentary); Hoffner 2009: 296-313; see also Gander 2022: 239-240, 401-408, 430-431; on updated literature see https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk_abfrage.php?c=181.

⁸⁰ *AhT* 4 § 5 (*KUB* 14.3, I 53-74, II 1-8); Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 105-107; Heinhold-Krahmer 2019b: 26-29.

⁸¹ *AhT* 4 § 8 (*KUB* 14.3, II 56-76a, III 1-6), Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 110-112; Heinhold-Krahmer 2019b: 30-31; cf. https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/TLHdig/tlh_xtx.php?d=KUB%2014.3.

⁸² *AhT* 4 § 8 (*KUB* 14.3 II 58-62), Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 110-111, transliterated text and translation; cf. Heinhold-Krahmer 2019b: 30-31, transliterated text and translation, 196-207, commentary.

⁸³ *AhT* 4 § 8 (*KUB* 14.3, II 58-62), Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 111; cf. Heinhold-Krahmer 2019b: 30-31.

⁸⁴ Heinhold-Krahmer 2019a: 18; Ead. 2012; Taracha 2018a: 216, 218 and 2018b, 15-17; Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 120, 122; Miller 2010.

⁸⁵ See esp. *AhT* 3 and *AhT* 22; cf. *AhT* 1A-1B, *AhT* 6, *AhT* 7; *AhT* 11; *AhT* 12; cf. Beckman/Bryce/Cline 267-283; on updated literature, see <https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/>.

Homeric context.⁸⁶ Hattusili's declaration, however, matches the mentions of the mutual hospitality between Achaean and Anatolian ruling class members in the *Iliad*,⁸⁷ such as the stay of Odysseus and Menelaus at Antenor's house before the war,⁸⁸ the sending of Corinthian-Argive Bellerophon at the Lycian court (*Il.* 6.171-177), and the hospitality ties between Argive Diomedes and Lycian Glaucus, Bellerophon's descendant (*Il.* 6.215-221).⁸⁹ Remarkably, these Homeric passages consist of regular recurring modular blocks, mainly comprising independent lines made of lexical archaisms and old linguistic forms easily restorable in prosody and verse-making. These Homeric sections probably come from the earliest phases of oral composition and have memories of these relationships.

3. Closing remarks and questions

3.1 The linguistic-stylistic analysis of *Il.* 5.114-120 and *Il.* 6.304-310 suggests that both prayers should be related to early phases in developing the Homeric traditions. The formularity of Diomedes' prayer is closely connected to lexical Proto-Indo-European heritage. This is especially clear from the verbs κλύω and εὔχομαι. The Achaean-Mycenaean and Aeolic-Thessalian components are predominant in this passage. The original meaning of Athena's epithet Ἀτρυτώνη at *Il.* 5.115, "invulnerable", "invincible", or "inviolable", was misunderstood in Aeschylus' times. This detail suggests that the epithet Ἀτρυτώνη is remote enough and low frequent enough to have passed out of use. Is this name related to the linguistic and lexical legacy from the Palatial Age? Athena's epithets mainly belong to the early stages of the Greek language.⁹⁰ Her role as the protective deity of Heracles and Odysseus is a probable Minoan-Mycenaean legacy.⁹¹ Her interventions "coming down from the sky", as the protective deity of Achilles, are possibly remains of pre-Homeric religion stages when she was still a heavenly goddess.⁹² This is not surprising: traces of pre-Homeric religion may also be found in the references about Zeus as the deity who gives θέμις and θέμιστες, namely custom/law, judicial powers, and obligations. When the epic traditions began to form, he was still the god of daylight, the solar deity who established the legal order.⁹³ The passages where θέμις and θέμιστες occur are all made up of regular and recurring modular blocks, independent hexameters, and

⁸⁶ Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 99: "Such raids would be entirely consistent with the image presented in the Homeric epics of Mycenaean plundering enterprises conducted through the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean regions, and may well account for much of the wealth that was accumulated in the Mycenaean palace centers. On this occasion, a Mycenaean warlord called Attarissiya, a ruler of Ahhiya, extended his military operations in western Anatolia to piratical raids off the southern Anatolian coast. Opportunistically, he appears to have coordinated his operations against the cities of Alasiya with his former enemy Madduwatta. Both benefited from the partnership".

⁸⁷ *LH* 1: 1177-1178 ss.vv. ξείνος, ξένιος, ξενίη; *Il.* 3.207 *DELG*: 764-765, *GEW* 2: 333-334, *EDG* 2: 1034, s.v. ξένος; cf. *DMic* 1:353 ss.vv. *ke-se-ni-wi-jo* at PY Fr1231.2, *ξένιος; see *ibid.* *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* at KN Ld573.b, *ke-se-ne-wi-ja* at KN Ld 649.b. See Santiago Álvarez 2012; Santiago Álvarez/Oller Guzmán 2013. This bond was felt and recognized as stronger than blood ties (cf. Sch. *Il.* 6.218: ὅτι περὶ τὸς ὁ καὶ σύνδεσμος) and clearly having legal-religious connotations (εὐχόμεθ', *Il.* 6.231). The root cause of the war of Troy, and so of the entire Homeric traditions, deals with the stay of Paris at Menelaus' court: see *Cypria*, *Arg.* 12-20 (Procl. *Chrest.* 80 Seve), 1 Bernabè: 39; cf. Janko 2021. This episode is not related in the *Iliad*, where it is nevertheless often mentioned: cf. *Il.* 3.443-444, which is part of *Il.* 3.437-446, a 1 + 9 lines section; cf. De Cristofaro 2016a: 39-40, 264. A similar, but not identical, meaningful bond is related to the suppiants: see *LH* 1: 590s.v. *ikētēs*; *DELG*: 461-462 s.v. *ikō*, *iknéomai*, *ikánō*; *GEW* 1: 717, 719-720 ss.vv. *ikētēs*, *ikō*; *EDG* 1 583-584, 586-587: ss.vv. *ikētēs*, *ikō*; cf. *DMic* 1 278-279: s.v. *i-ke-ta*, **ikētās*, at KN B 799.8.

⁸⁸ *Il.* 3.207, in *Il.* 3.203-224, 1+21 speech (1) + (5) + (7) + (9); Kirk 2002: 294-297; Krieter-Spiro 2015: 86-94; De Cristofaro 2016a: 261.

⁸⁹ Kirk 2000: 182; Stoevesandt 2008: 69-70; Kirk 2000: 187-189; Stoevesandt 2008: 81-82; both sections *Il.* 6.171-177 and *Il.* 6.215-221 are 1 + 6 groups made of independent lines, showing a preponderance of Mycenaean/Achaean features and Aolicisms. On the Lukka Lands and Lycia, see Gander 2022: 231-249; cf. Bryce 2006: 144-150.

⁹⁰ On the epithet Ἀτρυτώνη, see above § 2.1.4; ; on other of the titles of Athena, see § 2.1.3; cf. De Cristofaro 2021a: 97-98 (ληϊτις, -τιδος, an older term than the Attic-Ionic epithet ἀγε-λειη; cf. *DELG*: 626), 98-99 (Παλλάς, -άδος, cf. *DELG*: 854).

⁹¹ Nagy 2018a and 2020c.

⁹² See *Il.* 1.195 and 1.208; De Cristofaro 2021a: 105-116.

⁹³ This characteristic was shared with Mesopotamian and Anatolian models: see above § 2.1.4 and nn. 140-141; De Cristofaro 2024.

archaizing lexical items: is this a random phenomenon?⁹⁴ In any case, Diomedes' *aristeia* in *Iliad* Rhapsody 5 is one of the Homeric episodes showing most traces of composition-in-performance techniques and archaizing forms of the language.⁹⁵

On the other hand, *Iliad* 6 is one of the Homeric Rhapsodies that frequently shows surviving marks of Anatolian interrelations and influences.⁹⁶ This is apparent in Glaucus and Diomedes' episode⁹⁷ and, exactly, in Hecuba's ritual and Theano Kisseis's vow.⁹⁸ The supplication is addressed to Athena, like Diomedes' prayer. Nevertheless, Theano's plea does not invoke her as the protective deity of a single man but of the community. This is the role connected to the older attestation of Athena as "The Lady of Athens" in the Mycenaean Age, when she was the protective deity of the town and, probably, surrounding territory.⁹⁹ If many elements in Glaucus and Diomedes' tale strikingly match many points in the Hittite *Ahhiyawa Texts*, the ritual and prayer of the Trojan women are comparable with Queen Puduhepa's vow and Hurrian-Kizzuwatnean liturgies. The same assumption that is possible drawing from Morris' study may be inferred from the 'histologic' examination of *Il.* 6.304-310 and the entire section *Il.* 6.286-311: the traditions related to this Homeric passage originated when direct contact occurred between the Achaeans and the Anatolian cultural milieu in the Late Bronze Age.

Kizzuwatna, the homeland of Puduhepa, roughly corresponds to Homer's Cilicia, the birthplace of Andromache, the wife of the Trojan Crown Prince. Is this inter-dynastic marriage a

⁹⁴ See, e.g., Diomedes' speech at *Il.* 9.31-51: the symmetrical structure, consisting of regular line groupings of (2 + 3 + 3) + (2 + 3 + 3 + 2) hexameters, made of independent and formulaic lines is a fine example of composition-in-performance. The entire section 9.31-51, 21 lines (1 + 18 + 2), shows some Mycenaean features, irreplaceable in prosody and wording (e.g., unaugmented δῶκε(v) at 9.37, 9.38 and 9.39; ἱπποδάμοιο, 9.51), Archaisms (e.g., uncontacted ἀφραδέοντι, 9.32; ἔρχεο, 9.43; ἔλπεαι, 9.40; Διομήδεος at 9. 51), and Aeolicisms (e.g., ἔμην, 9.35; ἔμεναι, 9.41; κε, 9.46). The expression ἡ θέμις ἐστίν, "as is customary right", is the starting formula of line 9.33, followed by the Mycenaean term ἄναξ and the word indicating the assembly, ἀγορῇ, also attested in Linear B texts. See also *Il.* 9.149-157, a 9-line grouping of 5 + 4 independent and archaizing hexameters. It is part of Agamemnon's speech *Il.* 9.114-161: he promises to give Achilles "infinite gifts" (the 'Aeolic' formula, δόμεναι τ' ἀπερείσι' ἅποινα, 9.120), and swears "the great oath" (μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι, 9.132), declaring that he never had sex with Briseis in "the manner of men and women" (ἡ θέμις ἀνθρώπων πέλει ἀνδρῶν ἢ δὲ γυναικῶν, 9.134). The association with ὄρκος also refers here to the legal-religious meaning of θέμις. Cf. *Il.* 1.238, 2.73, 2.206, 5.761, 9.33, 9.99, 9.134, 9.156, 9. 276, 9.298, 11.779, 11.807, 14.386, 16.387, 16.796, 19.177, 23.44, 23.581, 24.652; *Od.* 3.45.187, 9.112, 9.205 (= *Il.* 9.99), 9.268, 10.73, 11.451, 14.56, 14.130, 16.91, 16.403, 24.286. Goddess Θέμις is mentioned at *Il.* 15.87, 15.93, 20.4, *Od.* 2.68.

⁹⁵ De Cristofaro 2016a: 82-84, 275-285.

⁹⁶ On the composition structure of *Iliad* Rhapsody 6 and traces of early composition-in-performance, see De Cristofaro 2016a: 92-95.

⁹⁷ See *Il.* 6.167-177 (4 + 3 + 4) and 6.212-236, comprising 3 + 9 + 8 + 5-line groupings arranged in (2 + 1) + (3 + 4 + 2) + (3 + 3 + 2) + (2 + 3) hexameters. Several elements in these Homeric passages match many points in the Hittite *Ahhiyawa Texts*: 1) dispatching or extradition of disagreeable personalities (6.167-168; *AhT* 1A § 25', Beckman/Brice/Cline 2011: 22-23; *AhT* 4 §§ 5, 8, *ibid.*: 105-107, 119-111; *AhT* 15 §§ 1'-2', *ibid.*: 168-169; cf. *AhT* 12 § 2', *ibid.*: 158-159; *AhT* 13 § 1, *ibid.*: 162-163; *AhT* 25 § 2', *ibid.*: 244-145); 2) sending messengers (6.168, 6.171; *AhT* 3 § 7, *ibid.*: 76-77; *AhT* 4 §§ 5, 6, *ibid.*: 104-105, 106-107; *AhT* 6 § 3, *ibid.*: 134-135; *AhT* 27A § 7, *ibid.*: 256-257; *AhT* 27A § 5, *ibid.*: 254-257; *AhT* 27B § 6, *ibid.*: 260-261); 3) sending written communications and missives (6.168-170, 6.175-177, 6.178; *AhT* 4 § 3, *ibid.*: 104-105; *AhT* 4 § 6, II 13-15, *ibid.*: 106-107; *AhT* 4 § 6, II 36-37, *ibid.*: 107-109; *AhT* 4 § 8, *ibid.*: 110-111; *AhT* 4 § 12, *ibid.*: 114-115; *AhT* 6 § 3, *ibid.*: 134-135; *AhT* 9 § 2', III 3'-5', *ibid.*: 150-151; *AhT* 9 § 2', III 17'-18', *ibid.*: 150-151; *AhT* 25 § 2' *ibid.*: 244-235; 4) hospitality or shelter (6.174-175, 6.215-218, 6.224-226, 6.230-231, 6.232-233; *AhT* 4 § 8, *ibid.*: 110-111; *AhT* 25 § 2', *ibid.*: 244-245; see also *AhT* 1A § 17', *ibid.*: 15-16, and *AhT* 4 § 5, *ibid.*: 104-105); 5) exchanges of gifts (6.219-221, 6.234-236; *AhT* 8 § 5', *ibid.*: 146-147; cf. *AhT* 4 § 5, *ibid.*: 104-105); 6) inter-dynastic marriages (6.177; cf. 6.178 and 6.192; *AhT* 6 § 3 *ibid.*: 134-135, possibly *AhT* 12 § 2' *ibid.*: 158-159; cf. *ibid.*: 160-161). The hospitality bond seems to be stronger than blood and ethnic ties (*Il.* 6.227-229; cf. Sch. *Il.* 6.218, 2 Erbse: 169). The strong legal-religious connotation is expressed by the formula εὔχομαι εἶναι (*Il.* 6.231). These elements deal with political and military Greek experiences in Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age and highlight the historical context in which epic traditions took shape, flowing into Homer's Rhapsodies throughout ten centuries at least, from the pre-Archaic period up to the Classical Age. On these topics concerning the correspondences between Homeric passages and the *Ahhiyawa Texts*, see De Cristofaro 2014: 21-39; cf. Nagy 2015a.

⁹⁸ See above § 2.2.2. and § 2.2.3.

⁹⁹ See above § 3.1 and n. 119.

vague memory from the Assuwa alliance in the 15th century BC and possible Achaean involvements?¹⁰⁰ Above all, the background of the founding myth of Greek identity is closely connected to Cilicia: it was the setting of Achilles' raids and abduction of Chryseis and Briseis, which triggered the action of the *Iliad*.¹⁰¹ The personal name Κίλιξ is attested at Knossos in the 14th century BC.¹⁰² The ethnic adjective and name "Kizzuwatnean" are probably documented in some Linear B texts from Pylos and Knossos.¹⁰³ did these terms indicate women from Kizzuwatna?¹⁰⁴ May the Homeric word "Cilician" be decoded as "Hurrian" and Homeric Cilicians as Hurrians? Did Andromache, Briseis, and Chryseis embody some memories of prominent female characters in the Anatolian scenario in the Late Bronze Age, like Puduhepa and other Hurrian princesses and queens at the Hittite court? So, were Andromache, Briseis, and Chryseis "Hurrian women" from Kizzuwatna before becoming "Aeolian women" in later Greek mythopoiesis?¹⁰⁵

3.2 Diomedes' prayer to Athena at *Il.* 5.114-120 and Theano Kisseis' supplication to the same goddess at *Il.* 6.304-310 are two 7-line groupings, according to the 1 + 6 pattern. The 7-line groupings and the 1 + 6 patterns are the most recurring line sets in the *Iliad*.¹⁰⁶ The regular and recurring small blocks of lines, independent and interchangeable hexameters, encouraged improvisation by Bards. This composition system allowed them to weave their fabric of singing quickly and catch the attention of their listeners easily. Such a technique was, therefore, particularly suited to oral-extemporaneous composition, that is, composition-in-performance. The prevalence of archaizing lexical features in versification and wording key points, and the old linguistic items restorable in prosody, would confirm the antiquity of this 'crafting process.'

The use of Homeric keywords, often obsolete terms or related to pre-archaic phases of the Greek language, also supports the conjecture on the antiquity of this technique. The paradigmatic nature of Homer's poems consists of monolithic values expressed by "functionally marked words" in "functionally marked contexts,"¹⁰⁷ revealing the mindset and thought patterns that arouse behaviors and lead to deeds in private and public spheres.¹⁰⁸ "to declare/praise" in sacral and secular contexts (εὐχομαι),¹⁰⁹ "glory/honor", of individuals, clans, nations (κλέος < κλέφος)¹¹⁰, "war booty/war prize"

¹⁰⁰ On Andromache, see Minchin 2011. The Homeric passages *Il.* 6.395-398 and 414-428 refer to the interdynastic marriage between a prince from North-Western Anatolian state and a Cilician, that is, Kizzuwatnean princess. On the connection between the Late Bronze Age Tarwisa and Wilisiya, and the geographical-political entity named Assuwa, see the *Annals* of king Tuthaliya I/II (late 15th – early 14th c. BC), *CTH* 142, *KUB* 23.11 II 19', *HPM*, https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/TLHDig/tlh_xtx.php?d=KUB%2023.11; Carruba 1977: 158 (transliteration) and 159 (translation); cf. Wilhelm 2016b; Klinger 2012; Cline 2013: 54-68; Id. 1997; on Wilusa in the *Ahhiyawa Texts*, see *AhT* 4 §§ 12, 13, *AhT* 5 § 7', *AhT* 7 § 3, Beckman/Bryce/Cline 2011: 115-117, 128-129, 140-141; on the treaty between the Hittite king Muwattalli II (1295-1272 BC ca.) and Alaksandu of Wilusa, *CTH* 76, see *HPM*, https://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk_abfrage.php?c=76; cf. Hoffner 1997: 82-88 (Text No. 13); see also Gander 2022: 8, 35, 58-59, 90, 127, 130-135, 137, 139-153, 155, 156, 162-164, 174, 204, 226, 229-230, 244-245, 258, 277, 299, 303, 305-306, 317-318, 396, 449-464. 526; cf. Ünal 2017.

¹⁰¹ Dué 2011e, 492; cf. Ead. 2011a and 2011b. See Hom. *Il.* 1.366-369, 2.686-693, 6.394-397, 6.414-420 19.291-299; De Cristofaro 2021a, 99-102 and 2019a, 26-34; cf. Dué 2011d and 2011f; Ulf/Rollinger 2011; Scafa 2005. On the Trojan War as the founding myth of Greek common identity, see Thuc. 1.3.

¹⁰² KN X 1041: see *DMic* 1: 362 s.v. *ki-ri-ko*.

¹⁰³ See above § 2.2.2.

¹⁰⁴ On the historical geography of Kizzuwatna, see Trameri 2024: 27-80; on the identification between Hurrian-Luwian Kizzuwatna and Cilicia see, e.g., Matessi 2021, Kozal/Novák 2017, Novák/Rutishauser 2017. Cf. Gander 2022: 4, 7, 14-15, 198, 232, 256, 259, 388, 301, 331-332, 349, 420-421, 519 (Kizzuwatna); 4, 169, 175, 178, 189-190, 212, 234, 241, 279, 301, 312-313, 320, 349, 420-421, 518 (Cilicia).

¹⁰⁵ See Nagy: 2018b and 2018c; Id. 2016; cf. Bridges 2023.

¹⁰⁶ See above nn. 90, 92-95.

¹⁰⁷ Muellner 1976:107; cf. Id. 2021; Nagy 2021c.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Ready 2023.

¹⁰⁹ See above nn. 55, 73, 171.

¹¹⁰ See above n. 36.

(ληΐς < λᾱΐς)¹¹¹, “custom/law” (θέμις)¹¹², “guest/ hospitality (ξεῖνος < *ξένϝιος, ξενίη < *ξενϝιά)¹¹³, “suppliant/asylum-seeker” (ικέτης < *hikéṭās < *σικέṭās).¹¹⁴ The Homeric keywords have strong legal-religious connotations, a sort of ‘sacramental character’ stronger than blood ties, such as to have a meaningful effect on the outcome as the storytelling unfolds.¹¹⁵ These words remarkably occur in passages made of regular and recurring modular blocks of lines and independent hexameters, having the preponderance of Mycenaean and Aeolic linguistic components. In addition, the keywords mentioned are attested in Linear B texts and at least trace back to the Late Bronze Age. As well as the name of the pivotal hero, Achilles, the hypostatic Predatory Achaeans, probably connected to the warlike semi-nomadic tribes of Indo-European speakers addicted to plundering, who settled in Thessaly between the Middle and the Late Bronze Age.¹¹⁶ The Mycenaean administrative texts, the Near Eastern documents, and archaeological evidence are the only sources about the pre-archaic Greek civilization in addition to Thucydides’ report in chapters 2-19 of the first book of his History. The traces of ancestral and primeval phases, which we can uncover in early Homeric songs, may somehow integrate the sources mentioned, providing a better, although approximate, understanding of the primitive Greek language and culture.

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- DAMOS*: *DAMOS*. Database of Mycenaean at Oslo. Oslo University, <https://damos.hf.uio.no/about/texts/>.
- DELG*: Chantraine, P. 1999. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots*. Paris. Klincksieck. (repr.)
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¹¹¹ See above nn. 138-139.

¹¹² See above nn. 140, 141, 189.

¹¹³ See above n. 182.

¹¹⁴ See above n. 182.

¹¹⁵ Cf., eg., the 1 + 6 (b) section II. 6.215-221, which is part of Diomedes’ mentioned speech at 6.212-231, made up of 20 (2 + 1+17) independent lines (2) + (1) + (7) + (2) + (2) + (6), showing several archaizing linguistic features: unaugmented φάτο and γήθησεν (6.212); ἔγχοις (6.213); the Aeolicism μιλίχιοις, προσηύδα, ποιμένα λαῶν (6.214); ἦ ῥά νύ, ξεῖνος, the ‘Aeolic’ splitting diphthong in πατρώϊος, Aeolicism ἔσσι (6.215); δι(φ)ος, Βελλεροφόντην (6.216); unaugmented ξεῖνιος, preposition ἐν, Aeolicism μεγάροισιν, uncontracted ἔεικοσιν (6.217); Aeolicism ἀλλήλοισι, unaugmented πόρον, the Aeolic splitting diphthong ξεινήϊα (6.218); unaugmented δίδου, φοίνικι (cf. Myc. *po-ni-ki-ja*, *po-ni-ki-jo*: *DMic*/2: 139-140, attested in several Knossos tablets), φα(φ)εινόν (6.219); Βελλεροφόντης, uncontracted and Mycenaean χρύσειον, Mycenaean artefact δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον (6.220); Mycenaean pronoun μιν, Aeolicism ἐμοῖσι (6.221); Τυδέ(φ)α, μέμνημαι, τυτθόν, uncontracted ἔόντα (6.222); unaugmented κάλλιψ’, Θήβησιν < Θήβαϊσιν, the ‘Mycenaean’ formula λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν (6.223); ξεῖνος, Ἄργεϊ, Aeolicism μέσσω (6.224); Aeolicism κεν, δῆμον < ‘Mycenaean’ *δᾶμον (6.225); Myc. ἔγχεα, ἀλε(φ)ώμεθα (6.626); Τρῶες (6.627); Aeolicisms κε and ποσὶ (6.628) Ἀχαι(φ)οί, Aeolicism ἐναιρέμεν and κε, uncontracted δύνηαι (6.629); τεύχεα and ἐπαμείνομεν (6. 630); ξεῖνοι, uncontracted, the formula εὐχόμεθ’ εἶναι (6.631).

¹¹⁶ See above nn. 26, 27, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 139; cf. De Cristofaro 2021a: 102-105.

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- EDL*: de Vaan, M. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the other Italic Languages*. Brill. Leiden/Boston.
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- EPsD*: *The Electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary*, <https://www.penn.museum/research/project.php?pid=17>.
- ETCSL*: *The Electronic Corpus of Sumerian Literature (ETCSL)*, <https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/>.
- EWA*: Mayrhofer, M. 1986-2001. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. Vols. 1-3. Universitätsverlag Winter. Heidelberg.
- EWGS*: Prellwitz, W. 1905². *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*. Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. Göttingen.
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