

PATRONYMICS IN HOMER *

In this paper, I shall deal with the origin, the historical, and structural significance of Patronymics in the *Iliad* by studying the genealogies or family histories of some Homeric heroes as Achilles, Diomedes, Patroklos, Hector.

Genealogy is a primitive type of poetry. «It reaches its fullest form in Hebrew literature, but the *Theogony* is a good example of it applied to the gods. A genealogy was a sacred matter to any family proud of its ancestry, and the best way to preserve it was to have it in verse» (1).

The lists of ancestors or men gathered for battle, or men slain had a reason of course, that of providing history, geography, and theology and were used as a criterion for disputes over ancestry or religion. The *Catalogue of the Ships* for example can be used as a source of reference for the Achaeans but more than this it gives us a background, perhaps not ideal but still useful, for the persons and events which are to follow. The *Trojan Catalogue* which follows is not, of course, quite the same case. It is shorter and less detailed because, for a Greek audience, it could never have the same sacred importance that belonged to a list of Achaeans. Once the poet had decided to enumerate the Achaeans he was bound to enumerate the Trojans.

Moreover, the reason for the genealogies' introduction into Homer's narrative may be the claim of his audiences to be descended from the heroes of Achaean days and their demand for accounts of their ancestries.

Thus, the introduction of the genealogy of the two Lycian princes, Glaucus and Sarpedon, is commonly assigned to the poet's desire to compliment some Asiatic Greek family of his time.

A better justification is found at the end of the speech of Glaucus: «My father earnestly charged me... to bring no shame on the race of my fathers, who were pre-eminent both in Ephyra and in broad Lycia» (2). Glaucus and

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1) C. M. Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*, Oxford 1930, p. 74.

2) 6, 207—210.

Sarpedon⁽¹⁾ are Greeks by descent. Their prowess and unstained fame reflect glory on the Greek race.

But in their context genealogies do more than this—they assist in the story. The Descent of Glaucus is a frame for the thrilling story of Bellerophon, the Descent of Aeneas tells of the horses of Dardanus. They also serve a part in the plot and explain the authority and pride of Homer's heroes, i.e. of Agamemnon⁽²⁾, Achilles, and keep a balance between the two opponent heroes in a fight. So, through Aeneas the poet gives us the story of the House of Dardanus⁽³⁾ to show that at last Achilles has met an opponent who too is the son of a goddess. Glaucus tells Diomedes how he traces his ancestry back to Sisyphus, the son of Aeolus⁽⁴⁾. Sarpedon, a son of Zeus and performer of valiant deeds in the battle at the ships, kills the also celebrated Rhodian hero Tlepolemos⁽⁵⁾, but is slain by Patroklos⁽⁶⁾, a famous hero too.

Generally speaking, through the whole *Iliad* we see that it is very usual and important for Homer to present the family history of his heroes, usually through their mouths, before they are involved in fight⁽⁷⁾. Each of them relates proudly the list of his progenitors and emphasizes his glorious or royal and heroic descent in order, probably, to preoccupy psychologically the mind of his opponent⁽⁸⁾ or to encourage himself, and also to attract the attention of the hearer or the reader.

It is, then, possible to say that Patronymics or genealogies play an important and a very significant role in the whole structure of the *Iliad*, especially from the point of view of the traditional art and history of Homeric Poetry. Thus we see that family as well as royal succession was regularly filiation in the male line, as is proved by genealogies or by the free use of patronymics, etc.⁽⁹⁾,—by the whole patriarchal setting of the poems. There is a specific honour in patronymics for Agamemnon prefers to call and honour each man of his army by relating his genealogy *πατρόθεν*⁽¹⁰⁾.

Naming was usually the function of the father, though in one case it was done by the mother, and once by the mother's father, who took great interest in the boy (Odysseus) and made him gifts⁽¹¹⁾. Names were regularly derived from

1) 2, 876. 12, 310ff. 6, 197f.

2) He is the *σκηπτουχος βασιλεύς* to whom Zeus has given glory—1, 279, 281, and the extent of his sovereignty is the other basis of his power—2, 108.

3) 20, 215ff. Cp. 5, 243ff, 633ff. 6, 123ff.

4) 6, 153 f.

5) 5, 628.

6) 16, 449.

7) 20, 178ff, 200ff. 6, 122ff. 145ff.

8) 5, 633ff. 20, 200ff, 431ff, 21, 150ff. 22, 280—81. 1, 277ff.

9) 2, 101ff; 6, 145ff; 13, 450—452; 14, 113ff; 20, 214ff; 24, 514—515; 1, 1, etc.

10) 10, 68—69. 8, 281ff. Cp. 17, 248ff.

11) 6, 402.

conditions in which the father was placed at the time of the child's birth; thus, «Astyanax», because Hector always defended Ilion, the asty; (1) «Telemachus», because Odysseus «fought afar», and «Odysseus», because of the feelings aroused in the victims of his grandfather's highway robberies; (2) or from the place, river, etc. where the child was born. Thus, they called the son of Anthemion, Simoesios, since he was born beside the banks of Simoeis (3). Naming-customs depict patriarchal power, as do universal patronymics. There is, in patronymics, a special pride (4). But there are no «double names».

All children were desirable, but sons indispensable, from standpoints of property-inheritance, dynasty, and religion, not to mention affection. Oaths were taken by one's son, and it was a great sorrow to lose a son, especially if he were about to marry (5). It may be remarked here that religious motives for the desire of sons were less strong than analogies from other patriarchal tribes would lead one to expect. There was no ancestorworship of a clearly defined type, no postmortuary sacrifices, though a son was eager to raise a tomb to a famous father (6). But property, and dynasty took up much thought, and ideas on these two subjects, which were really one and the same, are not to be dismissed without assigning to them the utmost influence upon marriage and the family (7). The first question of an absent hero was concerning the integrity of his possessions and the prowess of his son; «easily recognisable» was a lucky marriage and its progeny (8). The beginning of Hector's prayer for Astyanax, «Grant that this child too, My son, may become as I am» (9) is evidently in that spirit. Pride of race and of ancestors' deeds were paralleled only by pride in a son's good qualities (10), and it was a great comfort to have a sure avenger of one's death (11).

Nobility was a matter of birth, pure and simple. Of course the bravest men became the rulers and commanders; and, since the sons of these generally pos-

1) 6, 403; cf. 22, 506—507.

2) *O d y s s e y*, 19, 399—412; cf. 6, 252; 9, 145; 562—564.

3) 4, 473ff. Cp. 5, 49. 6, 23ff., 402.

4) Cf. *O d y s s e y*, 18, 5; 19, 406ff.

5) 2, 259—260; 23, 222—223, etc.

6) 2, 222.

7) 9, 395—396ff.

8) 5, 154ff; 11, 492ff; 4, 207ff.

9) 6, 176—177. Cp. Sophocles when Ajax prays for his child (*Ajax*, 550): O son, mayest thou be more fortunate than thy father. But in all else like him, then wouldst thou not be base! There is also a close imitation of the same lines in the prayer of Aeneas for his son Ascanius (*Aeneid* 12, 435): *Disce, Puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem, fortunam ex aliis . . .*

10) 9, 252—59. Cp. 9, 441. 4, 399—400, 405. 5, 156f, 800—813, 6, 207ff, 176ff: 8, 283—285.

11) 22, 423ff; 11, 457ff; 429ff; 1, 298ff; 3, 196ff. 8, 231—85. 5, 156. 6, 480—81*

sessed like qualities (1), a power, once established, tended to remain in the same families. When we approach the question of how the nobility arose, we find ourselves referred for an explanation to some far—off conquest where victors imposed upon subject—elements their rule and that of their families.

It is interesting to note how common in the *Iliad* is the notion that men of former times were stronger than those of the present time. In Book 1, 271, we are told that none of those who are now mortals upon the earth could fight with the Centaurs, as Nestor and his generation had done. In Book 5, 302, Diomedes seizes in his hand a great stone such as no two men now alive could carry, and hurls it at Aeneas. In 12, 378, Ajax hurls at his opponent a jagged stone such as not even a man in full strength of youth could lift in both hands—a man of those who are now mortals. In 12, 449, Hector easily lifts in one hand and carries like a ram's fleece a great stone such as no two men who are now mortals, and the best in the land at that, could easily pry from the ground and load upon a wagon. And in 20, 285, Aeneas easily brandishes unaided a great stone such as no two men of the present time could carry.

There are about 1000 different proper names in the *Iliad*, including variants of the same name; more than one—half of these occur but once (2). This feature of the poet's manner, by the way, satisfactorily explains why ten of the forty—seven Greek leaders, and ten of the 27 Trojans, all allies, do not appear again.

The usual word which Homer uses in association with someone's genealogy is, γενεή (3) (lineage, generation); very rarely does he use the word γένος (race) (4), and the genitive case of blood, αἵματος, connected with γενεῆς: ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὐχομαι εἶναι (5).

Another word used by Homer is: ἔκγονος (offspring, child) (6).

The patronymics in the *Iliad* usually end with: —εἰδης, i.e. Τυδεΐδης (7) used about 50 times, Πηλεΐδης (8) or Πηληϊάδης—58 times, or Αἰακί-

1) 10, 239; 11, 786, etc.; 10, 300—301; 15, 295ff; cf. 13, 223.

2) 543 in 973; count of Allen's index to his edition of the poem.

3) 1, 250. 4. 60, 6, 145, 146, 149, 151, 211. 7, 128, 11, 786. 20, 214.

4) 4, 58. 19, 24.

5) 6, 211. 20, 241.

6) 5, 813. 20, 206.

7) 5, 1, 16, 18, 85. 93, 97, 134, 181, 207, 225, 240, 242, 243, 281, 303, 329, 362, 411, 440, 443, 457, 600, 793, 826, 866, 6, 145, 235. 7, 163. 8, 99, 139, 149, 161, 167, 532. 9, 53. 10, 109, 150, 234, 249, 363, 489, 528, 566. 11, 312, 313, 333, 357, 370, 660. 14, 29. 16, 25, 74. 19, 48. 21, 396. 23, 290, 357, 389, 398. 499, 681, 812, 820, 824. 23, 405. 5, 181, 184.

8) 1, 146, 322, 1, 223, 245, 277, 306. 20. 164, 200, 261, 290, 431, 503. 21. 173, 251, 272, 288, 595. 22, 58, 138. 23, 17, 41, 59, 231, 287, 542, 651, 700, 740, 798, 826, 884. 17, 641, 701. 18, 170, 315. 19, 83. 20, 312, 322. 21, 557. 22, 176. 21, 153. 9, 166.

δης (1)—21 times, Πριαμίδης (2)—25 times, Ἀντηγορίδης—patronymic of Helicaon (3), of Laodocus (4), of Polybus (5), of Acamas (6), of Iphidamas (7), of Coon (8), Ἀτρειδης—patronymic of Agamemnon (9), of Menelaus (10), Φυλετ-δης—patronymic of Meges (11), Δευκαλίδης—patronymic of Idomeneus (12), Δαρδανίδης—patronymic of Priam (13) (descendant of Dardanos), similarly of Ilus (14) (descendant), Οἰνεΐδης—patronymic of Tydeus (15), Πανθοΐδης—patronymic of Poulydamas (16), of Euphorbus (17), Ἐκτορίδης—patronymic of Astyanax (18).

Another usual ending of patronymics in the Iliad is that of: —ιάδης, i.e. Μενοειτιάδης—of Patroclus (19)—19 times. Ἀγχισιτιάδης—patronymic of Aeneas (20), of Echeolus (21). Ἀσκληπιτιάδης—patronymic of Machaon (22). Ἀτυμνιάδης—patronymic of Mydon (23). Ἀγασθενιάδης—patronymic of Agasthenes (24). Λαερτιάδης—patronymic of Odysseus (25). Περσητιάδης—patronymic of Sthenelus (26). Πηληϊτιάδης—patronymic

16, 269, 653, 686. 24, 406, 431, 448. 15, 64, 614. 16, 241. 17, 105, 195, 199. 20, 85. 21, 208. 22, 290.

1) 9, 184, 191. 10, 402. 11, 805. 16, 134, 140, 165, 854. 17, 271, 426, 473. 18, 221, 222. 21, 178. 16, 865. 17, 388, 486. 23, 28. 2, 860, 874. 17, 76.

2) 2, 817. 5, 684. 7, 112, 250, 258. 11, 295, 300. 12, 437—38. 13, 40, 80, 316, 586, 803. 14, 365, 375. 15, 597, 604. 16, 828. 17, 449, 503. 18, 164. 19, 204. 20, 77, 870. 23, 183.

3) 3, 122, 123.

4) 4, 87.

5) 11, 59.

6) 11, 59.

7) 11, 221.

8) 11, 249. 19, 53.

9) 1, 7. 2, 6. 3, 193. 11, 158. 14, 22, etc.

10) 3, 347, 5, 55. 13, 646. 14, 139. 16, 12. 23, 407, etc.

11) 2, 628. 5, 72. 13, 692. 15, 519, 528. 16, 313, 19, 239.

12) 12, 117. 13, 307. 16, 608.

13) 3, 303. 5, 159. 7, 366. 13, 376. 21, 34. 22, 352. 24, 171, 354, 629, 631.

14) 11, 166, 372.

15) 5, 813. 10, 497.

16) 13, 756. 14, 450, 454. 15, 446. 16, 535. 18, 250.

17) 16, 808. 17, 70, 81.

18) 6, 401.

19) 1, 307. 9, 211. 11, 608. 16, 420, 434, 438, 452, 554, 760. 17, 132, 267, 270, 369, 538. 18, 93. 21, 28. 23, 25, 239. 24, 16.

20) 17, 754. 20, 160.

21) 23, 296.

22) 4, 204. 11, 614. 14, 2.

23) 5, 581.

24) 2, 624.

25) 2, 173. 3, 200. 4, 358. 19, 185, etc.

26) 19, 116, 123. 14, 320.

of Achilles (1). Σεληπιάδης—patronymic of Euenus (2). Καπανητιάδης—patronymic of Sthenelos (3). Φηρητιάδης—patronymic of Eumelus (grandson) (4).

Another usual form of Homer connected with the descent of a hero is the analytical one, i.e. Τυδέος υἱός (Diomedes) (5), Μενoitτίου υἱός (Patroklos) (6), Πηλέος υἱός (Achilles) (7), υἱός Πριάμοιο (Hector) (8) or Πριάμοιο πάϊς (9).

It is noteworthy, on the one hand, that Homer gives the genealogies only of the secondary and little known heroes to his hearers or readers. It seems that he takes for granted that his hearers or readers know well the famous and celebrated heroes, such as Achilles, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Diomedes, Aias, Hector and Patroklos, and for this reason he does not explain their genealogies in detail. And, on the other hand, he bases many of his obscure heroes' names on the names of places. Of these there are many examples on the Achaean side. Thesaly presents a number of them: Γοννεύς (10) from Γόννοι, Λῆθος (11) from the Ληθαῖον πεδῖον (12), Τρῆχος (13) from Trachis, Φόρβας (14) from the city of the same name (15), and above all Θεσσαλός (16), the eponymous hero of the whole country. From Leucas comes Odysseus' comrade Λεῦκος; (17) Κόρωνος (18) comes from Coroneia in Boeotia, Ἀζεΐδης (19) from the Ἀζᾶνες (20) in Arcadia, Πειραΐδης (21) from Πειραῖ (22) in Achaea. Homer names his minor Trojans on the

1) 1, 1, 322. 9, 166. 16, 269, 653, 686. 24, 406, 431, 448.

2) 2, 693,

3) 2, 564. 5, 109.

4) 2, 763. 23, 376.

5) 2, 406. 4, 365, 370. 5, 25, 163, 184, 232, 235, 277, 335, 376, 406. 6, 96, 119, 277, 437. 7, 179. 10, 487, 494, 509, 516. 11, 338. 23, 472, 538.

6) 9, 202. 11. 605, 814. 12. 1. 16, 278, 307, 626, 665, 827. 18, 12, 455. 19, 24, etc.

7) 1, 489. 16, 21, 203. 18, 18. 19, 216. 20, 2. 21, 139. 22, 8.

8) 7, 47. 11, 197, 200. 15, 239, 244.

9) 5, 704. 18, 154. 3, 314.

10) 2, 748.

11) 16, 288.

12) Theognis 1. 1216.

13) 5, 706.

14) 14, 490.

15) Steph. Byz., s. v. Φόρβας.

16) 2, 679.

17) 4, 491.

18) 2, 746.

19) 2, 513.

20) Steph. Byz., s. v. Ἀζανία.

21) 4, 228.

22) Paus, vii. 18, 1.

same principle. Above all, their names come from the Troad. The two Adresti (1) come from Ἀδρήστεια on the Propontis (2), Αἴσηπος (3) from the river of the same name (4), Εὔηνος from a river near Miletus (5), Θηβαῖος (6) from Andromache's home at Thebe (7), Θυμβραῖος (8) from Thymbra, Ἴδαῖος (9) from Ida, Κεβριόνης (10) from the river Κεβρὴν (11), Πήδαϊος (12) from Πήδαϊον under Mount Ida, etc.

It is remarkable that a large proportion of the Greek names comes from Thessaly. Thessaly was the original home of the Aeolic colonists of Asia Minor, and the use of Thessalian names points to the poet employing old family traditions which existed among the families of Aeolis.

A C H I L L E S :

Achilles' usual patronymic is : Πηλεΐδης from his father Πηλεὺς (13) who wrestled with Thetis, a sea nymph and immortal, and won her in spite of her metamorphoses (14). Peleus is an eponymous hero of Mount Pelion (15), in southern Thessaly, a mortal (16). Another usual patronymic of Achilles is : Αἰακίδης, since he was the grandson of Αἰακός, the son of Zeus and father of Peleus (17). Achilles' dominion comprises in Homer Phthia (18), Φθία, and Hellas (19), both populated by the tribe of the Myrmidons (20). The name of Phthia is preserved in historical times in Achaia Phthiotis in which the Phthiotic Thebes was situated. In regard to Hellas it is identified with the Spercheios Valley, for Spercheios is the river near which Achilles is brought up and he himself

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- 1) 6. 63. 15, 694.
 - 2) 2, 828.
 - 3) 6, 21.
 - 4) 12, 21.
 - 5) 2, 693.
 - 6) 8, 120.
 - 7) 6, 397.
 - 8) 11, 320.
 - 9) 5, 20.
 - 10) 16, 781.
 - 11) Appollodorus iii. 154.
 - 12) 5, 69.
 - 13) 9, 252, 394, 438. 11, 783f. 17, 443. 18, 331 23, 89, 144, 278.
 - 14) 16, 33f., 860. 17, 78. 18, 51ff., 86. 10, 404, 18, 331—32, 438f. 20, 206—207. 21, 109. 24, 59—61, 534—537.
 - 15) 16, 144.
 - 16) 18, 84ff.
 - 17) 21, 189.
 - 18) 1, 155, 169. 9, 253, 363, 395, 439. 11, 756. 16, 13. 19, 299, 323, 330.
 - 19) 9, 395, 447, 478.
 - 20) 1, 180. Cp. 7, 124f. 16, 12f.

promises to offer his hair to Spercheios after his return (1). Achilles is the leader, ἀρχέας, of Myrmidons (2), he is their ἀναξ (3).

A few lines should be added here, I think, concerning the conventional epithets attributed to Achilles by Homer in the *Iliad*. Their use, by the way, in the Homeric epic is a primitive trait and so successful that no praise of them is necessary. Homer uses stock epithets not only for men and gods but for the wonders of nature, the sea and animals also. The purpose of their use is to help give the epic that looseness of texture which saved its hearers from too much concentration and monotonous tension. As these epithets are used by Homer they fit properly and beautifully in his narrative, i.e. Achilles is called ποδάρκης when he leaps to seize Hector from Apollo (4) or when he pursues the River God (5).

These epithets also are used to distinguish one man from another and to characterize a particular property or virtue of the hero. So Achilles is called, according to his divine descendance, godlike θεοῖς ἐπιείκελος (6), θεοείκελος (7), θεῖος; (8) according to his heroism, μέγας φέρτατος Ἀχαιῶν (9), ἔξοχος ἡρώων (10), κρατερός (11), ἀγαυός (12), πολλίπορθος; (13) according to his extremely successful movements and mobilization, πόδας ὠκύς (14) or ποδώκυσ (15), ποδάρκης (16), etc. (17).

DIOMEDES :

Diomedes' most usual patronymic in the *Iliad* is : Τυδεΐδης, namely the son of Tydeus, who is always said to be a son of Oineus (18), the

1) 23, 141ff.

2) 2, 684—5.

3) 1, 180.

4) 20, 445.

5) 21, 265.

6) 9, 485, 494. Cp. 9, 410f, 603. 22, 279. 23, 80. 24, 486.

7) 19, 155. 1, 131.

8) 19, 279, 297.

9) 16, 21. Cp. 16, 271f. 19, 216.

10) 18, 56, 437.

11) 18, 55. 21, 553. Cp. 1, 178, 280.

12) 17, 557.

13) 24, 108.

14) 1, 58, 84, 148, 215, 364, 489. 11, 112, 607. 16, 48. 18, 78, 97, 187. 19, 55, 145, 198, 419. 21, 222. 22, 14, 260, 344. 23, 93, 776. 24, 138, 559, 649, 751.

15) 18, 234. 20, 89. 16, 865. 17, 388, 486. 23, 28. 2, 860, 874. 13, 113. 18, 261, 267. 20, 27, 45. 21, 599. 22, 193. 23, 35, 793. 24, 458. 23, 249.

16) 1, 121. 2, 687. 6, 423. 11, 599. 16, 5. 17, 402. 18, 181. 20, 177, 413. 21, 49, 149, 265. 22, 376. 23, 140, 193, 333, 555, 828, 889. 24, 668.

17) I omit those epithets of Achilles which are common to other heroes.

18) 14, 117. 10, 497. 5, 813.

Aetolian king of Calydon (1). The genealogy of Diomedes in book 14 (Ξ), l. 109ff, is an old and trustworthy one and proves that Tydeus is at home in Aetolia (2). This genealogy is one of the most detailed in the *Iliad* and gives clear information about the rank and family situation of Diomedes' ancestors. It tells us that Porthus was the father of Oineus and also of Agrios and Mēlas or Mēleagros (9, 543) and their home was in Pleuron and headlong Calydon (l. 116), that Tydeus lies dead in the land of Thebe (3) referring obviously to the Expedition of Argos against Thebe in which he was chosen to take a leading part, after he had moved to Argos (4), where he married (5) the daughter of Adrastus, the king of Argos, and so gives us the best reasons for his admission to the royal family. Furthermore, in this genealogy Tydeus, Diomedes' father, is pictured as a great spearman (6) and of great wealth (7), but not as a king or a prince (8). Tydeus' name is one of the old type and moreover his character shows traces of a high and crude antiquity which was detested by the Homeric age. He belongs to that older generation of heroes who possessed an admirable strength and did valiant deeds but met an evil fate (9). Tydeus is always represented as the special protégé of the goddess Athena (10). Diomedes himself says elsewhere (11) that he does not remember his father, since he was a little boy when he left him; at that time the people of the Achaeans perished in Thebe. Diomedes' wife is mentioned by name only in one place (12), but nowhere is there any mention as to whether Diomedes had children or not.

The purpose of Diomedes' account of his descent is just as he himself describes it. Agamemnon is in one of his fits of despair, and wants to scuttle home. Odysseus rebukes his chief in the very strongest terms. «The mean mind in authority» yields at once, and piteously calls for some better plan. Diomedes, associated now as elsewhere (13) with Odysseus, answers Agamemnon's call for someone to speak (14). His youth he need not dilate on, for Agamemnon practically invites him to speak, though he is νέος (15). Nor need he refer to his capa-

1) 2, 640ff.

2) 23, 471.

3) 14, 114. Cp. 4, 370ff.

4) 14, 119. Cp. 10, 286.

5) 14, 110.

6) 14, 124.

7) 14, 121f.

8) Bellerophon's case is similar (6, 190ff.).

9) E. G. Meleager. Cp. 1, 266ff. 5, 801ff.

10) 10, 285f. 5, 115ff, 802ff.

11) 6, 222—223.

12) 5, 412. Αἰγιαλεία=wise child of Adrastus.

13) 11, 311ff, 346f.

14) 14, 106.

15) 14, 108.

city in the field; his deeds of the previous day, recounted in E, Θ and K, speak for themselves; compare also I 35—36. There remains his position as a chief; on that he insists: «Therefore you could not by saying that I am by my lineage coward and poltroon, dishonour any word that I speak, if I speak well», he declares (1). It should be noted here that a young man would sometimes urge his nobility of birth as an excuse for his speaking in a Achaean council as well as in the assembly. The counsel of the experienced and aged, of course, was most respected.

In the Catalogue of the Ships, Diomedes is made king of Argos (2). Elsewhere in the Iliad he is called *διοτρεφής Βασιλεύς* (3) and *ἄναξ* (4). He is peer of the King of Mycenae, and as such takes it upon himself to rebuke contemptible weakness even when it is exhibited by Agamemnon. Diomedes is a hero whose modesty—he hesitates to speak in council and does so only *ὀψέ* (5)—has always been commended as, after his bravery in the field, his most noteworthy quality. Affectation is the last weakness to be ascribed to Diomedes, and anything less like an apology than this speech in Ξ, 110—127 is difficult to imagine. We cannot either conclude on the Homeric evidence that Diomedes and Sthenelus are unsurpassed as obedient and faithful retainers, or «men» of Agamemnon. One has only to read the bitter reproofs administered to Agamemnon by Sthenelus in the Epipoleis Δ, 404—10, and by Diomedes early in I, 32—49, and to reflect whether the language is that of subordinates or of chiefs, leagued for the fight at Troy, but still independent in their sovereignty.

Both Diomedes and Sthenelus, the son of Capaneus, belong to the «Epigonoï», the sons of the Seven, who conquered and sacked Thebe.

Another occasion where genealogy is helpful to understand the meaning of Homeric narrative and culture is the meeting for combat of Glaucus and Diomedes on the plain of Troy (6). Before they fought, Diomedes asked his opponent his name and ancestry. Glaucus, with the usual race pride, gave his genealogy in detail. Hearing this, Diomedes exclaimed: «But you are an ancestral guest - friend of mine—*ξεῖνος πατρῴϊός ἐσσι παλαιός*—... we cannot fight. Let us avoid each other in combat, and exchange armour as a symbol of our relation» (7). This they did, with mutual pledges. The instance witnesses many features of guest - friendship: the care with which its traditions were preserved in the family, the detailed knowledge of a guest - friend's ancestry, the symbolism of gifts, the mutual sponsorship, etc.

1) 14, 126—127.

2) 2, 563. Cp 23, 471.

3) 14, 27f.

4) 5, 794.

5) 7, 399. 9, 31, 696.

6) 6, 119ff.

7) 6, 115, 129—131.

The Greeks from Homeric times identified the customs of guest - friendship with civilization and culture. From the reception of the stranger and the hospitality accorded to him arose an enduring relation, guest - friendship proper. After eating and drinking together, the two parties stood in a close mutual relation, which was strong enough to endure for generations, and established a sort of brotherhood. One of the greatest services of guest - friendship was of course to the traveller. Without this free hospitality, travel would hardly have been possible. Guest - friends would be then especially valuable so far from home, for both parties. Diomedes witnesses to this in the passage: «So now I am your dear host in the midst of Argos, and you mine in Lycia, when I visit that people» (1). A guest - friend was bound to make all effort to rescue the dead body of his *xeinos* for burial, and sometimes a prisoner was ransomed from slavery and set free, with gifts, by a guest - friend (2).

The first few lines of Glaukos' answer are really full of melancholy for the short life and fate of men :

«Τυδεΐδῃ μεγάθυμε, τίη γενεὴν ἐρρεΐνεις ;
οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.
φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δὲ θ' ὕλη
τηλεθόωσα φύει, ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη
ὡς ἀνδρῶν γενεή ἢ μὲν φύει ἢ δ' ἀπολήγει . . .» (3)

In the lines which follow Glaukos relates the whole history of his great family originated in the Greek Sisyphos, Aiolos' son and the grandfather of Glaukos. Sisyphos was the king of Corinth, since Ἐφύρα is identified with Corinth. Sisyphos had a son named Glaukos and he, in turn, sired Bellerophon the blameless who had three children : Isandros, Hippolochos and Laodameia. Laodameia lay in love beside Zeus and bore him Sarpedon and Hippolochos begot Glaukos. As soon as Diomedes hears the name of Bellerophon, his grandfather's (Oineus) guest - friend, he recognizes in the person of Glaukos his own guest - friend too and decides not to fight with him (4). Now Bellerophon was said to be Poseidon's son and Oineus' father also is a son of Ares. In other words in both cases, in that of Glaukos as well as that of Diomedes, we meet the divine origin of the family in the fourth lineage. This phenomenon stands of course against the usual custom in Greek family history that the great families of the «age of heroes», which was terminated by the «coming of the Dorians» «go up to a god» in the third generation before the Trojan War. Thus Achil-

1) 6, 224—225.

2) 13, 660—661. 17, 150ff (cf. 229ff). 21, 42.

3) 6, 145—149.

4) 14, 216ff.

les, son of Peleus, and Ajax, son of Telamon, are grandsons of Aeacus, and Aeacus is son of Zeus (1). Odysseus, son of Laertes, is grandson of Arcesius, son of Zeus (2). Idomeneus, son of Deucalion, is grandson of Minos, son of Zeus (3). When, therefore, do we have the above phenomenon, namely that the lineage goes one generation further? Whenever the place of origin of an immigrant grandfather was known. So, Diomedes, son of Tydeus, who came into Argolis or Argos from Aetolia, was the grandson of Oineus; and it is his father Portheus who «goes up to a god» and is a son not of Zeus but of Ares (4). Compare with this the lineage of the House of Atreus. Agamemnon and Menelaus are sons of Atreus (5), grandsons of Pelops (6), who was in some sense a Phrygian (7), and a newcomer in western Peloponnesus; and Pelop's father was Tantalus, a prince of Lydia, and son of Zeus (8). Hector was the son of Priam, grandson of Laomedon. Above Laomedon, however, there are four more generations, Ilus, Tros, Erichthonius, and before them Dardanus, who first came into the hill-country, and was a son of Zeus (9). These lineages of the greater heroes of the «war-generation» fit well enough together: Atreus for example married Aerope, granddaughter of Minos, and first cousin of Idomeneus, who is a contemporary and ally of Atreus' sons; Odysseus' wife Penelope was the second cousin of Helen, wife of Menelaus; Pelops, grandfather of Agamemnon, married Hippodamia, first cousin of Oeneus, the grandfather of Diomedes; and so forth. But they do not fit so well with those of heroes whose families have a longer history, i.e. Nestor, Tlepolemus (10).

From all the conventional epithets of Diomedes the most usual and also the most befitting to his character is: *βoήν ἀγαθός* (11). Of course, this title holds, well for him, the bravest of the younger Achaeans. It is noteworthy that the same epithet is attributed only to Menelaus (12). Other epithets attributed more or less exclusively to Diomedes are: *κράτιστος Ἀχαιῶν* (13), *ἄγριος αἰχμητής* (14)

1) 21, 189.

2) *O d y s s e y* 14, 182. 16, 118. Cp. Ovid, *M e t.* xiii. 144; Hyginus 109. 1.

3) 17, 608. 13, 450—452. 14, 322.

4) 14, 115.

5) 2, 23. 1, 7. 2, 6. 3, 193. 11, 158. 14, 22, etc. **Menelaus**—3, 347. 5, 55. 13, 646. 14, 139. 17, 12. 23, 407, etc.

6) 2, 104, 105.

7) 3, 184, 401.

8) *O d y s s e y* 11, 582ff.

9) 20, 215—219, 230ff, 304.

10) 2, 653ff.

11) 2, 563, 567. 5, 114, 320, 347, 432, 596, 855. 6, 12, 122, 212. 7, 399. 9, 696. 10, 219, 241, 283. 11, 345. 14, 109.

12) 17, 246, 560, 651, 656. 2, 408, 586. 3, 96. 4, 220.

13) 6, 98.

14) 6, 278.

κρατερὸς μῆστωρ φόβοιο (1), κρατερός (2), μενεπτόλεμος (3), υπερφίαλος (4) in connection with his audacity to fight with even the immortal gods, etc.

PATROKLOS:

Patroklos' most usual patronymic is : Μενουτιάδης (5), son of Menoitios, Μενουτίου υἱός (6). His father Menoitios is the son of Actor (7). We learn from a specific passage (8) that Patroklos was older than Achilles in age, but Achilles was greater in lineage, γενεῇ ὑπέρτερος. Patroklos' home is the same, of course, as Achilles': Phthia (9) and it seems that their fathers too were associated with strong friendly and tribal ties (10). Patroklos, still a little boy, was brought by his father from his home in Opoeis to the house of Peleus, the father of Achilles, and since that time he was brought up and lived together with Achilles in the same house to whom Patroklos was a θ ε ρ ά π ω ν, related obviously with strong brotherly ties (11).

In book 23 (Ψ) there are so many beautiful and moving passages and scenes of the brotherly love and relationship between Achilles and Patroklos that it will not be too much to say that a whole volume could be written only on this book of the Iliad.

There is profound psychology and meaning in Patroklos' addresses to Achilles during the most critical moments and dangers of the Achaeans. He reminds Achilles of their life together at home, pleasant old days and events which they shared together in order to move him obviously and convince him to come to fight and defend the Achaeans. Here also the recitation of their family history fits and is appropriate from the point of view of structure as well as of the psychology of circumstances.

1) 6, 278.

2) 4, 401, 411. 5, 143, 151, 251, 286, 410, 814. 7, 163. 10, 446, 536. 11, 316, 361, 384, 660. 16, 25. 23, 290, 472, 812.

3) 19, 48.

4) 5, 881.

5) 1, 307. 9, 211. 11, 608. 16, 420, 434, 438, 452, 554, 760. 17, 132, 267, 270, 369, 538. 18, 93. 21, 28. 23, 239. 24, 16.

6) 9, 202. 11, 605, 814. 12, 1. 16, 278, 307, 626, 665, 827. 18, 12, 455. 19, 24.

7) 11, 785. 16, 14.

8) 11, 785f.

9) 16, 13, 39, 65. 11, 766. Cp. 18, 9ff.

10) 16, 12ff. 23, 84ff. 11, 771f. Cf. 16, 269ff.

11) 23, 86ff. Cp. 23, 94ff.

The most characteristic epithets of Patroklos are : *ἰσόθεος φῶς* (1), *ἵππο-κέλευθος* (2), *διογενής* (3), *θεόφιν μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος* (4), *ἱππεύς* (5), etc.

HECTOR :

Hector's most usual patronymic is : *Πριάμιδης*, son of Priam, also *υἷος Πριάμοιο* or *Πριάμοιο πάϊς*.

His name is a Greek personal name. A king of Chios was so called (6). It seems to be a descriptive name, derived from *ἔχειν*, «to hold», and its sense is well explained by the Homeric phrase : «for only Hector saved Ilios» (7).

Unfortunately, we don't find in the *Iliad* a detailed genealogy of Hector, similar to that of Diomedes. The only complete, more or less, family history of Hector is circumstantial, given through the mouth of Aeneas at the moment of his meeting with Achilles for combat (8). The speech of Aeneas is a long one (9) but of interest to us as containing the lineage of the royal house of Troy. Aeneas starts his genealogy from Dardanus, of course, the son of Zeus and then he mentions the Attic hero and king Erichthonius (10). Because of this hero it has been suggested that the passage was an Attic interpolation dating from about 610 B. C. at a time when the Athenians were trying to gain a foothold in Sigeum in the Troad. There is another suggestion, however, that there were originally two separate lines of descent, the one from Zeus Idaeus (including Tros, Ilus, Laomedon, Priam, and Hector), the other from Poseidon Erichthonius (including Dardanus, Assaracus, Capys, Anchises, and Aeneas).

According to the text itself Erichthonius begot Tros the *ἄναξ* of the Trojans, who had three children : Ilus, Assaracus and Ganymedes the godlike (11). Ilus begot Laomedon and he begot Tithonus, Priam, Lampus, Clytius, and Hicetaon. Assaracus had one child, Capys, who begot Anchises, the father of Aeneas, and Priam begot Hector (12).

Now, from this genealogy of the Trojans we learn also the relationship between Hector and Aeneas : Priam was the grandson of Ilus and Anchises, the

1) 11, 644.

2) 16, 126, 584, 839,

3) 11, 823. 16. 49, 126, 707. 1, 337.

4) 17, 477.

5) 16, 744, 812, 843.

6) The fifth king of Chios, Pausanias, vii, 4, 9 ; cp. M. Nilsson, *Homers and Mycenaean*, London, 1933, p. 264.

7) 6, 403 ; cp. Plato, *Cratylus*, 393 A.

8) 20, 215—240.

9) 20, 199—258.

10) 20, 230.

11) 20, 230—235.

12) 20, 236—240.

grandson of Assaracus, the brother of Ilus. Therefore, Hector was the great-grandson of Ilus and Aeneas, the great-grandson of Assaracus, namely Hector and Aeneas are third cousins (1).

Sometimes Hector is not recognized as a true son neither of a god nor of a goddess (2), and Hector himself confesses that it is not possible to be called son of Zeus (3) and some other times is clearly called *παῖς Διὸς ἐρισθενέος* (4), beloved by Zeus, *δίφιλος* (5), *διοτρφεύς* (6), to whom Zeus gives glory (7).

The characteristic epithets of Hector are : *μέγας κορυθαίολος* (8) (great of the shining helm), *θρασύς* (9), *φαίδιμος* (10), *χαλκοκορυστής* (11), etc. Hector and Aeneas are pictured as the most heroic fighters of the Trojans : *οἱ Τρώων ἄριστοι* (12). Hector also is presented to us in his intimate family relations, with Hecuba, Helen and his wife and infant son in book 6 (Z), and then in two capacities as a fighter in books 7 (H) and 8 (Θ).

Another passage from which we can know more about the family history of Hector is the list of the eight Elders of Troy at the beginning of the Teichoscopia (13) where they are introduced by name : Priam, Panthous, Thymoetes, Lampus, Clytius, Hicetaon, Ucalegon, and Antenor. I pass over the other families to consider those of Priam and Athenor.

These two families supply three score characters of the *Iliad*. Eleven sons of Antenor and twenty—two of Priam are mentioned by name—numbers out of all proportion to the progeny of any Greek hero in the poem, even Nestor. Priam has fifty sons and twelve daughters. These are round numbers, without claim to factual precision or historical accuracy. Homer does not picture the Trojans as *βάρβαροι*; Achilles mentions Priam's sons, not by name of course, along with his wealth as tokens of great prosperity (14). The size of Priam's family

1) 20, 236—7, 239—240.

2) 10, 49—50. Cp, 24, 58.

3) 13, 825.

4) 13, 54.

5) 6, 318. Gp. 13, 727. 10, 49.

6) 24, 553.

7) 17, 566, etc.

8) 2, 816. 3, 83, 324. 5, 680, 689. 6, 116, 263, 342, 359, 369, 440, 520. 7, 158, 233, 263, 287. 8, 160, 324. 377. 11, 315. 12, 230. 15, 246, 504. 17, 96, 122, 169, 188, 693. 18, 21, 131, 284. 19, 134. 20, 430. 22, 232, 337, 355, 471.

9) 12, 210. 13, 725, 22, 455. 24, 72, 786.

10) 4, 505. 6, 466, 472, 494. 7, 1, 90. 12, 290, 462. 8, 489. 13, 823. 14, 388, 390, 402. 15, 65, 231. 16, 577, 588, 649, 727, 760, 858, 17, 316, 483, 744. 18, 155, 175. 20, 364. 21, 5. 22, 274.

11) 5, 699. 6, 398. 13, 720. 15, 458. 16, 358, 536, 654.

12) 5, 490—92. 6, 78. 17, 513.

13) 3, 146ff.

14) 24, 546.

is explained by Homer's poetic economy. In every episode of battle in which the Trojans are slain, except M and Ξ, that is, in Δ—Z, Θ, Λ, Ν, Ο—Ρ, Υ—Χ, at least one warrior falls who is connected with the family of Priam. These include eleven sons, two prospective sons—in-law, five nephews, and two intimate friends (besides two charioteers) of Hector. The numerous offspring of Priam—carefully, although casually provided for by the description of his palace (1)—and of Antenor are invented mostly to provide heroic «Kannonenfutter» which is linked with the chief Trojan characters already familiar to the listener (2).

It is interesting to note that generally the beginning of genealogies of the heroes of the Trojan army (3) is characterized, I think, by a modesty or humility, by a melancholy and pessimism about human life and the achievements of their ancestors, whom, as Aeneas says emphatically to Achilles, had not even seen but they know only through the oral tradition of mortal men (4), «and the tongue of mortals is a twisty thing, there are plenty of words there of every kind, the range of words is wide, and their variance. The sort of thing you say is the thing that will be said to you» (5). Aeneas, particularly, seems to entrust himself to Zeus' omnipotence who :

«Builds up and diminishes the strength in men, the way he pleases, since his power is beyond all others, ὁ κάρτιστος πάντων» (6), rather than to human merit and power : the same pessimistic and theocratic, so to speak, feeling governs the first few lines of Glaukos' speech or genealogy (7) and of other Trojan heroes (8).

On the contrary, the speeches and genealogies of the Greek heroes, in general, are characterized and inspired by a more or less humanistic and optimistic feeling, by an appreciation, probably over-estimation sometimes, of the merit and achievements of their ancestors, who, for the epigonoι are an inexhaustible resource of heroism, endurance and inspiration in all the misfortunes of life (9).

1) 6, 244—250.

2) S Bassett, *The poetry of Homer*, California, 1938. p. 119.

3) 20, 200ff. Cp. Glaukos' speech : 6. 145—149.

4) 20, 203—205.

5) 20, 248—250.

6) 20, 242—243.

7) 6, 145—149. Cp. 21, 569—570.

8) 15, 484ff.

9) 21, 108f, 150f, 20, 195ff, 178. Cp. 9, 394ff, 31ff. 5, 881—882, 818—824. 14, 112ff, 126—127. 13, 452f. 7, 225ff. 17, 629ff. 9, 606f. 1, 172ff, 277—281. 13, 810.