



# THE EPSILON TRADITION

HOMER'S FINISHING TOUCH

WARD BLONDÉ

## The Ionian Epsilon Tradition

### **Short Description**

The Ionian Epsilon Tradition is the youngest of five Homeric traditions discovered by Ward Blondé. The *Iliad* was given a permanent shape in it through alternate improvisation.

### **Summary**

This book describes the characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, the last and youngest oral tradition in the series of five Homeric oral traditions that Ward Blondé distinguishes after an analysis of the *Iliad*. This book also sheds light on a theory about how the *Iliad* became fixed.

The Ionian Epsilon Tradition appears in the *Iliad* merely as a finishing layer over an existing framework. Only here and there does the *Iliad* contain a passage that contains almost no characteristics of the older oral traditions. Still – of all five oral traditions – the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is best documented and yields 104 different oral characteristics. The content of those oral characteristics shows that the Ionian Epsilon Tradition originated in aristocratic circles that practiced the guest-friendship at the end of the Dark Ages. In the *Odyssey* this oral tradition is more prominent.

Blondé's analysis shows that not one, but at least four bards improvised the final verses of the *Iliad* through alternate improvisation: the Achilles Bard, the Narrative Bard, the War Bard, and the God Bard. These bards had separate specialties, including the older oral traditions, but also special roles, such as the Early Dramatic Role and the Achilles Role. Homer's finishing touch symbolizes the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.

# The Ionian Epsilon Tradition

## Homer's finishing touch

Ward Blondé

First edition: 2022

All passages from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in this book use the translations of Richmond Lattimore.

Ward Blondé

The Ionian Epsilon Tradition: Homer's finishing touch

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## **Quotes about Earlier Books in the Homeric Traditions Series**

**William F. Hansen**, Professor Emeritus of Classical Studies and Folklore at Indiana University, Bloomington, USA:

I read your argument with interest. The “King Story” that you reconstruct is not, to my knowledge, attested anywhere in oral tradition. (November 2019)

**Haris Koutelakis**, PhD in Archaeology and History, Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece:

I just finished my book about the *Odyssey* after many, many years. Of course, in that, I have made some citations to your books. But now I must read your new one! (November 2019)

**Emmanuel Pantos**, Homeric friend:

It’s an excellently organised text. Well done. Looking forward to your Gamma, Delta, and Epsilon efforts. (November 2019)

**Nissim Tsuk-Ran**, PhD in Comparative Literature and Homeric Poetry, Bar Ilan University, Israel:

Thank you very much for this vital information for my research. Your Alpha Tradition up to the Epsilon Tradition is very new and unknown to me and very interesting. (August 2020)

**Nicholas Nikoloudis**, Doctor in Cultural and European History:

I am not an expert in Archaeology or Homeric Studies, but I find your methodology very interesting. I believe it can make significant contributions toward a better understanding of the anthropological and cultural substratum of the remote European past. (October 2020)

**Louise Jensby**, Master’s degree and teacher in History and Classical studies at Aarhus University, Denmark, on the Mykenanian King Story:

I really like your thoughts and conclusions and find your arguments convincing. Well written and easy to follow. (October 2020)

**Johan Weststeijn**, an expert in oral traditions and researcher in the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands:

I am also reading the rest of your books now. Interesting! (October 2020)

**Lorne Hill**, Emeritus in History with Ancient Greek History as a hobby, History Department, University of Toronto, Canada, on the European Beta Tradition:

You are to be congratulated for tackling such a thorny topic. Your thesis deserves detailed discussion by experts. (May 2021)

## **Acknowledgments**

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## **About the Author**

Ward Blondé has been fascinated by the Homeric Question since he was thirteen. He studied Latin–mathematics and Greek for one year at Sint–Lodewijks college in Lokeren. Because of his talent for mathematics and logic, he became a civil engineer in physics and a doctor in the applied biological sciences at Ghent University. He worked as a post-doc in Graz, Trondheim, and Amsterdam, but currently works as a bioinformatician in Belgium. In his spare time, he has been studying Schwarz’s translation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* since 1993.

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# Introduction

This book on the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is the fifth and last in the ‘Homeric Traditions’ series.<sup>1</sup> Of all the oral traditions in the series, the *Ionian Epsilon Tradition* is the only one that has a name that fits the current scientific consensus. There is no doubt about the fact that the oral tradition in which the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are fixed was mainly an Ionian tradition. The following things are demonstrated in this book:

1. Hidden in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is a separate oral tradition, with its own oral characteristics and passages: the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.
2. The Ionian Epsilon Tradition can be found in the *Iliad* as a finishing layer, but in the *Odyssey* as the main oral tradition.
3. The Ionian Epsilon Tradition is the latest oral tradition in the ‘Homeric Traditions’ series. This oral tradition originated in noble circles who practiced guest-friendship.
4. The *Iliad* handed down to us (our *Iliad*) is a fixed performance in which four bards with different specialties took turns improvising: the Narrative Bard, the Achilles Bard, the God Bard and the War Bard.
5. In addition to some of the five Homeric oral traditions, there were also roles in which the four bards were specialized respectively: the Early and the Late Dramatic Role, the God Role, and the War Role.

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<sup>1</sup>The earlier books in the series are *The Mykenaian Alpha Tradition: On the Origin of Greek Stories* (Blondé 2018), *The European Beta Tradition: On the Origin of the Iliad* (Blondé 2019), *The Aeolian Gamma Tradition: On the Origin of Roman Stories* (Blondé 2020), and *The Narrative Delta Tradition: Iliadic Fairy Tales* (Blondé 2021).

## Reading Guide

To get the research into the Ionian Epsilon Tradition off to a good start, Chapter 1 bundles background knowledge about both the Ionian Epsilon Tradition and the other oral traditions in the ‘Homeric Traditions’ series. Chapter 2 describes all the oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Chapter 3 introduces four roles that some Epsilon bards specialized in: two dramatic roles, the God Role and the War Role. Chapter 4 contains a systematic analysis of the hypothesis that our *Iliad* was recorded during a performance with alternate improvisation. Finally, Chapter 5 contains the conclusions.

# Chapter 1

## Background Knowledge

In this chapter some concepts about oral traditions are explained first. This is followed by a summary of the five Homeric oral traditions that can be distinguished in the *Iliad*. The historical background of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is also mentioned. Finally, an overview is given of the three social backgrounds from which the five oral traditions originated.

### Concepts

In an oral tradition, stories, poems, knowledge, or ideas are improvised or recited to an audience and passed on from generation to generation.<sup>1</sup> We find oral traditions especially among peoples who do not use writing. The language of an oral tradition is constantly modernized so that the audience can continue to understand the stories. Yet, that language is not entirely the same as the language of the public. Often an oral tradition uses a verse meter, which is an alternation of syllables that are short or long, or have emphasis or no emphasis. For example, the dactylic hexameter, the meter of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, consists of six feet.<sup>2</sup> A foot is a dactyl (long-short-short), a spondee (long-long) or – as the last foot – a trochee (long-short). In order to meet the strict requirements of the meter, the language of an oral tradition often contains language phenomena that are obsolete (archaisms) or that stem from another dialect. Nevertheless, the language of an oral tradition is modernized much faster than its semantic, translatable content. This ex-

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<sup>1</sup>Parry (1930) was a pioneer in documenting and describing oral traditions.

<sup>2</sup>Ingalls 1970.

plains the success of the method in the Homeric Traditions series, namely to characterize oral traditions on the basis of translatable characteristics.

The characteristics with which an oral tradition can be characterized are its *oral characteristics*. Examples are ‘materialism’, ‘guest-friendship’, ‘precious metals’ and ‘furniture’. Oral traditions, but also stories, type-scenes, and roles, can be characterized through a list of oral characteristics.<sup>3</sup> Type-scenes are scenes in a story that occur regularly and that are described with more or less fixed formulas.<sup>4</sup> Examples are announcing a new day, receiving a guest, or preparing a meal. A *role* is in between a type-scene and a story, and is used to improvise longer passages. Bards could specialize in a particular role. Four roles can be distinguished in this book: the God Role, the Early Dramatic Role, the Achilles Role (the Late Dramatic Role), and the War Role. The God Role, for example, lends itself exclusively to describing the actions of the gods.

The appearance of roles in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is an additional argument that the *Iliad* was improvised in its final stages through alternate improvisation. Several bards with different specialties took turns taking the floor. They may have passed a scepter to the person who was given the floor. At three places in the *Iliad* there are clear indications that several bards alternated: the end of *Iliad* XIII, *Iliad* XIX and the beginning of *Iliad* XXIII. In it, the bards communicated with each other on a meta-level about the direction and follow-up of the poem. Since an alternate improvisation is difficult to slow down, this hypothesis assumes that the fixation of our *Iliad* was a grand undertaking in which many memorizers and/or scribes took part. Memorizers were bards or rhapsodes who immediately memorized the improvised text so that they could later be definitively recorded by scribes. Unlike bards, rhapsodes did not improvise, but recited memorized texts.<sup>5</sup>

All things that can be described with a list of oral characteristics, such as oral traditions, stories, roles and type-scenes, are *oral scopes*. Oral characteristics can be assigned to an oral scope because they are clustered in the same passages or have semantic connections to the other oral characteristics. An example where ‘Apollo’, ‘lyre’ and ‘Muses’ form a cluster is: *the beautifully wrought lyre in the hands of Apollo nor the antiphonal sweet sound of the Muses singing*.<sup>6</sup> ‘Apollo’ and ‘Muse’ also have a semantic connec-

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<sup>3</sup>Oral characteristic, role, alternate improvisation, and oral scope are terms that come under my own terminology.

<sup>4</sup>Edwards 1992.

<sup>5</sup>Hargis 1970.

<sup>6</sup>*Iliad* I 603-604.

tion, because they are both divine beings who reside on the Olympos. This increases the chance that these oral characteristics belong to the same oral scope. Of course, the many Homeric oral scopes partly overlap. Apollo appears in more than one oral scope.

The main oral scopes are those of the five oral traditions. The oral traditions are discussed systematically in the next section, along with the oral scopes associated with those oral traditions.

## **From Alpha to Epsilon: The Homeric Traditions**

### **The Mykenaian Alpha Tradition**

The Mykenaian Alpha Tradition is the oldest oral tradition in the Homeric Traditions series. As the name suggests, this oral tradition almost certainly stems from Mykenaian Greece, and probably even the early Mykenaian period. This lineage is especially apparent from some important oral characteristics of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition:<sup>7</sup> wars for cities, bloody feuds within the family, kings, the brave hero, the change of the power, the cycle of misery, the revenge on the return, the special education, fatal women and failed marriages. These oral characteristics are all related to the power struggles that no doubt often took place within the imposing ramparts of Mykenaian palaces.

Two story types are strongly linked to the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition: the King Story and the Hero Story. The King Story is about a king who is betrayed in his absence and assembles a coalition of warriors to reclaim his city. The recapture takes much longer than expected and the king even dies in battle. Ultimately, it is the king's son who can recapture the city. Four concrete stories about four cities meet the many oral characteristics, such as character roles, plot twists, themes, and motifs of the King Story:<sup>8</sup> Ithaka, Mykenai, Thebes and Troy.

The Hero Story is about a hero who has a royal lineage and goes through a special childhood and upbringing. When he reaches adulthood, he sets out in search of his destiny and travels to a neighboring kingdom. There he competes for the hand of the king's daughter. The king gives the hero difficult orders and even tries to have the hero killed. When that fails,

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<sup>7</sup>See oral characteristics A1-A58 in Appendix 'An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics.'

<sup>8</sup>See oral characteristics Ak1-Ak34 in Appendix 'An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics.'

the king realizes that the hero has a special origin and gives his daughter in marriage. The hero still leads a glorious life, but ends up unhappy. The forty-two oral characteristics<sup>9</sup> of this story type apply to many of the Greek heroes.

The passages of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition are mainly found in the *Iliad*, but some appear in the *Odyssey*. These are almost always digressions. The lineage of Theoklymenos<sup>10</sup> is the only example in the *Odyssey* that has the typical compact style we find in the *Iliad*, but it is one of the purest textbook examples of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition.

### **The European Beta Tradition**

With the war stories describing the gruesome battle on the battlefield, we have arrived at the European Beta Tradition.<sup>11</sup> That tradition has a very different origin: the non-Greek Europe of the Bronze Age. This is especially apparent from the funeral customs, the wall of wood and earth with a ditch around the Greek camp, and the way of fighting.

In Central Europe the cultures of the Tumulus peoples and the Urnfield peoples merged for the first time. Their combined funeral practices, with both burial mounds and urns, have spread throughout Europe. I assume that this happened through a violent revolution, spurred on by an ideology that wanted to create more living space for the fused cultures in Central Europe, and more cultural uniformity far beyond. In the eastern Mediterranean basin this is related to the destruction of the Mykenaian empire and the attacks of the Sea Peoples on the Hittites and the Egyptians. During the Dark Ages, Greece was then dominated by Central Europe and its cultural, economic and demographic dogmas. In this way, the European Beta Tradition has found its way into Greece. Yet the funeral customs from Central Europe, which we also find in the *Iliad*, have not become fashionable in Greece. We do, however, find hero cults that testify to a fusion of Mykenaian and Homeric funeral customs. Yet, these heroic cults come too late, are insufficiently numerous, and do not bear enough resemblance to the Homeric texts to serve as an explanation for Homeric funeral customs. The explanation runs in reverse: the hero cults are the result of European domination and its Beta Tradition.

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<sup>9</sup>See oral characteristics Ah1-Ah42 in Appendix 'An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics.'

<sup>10</sup>*Odyssey* XV 223-256.

<sup>11</sup>See oral characteristics B1-B50 in Appendix 'An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics.'



The wall of wood and earth with a ditch in front of it plays a central role in the *Iliad*. It is an oral characteristic of the European Beta Tradition and also plays a part in a type-scene of the European Beta Tradition: preparing the army for battle.<sup>12</sup> It therefore seems impossible that the appearance of the rampart in the *Iliad* can be traced back to a single historical fact or to a figment of the Greek bards. We have to look for the origin of the Beta Tradition where we find many such ramparts: in non-Greek Europe.

The fighting style in the *Iliad* is very similar to that of the Celts, or more recently, that of the Scots. These are warriors from neighboring clans, who know each other by name, and where the highest nobility is at the forefront of the battle. Chariots were probably originally intended primarily to impress the enemy nobility. We then get a scenario in which the highest nobility tried to bluff the enemy with words and precious weapons during a meeting on the battlefield. In doing so, they challenged the greatest heroes of the enemy to a duel. Only when this duel did not lead to an outcome, overall battle ensued. However, it cannot be ruled out that the Mykenaian use of the chariots has influenced the European Beta Tradition.

For the theme and structure of its passages, the European Beta Tradition mainly made use of seven type-scenes: setting up the army before the fight, the warrior in need and the helper, the warrior who blames his companion, the cowardly archer, the withheld honor gift, the resentful warrior, and fame for the father.<sup>13</sup>

## **The Aeolian Gamma Tradition**

Unlike the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition and the European Beta Tradition, the Aeolian Gamma Tradition is a mixed tradition. Its oral characteristics<sup>14</sup> have evolved from those of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition, but it almost always appears in the *Iliad* mixed with the European Beta Tradition. Three chapters are strongly colored by the oral characteristics of the Aeolian Gamma Tradition: the exploits of Diomedes in *Iliad* V, the duel with Aineias in *Iliad* XX and the fight in the river in *Iliad* XXI. In the *Odyssey*, the Aeolian Gamma Tradition hardly occurs.

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<sup>12</sup>See oral characteristics Ba1-Ba23 in Appendix 'An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics.'

<sup>13</sup>See oral characteristics Ba1-23, Bb1-15, Bc1-10, Bd1-10, Be1-9, Bf1-10 and Bg1-22 in Appendix 'An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics.'

<sup>14</sup>See oral characteristics G1-G68 in Appendix 'An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics.'

The Aeolian Gamma Tradition probably originated in the region around Troy after it was colonized by Aeolian-speaking Greeks in the Dark Ages. ‘Troy’ is therefore an important oral characteristic of the Aeolian Gamma Tradition. The idea of a Greek coalition waging war against Troy thus probably arose in part from a mythologizing of the colonized land and of the prominent ruins that the Aeolians found there.

A series of proper names are very characteristic of the Aeolian Gamma Tradition. This concerns proper names of persons, cities, regions, rivers, gods, horses and ancestors. Many of those proper names are connected with the region around Troy. The name Xanthos even appears in several of the above categories: as city, river, god, and twice as horse. A number of important heroes play an extra prominent role in the Aeolian Gamma Tradition: Achilles, Diomedes, Aineias and Herakles. It is also striking that the Aeolian Gamma Tradition is the oldest tradition in which the oral characteristic ‘shipping’ occurs. We do not find this oral characteristic in the Mykenian Alpha Tradition, the European Beta Tradition, and the Narrative Delta Tradition.

Colonization regions other than the area around Troy are also connected with the Aeolian Gamma Tradition: Lycia and Italy. The latter does not appear in the *Iliad*, but does appear in many younger stories. For example, the heroes Aineias and Diomedes, who are already strongly connected to the Aeolian Gamma Tradition in the *Iliad*, end up in Italy. In addition, there are a number of oral characteristics of the Aeolian Gamma Tradition associated with colonization, although they do not yet appear in the *Iliad*: leading a group of followers across the sea, founding cities, and arduous wanderings in distant places. But much more important is the observation that Italy has adopted the Aeolian Gamma Tradition, without also adopting the other oral traditions. Virgil does use oral characteristics in the *Aeneid* that resemble those of the European Beta Tradition. But the Beta type-scenes, which are hidden more in depth, remain absent. In the first six chapters of the *Aeneid* we find the Aeolian Gamma Tradition without mixing with the European Beta Tradition.

There are also a number of – often foreign – stories that we also find in Greek lore, and which are sometimes colored by the Aeolian Gamma Tradition: the Destruction Story, the Monster Story, the Savior Story, and the Tele Story.<sup>15</sup> The Tele Story is amply present in the *Odyssey*.

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<sup>15</sup>See oral characteristics Gd1-21, Gm1-9, Gs1-13, and Gt1-11 in Appendix ‘An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics.’

## The Narrative Delta Tradition

The Narrative Delta Tradition<sup>16</sup> brings the raw war stories of the European Beta Tradition in fairy-tale form. Both traditions have the same social background, but use a completely different style. An additional argument for a Central European origin of the Narrative Delta Tradition is that the sacred heralds in it use solemn oaths instead of writing. Like high-quality art, writing was probably banned by the Central European ideologues. This brings us to a total of four arguments why we should look for the origin of the European Beta Tradition and the Narrative Delta Tradition in non-Greek Europe: the rampart of earth and wood with a ditch around it, the funeral customs, the manner of fighting, and the absence of high-quality art and writing.

The Narrative Delta Tradition makes more use of themes and motifs, and also pays more attention to what happens before and after the battle: the meetings, the meals, the harnessing and unharnessing of the horses, the washing, arming oneself, burying the dead, the suffering of women and children, and so on. The type-scenes of the European Beta Tradition are transformed into a fairy-tale theme in the Narrative Delta Tradition: Achilles and the withheld honor gift, Patroklos and fame for the father, Paris the cowardly archer, and Achilles and Paris as warriors whose help is urgently needed in the context of the warrior in need and the helper. In the Narrative Delta world, the camp of the Greeks and Troy are two equal strongholds surrounded by a rampart of earth and wood, and a ditch. When Hektor tries to set fire to the Greek ships, it is actually the houses of the Greeks.

Three fairy tales (or narratives) can be distinguished that are fused in the *Iliad*: the anger of Achilles (the Anger Narrative), the abduction of Helen (the Helen Narrative), and the compassion of Achilles (the Compassion Narrative).<sup>17</sup> Achilles' anger is also the main theme of the *Iliad*. The clan leader Agamemnon deprives Achilles of his gift of honor, a captured girl, after which Achilles swears not to take part in the battle any longer. When the Greek camp is besieged by the Trojans, the Greeks miss Achilles painfully. Only when Achilles' bosom friend is killed in battle does Achilles want to fight again. A second theme in this fairy tale is that Achilles realizes that he will die in battle if he joins the fight again. Yet Achilles chooses to die with honor, rather than live like a coward.

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<sup>16</sup>See oral characteristics D1-D51 in Appendix 'An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics.'

<sup>17</sup>See oral characteristics Da1-Da15, Dh1-Dh17 and Dc1-Dc41 in Appendix 'An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics.'

The Helen Narrative stretches across the entire *Trojan Cycle*. The main theme of this fairy tale is the falsehood of the Trojans, who again and again violate the oaths and treaties agreed with the Greeks. For this they are eventually punished: the Trojan warriors are killed and their wives robbed by the Greeks. A motif in this fairy tale is that Diomedes, a young warrior, behaves very bravely, both in battle and in councils of war.

Achilleus' compassion provides no main theme to the *Iliad* or the *Trojan Cycle*, and thus is less well known. Achilleus is usually always compassionate toward the enemy and sells the captured Trojans for ransom. However, when Hektor kills Achilleus' bosom friend, Achilleus' compassion turns to mercilessness. He kills numerous Trojans and eventually Hektor as well. When Priam ventures into the camp of the Greeks to redeem Hektor's corpse, Achilleus feels pity again. Although this fairy tale does not provide a well-known main theme, it can still be easily recognized by a list of forty-one oral characteristics, such as the focus on the Trojan camp, but also knees, species of trees, being unarmed, and the river next to the battlefield.

An important finding is that in the Narrative Delta Tradition, Odysseus is a herald, just like his namesakes Idaios and Odios. From there, he grew into a popular type-scene of the Narrative Delta Tradition, namely that of the Brave Scout. After all, a herald knows the roads in the enemy camp well. Through this type-scene, Odysseus became connected with a series of motifs that also appear in the *Odyssey*: being recognized or not, getting or losing clothes, lying stories, weeping in grief and misery, and disguising as a beggar.

### **The Ionian Epsilon Tradition**

The Ionian Epsilon Tradition,<sup>18</sup> covered in this book, is the oral tradition in which the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* have become fixed. I suspect that in this oral tradition a significant shift toward more professionalism has been made in mastering the Greek oral traditions. For example, training schools for bards may have arisen and writing may have been used to permanently fix texts or passages. In any case, all previous oral traditions, from the Mykenaiian Alpha Tradition to the Narrative Delta Tradition, must have been continuously (diachronously) translated into the artificial language of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition (the Homeric artificial language). Also, there must have been Ionian Epsilon bards who specialized in particular oral traditions or stories.

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<sup>18</sup>See oral characteristics E1-E104 in Appendix 'An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics.'

The continuous translation into the Homeric artificial language may have been a slow process, especially with regard to the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition and the Aeolian Gamma Tradition. After all, a thorough analysis of this artificial language has shown that it dates back to Mykenaian times and that it also went through an Aeolian phase. Yet semantic oral characteristics are much better preserved over time than syntactic and linguistic oral characteristics. This explains why we find the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition in the Ionian dialect, rather than a Mykenaian.

The Ionian Epsilon Tradition seems to be a distant descendant of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition. This is evident from a number of oral characteristics they have in common: the numbers nine and twelve, competitions and games, the destruction of cities, being rich and noble, rich homes, mourning and burial, and shrines. Yet these seem to be mere chance relics. For example, destroying cities is typical of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition, but much less so of the peace-loving Ionian Epsilon Tradition.

The Narrative Delta Tradition has also had its influence on the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. This is done, among other things, through the type-scene of the Brave Scout, but also because the Narrative Delta Tradition has been a popular oral tradition. This may explain why the *Odyssey* has inherited so many characteristics of the type-scene of the Brave Scout and why passages of the Narrative Delta Tradition are often more strongly colored by the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.

The two main oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition are ‘materialism’ and ‘the guest-friendship’ (or *xenia*). A large part of the other oral characteristics is related to at least one of these two oral characteristics. Those other oral characteristics are: the preparation of meals, etiquette, polite conversations, footstools and furniture, precious metals, going to bed and getting up, washing and dressing, greeting with goblets, ivory and amber, and so on. According to Finley, guest-friendship was a custom common in Greece, but also in countries more to the East, at the end of the Dark Ages.<sup>19</sup> According to this custom, a guest was to be received for thirty days, getting board and lodging free of charge, and sent onward laden with gifts. This explains why Menelaos and Odysseus returned home with so many valuables after their long wanderings.

The Ionian Epsilon Tradition was very rich in content, as it also included the older oral traditions. For that reason, bards specialized in certain oral scopes and collaborated with other bards to improvise the *Iliad* alter-

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<sup>19</sup>Finley 1954.

nately through improvisation. Among those oral scopes were also roles (see Chapter 3): the Early Dramatic Role,<sup>20</sup> the Late Dramatic Role (the Achilles Role),<sup>21</sup> the God Role<sup>22</sup> and the War Role. The two dramatic roles are the result of a fusion of the Narrative Delta Tradition and the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. At least four bards must have improvised our *Iliad* in turn: the Narrative Bard, the Achilles Bard, the God Bard, and the War Bard. Their main specialties were the Narrative Delta Tradition, the Late Dramatic Role, the God Role, and the European Beta Tradition, respectively.

This concludes the discussion of the five Homeric oral traditions. The next section examines the historical background in which the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* came into their final form.

## The Historical Background of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition

The Greek Archaic Period (800-480 BC) began with a massive population increase,<sup>23</sup> accompanied by significant social changes. Further away, the Greeks colonized the coastal areas of the Mediterranean and Black Seas. On the west coast of Asia Minor, the Greek colonizers, who had settled there during the Dark Ages, flourished. Politically, the Greek city-state (polis) developed, defended by a new form of warfare: hoplites arranged in a phalanx.<sup>24</sup> With respect to technology, the Greeks adopted writing of the Phoenicians.<sup>25</sup> It is in this period, in the eighth or seventh century BC, that the *Iliad* has been fixed, and which is also referred to as the Homeric age.

Long-distance colonization by the Greeks has been preceded by migrations within Greece itself, such as that of the Dorians, and migrations to the coasts of Asia Minor, such as those of the Aeolians and the Ionians.<sup>26</sup> Those migrations took place during the Dark Ages. According to my theory

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<sup>20</sup>See oral characteristics Ed1-Ed33 in Appendix 'An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics.'

<sup>21</sup>See oral characteristics Ea1-Ea32 in Appendix 'An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics.'

<sup>22</sup>See oral characteristics Eg1-Eg45 in Appendix 'An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics.'

<sup>23</sup>Snodgrass 1981, p. 19.

<sup>24</sup>van Wees (1994) argues – contrary to scientific consensus – that hoplites and phalanxes are compatible with Homeric warfare. According to Echeverría (2012) they belong to the Classical Antiquity (800 BC and onward).

<sup>25</sup>Papadopoulos 2016.

<sup>26</sup>Vanschoonwinkel 2006.

about the Central European domination of Greece,<sup>27</sup> they cannot be separated from the many migrations within Europe. According to that theory, forced, centrifugal migrations fit into the ideology of the Central European revolutionaries, with the aim of creating living space and gaining control over remote areas. In any case, the migrations at the beginning of and during the Dark Ages laid the foundation for the Greeks and the Phoenicians to start systematic colonization of the coastal areas of the Mediterranean, and also of the Black Sea for the Greeks.<sup>28</sup>

According to the Greek written sources, the Athenians were responsible for the Ionian migration to the central part of the western coast of Asia Minor.<sup>29</sup> Because the Ionians were displaced from the Peloponnese to Athens by the Dorians at the beginning of the Dark Ages, the Athenians decided to partially migrate to the Lydian coasts. At that time, the power of the Hittites had been brought to an end by the Sea Peoples (whether or not instigated by the Central European revolutionaries), so that the Lydians could not defend themselves sufficiently. The Ionians then subsisted on trade and piracy,<sup>30</sup> and Ionia had the reputation of being the most fertile region on the west coast of Asia Minor.<sup>31</sup> During the Archaic period, Ionia flourished in the fields of art and science. It was the cradle of Western philosophy and the homeland of Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes and Herakleitos. Although Homer's biography is only a collection of legends, it is also set in Ionia.

The increasing population and urbanization in Greece of the eighth century BC gave rise to a new sociopolitical organization: the city-state.<sup>32</sup> Both Athens and Argos merged into a single settlement to the end of the eighth century BC. A defensive wall was built around some cities.<sup>33</sup> Along with the rise of the city-state, a new way of waging war emerged. Hoplites were armed with a long spear (doru) and a shield (hoplon). They lined up in a dense formation, the phalanx, with the shields touching each other. They held out the spear. Except in Sparta, the hoplites were townspeople with a profession other than soldier. As a result, wars between the city-states often remained limited.

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<sup>27</sup>Blondé 2019.

<sup>28</sup>White 1961.

<sup>29</sup>Kuciak 2013.

<sup>30</sup>Akurgal 1962, p. 371.

<sup>31</sup>Cook 1961, p. 12.

<sup>32</sup>De Polignac 1995.

<sup>33</sup>Camp 2000.

The Greeks adopted the writing system of the Phoenicians in the first half of the eighth century BC. That is well before the supposed date of the fixation of the *Iliad*, which, based on comparison with datable objects and linguistic analysis, is likely to have taken place the last half of the eighth century or the first half of the seventh century BC.<sup>34</sup> The Greeks also adapted the writing system to their own needs. For example, some letter symbols were transformed into vowels, while the Phoenicians only noted consonants. From the beginning of the use of writing in Greece, there were also regional and ethnic differences in how the letters were written.<sup>35</sup>

### **The Three Worlds of the *Iliad***

The five oral traditions in the Homeric Traditions series do not all fit within the same society. The underlying society of the European Beta and the Narrative Delta Tradition is the same. The Aeolian Gamma Tradition, as it appears in the *Iliad*, is a mixed tradition that reveals little about its social background. That brings us to a total of three worlds that appear intermingled in the *Iliad*. The following table provides an overview.

The Mykenaian world	The clan world	The Ionian world
The Mykenaian Alpha Tradition	The European Beta Tradition and the Narrative Delta Tradition	The Ionian Epsilon Tradition
The Peloponnese	Non-Greek Europe	Ionia
A king	A clan with a godfather	A rich, hospitable family man
A stone palace	A fortress with ramparts of earth and wood	A luxurious house
Heirs to the throne and coalitions are killing each other	Wars between clans with blood feud	Peace among the civilized

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<sup>34</sup>According to Kirk (1960, p. 189) these two criteria (datable objects and linguistics) are objective. West (1995) even proposes the second or third quarter of the seventh century BC as the date of the fixation of the *Iliad*.

<sup>35</sup>Hall 1997, p. 143.



Polytheism	War gods under a supreme god	Polytheism
The lone hero or demigod	The valiant hero on the battlefield	The traveler, guest or suppliant
The hero's enemy	The cowardly archer	The pirate, trader or slave seller
The education to the heir to the throne	The education to the protector of the clan	The education to a family man
One hero against an army or monster	The bloody, chaotic battle	A crime is brought to justice

In the next chapter, the oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition are systematically discussed.

## Chapter 2

# The Oral Characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition

This chapter begins with a flashback to the past of Homeric research, when the Analysts tried to reduce the *Iliad* to an *Ur-Iliad* to which chapters were added later. This is followed by a summary of the oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, along with a description of each characteristic. Finally, there is a section analyzing passages of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.

### The Odyssean Link

Before the rise of Oralism in the 1930s, Homeric research was mainly divided into two camps: the Analysts and the Unitarians. The Analysts claimed that the *Iliad* expanded step by step from an *Ur-Iliad* and that several poets are responsible for the final result of the *Iliad*. The Unitarians believed that a single bard – Homer – wrote the entire *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Shewan (1910), a Unitarian, argued against one of the hypotheses made by some Analysts, namely that certain chapters of the *Iliad* would be closer to the *Odyssey*, and thus be later than the rest of the *Iliad*:

*Dissecting criticism of Homer has proved to its own satisfaction that certain books of the Iliad are late, and have special affinity with the Odyssey. This Odyssean connexion is established by collecting verbal and metrical peculiarities and grammatical usages, which are found outside these parts of the Iliad only in what is held to be the later poem. The chief delinquents are IX, X,*

*XXIII and XXIV ; but many would add the Apati, Nestor's reminiscence in XI, and other tracts. [...] Chapter I itself, which to destructive critics, with the exception of a few neo-Homerists, is sacred as the earliest part of the Ur-Iliad, can be shown to reek of Odysseanism.*<sup>1</sup>

This chapter on the oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition presents an analytical tool that can provide additional arguments to the idea that certain passages in the *Iliad* are more closely related to the *Odyssey*. It is clear that passages in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are more strongly colored by a list of about a hundred mainly semantic oral characteristics. That list can be identified for various reasons with the Ionian Epsilon Tradition in which the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are fixed. First, because the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is present everywhere in the texts thanks to epithets, Homeric similes and fixed formulas. Second, because in the *Iliad* it merely acts as a finishing layer on top of a framework defined by other oral traditions (especially the Narrative Delta Tradition). And thirdly, because its content is strongly related to the social background of the Homeric era, which is apparent from oral characteristics such as guest-friendship, shipping, peace-loving and the house (oikos) under the leadership of a lord.

Although chapters like *Iliad* XXIII and *Iliad* XXIV as a whole are more strongly colored by the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, it is not justifiable to assign entire chapters of the *Iliad* as Odyssean. The list of semantic oral characteristics, provided in the next section, allows for a much more accurate analysis that does not rely on the idea that large blocks of text are extensions of an Ur-*Iliad*.

## The Oral Characteristics Listed

As in the previous books of the Homeric Traditions series, a brief discussion now follows of each oral characteristic belonging to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. The order is determined by how interesting the oral characteristics are: the most interesting oral characteristic is listed first. In determining the interest score, account was taken of how characteristic the oral characteristics are for their oral scope, how informative they are about the social background of their oral scope, how closely they are connected with other oral characteristics of their oral scope, and how often they occur in the Homeric texts.

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<sup>1</sup>Shewan 1910, p. 73.

For each oral characteristic, at least three examples in the *Iliad* and/or the *Odyssey* are provided. Moreover, for many terms that occur in the English short description of the oral characteristic, one or more examples of Greek terms are given (abbreviated as Gr. ex.). However, these Greek terms are merely examples and are not exhaustive. After all, the working method I have followed is to characterize oral scopes by their translatable oral characteristics. Many Greek synonyms often exist for the same characteristic. For example, the terms Argives, Achaians, and Danaäns are used interchangeably to denote the Greeks. What counts are the English translations, rather than Greek terms.

### **E1 Extraneous oral traditions/scopes as subspecialty**

A distinction must be made between the Ionian Epsilon Tradition proper and the subspecialties that allowed Ionian Epsilon bards to integrate foreign material, from other oral traditions, into narrations of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. By specializing, bards were able to present a very rich tradition to their audience. Especially when they worked together by means of alternate improvisation. The core of the actual Ionian Epsilon Tradition probably originated in circles of nobles who honored the guest-friendship. The other oral characteristics described in this chapter deal with the actual (or pure) Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>2</sup>

### **E2 The materialism**

In the *Iliad*, the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is most clearly identified by the description of all kinds of expensive and chic things: perfumes, overseas clothing, jewelry, artfully crafted objects, earrings, marble, and gold. The expensive clothing usually comes from Phoenicia.<sup>3</sup> For the bards of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, everything was beautiful, solidly crafted, polished, and artfully embellished. Utensils are often described in detail, such as naming the materials from which they are made and the decorations that have been applied to them. Even describing ancient artifacts dating back to Mykenian times, such as the Mykenian helmet with the boar's teeth in *Iliad* X, is probably a hallmark of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Examples: the Mykenian Alpha Tradition: *Iliad* I 263-272, the European Beta Tradition: *Iliad* IV 457-544, the Aeolian Gamma Tradition: *Iliad* XVI 666-683. <sup>3</sup>van Wees 2005, p. 18. <sup>4</sup>Examples: beautiful sandals: *Iliad* II 44, the cup of Nestor: *Iliad* XI 631-636, Hera's finery: *Iliad* XIV 169-186.

### E3 The guest-friendship

The guest-friendship<sup>5</sup> is a broad concept that appears in various forms in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.<sup>6</sup> It is a social code that, according to Finley, probably existed historically. According to him, we can assume that this was the case for the wealthy nobles of the eastern Mediterranean basin at the end of the Dark Ages. If a guest was received at the host's house, he had the right to stay there for thirty days, while enjoying the meals for free. The host had to ensure that the guest lacked nothing. In addition, the guest was also offered expensive guest gifts when he left. This code probably could only exist because such a visit created a mutual obligation in the future. Later, they should also be able to receive the host at their court under the same rules. So it was a way for the rich to travel to distant regions and return with all kinds of exotic treasures.<sup>7</sup>

### E4 The house of nobles, servants, shepherds, heralds, and bards

Life in the houses<sup>8</sup> of the rich nobility is accompanied by a number of characteristic images. The most important image is that of the lady of the house who is surrounded by many slave women. She is busy weaving a handicraft in the living room. When she walks around, she is followed by the slave girls. Another image is that of the parties that take place in the evening. There is a dancing place and a bard playing the lyre. Also attached to the court are shepherds to tend the cattle, heralds to deliver messages, and slaves or servants for all kinds of tasks. The full picture is especially clear in the *Odyssey*.<sup>9</sup>

### E5 The Epsilon-specific system of epithets

Epithets are regularly recurring adjectives that are used with a noun.<sup>10</sup> Together they form a fixed component in the verse meter. This makes it easier for the bards to improvise a correct completion of the rigid hexameter verses. Examples are 'the strong-greaved Achaians' or 'Hektor, breaker of horses.' The purest Ionian Epsilon passages contain more epithets and also more double epithets.

The meanings of the epithets used are closely related to other aspects of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. A first category is the epithets for material

<sup>5</sup>Gr.: ξενιλία. <sup>6</sup>Finley 1954; Donlan 1982. <sup>7</sup>Examples: the reception with Achilles: *Iliad* IX 193-224, the reception with Nestor: *Iliad* XI 644-645, the reception with Peleus: *Iliad* XI 776-779.

<sup>8</sup>Gr. ex.: δώμια, οἶκος. <sup>9</sup>Examples: Andromache surrounded by female slaves: *Iliad* XXII 440-442, Priam accuses his sons of being dancers: *Iliad* XXIV 261, entertainment in the house of Odysseus: *Odyssey* I 106-112, slaves in Circe's palace: *Odyssey* X 348-349. <sup>10</sup>Parry 1930, p. 73.

objects: strong-built, smooth-planed, clean-woven, strong-wheeled, artfully wrought, finely spun, dark purple, shiny, brilliant, and so on. There is also a category that describes the animal world: long-legged, swift-footed, long-necked, buzzing, flapping, long-maned, woolly, and so on. A third category serves to describe women and their beauty, just like animals and objects, by appearance: blue-eyed, white-armed, low-girded, fair-cheeked, blond-haired, and so on.

These three categories – objects, animals and women – are provided with epithets in a natural way, with characteristics that fit with the described noun. These categories are closely related to the materialistic descriptions and the idyllic world of the Homeric similes. Many other nouns, which nevertheless have a much longer antecedent in other oral traditions, are artificially provided with similar epithets in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition: Achilles of the swift feet, the flowing-haired Achaians, the glancing-eyed Achaians, the bronze-armored Argives, the blond Menelaos, the well-fashioned helmet with the horse-hair crest, the smoothed chariot, and so on. This points to a systematic translation to a system of epithets that is relatively young.

Place names and peoples escape this translation, especially in the passages of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition. Place names often have epithets that emphasize the fertility of their soil. Examples are the rocky Aulis,<sup>11</sup> generous Phthia, mother of sheepflocks,<sup>12</sup> and Bouprasion of the wheatfields.<sup>13</sup> Such epithets are described by oral characteristic A34 (riches of the soil, typical of a place or city) of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition.<sup>14</sup>

## E6 Homeric similes

Also the famous Homeric similes<sup>15</sup> are a widely used oral characteristic of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. These are comparisons that the narrator makes between an action or event in the story and a well-known phenomenon that strongly appeals to the imagination. What characterizes the Homeric similes is that their content can be divided into a number of categories. These can again be subdivided into subcategories that are sometimes sideways related to each other. We find an ingenious balance between the most general and the most concrete categories. The four main categories consist of landscape elements, nature elements,

<sup>11</sup>*Iliad* II 496. <sup>12</sup>*Iliad* IX 479. <sup>13</sup>*Iliad* XI 755. <sup>14</sup>Examples: Athene of the gray eyes: *Iliad* II 172, swans long-throated: *Iliad* II 460, a black veil: *Iliad* XXIV 94. <sup>15</sup>Scott 1974; Ben-Porat 1992; Ready 2011.

animals and people. The landscape elements can consist of mountains, plains, forests, trees, rocks, valleys, rivers, seas, meadows, and so on. The elements of nature are often fire, snow, wind, rain, thunder, hail, fog, or rainbows. The animals are typically predators, wild animals, birds, livestock, or working animals. The people are usually workmen, hunters, or family members, although gods also regularly appear. Again, some of these subcategories need to be further subdivided. The trees are often referred to as the ash, the poplar, or the oak. The lion is by far the most popular among predators, but panthers or wolves can also be found. Among the birds, there is a preference for birds of prey, but ordinary birds also come in all shapes and sizes. The workers are usually farmers, carpenters or woodcutters. Among the gods, Zeus is the most popular.

There are three arguments why the Homeric similes belong to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. First, because of the semantic connections with the system of the epithets: the description of animals, women, and craftsmanship appear in the Homeric similes as well as in the epithets. Secondly, because there are also substantive connections with the idyllic world that Hephaistos depicts on the shield of Achilles.<sup>16</sup> The passage about the shield of Achilles clearly belongs to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition for other reasons. The third argument is that the Homeric similes do not clearly cluster with the oral tradition of their context. This supports the hypothesis that it is the Ionian Epsilon Tradition that deploys the Homeric similes more or less evenly in the oral traditions that have been handed down to it. Yet, there are statistical differences between certain oral scopes in the use of the Homeric similes, as can be seen from the analysis on p. 150.<sup>17</sup>

### **E7 Verbosity, or using many words to say the same thing**

The pure Ionian Epsilon Tradition can be recognized by its verbose style: the bards use more words to say the same thing. Closely related to this are the following oral characteristics: the Epsilon-specific system of epithets (E5), Homeric similes (E6), type-scenes that repeat almost literally (E9), double epithets (E22), a verse with multiple addresses (E45), descriptive clauses (E39), actions and objects described in detail

<sup>16</sup>*Iliad* XVIII 483-606. <sup>17</sup>Examples: The Greeks are like flies: *Iliad* II 469-472, Hektor is like an axe: *Iliad* III 60-63, Paris/Hektor is like a horse: *Iliad* VI 506-511 (Paris) = *Iliad* XV 263-268 (Hektor).

(E40), the duo of related terms (E46), and names and synonyms, known to the gods (and men) (E91).<sup>18</sup>

### **E8 The gods in their home on the Olympos**

Many scenes with the Olympian gods belong to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. They are located in a beautiful golden house<sup>19</sup> on Olympos, each with their own room made by Hephaistos, the god of blacksmithing. During the day they sit together in a conference room, from where they view and discuss the situation on earth.

Yet, we also find the Olympian gods in almost all other oral traditions. For that reason, distinguishing between gods who do or do not participate in battle can help distinguish the Ionian Epsilon Tradition from other oral traditions. The gods in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition do not normally take part in battle.<sup>20</sup>

### **E9 Type-scenes that repeat almost literally**

Many fixed formulas and type-scenes of several verses long that the bards used as a foothold also appear to have the materialistic and luxurious (see E2) slant of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Others are clearly related to etiquette (see E23) and life in the homes of the rich (see E4). They are about dressing, receiving guests, serving meals or offering a place to sleep. Shipping (see E15) also provides a number of fixed formulas.

Let us look at some examples. This is a formula to start a new day:

*Now Dawn the yellow-robed arose from the river of Ocean to carry her light to men and to immortals.*<sup>21</sup>

Getting dressed:

*He sat upright and put on his tunic, beautiful, fresh woven, and threw the great mantle over it. Underneath his shining feet he bound the fair sandals.*<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Examples: Chryses addresses Apollo: *Iliad* I 37-39, Paris is described with a Homeric simile: *Iliad* VI 506-511, a description of Nestor's cup: *Iliad* XI 631-636. <sup>19</sup>Gr. ex.: δῶμα. <sup>20</sup>Examples: the gods gather: *Iliad* IV 1, Hera enters her room: *Iliad* XIV 166-169, the gods argue over the corpse of Hektor: *Iliad* XXIV 23-77. <sup>21</sup>*Iliad* XIX 1-2. Compare with *Iliad* II 48-49, *Iliad* VIII 1, *Iliad* XI 1-2, and *Iliad* XXIV 695. <sup>22</sup>*Iliad* II 42-44. Compare with *Iliad* X 21-22, *Iliad* X 131-132, *Iliad* XIV 186, and *Iliad* XXIV 340.



Most type-scenes are flexible enough to adapt to the context, such as for the meal Achilles serves his guests:

*Then when he had roasted all, and spread the food on the platters, Patroklos took the bread and set it out on a table in fair baskets, while Achilles served the meats. Thereafter he himself sat over against the godlike Odysseus against the further wall, and told his companion, Patroklos, to sacrifice to the gods; and he threw the firstlings in the fire. They put their hands to the good things that lay ready before them.*<sup>23</sup>

Formulas that appear verbatim at different places in the text over several verses almost always display the characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Some shorter formulas may come from older oral traditions, especially the European Beta Tradition. The latter tradition also contains seven important type-scenes, but these repeat much less literally over several verses.<sup>24</sup>

#### **E10 Travel and travel matters**

The main characters in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition are travelers,<sup>25</sup> both by sea and by land, rather than fighters. Travelers are welcomed at an encounter according to fixed rules. The host asks about the traveler's destination. He offers accommodation, provides information about the further journey and, if necessary, even offers horses and a companion. When Hera visits Zeus on Mount Ida, he asks her where she is going, noting that she has no horses of her own to go where she wants.

Although travel or a move to a new place occurs in other oral traditions, the emphasis is usually not on travel matters such as the mode of transport or the rules of guest-friendship.<sup>26</sup>

#### **E11 Jurisdiction**

Law and order<sup>27</sup> is of great importance in the society described by the Ionian Epsilon Bards. Occasionally courts are discussed or mentioned. The judgment of Paris, in which Paris decides as a kind of judge<sup>28</sup> to

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<sup>23</sup>*Iliad* IX 215-221. Compare with *Iliad* XXIV 621-627. <sup>24</sup>Examples: slaughtering an animal: *Iliad* I 458-462 = *Iliad* II 421-425, going to sleep: *Iliad* IX 663-664 ≈ *Iliad* XXIV 675-667 ≈ *Odyssey* IV 304-305, mooring a boat: *Odyssey* IV 780-783 = *Odyssey* VIII 51-54. <sup>25</sup>Gr. ex.: ναυτης, οδιτης.

<sup>26</sup>Examples: Hera with Zeus: *Iliad* XIV 298-299, Athene prays that Telemachos returns home safely: *Odyssey* III 60-61, Telemachos and his companion Peisistratos get to Menelaos as travelers: *Odyssey* IV 20-43. <sup>27</sup>Luban 1986. <sup>28</sup>Gr. ex.: ιστωρ.

which goddess the golden apple belongs, therefore probably stems from the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. In the other oral traditions, blood feud and the right of the strongest prevail rather than fair justice.

This oral characteristic is associated with etiquette and good manners, as evidenced by a scene during the funeral games for Patroklos. In it, Menelaos has a disagreement with the much younger Antilochos about who is the rightful owner of a prize after the horse race. The matter is settled amicably and has a satisfactory outcome thanks to the honesty and respect of Antilochos.<sup>29</sup>

#### E12 **Bards**

Bards<sup>30</sup> also appear in the narrations of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. The tradition thus becomes part of the story itself. The bards have a lyre and sing at festivities to entertain the nobility. Helen even predicts about herself and Paris<sup>31</sup> that they will be sung by the people in later generations.<sup>32</sup>

#### E13 **Sea trade and piracy**

The trading of material goods, usually by sea, is also an oral characteristic of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Especially the Phoenicians were well-known merchants.<sup>33</sup> Seamen<sup>34</sup> in the Ionian Epsilon stories were merchants,<sup>35</sup> pirates,<sup>36</sup> or adventurers.<sup>37</sup>

#### E14 **Sidon and Phoenicia**

Phoenicia and the Phoenician city of Sidon<sup>38</sup> are locations that occur more frequently in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition than other distant locations (see E54). The Phoenicians mainly act as traders. Sidon is known for the dark purple cloths they make there.<sup>39</sup>

#### E15 **Ships and shipping**

Shipping appears in Homeric similes and as a means of transport for

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<sup>29</sup>Examples: a scepter used in justice: *Iliad* I 234-239, the place where the Greeks held justice: *Iliad* XI 806-807, the elders of the people judge: *Iliad* XVIII 497-508, Menelaos asks the Greeks to judge Antilochos: *Iliad* XXIII 566-613. <sup>30</sup>Gr. ex.: *αοιδος*. <sup>31</sup>*Iliad* VI 357-358. <sup>32</sup>Examples: The Muses struck a bard maimed: *Iliad* II 594-600, Achilles sings and plays a lyre: *Iliad* IX 186-194, Demodokos sings to the Phaiakians: *Odyssey* VIII 43-83. <sup>33</sup>Peacock 2011. <sup>34</sup>Gr. ex.: *ναυτης*. <sup>35</sup>Gr. ex.: *πρακτηρ*. <sup>36</sup>Gr. ex.: *ληστηρ*. <sup>37</sup>Examples: the Greeks buy wine from Lemnos: *Iliad* VII 467, Odysseus is compared to a merchant: *Odyssey* VIII 159-164, the Cyclops asks if Odysseus is a pirate: *Odyssey* IX 252-255. <sup>38</sup>Chang (2016) describes the interaction between the Greeks and the Phoenicians and its connection with Orientalism. <sup>39</sup>Examples: Paris brought garb from Sidon to Troy: *Iliad* VI 289-291, Sidon and Phoenician merchants: *Iliad* XXIII 743-744, Phoenician sailors: *Odyssey* XV 415-425.

merchants, travelers, soldiers and pirates. The ship<sup>40</sup> is the obvious standard for transportation in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Departing and mooring are type-scenes to which a rich vocabulary and a number of fixed formulas are attached. Given the strong influence of the European Beta Tradition and the Narrative Delta Tradition on the *Iliad*, shipping is only discussed indirectly. On the other hand, shipping is deeply rooted in the *Odyssey*.<sup>41</sup>

#### E16 The legacy of the Narrative Delta Tradition

Of all the oral traditions, the Ionian Epsilon Tradition shows the greatest overlap with the Narrative Delta Tradition. The two oral traditions have the following oral characteristics in common: speeches (D3, E30), preparing meals (D5, E38), detailed descriptions (D6, E40), the type-scene of the Brave Scout (D8, E18), materialistic descriptions (D13, E2), heralds (D14, E96), gifts (D16, E3), the alternation of day and night (D17, E98), wine (D21, E101), washing (the hands) (D32, E62), bird divination (D34, D39, E85), the sacrifice of meat and wine (D35, E66), mourning and funeral care (D37, E100), cauldrons and wash-basins (D38, E102), unharnessing horses (D42, E94), references to the *Trojan Cycle* (D44, E51), emotional scenes (D46, E17) and the god assisting a human being (D47, E80). In the *Iliad*, there are many Narrative Delta passages that are heavily colored by the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. The overlapping oral characteristics often fit into both traditions. But we also find the Epsilon characteristics in the *Odyssey*, in which they appear in their pure form.

I suspect that the Narrative Delta Tradition is older and that the Ionian Epsilon Tradition inherited its oral characteristics. At least that is the case for the type-scene of the Brave Scout. The gifts may coincide, as they fit well with the guest-friendship of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>42</sup>

#### E17 Emotional, lovely, and poetic scenes

The Ionian Epsilon Tradition stands out for a style that aims to captivate the audience with words. The bards of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition had a preference for emotional, idyllic, and poetic passages. A good exam-

<sup>40</sup>Gr. ex.: *νοῦς*. <sup>41</sup>Examples: the Greeks moor with Chryses: *Iliad* I 432-437, Telemachos sets sail: *Odyssey* II 414-434, Telemachos moors: *Odyssey* III 10-15. <sup>42</sup>Examples: Aias and Hektor exchange gifts: *Iliad* VII 299-305, Odysseus and Diomedes wash in polished tubs: *Iliad* X 576-577, Odysseus is washed by Circe: *Odyssey* X 358-363.

ple is the meeting between Hektor and his wife, who is just carrying their son:

*So speaking glorious Hektor held out his arms to his baby, who shrank back to his fair-girdled nurse's bosom screaming, and frightened at the aspect of his own father, terrified as he saw the bronze and the crest with its horse-hair, nodding dreadfully, as he thought, from the peak of the helmet. Then his beloved father laughed out, and his honored mother, and at once glorious Hektor lifted from his head the helmet and laid it in all its shining upon the ground. Then taking up his dear son he tossed him about in his arms, and kissed him.*<sup>43</sup>

The whole passage about the meeting between Hektor and Andromache comes from other oral traditions, but this scene is probably quite young. We can surmise that it only came into existence after Hektor had already acquired his epithet 'with the horse-hair crest.'<sup>44</sup>

#### **E18 The type-scene of the Brave Scout**

An important type-scene that the Ionian Epsilon Tradition has taken over from the Narrative Delta Tradition, and then further developed it, is that of the Brave Scout<sup>45</sup> (see oral characteristics Ds1-Ds34). Odysseus grew into that role from his role as a herald in the Narrative Delta Tradition. The brave scout is sent on a dangerous mission into enemy territory. To this end, the brave scout often undergoes a metamorphosis and as a result becomes unrecognizable and often dirty, filthy, naked and old. When he has reached the right person, he transforms again and shows himself in his true, recognizable form. Motives are the cloak that is shed or taken over at the metamorphoses, the recognition, the washing, the lies, and the sorrows of the brave scout, and the god who constantly assists the brave scout.

The *Odyssey* is full of this theme, with Odysseus almost always being the brave scout, although the consultation of Proteus by Menelaos is also a nice illustration of it. We can safely say that the type-scene of the Brave Scout, in addition to the King Story<sup>46</sup> and the Tele Story,<sup>47</sup> is an important origin of the *Odyssey*. Also in the *Iliad* it is mainly

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<sup>43</sup>*Iliad* VI 466-474. <sup>44</sup>Examples: the lovemaking between Hera and Zeus: *Iliad* XIV 346-353, Astyanax becoming an orphan: *Iliad* XXII 489-499, Andromache laments Astyanax: *Iliad* XXIV 734-738.

<sup>45</sup>Blondé 2021. <sup>46</sup>Blondé 2018. <sup>47</sup>Blondé 2020.

Odysseus who is the brave scout. We see Priam in that role when he redeems Hektor's corpse in the camp of the Greeks.<sup>48</sup>

#### E19 The legacy of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition

In addition to the Narrative Delta Tradition, the Ionian Epsilon Tradition also has an affinity with the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition. They have the following oral characteristics in common: conquering cities (A1, E58), stories (A15, A54, E44), polytheism (A21, E8), seers (A25, E85), stealing cattle (A26, E58), the numbers nine and twelve (A27, E79), epithets for landscapes (A34, E5), temples and shrines (A41, E59), games and competitions (A47, E43), and rich nobility (A51, E4). It is likely that the Ionian Epsilon Tradition inherited these oral characteristics from the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition – while most of the oral characteristics of the other Homeric traditions were only continually translated into the Ionian Epsilon Tradition by double-specialized bards.<sup>49</sup>

#### E20 Parallels with Eastern oral traditions

Around the eighth century BC the Greeks – certainly with regard to oral traditions – were strongly oriented on the East.<sup>50</sup> From the Near East to India many ancient stories circulated that are known to many in part through the Old Testament. It is very likely that the *Odyssey* and Odysseus' wanderings are based in part on these stories. All kinds of parallels can be found between the Homeric works and the Eastern narrative material, such as the Gilgamesh. The Hesiodic texts and the *Homeric Hymns* contain much clearer references to Eastern material. Numerous stories about the gods are based on myths from the East. The *Iliad* has also undergone this influence, but mainly in the details. The scales of Zeus, the Chimaira, the confinement of Ares in a copper vessel, and many other details have their parallels in stories from the East.<sup>51</sup>

#### E21 Suppliants and beggars

Suppliants<sup>52</sup> and beggars<sup>53</sup> are related to the guest-friendship and the

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<sup>48</sup>Examples: Odysseus and Diomedes pray for the help of Athene: *Iliad* X 277-294, Priam defiles himself: *Iliad* XXIV 163-165, Odysseus appears naked in front of Nausikaä: *Odyssey* VI 135-137.

<sup>49</sup>Examples: nine nights watching by a portico: *Iliad* IX 470, prize-winning horses to compete for a tripod: *Iliad* XI 698-699, stealing flocks of sheep and fighting for a city and for women: *Odyssey* XI 401-403. <sup>50</sup>Burkert 1995; West 1997; López-Ruiz 2010; Loudon 2011; Adalı 2015. <sup>51</sup>Examples: Ares in a copper vessel: *Iliad* V 387, the Chimaira: *Iliad* VI 179-183, the scales of Zeus: *Iliad* XXII 209-213. <sup>52</sup>Gr. ex.: ικετης. <sup>53</sup>Gr. ex.: πτωχος.

house of nobles.<sup>54</sup> Suppliants typically embrace their opponents' knees or chin, while forcing acceptance of their plea. Beggars come begging for food at the houses of the rich. In the *Iliad*, begging by the knees is often associated with the Compassion Narrative. However, there is enough evidence in the *Odyssey* to conclude that suppliants and beggars belong to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>55</sup>

## **E22 Double epithets**

That the epithets are connected with the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is especially apparent from the system discussed earlier, which draws its inspiration from the three categories: objects, animals and women (see oral characteristic E5). However, such epithets appear in passages of each of the five oral traditions, because all oral traditions have been translated (diachronously) into the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Multiple epithets, on the other hand, such as a lovely table, polished and with feet of cobalt, are usually associated with a pure Ionian Epsilon context.<sup>56</sup>

## **E23 Etiquette and courtesy**

The Ionian Epsilon Tradition has value for the listener as a didactic guide to etiquette rules. Important elements of courtesy are hospitality and respect for others, especially the elderly. When someone enters a room or is received in a host's home, the people in the room stand up to meet the guest and welcome the guest with a full cup. Guests are ushered in and invited to sit down, while what they have in their hands is taken over. It is only after the meal that strangers are asked who they are and where they come from. When giving a speech it is fitting to speak highly of others.<sup>57</sup>

## **E24 Footstools, seats, and ornate furniture**

The furnishing of a room or of a residence is always worthy of description for the Ionian Epsilon bards. They do not fail to give the different rooms a role and to state the position of the furniture in a room each time, especially when someone enters a residence. It is also not

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<sup>54</sup>Pedrick (1982) investigated supplication (or *hiketeia*) and claims that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* offer similar descriptions of supplication. <sup>55</sup>Examples: Thetis embraces Zeus by the knees and chin: *Iliad* I 500-505, Iris says Achilles will spare a suppliant: *Iliad* XXIV 187, the beggar Iros: *Odyssey* XVIII 1.

<sup>56</sup>Examples: a lovely table, polished and with feet of cobalt: *Iliad* XI 628, a long polished axe-handle of olive wood: *Iliad* XIII 612-613, an innocent warm sleep: *Iliad* XIV 164-165, a glorious, gentle charioteer: *Iliad* XXIII 280. <sup>57</sup>Examples: Nestor welcomes Patroklos: *Iliad* XI 642-647, the gods welcome Hera: *Iliad* XV 84-88, Telemachos welcomes Athene: *Odyssey* I 118-143.

surprising that these bards always find an opportunity to let someone enter a residence. The Greek tents on the Trojan beach were neatly furnished by the Ionian Epsilon bards with beautifully decorated tables,<sup>58</sup> chairs,<sup>59</sup> footstools<sup>60</sup> and beds.<sup>61,62</sup>

## **E25 The facilities of the Olympos**

In the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, the Olympos is converted into a luxurious palace. Each god has his or her own chamber made by Hephaistos. The floors, walls and furniture are gold. There are additional facilities such as horse stables with luxury chariots and the gates of the Olympos are guarded by the Hours. Inside, in the palace of Zeus, the beautiful Hebe pours nectar into golden goblets, and the Muses and Apollo take turns singing. A physician, Paiëon, is always at the service of the gods. Thus Olympos surpasses the houses of the rich human nobility in everything.<sup>63</sup>

## **E26 Slaves and slave girls**

Slaves<sup>64</sup> and – maybe even more – slave women<sup>65</sup> are very typical of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>66</sup> They live with the rich nobility. Slave women surround the lady of the house and they do household chores. The male slaves (or servants) have more diverse duties, such as tending livestock, delivering messages as a herald, or singing songs as a bard.<sup>67</sup>

## **E27 Crafts and professions**

This is again an oral characteristic closely related to the Homeric similes. We read about farm life, hunters, carpenters, metal workers, and even oyster divers. But in the *Odyssey* we find many professions outside the Homeric similes: shepherds of various kinds of cattle, heralds, bards, wine-bearers, servants, seafarers, pirates, merchants, fortune tellers, priests, day laborers, and a goldsmith. Women weave handicrafts or are kitchen maids. There is also the special profession of ‘city

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<sup>58</sup>Gr. ex.: τραπεζα. <sup>59</sup>Gr. ex.: θρονος. <sup>60</sup>Gr. ex.: θρηνηυς. <sup>61</sup>Gr. ex.: λεχος. <sup>62</sup>Examples: Achilles gives his guests chairs: *Iliad* IX 199-200, Hekamede puts a table in front of Nestor: *Iliad* XI 627-628, a footstool for Thetis: *Iliad* XVIII 389-390, the table was still in front of Achilles: *Iliad* XXIV 476. <sup>63</sup>Examples: Hephaistos has built a dwelling for all the gods: *Iliad* I 607-608, Hebe and the golden pavement of Zeus’ palace: *Iliad* IV 2, a secret lock on the doors of Hera’s bedroom: *Iliad* XIV 166-169. <sup>64</sup>Gr. ex.: ανδραποδον, δμως. <sup>65</sup>Gr. ex.: δμωη. <sup>66</sup>Harris (2012) argues that the slaves in the Homeric texts are no different from those in the Classical period. <sup>67</sup>Examples: Hektor asks female slaves for his wife: *Iliad* VI 375-376, Hekamede, the slave girl of Nestor: *Iliad* XI 623-626, the golden slaves of Hephaistos: *Iliad* XVIII 417-421.

destroyer.’ That oral characteristic probably stems from the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition.<sup>68</sup>

## E28 **Singing, dance, and the lyre**

Singing,<sup>69</sup> dancing,<sup>70</sup> and playing with the lyre<sup>71</sup> are certainly part of the good life so often described in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. This is what we read in the description of one of the scenes on Achilles’ shield:

*In their midst a youth with a singing lyre played charmingly upon it for them, and sang the beautiful song for Linos in a light voice, and they followed him, and with singing and whistling and light dance-steps of their feet kept time to the music.*<sup>72</sup>

Priam accuses his surviving sons of being dancers and champions of the chorus.<sup>73</sup>

## E29 **Chamber, court, forecourt, porch, and portico**

Besides the interior decoration (E64), the exterior architecture of the noble house is also regularly described.<sup>74</sup> We find the concepts of room,<sup>75</sup> court,<sup>76</sup> firmly walled,<sup>77</sup> door,<sup>78</sup> porch,<sup>79</sup> vestibule,<sup>80</sup> and fence<sup>81</sup> as architectural elements.<sup>82</sup>

## E30 **Eloquence and long polite conversations**

Having a friendly conversation<sup>83</sup> is one of the basic rules of courtesy. In the passages of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition we find many extended conversations in which the interlocutors entertain each other with accolades, personal experiences, anecdotes, and life wisdom. When Patroklos reaches Nestor during full war, the latter is enjoying a conversation

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<sup>68</sup>Examples: helmsmen, stewards and dispensers of rations: *Iliad* XIX 43-44, Nestor asks whether Telemachos is a merchant or a pirate: *Odyssey* III 72-74, the goldsmith Laertes: *Odyssey* III 425. <sup>69</sup>Gr. ex.: αοιδαω. <sup>70</sup>Gr. ex.: ορχεομαι. <sup>71</sup>Gr. ex.: φορμυγξ. <sup>72</sup>*Iliad* XVIII 567-572. <sup>73</sup>Examples: Paris looks as if he is going to a dance: *Iliad* III 393-394, Priam accusing his sons of being dancers: *Iliad* XXIV 261, the suitors enjoy dancing and singing: *Odyssey* XVII 605-606. <sup>74</sup>Ainian (2007) has investigated the function of rooms and buildings in Early Iron Age Greece and the relationship between private and public spaces. <sup>75</sup>Gr. ex.: θαλαμος. <sup>76</sup>Gr. ex.: αυλη. <sup>77</sup>Gr. ex.: ευερκης. <sup>78</sup>Gr. ex.: θυρα. <sup>79</sup>Gr. ex.: αιθουσα. <sup>80</sup>Gr. ex.: προδομος. <sup>81</sup>Gr. ex.: ερκιον. <sup>82</sup>Examples: sentries in the courtyard and in the ante-chamber: *Iliad* IX 472-476, Priam and his sons mourn in their courtyard: *Iliad* XXIV 161, Priam rides out the forecourt and the thundering close: *Iliad* XXIV 323, Telemachos rides out of the front door and the echoing portico: *Odyssey* XV 146. <sup>83</sup>Gr. ex.: μυθος.



with Machaon and Patroklos is even taken by the hand and invited to join.<sup>84</sup>

### E31 **The woman, weaving and surrounded by slave women**

A type-scene that regularly surfaces in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is that of the woman who is busy weaving a handicraft<sup>85</sup> and surrounded by slave women she can command. When the woman moves, she is followed by a pair of slave women.<sup>86</sup>

### E32 **Muses and Apollo with the lyre**

The Apollo in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is a very different god from the one in the Aeolian Gamma Tradition. They do have one characteristic in common: an arc-shaped attribute. The Ionian Epsilon Apollo always carries a lyre,<sup>87</sup> while the Apollo of the Aeolian Gamma Tradition carries a bow with arrows, and is often referred to as ‘he who strikes from afar.’<sup>88</sup> The Apollo of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is on the Olympos among the other gods and not, as the Aeolian Gamma Apollo, within the ramparts of Troy. He is a very civilized god of art and music and he is the leader of the Muses.

The Muses<sup>89</sup> are daughters of Zeus who are invoked directly by the Ionian Epsilon bards asking to inspire them. But they are also divine beings who sit on Olympos, where they can entertain the other gods with their singing.<sup>90</sup>

### E33 **Olive trees and olive oil**

The occurrence in a passage of olive oil,<sup>91</sup> or of olive trees<sup>92</sup> as a plant or as a type of wood<sup>93</sup> used to manufacture materials, points to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>94,95</sup>

### E34 **Scented items and perfumes**

Fragrant<sup>96</sup> matters belong to the luxurious materialism of the Ionian

<sup>84</sup>Examples: Patroklos with Nestor: *Iliad* XI 642-645, Achilles talks with Thetis: *Iliad* XXIV 141-142, Odysseus tells of his wanderings: *Odyssey* IX 1 - XII 453. <sup>85</sup>Gr. ex.: *υφαινω*. <sup>86</sup>Examples: Helen is weaving a red folding robe and is followed by two handmaidens: *Iliad* III 125-144, Andromache weaves a red folding robe and calls her handmaidens: *Iliad* XXII 440-443, Penelope working on the pall for Laërtes: *Odyssey* XIX 149-154. <sup>87</sup>Gr. ex.: *φορμιγξ*. <sup>88</sup>Gr. ex.: *εκηβολος*. <sup>89</sup>Gr. ex.: *μουσαι*. <sup>90</sup>Examples: an invocation of the Muse: *Iliad* I 1, Apollo and the Muses on Olympos: *Iliad* I 603-604, Apollo with a lyre: *Iliad* XXIV 63. <sup>91</sup>Gr. ex.: *ελαιον*. <sup>92</sup>Gr. ex.: *ελαια*. <sup>93</sup>Gr. ex.: *ελαινος*. <sup>94</sup>Bartolini and Petruccioli 2002. <sup>95</sup>Examples: Odysseus and Diomedes anoint themselves with olive oil: *Iliad* X 577, Hera anoints herself with olive oil: *Iliad* XIV 172, a handle of olive wood: *Odyssey* V 236. <sup>96</sup>Gr. ex.: *εδανος*, *ευωδης*, *θυωω*.

Epsilon Tradition.<sup>97</sup> Rooms can be fragrant, clothing can be, and of course perfumes based on olive oil.<sup>98</sup>

### E35 (Providing) a chariot, horses, and an attendant

A wagon<sup>99</sup> drawn by horses<sup>100</sup> or mules<sup>101</sup> is the standard means of transportation by land. For the nobility, there is an attendant. There is also a type-scene about a host providing his guest with horses, a chariot, and an attendant. That scene can be found in its purest form in the *Odyssey*, in which Nestor does Telemachos that service. It fits in with the guest-friendship in which the host has to provide an itinerant traveler with everything he needs. In the *Iliad* we find the type-scene especially with the gods.<sup>102</sup>

### E36 Ivory and amber

Ivory<sup>103</sup> occurs only twice in the *Iliad*: once in a Homeric simile<sup>104</sup> and once in a European Beta context.<sup>105</sup> Amber<sup>106,107</sup> does not even appear in the *Iliad* at all. On the other hand, ivory and amber appear eight and three times respectively in the *Odyssey*. Furthermore, since these two materials fit well into the materialism (E2) and maritime trade (E13) of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, they are likely to be an oral characteristic of it after all.<sup>108</sup>

### E37 Peacefulness

The passages of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition are permeated with a sweet peace-lovingness. War is often condemned in them. There is also time for etiquette and friendly conversation during the battle for Troy. Achilles' shield depicts both acts of war and scenes of peacetime. On the shield, it is the peaceful scenes that are in the majority and truly belong to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. The acts of war on the shield belong rather to the Mykenaiian Alpha Tradition and the European Beta

<sup>97</sup>According to Voudouri and Tesseromatis (2015), perfumes were popular in all civilizations.

<sup>98</sup>Examples: divinely scented olive oil: *Iliad* XIV 171-174, the nectar-scented dress of Achilles: *Iliad* XVIII 25, fragrant oil: *Odyssey* II 339. <sup>99</sup>Gr. ex.: ἀμαξά, ἄρμα, διφρος. <sup>100</sup>Gr. ex.: ἵππος.

<sup>101</sup>Gr. ex.: ἡμιονος. <sup>102</sup>Examples: Ares provides Aphrodite with horses, a chariot, and Iris as companion: *Iliad* V 359-366, Zeus notes that Hera has no horses and chariot: *Iliad* XIV 297-299, Zeus provides Priam with horses, a chariot, and an attendant: *Iliad* XXIV 149-150, Nestor provides Telemachos with a horse, a chariot, and one of his sons as an attendant: *Odyssey* III 324-325. <sup>103</sup>Gr. ex.: ἐλεφας. <sup>104</sup>*Iliad* IV 141. <sup>105</sup>*Iliad* V 583. <sup>106</sup>Gr. ex.: ηλεκτρον. <sup>107</sup>Causey 2011. <sup>108</sup>Examples: ivory and amber in the palace of Menelaos: *Odyssey* IV 73, a guest gift with a scabbard of fresh-sawn ivory: *Odyssey* VIII 404, a chair inlaid with ivory and silver: *Odyssey* XIX 56.

Tradition, although the Ionian Epsilon Tradition shines through in the details.<sup>109</sup>

### E38 Feasts and the preparation of meals

The rich have a feast<sup>110</sup> every day. Besides singing and dancing, they also enjoy lavish meals. Attention is paid to the preparation<sup>111</sup> of the bread and meat dishes, serving at the table, the manners for inviting guests, and washing the hands.<sup>112</sup>

### E39 Descriptive clauses

Along the same lines as the many epithets are the many descriptive clauses in the passages of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Objects and persons are described with many extra words and clauses that can be omitted without harming the story. Hektor is said to turn his horses ‘with the stark eyes of a Gorgon, or murderous Ares.’<sup>113</sup> And Athene describes Zeus as ‘hard, and forever wicked; he crosses my high hopes.’<sup>114</sup> The purpose of the subordinate clauses seems to be to entice the audience or to provide additional information.<sup>115</sup>

### E40 Actions and objects described in detail

In the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, actions and objects are sometimes described in detail, over a dozen verses or more. Many of the actions are type-scenes of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, while others are unique in the Homeric works. The shield of Achilles<sup>116</sup> is the ultimate example of an object described in detail.<sup>117</sup>

### E41 Precious metals

Gold,<sup>118</sup> silver,<sup>119</sup> bronze (or copper<sup>120</sup>), and iron<sup>121</sup> were of great value around the eighth century BC. They were important commodities or

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<sup>109</sup>Examples: Dione condemns Herakles’ warmongering: *Iliad* V 382-415, Zeus condemns Ares’ warmongering: *Iliad* V 899-904, Zeus forbids the Olympian gods to join battle: *Iliad* VIII 4-12, Nestor invites Patroklos to sit down: *Iliad* XI 643-645, Menelaos on the warmongering of the Trojans: *Iliad* XIII 628-639. <sup>110</sup>Gr. ex.: δαίτη. <sup>111</sup>Gr. ex.: παύω, ποιέω, τεύχω. <sup>112</sup>Examples: a feast with the priest Chryses: *Iliad* I 459-471, the gods celebrate: *Iliad* I 596-604, Achilles provides his guests with a lavish meal: *Iliad* IX 193-222. <sup>113</sup>*Iliad* VIII 348. <sup>114</sup>*Iliad* VIII 361. <sup>115</sup>Examples: a description of Tartaros: *Iliad* VIII 14-16, a description of the robe of Athene: *Iliad* VIII 386, a description of the helmet of Achilles: *Iliad* XVIII 610-612. <sup>116</sup>*Iliad* XVIII 483-606. <sup>117</sup>Examples: the Greeks sacrifice and prepare a meal: *Iliad* I 458-471, the armor of Agamemnon: *Iliad* XI 16-44, Hera adorns herself: *Iliad* XIV 166-187, Achilles washes a goblet with sulfur to pour for Zeus: *Iliad* XVI 225-232. <sup>118</sup>Gr. ex.: χρυσος. <sup>119</sup>Gr. ex.: αργυρος. <sup>120</sup>Gr. ex.: χαλκος. <sup>121</sup>Gr. ex.: σιδηρος.

were used as prizes in competitions and games. Precious metals also fit the description of a lavish interior.<sup>122</sup>

#### E42 To serve and pray to the gods piously

Humble religiosity is necessary to gain the favor of the gods.<sup>123</sup> Gods are worshiped in temples and shrines and regularly receive sacrifices of cattle slaughtered on their altars. The livestock is preferably untamed, so that it is exclusively for the gods. Also praying<sup>124</sup> and pouring wine are part of the ritual. Before a person undertakes an important act, it is best to make an offering to the gods. Or when there is no time left, he prays and promises to make a sacrifice.<sup>125</sup>

#### E43 Games and horse racing

The Greeks are the founders of a respected modern tradition: the Olympic Games.<sup>126</sup> The stories handed down in Greece about local games<sup>127</sup> of a particular town, usually have the characteristics of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition. In the *Iliad* we read how Tydeus defeated everyone ‘in the contest,’<sup>128</sup> in the typical Mykenaian Alpha story of the fall of Thebes. Also the games in Elis<sup>129</sup> and with the Epeians,<sup>130</sup> and the funeral games for Oidipous,<sup>131</sup> are found in a Mykenaian Alpha context. The games thus probably go back to the Mykenaian period. Yet games and competitions are an important oral characteristic within the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. The moral of war has given way to competitions with peaceful rules. The heroes now engage in boxing, wrestling, discus throwing, running, pigeon shooting, and horse racing.<sup>132</sup> The horses are therefore sometimes described with the epithet ‘prize-winning.’<sup>133,134</sup>

#### E44 Stories and details about the gods

The description of the Greek pantheon has developed further within the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Numerous gods from ancient traditions are named and many stories and detailed descriptions have been created for

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<sup>122</sup>Examples: the golden floor in the palace of the gods: *Iliad* IV 2, Hera adorns herself with golden spangles: *Iliad* XIV 180, Hephaistos used gold, silver, and tin: XVIII 474-475, a golden cup: *Odyssey* III 41. <sup>123</sup>Desmond 2018. <sup>124</sup>Gr. ex.: ἀραομαι, ευχομαι. <sup>125</sup>Examples: the Greeks sacrifice with Chryses: *Iliad* I 447-450, the Trojans promise Athene twelve untamed, one-year-old oxen: *Iliad* VI 269-275, the place where the altars for the gods stood: *Iliad* XI 807, Achilles pours and prays to Zeus: *Iliad* XVI 225-250. <sup>126</sup>Young 2008. <sup>127</sup>Gr. ex.: αθλος. <sup>128</sup>*Iliad* IV 387-390. <sup>129</sup>*Iliad* XI 697-701. <sup>130</sup>*Iliad* XXIII 626-646. <sup>131</sup>*Iliad* XXIII 678-680. <sup>132</sup>Gr. ex.: δρομος. <sup>133</sup>Gr. ex.: αθλοφορος. <sup>134</sup>Examples: the Myrmidons amuse themselves with discus, spear, and bow: *Iliad* II 773-775, Achilles opens the funeral games for Patroklos: *Iliad* XXIII 258-897, the games with the Phaiakians: *Odyssey* VIII 100-247.

the well-known gods. Zeus makes love to countless women and goddesses, Apollo has his lyre, Hephaistos has a limping foot, Aphrodite deceives Hephaistos with Ares, Hermes is the messenger of the gods, and Athene is the patron goddess of Odysseus. Such details are regularly explained in god stories told in speeches of the gods or human characters.<sup>135</sup>

#### E45 A verse with multiple addresses

Closely related to the double adjectives (E5), fixed formulas (E9), and descriptive clauses (E39) is the verse with multiple addresses. We find the following examples:

- Son of Atreus, most lordly and king of men, Agamemnon.<sup>136</sup>
- Evil Paris, beautiful, woman-crazy, cajoling.<sup>137</sup>
- Ares, Ares, manslaughtering, blood-stained, stormer of strong walls.<sup>138</sup>
- Son of Kronos, our father, O lordliest of the mighty.<sup>139</sup>
- Son of Laërtes and seed of Zeus, resourceful Odysseus.<sup>140</sup>
- Lord Zeus, son of Kronos.<sup>141</sup>

When Chryses prays to Apollo, the latter is even described and addressed in four verses.<sup>142</sup> This is also the case with Achilles addressing Zeus.<sup>143</sup>

#### E46 The duo of related terms

In the pure Ionian Epsilon passages we often find a duo of related terms listed in close succession. Examples include Fear and Terror,<sup>144</sup> honored and quick to blame,<sup>145</sup> earth and heaven,<sup>146</sup> smooth and with many figures upon it,<sup>147</sup> earth and water,<sup>148</sup> (escaping) sea and fighting,<sup>149</sup> immortal gods and mortals,<sup>150</sup> beauty and achievement,<sup>151</sup> and so on.

<sup>135</sup>Examples: Thetis asked the hundred-handed Briareus to help Zeus: *Iliad* I 398-406, Zeus throws Hephaistos on earth: *Iliad* I 589-594, Aphrodite deceiving Hephaistos with Ares: *Odyssey* VIII 267-365. <sup>136</sup>*Iliad* II 434 = *Iliad* IX 96 = *Iliad* IX 163 = *Iliad* IX 677 = *Iliad* IX 697 = *Iliad* X 103 = *Iliad* XIX 146 = *Iliad* XIX 199 = *Odyssey* XI 497 = *Odyssey* XXIV 121. <sup>137</sup>*Iliad* III 39 = *Iliad* XIII 769. <sup>138</sup>*Iliad* V 31 = *Iliad* V 455. <sup>139</sup>*Iliad* VIII 31 = *Odyssey* I 45 = *Odyssey* I 81 = *Odyssey* XXIV 473. <sup>140</sup>*Iliad* II 173 = *Iliad* IV 358 = *Iliad* VIII 93 = *Iliad* IX 308 = *Iliad* IX 624 = *Iliad* X 144 = *Iliad* XXIII 723 = *Odyssey* V 203 = fourteen other entries in the *Odyssey*. <sup>141</sup>*Iliad* I 502 ≈ *Iliad* VII 194 ≈ *Iliad* VII 200 ≈ *Iliad* XVIII 118. <sup>142</sup>*Iliad* I 36-39. <sup>143</sup>*Iliad* XVI 233-235. <sup>144</sup>*Iliad* XI 37. <sup>145</sup>*Iliad* XI 648. <sup>146</sup>*Iliad* XIV 174. <sup>147</sup>*Iliad* XIV 179. <sup>148</sup>*Iliad* XIV 204. <sup>149</sup>*Odyssey* I 12. <sup>150</sup>*Odyssey* V 2. <sup>151</sup>*Odyssey* XI 550.

#### E47 **Young, extensive background knowledge about our *Iliad***

Because the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is the youngest oral tradition, it alone can shed light on the ultimate overarching story in which the *Iliad* takes place. As the latest tradition, completing the *Iliad*, it has knowledge of the duration of the war, the total number of combatants, the details of recruiting the warriors prior to the war, and the entire *Trojan Cycle*. This is what the Ionian Epsilon Tradition has in common with the oral characteristics Dc33 through Dc41 of the narrative about the compassion of Achilles, which also testify to have knowledge about the background of our *Iliad*.<sup>152</sup>

#### E48 **Knowledge, science, and technology**

Thanks to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition we read about all kinds of scientific knowledge. In passing we learn the name of the brightest star, or of the constellation that never dips below the horizon. In the Homeric similes we learn all kinds of things about crafts, physical phenomena, plants, and animals. For the *Iliad*, the similes are the main source of interesting scientific knowledge. In the *Odyssey* we get even more knowledge, also outside the Homeric similes. We read how Odysseus builds a raft – sturdy and smooth-planed – and how Helen promotes a pain-relieving Egyptian herb. We also find hidden knowledge: the Cyclops Polyphemus shows several characteristics of an erupting volcano.<sup>153</sup> In addition, we read about technical feats, mostly related to Hephaistos,<sup>154</sup> the god of blacksmithing: locks, tables on wheels, and even living robots.<sup>155</sup>

#### E49 **Iron as a gift, medium of exchange, or in competition**

Possibly the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is the only oral tradition in which iron<sup>156</sup> was mentioned.<sup>157</sup> Yet we also find iron outside the passages that are strongly colored by the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, because that tradition is present everywhere as a last layer. By combining iron with the oral characteristics ‘gift,’ ‘means of exchange,’ or ‘games,’ it be-

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<sup>152</sup>Examples: the sizes of the armies and the duration of the war: *Iliad* II 119-138, Helen being guilty of her abduction by Paris: *Iliad* VI 344, the recruiting of the warriors before the war: *Iliad* XI 765-770, the fall of Troy in the tenth year: *Iliad* XII 15-16, casting lots in recruiting the warriors: *Iliad* XXIV 399-400. <sup>153</sup>Aguirre 2020. <sup>154</sup>De Ciantis 2005. <sup>155</sup>Examples: a secret lock: *Iliad* XIV 168, tables on wheels: *Iliad* XVIII 375-377, robots (golden attendants, like living young women): *Iliad* XVIII 417-420, a star called Orion’s Dog: *Iliad* XXII 26-31, the pain-relieving herb of Helen: *Odyssey* IV 220-232. <sup>156</sup>Gr. ex.: σιδηρος. <sup>157</sup>Russo (2005) argues that three types of iron are referred to in the Homeric texts: bloom iron, wrought iron, and steel.

comes characteristic of Ionian Epsilon passages. In the games, iron is sometimes used as a prize for the winner, but also as material of objects such as a discus. A type-scene associated with battle on the battlefield consists of a fixed formula of three verses:

*In my rich father's house the treasures lie piled in abundance;  
bronze is there, and gold, and difficultly wrought iron, and my  
father would make you glad with abundant repayment.*<sup>158</sup>

This fixed formula probably stems from the European Beta Tradition, but has evolved further in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, which also includes finely wrought iron. After all, most fixed formulas of several verses (E9) belong to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>159</sup>

#### **E50 The description of special or Mykenaian objects**

Interesting for archaeologists is the fact that the Ionian Epsilon Tradition often gives detailed descriptions of special and precious objects, or of objects dating from the time of the Mykenaian Empire. We find the huge shield of Aias,<sup>160</sup> a sword with nails of silver of Hektor for Aias,<sup>161</sup> the girdle of Aias,<sup>162</sup> the helmet with boars' teeth,<sup>163</sup> the breastplate of Agamemnon,<sup>164</sup> the cup of Nestor,<sup>165</sup> the spear of Achilleus,<sup>166</sup> the shield of Achilleus,<sup>167</sup> and the golden baldric of Herakles.<sup>168</sup> The clearest example of an object dating from the Mykenaians, is the helmet with the boars' teeth.

#### **E51 Flashbacks and references to the *Trojan Cycle***

Occasionally in the Ionian Epsilon narratives we find a flashback or a reference to the *Trojan Cycle* – especially in the *Odyssey*. This oral characteristic is closely related to that about the extensive background knowledge (E47).<sup>169</sup>

#### **E52 Sex and entertaining the audience**

The Ionian Epsilon bards were very committed to entertaining their au-

<sup>158</sup>Adrastos to Menelaos: *Iliad* VI 45-50, Dolon to Diomedes: *Iliad* X 378-381, Peisandros and Hippolochos to Agamemnon: *Iliad* XI 131-135. <sup>159</sup>Examples: the Greeks exchange iron for wine: *Iliad* VII 473, Achilleus has iron fetched as a prize for the games: *Iliad* XXIII 261, Achilleus offers iron as a prize: *Iliad* XXIII 826-850. <sup>160</sup>*Iliad* VII 219-223. <sup>161</sup>*Iliad* VII 303-304. <sup>162</sup>*Iliad* VII 305. <sup>163</sup>*Iliad* X 261-270. <sup>164</sup>*Iliad* XI 19-37. <sup>165</sup>*Iliad* XI 631-636. <sup>166</sup>*Iliad* XVI 140-144. <sup>167</sup>*Iliad* XVIII 478-607. <sup>168</sup>*Odyssey* XI 609-614. <sup>169</sup>Examples: the judgment of Paris: *Iliad* XXIV 28-30, Menelaos on the Trojan Horse: *Odyssey* IV 265-289, Demodokos on the Trojan Horse: *Odyssey* VIII 499-520.

diences. They had a preference for poetic language, entertaining stories, detailed descriptions, humorous passages and erotic scenes. A typical example can be found in *Iliad* XXIII 774-777, in which Aias slips in cow dung during a running race and becomes completely covered with dung.<sup>170</sup>

#### E53 **Hermes, the messenger and guide**

In the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, Hermes is the god who has the job of guide and messenger, to both humans and gods. In the older traditions there were many other gods who made contact with the people. An example is Iris, the messenger of Zeus. Possibly Iris stems from the older narrations of the European Beta Tradition, in which she, like Ares and Eris, incites the fighters on the battlefield. In the *Iliad* we find both Iris and Hermes as messengers, while Iris, unlike Hermes, is not mentioned in the *Odyssey*.<sup>171</sup>

#### E54 **Distant geographic locations**

Many countries today have an international name that was used by the Greeks long ago: Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia, Syria and even the continent of Asia. According to the Greeks, the earth was surrounded by the ocean (Okeanos). Such broader geographic references in the *Iliad* are largely due to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>172</sup>

#### E55 **Focalization and narrative situations**

The point of view from which the story is told is today called *focalization*.<sup>173</sup> The two main components of the Homeric texts are the *narrator-text* and the *speeches* (or *character-text*). The narrator text can be further divided into a *simple narrator-text*, in which the narrator tells from his own focalization, and an *embedded focalization*, in which the narrator tells from the focalization of a character. Then there is *paralepsis*, in which a character's direct speech shows characteristics or knowledge of the narrator. For example, when a character uses Homeric similes or certain epithets in a direct speech, there is *paralepsis*.

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<sup>170</sup>Examples: Paris and Helen making love: *Iliad* III 441-448, Zeus and Hera making love: *Iliad* XIV 314-353, the Narrative Bard denounces the battle passages in a poetic flood of words: *Iliad* XIX 221-223. <sup>171</sup>Examples: Hermes accompanies Priam: *Iliad* XXIV 339-348, the gods send Hermes to Ogygia: *Odyssey* I 84-87, Hermes helps Odysseus: *Odyssey* X 277-287. <sup>172</sup>Examples: a guest gift from Cyprus: *Iliad* XI 21, Menelaos' travels through Cyprus, Phoenicia, Egypt, Aithiopia, Sidonia, Erembia, and Libya: *Odyssey* IV 83-85, Egypt in Odysseus' lie story: *Odyssey* XIV 256. <sup>173</sup>Nünlist 2003.



Furthermore, a distinction is made between the primary and the secondary narrator.<sup>174</sup> The primary narrator is, as it were, the bard who tells the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, while Odysseus who tells about his adventures is a secondary narrator. When Odysseus in turn allows a character to speak, that character is a tertiary narrator. There is also the distinction between an *overt* narrator and a *covert* narrator. For example, an overt narrator can be a character in the story, or comment on the story, while a covert narrator remains in the background. For example, the bard invokes the Muses (oral characteristic E32) as an overt I-person in the text. And finally there is the practice of the so-called *apostrophe*<sup>175</sup> (see oral characteristic E57), in which the narrator addresses a character in the second person in the narrator text.

The alternations between most of these narrative situations (beyond direct speech, anyway) are probably an oral characteristic of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, although digressions (which are brought in the *Iliad* by secondary narrators) are a characteristic of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition. The argument for this is that, except for the digressions, these changes do not clearly cluster with a particular oral tradition.<sup>176</sup>

## E56 Person-dependent styles of direct speech

Martin (1989) has explored how the speech styles of the various characters, from the gods to the heroes, differ from one another. The main protagonists to which this analysis applies are Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Achilles, Nestor, Odysseus, Diomedes, Agamemnon, Thersites, Hector, Paris and Aeneas. He concludes that the most authoritative characters, such as Zeus and Achilles, deliver longer speeches and produce more stylish verses. Thersites, on the other hand, the blustering coward hated by the leaders of the Greeks, speaks in verses that contain imperfections.<sup>177,178</sup> Agamemnon's reproach that Diomedes is better at speaking than at fighting,<sup>179</sup> would also indicate an undeniable awareness of the bard(s) of our *Iliad* about this hierarchy of speech styles.<sup>180,181</sup>

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<sup>174</sup>De Jong 2004. <sup>175</sup>Yamagata 1989; Geisz 2018. <sup>176</sup>Examples: the narrator using the I-perspective: *Iliad* II 484-493, Menelaos is apostrophized: *Iliad* IV 127-128, Odysseus tells of his wanderings: *Odyssey* IX 1 - XII 453. <sup>177</sup>*Iliad* II 225-242. <sup>178</sup>Kouklanakis 1999. <sup>179</sup>*Iliad* IV 399-400. <sup>180</sup>Martin 1989, p. 71. <sup>181</sup>Examples: Zeus commands the dream god: *Iliad* II 8-15, Zeus commands the gods: *Iliad* VIII 5-29, Achilles delivers a long speech: *Iliad* IX 308-431.

### E57 **Apostrophizing characters**

The apostrophe of a character is the direct addressing of a character in the second person by the narrator himself.<sup>182</sup> That happens nineteen times in the *Iliad* and fifteen times in the *Odyssey*. An example is: “For you also the heart, O Menelaos, was thus softened within you.”<sup>183</sup> Strangely enough, there are only three characters who are regularly apostrophized: Menelaos and Patroklos in the *Iliad* (seven and eight times, respectively) and Eumaios in the *Odyssey*. Since this phenomenon also occurs in the *Odyssey* and at the funeral games for Patroklos, we must conclude that it is an oral characteristic of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>184</sup>

### E58 **Conquering cities and looting women and livestock**

Fighting<sup>185</sup> for or destroying<sup>186</sup> cities,<sup>187</sup> and the robbing<sup>188</sup> of cattle and women<sup>189</sup> are oral characteristics that the Ionian Epsilon Tradition probably inherited from the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition (see oral characteristics A1 and A26). They do not mix well with the peaceful nature of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>190</sup>

### E59 **Sanctuaries and cities in which the gods are worshipped**

Certain places or cities are known for having shrines to a god, such as the temple to Apollo at Delphi, or the temple to Athene in Athens. The island of Lemnos is connected to Hephaistos, and Olympos is of course known as the abode of the most important gods.<sup>191</sup>

### E60 **The respect for those in power**

The patrons of the Ionian Epsilon bards must have liked the confirmation of their position of power, if we can deduce that from what we read in the narrations. For mortals we perceive a hierarchy with different layers, with Agamemnon and Menelaos being the supreme leaders. Below them are the army commanders who are mentioned by name. The lowest class is the common warriors, who act as a nameless mass. When

<sup>182</sup>Yamagata 1989; Geisz 2018. <sup>183</sup>*Iliad* XXIII 599-600. <sup>184</sup>Examples: And there, O Menelaos, would have shown forth the end of your life: *Iliad* VII 104, Then who was it you slaughtered first, Patroklos: *Iliad* XVI 692, Then, O swineherd Eumaios, you said to him in answer: *Odyssey* XIV 165.

<sup>185</sup>Gr. ex.: μάχομαι. <sup>186</sup>Gr. ex.: ολλυμι, περθω, πορθεω. <sup>187</sup>Gr. ex.: πολλις. <sup>188</sup>Gr. ex.: αγω, περιτεμνω. <sup>189</sup>Gr. ex.: αλοχος, γυνη. <sup>190</sup>Examples: Odysseus destroys the city of the Kikonians: *Odyssey* IX 39-61, Odysseus asks if Agamemnon died conquering a city or stealing oxen or sheep: *Odyssey* XI 401-403, Odysseus tells of robbing Egyptian women: *Odyssey* XIV 262-272.

<sup>191</sup>Examples: Hephaistos crashed on Lemnos: *Iliad* I 591-594, Hera lists her favorite cities: *Iliad* IV 51-52, the Trojans venerate Athene: *Iliad* VI 304-305, the temple of Apollo at Delphi (Pytho): *Iliad* IX 405.

Odysseus gathers the warriors on the beach, he makes a very sharp distinction between these classes. To the common people he inveighs as follows:

*Surely not all of us Achaians can be as kings here. Lordship for many is no good thing. Let there be one ruler, one king, to whom the son of devious-devising Kronos gives the scepter.*<sup>192</sup>

That one king must be Agamemnon. Zeus is supreme among the gods. He is more powerful than all the other gods combined. Whoever dares to challenge his authority undergoes a painful corporal punishment.<sup>193</sup>

#### E61 **Clothes, sheets, and linen, often colored purple**

Given the preference for describing outward appearances and materialistic opulence, it is not surprising that we often find precious garments,<sup>194</sup> cloaks,<sup>195</sup> chitons,<sup>196</sup> fleeces,<sup>197</sup> carpets,<sup>198</sup> sheets,<sup>199</sup> and linen<sup>200</sup> in the passages of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Clothing is also one of the motifs in the type-scene of the Brave Scout. Purple clothing is extra precious and comes from the Phoenician city of Sidon, where one can give the indelible purple color to linen or wool. There is also a type-scene in which chariots are placed under a linen cover, while the horses are fed (see oral characteristic E94).<sup>201</sup>

#### E62 **Washing, anointing, and dressing with mantle and sandals**

After getting up in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, there is often a type-scene for washing<sup>202</sup> and getting dressed. The male guests are washed and anointed<sup>203</sup> with olive oil by a young slave girl or daughter of the host. Then a chiton<sup>204</sup> and a mantle<sup>205</sup> are put on, beautiful, fresh woven. To close the scene, he or she ties the fair sandals<sup>206</sup> under the shining feet. The washing overlaps with the Narrative Delta Tradition (see D32, E16). Therefore, we sometimes see the washing in the *Iliad*

<sup>192</sup>*Iliad* II 203-205. <sup>193</sup>Examples: Zeus punished Hephaistos: *Iliad* I 591, Odysseus punishes Thersites: *Iliad* II 244-269, Zeus threatens the other gods: *Iliad* VIII 1-29. <sup>194</sup>Gr. ex.: πέπλος, φάρος. <sup>195</sup>Gr. ex.: χλαίνα. <sup>196</sup>Gr. ex.: χιτών. <sup>197</sup>Gr. ex.: κώας. <sup>198</sup>Gr. ex.: ταπήσ. <sup>199</sup>Gr. ex.: ρηγος. <sup>200</sup>Gr. ex.: λινον. <sup>201</sup>Examples: fleeces, a blanket, and a sheet of fine linen: *Iliad* IX 661, Priam adds robes, mantles, blankets, cloaks, and tunics from the clothes-chest to the ransom for Hektor: *Iliad* XXIV 228-231, a distaff with dark-colored wool: *Odyssey* IV 134-135. <sup>202</sup>Gr. ex.: ἀπονίζω. <sup>203</sup>Gr. ex.: ἀλείφω. <sup>204</sup>Gr. ex.: χιτών. <sup>205</sup>Gr. ex.: φάρος. <sup>206</sup>Gr. ex.: πεδῖλον.

occur in a Narrative Delta context that is also strongly colored by the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>207</sup>

### E63 **Drinking cups, greeting with them, or handing them**

Precious cups<sup>208</sup> and double-handled<sup>209</sup> cups are frequently mentioned in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. They serve as drinking cups at the festive meals, as gifts to exchange in the context of guest-friendship, or to pour wine for the gods. When a guest arrives, he or she is immediately presented with a cup. Those present address him or her with a greeting,<sup>210</sup> stand up,<sup>211</sup> and hold their cup high.<sup>212</sup>

### E64 **The interior design and the positions of furniture and people**

The description of the interior design fits well with the materialism (E2), the noble house (E4), and furniture (E24). Closely related to this are the positions of people in relation to each other and to the furniture. When Priam enters Achilles' hut, it is stated that the table still stood by.<sup>213</sup>

### E65 **The whip and willingly trotting horses**

Although the whip<sup>214</sup> is indispensable for the drivers in the European Beta Tradition, 'a whip' and 'to whip up'<sup>215</sup> are also oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. In addition, there is a type-scene in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition in which horses are whipped, after which they 'wing their way unreluctant.'<sup>216</sup> Also in horse racing (E43) the whip is often mentioned.<sup>217</sup>

### E66 **Hecatomb, altar, ox, libation, savor, fat, thigh, and wine**

Although sacrifices are also made in the other Homeric traditions, the sacrifices of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition are best identified by the number of terms and the number of verses used to describe the sacrifices.

<sup>207</sup> Examples: Agamemnon gets up: *Iliad* II 42-44, Odysseus and Diomedes wash: *Iliad* X 572-577, Hera dresses up: *Iliad* XIV 170-172, Andromache warms up bathwater for Hektor: *Iliad* XXII 443-444, Nestor's youngest daughter bathes Telemachos: *Odyssey* III 464-468. <sup>208</sup> Gr. ex.: *δεπας*.

<sup>209</sup> Gr. ex.: *αμφικυπελλος*. <sup>210</sup> Gr. ex.: *προσφημι*. <sup>211</sup> Gr. ex.: *αναίσσω, ανίστημι*.

<sup>212</sup> Examples: the golden drinking-cups of the gods: *Iliad* IV 3-4, Bellerophon gives Oineus a double-handled cup: *Iliad* VI 220, Nestor's cup: *Iliad* XI 631-636, the gods greet Hera with their cups: *Iliad* XV 84-87. <sup>213</sup> Examples: Patroklos sits over against Achilles: *Iliad* IX 190, the table still stood by Achilles: *Iliad* XXIV 476, Menelaos' palace shines with copper, gold, silver, amber, and ivory: *Odyssey* IV 71-74. <sup>214</sup> Gr. ex.: *ιμασθλη, μαστιξ*. <sup>215</sup> Gr. ex.: *μαστιζω*. <sup>216</sup> Gr. ex.: *ουκ αεκουτε πετεσθην*. <sup>217</sup> Examples: Iris drives Aphrodite back to the Olympus: *Iliad* V 366, Hera rides between the earth and the stars: *Iliad* V 767, Telemachos and Peisistratos ride to Sparta: *Odyssey* III 481-494.

The Ionian Epsilon Tradition has (necessarily) the richest vocabulary to describe sacrifices: sacrifice,<sup>218</sup> altar,<sup>219</sup> barley,<sup>220</sup> bovine,<sup>221</sup> pouring,<sup>222</sup> savor,<sup>223</sup> thigh,<sup>224</sup> skinning,<sup>225</sup> fat,<sup>226</sup> and wine.<sup>227</sup> These terms are closely related to a type-scene in which even more details are mentioned: the gutting and skinning of the sacrificial animals, the wrapping of the shanks in a double layer of fat with raw meat on top, the burning of that meat and fat, the pouring of wine over it, the consumption of the intestines, and the roasting of the meat for the meal.<sup>228</sup>

#### E67 Spreading beds and sleeping in the back next to a woman

Also for bedtime, the Ionian Epsilon Tradition has a type-scene. First slave women are ordered to spread beds<sup>229</sup> for the guests. Furs,<sup>230</sup> sheets,<sup>231</sup> and blankets<sup>232</sup> are placed on the beds. Then the guests go to sleep at the front, or in the front house. The host sleeps in the back of the house, with a woman at his side.<sup>233</sup>

#### E68 Meat, guts, banquet, roasting, spitting, and dividing

A type-scene of several verses can be identified by the following terms: flesh<sup>234</sup> (from thighs<sup>235</sup>), guts,<sup>236</sup> bread<sup>237</sup> (in nice baskets<sup>238</sup> on the table<sup>239</sup>), wine,<sup>240</sup> feast meal,<sup>241</sup> slaughter,<sup>242</sup> roast,<sup>243</sup> spit,<sup>244</sup> divide,<sup>245</sup> the flame<sup>246</sup> of Hephaistos, and fire.<sup>247</sup> The flesh may be of an ox,<sup>248</sup> of a sheep,<sup>249</sup> a goat,<sup>250</sup> or a boar.<sup>251</sup> Also the following three fixed formulas belong to this type-scene: 1) Then after they had finished the work and got the feast ready they feasted, nor was any man's hunger denied a fair portion. 2) They put their hands to the good things that lay ready before them. 3) But when they had put away their desire for eating and drinking, etc. *Iliad* IX 206-222, in which Achilles and Patroklos prepare the meal for Agamemnon's emissaries, is the most complete

<sup>218</sup>Gr. ex.: ιρος. <sup>219</sup>Gr. ex.: βωμος. <sup>220</sup>Gr. ex.: ουλοχυται. <sup>221</sup>Gr. ex.: βους. <sup>222</sup>Gr. ex.: λειβω.

<sup>223</sup>Gr. ex.: κνισα. <sup>224</sup>Gr. ex.: μηρος. <sup>225</sup>Gr. ex.: δερω. <sup>226</sup>Gr. ex.: κνισα. <sup>227</sup>Gr. ex.: οινος.

<sup>228</sup>Examples: the Greeks sacrifice with Chryses: *Iliad* I 458-471, the Greeks sacrifice before going to war: *Iliad* II 400-432, Peleus and Achilles sacrificed at their home: *Iliad* XI 771-779. <sup>229</sup>Gr. ex.: λεχος.

<sup>230</sup>Gr. ex.: κωας. <sup>231</sup>Gr. ex.: λινεος. <sup>232</sup>Gr. ex.: ρηγος. <sup>233</sup>Examples: Achilles and Patroklos go to sleep: *Iliad* IX 658-668, Achilles and Priam go to sleep: *Iliad* XXIV 672-676, Nestor and Telemachos go to sleep: *Odyssey* III 396-405, Menelaos and Telemachos go to sleep: *Odyssey* IV 296-309. <sup>234</sup>Gr. ex.: κρεας, μιστυλλον. <sup>235</sup>Gr. ex.: μηρος. <sup>236</sup>Gr. ex.: σπλαγχνον. <sup>237</sup>Gr. ex.: σιτος.

<sup>238</sup>Gr. ex.: κανεον. <sup>239</sup>Gr. ex.: τραπεζα. <sup>240</sup>Gr. ex.: οινος. <sup>241</sup>Gr. ex.: δαιτη.

<sup>242</sup>Gr. ex.: σφαζω. <sup>243</sup>Gr. ex.: οπτω. <sup>244</sup>Gr. ex.: οβελος. <sup>245</sup>Gr. ex.: δαιω, επινεμω. <sup>246</sup>Gr. ex.: φλοξ.

<sup>247</sup>Gr. ex.: πυρ. <sup>248</sup>Gr. ex.: βους. <sup>249</sup>Gr. ex.: μιλμδαον. <sup>250</sup>Gr. ex.: αιξ. <sup>251</sup>Gr. ex.: υς.

example of this. This type-scene sometimes coincides with that of the sacrifice (E66) and partially overlaps with it.<sup>252</sup>

#### E69 **Washing hands, mixing vessels, cups, libating, and drinking**

There is a type-scene where water<sup>253</sup> is first poured<sup>254</sup> over the hands,<sup>255</sup> the mixing vessels<sup>256</sup> are filled to the brim, drinking cups<sup>257</sup> are handed, and then wine is poured<sup>258</sup> and drunk. Yet often a cup is handed outside the full type-scene (see oral characteristic E63).<sup>259</sup>

#### E70 **The age of an untamed head of cattle**

For slaughtered cattle, animal sacrifices, or prize animals in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, the age of the animal is usually stated. We find the ages one<sup>260</sup> and five<sup>261</sup> years for cattle and six years for a horse<sup>262</sup> and a mule.<sup>263</sup> A striking characteristic is that the animal is untamed.<sup>264</sup> This indicates that the animal was specially destined for the gods.<sup>265</sup>

#### E71 **Bread, cheese, honey, flour, and Pramneian wine**

Unlike the *Odyssey*, ‘bread’<sup>266</sup> does not appear very often in the *Iliad*. Bread is a part of a type-scene in which it is presented in beautiful baskets. That type-scene also includes cheese,<sup>267</sup> honey,<sup>268</sup> barley flour,<sup>269</sup> and Pramneian wine.<sup>270,271</sup>

#### E72 **Baskets, often containing bread or food**

Baskets<sup>272</sup> further complement the arsenal of items in the materialistic Ionian Epsilon Tradition. They usually contain bread or food, although Priam also uses them to store the ransom for Hektor’s corpse. Sometimes the baskets are said to be beautiful,<sup>273</sup> or of polished metal.<sup>274,275</sup>

<sup>252</sup>Examples: the Greeks with Chryses: *Iliad* I 464-471, the guardians of Phoinix: *Iliad* IX 466-469, Achilles prepares a supper: *Iliad* XXIII 29-33. <sup>253</sup>Gr. ex.: υδωρ. <sup>254</sup>Gr. ex.: χεω. <sup>255</sup>Gr. ex.: χεαρ. <sup>256</sup>Gr. ex.: κρατηρ. <sup>257</sup>Gr. ex.: δεπας. <sup>258</sup>Gr. ex.: σπενδω. <sup>259</sup>Examples: heralds and young slaves perform the type-scene: *Iliad* IX 171-177, Achilles performs the type-scene: *Iliad* XVI 225-254, heralds and youths perform the type-scene: *Odyssey* III 338-342. <sup>260</sup>*Iliad* VI 94, *Iliad* X 293. <sup>261</sup>*Iliad* II 403, *Iliad* VII 315. <sup>262</sup>*Iliad* XXIII 265. <sup>263</sup>*Iliad* XXIII 655. <sup>264</sup>Gr. ex.: ηκεστος. <sup>265</sup>Examples: Agamemnon sacrifices an ox of five years old to Zeus: *Iliad* II 402-403, the Trojans promise to sacrifice twelve untamed, one-year-old heifers to Athene: *Iliad* VI 308-309, Diomedes promises to sacrifice an untamed one-year-old heifer to Athene: *Iliad* X 292-293, Telemachos promises Athene an untamed one-year-old cow: *Odyssey* III 382-383. <sup>266</sup>Gr. ex.: σιτος. <sup>267</sup>Gr. ex.: τυρος. <sup>268</sup>Gr. ex.: μελι. <sup>269</sup>Gr. ex.: αλφιτον. <sup>270</sup>Gr. ex.: ουνος. <sup>271</sup>Examples: the type-scene in Nestor’s tent: *Iliad* XI 629-639, cheese, barley, pale honey, and Pramneian wine with Circe: *Odyssey* X 234-235, bread in Eumaios’ hut: *Odyssey* XIV 449. <sup>272</sup>Gr. ex.: κανεον. <sup>273</sup>Gr. ex.: καλος. <sup>274</sup>Gr. ex.: ευξοος. <sup>275</sup>Examples: Patroklos puts bread in pretty baskets on the table: *Iliad* IX 217, Priam has a basket tied to a chariot: *Iliad* XXIV 190, Aretos holds a basket with barley: *Odyssey* III 442.

### E73 Asking for name, origin, intention, and means of transport

As part of the guest-friendship etiquette, the host asks visiting travelers about their name, origin, purpose, and the means of transportation they need. But before these questions come, the guests are welcomed with food, drink, a bath, and a place to sleep.<sup>276</sup>

### E74 The two ears on a cup, bowl, or cauldron

An interesting detail that identifies the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is the reference to cups,<sup>277</sup> bowls<sup>278</sup> and jars<sup>279</sup> by the ears they have on both<sup>280</sup> sides. Only Nestor's cup<sup>281</sup> has four ears.<sup>282</sup>

### E75 Torches as lighting

While torches<sup>283</sup> are in the *Iliad* almost exclusively used to burn down the enemy's camp, in the *Odyssey* they almost always serve to illuminate an interior space (E64). Slaves and servants (E26) walk around in the houses of the nobility (E4) with them. Therefore, it seems clear that the use of torches in the *Odyssey* is part of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>284</sup>

### E76 Milk and cheese

In the *Iliad*, milk<sup>285</sup> occurs mainly in the similes, while cheese<sup>286</sup> is mentioned only once.<sup>287</sup> In the *Odyssey* we find both cheese and milk more often, especially in the cave of the Cyclops.<sup>288</sup>

### E77 Gods who swear by the Styx

An oral characteristic common to both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* is that

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<sup>276</sup>Examples: Zeus asks about Hera's destination: *Iliad* XIV 298-299, Menelaos does not yet ask who Telemachos and Peisistratos are: *Odyssey* IV 59-62, the Cyclops asks for name, origin, and purpose: *Odyssey* IX 252-255. <sup>277</sup>Gr. ex.: ἀμφικυπελλος. <sup>278</sup>Gr. ex.: ἀμφιθετον φιαλην. <sup>279</sup>Gr. ex.: ἀμφιφορευσ. <sup>280</sup>Gr. ex.: ἀμφι. <sup>281</sup>*Iliad* XI 632-633. <sup>282</sup>Examples: jars with two ears on the pyre of Patroklos: *Iliad* XXIII 170, Achilles offers a bowl with two ears as a prize: *Iliad* XXIII 270, Telemachos gets a cup with two ears: *Odyssey* III 63. <sup>283</sup>Gr. ex.: αἰθομενας δαιδας, δαλος. <sup>284</sup>Examples: slave women of Achilles hold a torch: *Iliad* XXIV 647, Eurykleia holds a burning torch to light Telemachos: *Odyssey* I 434, golden statues hold torches to spread light to the guests at night: *Odyssey* VII 100-102, Penelope unwraps the fabric of Laërtes' pall by the glow of the torches: *Odyssey* XXIV 140. <sup>285</sup>Gr. ex.: γαλα. <sup>286</sup>Gr. ex.: τυρος. <sup>287</sup>Maher (2002) investigates the relationship between the *Odyssey* and the diet of the ancient Greeks. <sup>288</sup>Examples: goat cheese in the hut of Nestor: *Iliad* XI 638, Libya, where no one lacks cheese and milk: *Odyssey* IV 85-89, cheeses and milk buckets with the Cyclops: *Odyssey* IX 219-225.

of a god swearing<sup>289</sup> by the Styx, which is the holiest and most binding oath to the gods.<sup>290,291</sup>

#### **E78 Take or take over weapons and walk around with them**

The *Odyssey* shows that the men also walk around with a weapon in peacetime. It is usually a sword<sup>292</sup> or a spear.<sup>293</sup> The spear is taken over by the host<sup>294</sup> when welcoming a guest.<sup>295</sup>

#### **E79 The numbers nine and twelve (and ten and eleven)**

The numbers nine and twelve are often used in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, usually in measuring time. For the number nine this is done according to a fixed formula: nine time units A, and on the tenth time unit B. For example: the war lasted nine years and in the tenth year Troy fell by a ruse. The duration of the Trojan War is determined by this oral characteristic and therefore most likely has no historical significance. The number twelve, on the other hand, is never followed by the number thirteen. If needed, the number twelve is preceded by the number eleven. This oral characteristic is also present in the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition (A27). In the Aeolian Gamma Tradition, a threefold act is often followed by a fourth. Yet other numbers are also mentioned sometimes.<sup>296</sup>

#### **E80 Assistance from gods, often outside total battle**

A god assisting a man is an oral characteristic found in almost every Homeric oral tradition. Yet it is also an oral characteristic of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. This is especially apparent in the *Odyssey*, in which it is Athene who constantly assists Odysseus and Telemachos.<sup>297</sup> The god normally changes into the form of a human being. What is characteristic of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is that aid is usually not given during the overall battle.<sup>298</sup>

<sup>289</sup>Gr. ex.: ομνυμι. <sup>290</sup>Callaway (1993) distinguishes between swearing an oath and proposing to swear an oath. <sup>291</sup>Examples: Hypnos asks Hera to swear by the Styx: *Iliad* XIV 270-271, Hera swears to Zeus by the Styx: *Iliad* XV 37, Kalypso swears to Odysseus by the Styx: *Odyssey* V 185.

<sup>292</sup>Gr. ex.: ξιφος. <sup>293</sup>Gr. ex.: εγχος. <sup>294</sup>Gr. ex.: δεχομαι. <sup>295</sup>Examples: Athene takes over Ares' weapons: *Iliad* XV 125-126, Telemachos takes over Athene's spear: *Odyssey* I 121, Telemachos hangs a sword around his shoulder after getting up: *Odyssey* II 3, Odysseus was given a bow and arrows as a guest gift: *Odyssey* XXI 11-13. <sup>296</sup>Examples: Zeus returns after twelve days: *Iliad* I 425, the numbers nine, ten, eleven and twelve: *Iliad* XXIV 664-667, a storm that lasts nine days: *Odyssey* IX 82-83. <sup>297</sup>Murrin 2007. <sup>298</sup>Examples: Athene appears next to Odysseus in the guise of a herald: *Iliad* II 279-280, Aphrodite helps Paris: *Iliad* III 374-376, Hermes assists Priam in the guise of one of the Myrmidons: *Iliad* XXIV 361-371.



### E81 The animal world

The animal world<sup>299</sup> is again an oral characteristic that we find mainly in the Homeric similes. In the *Iliad*, outside of the Homeric similes, we find animal skins of panthers, lions, and wolves in an Ionian Epsilon context, alongside horses, dogs, vultures, and eagles. When Poseidon emerges from the waves, all the sea creatures come up from their caves. In the *Odyssey* we find more animals outside the Homeric similes: deer, hunting dogs, seals, tame lions and wolves, a wild boar, and animals that we also find in other oral traditions, such as cattle and birds. Since lions, panthers, wolves, boars, deer, hunting dogs, and fish appear regularly in the Homeric similes, this suggests that the animal world of the Homeric similes is part of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>300</sup>

### E82 Smiling, laughing, and rejoicing

In the Ionian Epsilon verses we see that the characters more often smile,<sup>301</sup> laugh<sup>302</sup> and rejoice.<sup>303</sup> Hektor and Andromache laugh when they see that their son is afraid of Hektor's helmet with a crest of horse-hair on it.<sup>304</sup>

### E83 Hunting and farming

Hunting,<sup>305</sup> agriculture,<sup>306</sup> and livestock<sup>307</sup> also fit in the idyllic picture of the Homeric similes and the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. The description of the harvest, as in the passage about Achilles' shield, is a glorification of simple, peaceful peasant life. In his youth, Odysseus was injured in the leg by a wild boar during a hunt. And his father Laërtes taught him about all the trees in his garden: thirteen pear trees, ten apple trees, forty fig trees, and fifty rows of vines were for Odysseus.<sup>308</sup>

### E84 The lame Hephaistos, god of blacksmithing

In the book on the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition<sup>309</sup> it was already concluded that Hephaistos and Herakles have many similarities related to the first man on Earth who surpasses or fights the gods, incurs the wrath

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<sup>299</sup>Hawtree 2014. <sup>300</sup>Examples: the skin of a lion and of a panther: *Iliad* X 23-30, the sea creatures that come up about Poseidon: *Iliad* XIII 27-28, tame lions and wolves: *Odyssey* X 212-214. <sup>301</sup>Gr. ex.: επιμειδω, μειδω, μειδιαω, φιλομειδης. <sup>302</sup>Gr. ex.: γελαω. <sup>303</sup>Gr. ex.: γηθοσυνος, καγχαλαω, χαιρω. <sup>304</sup>Examples: Hera smiles and the gods laugh: *Iliad* I 595-600, Hektor and Andromache laugh: *Iliad* VI 471, the suitors laughing uncontrollably: *Odyssey* XX 346-349. <sup>305</sup>Gr. ex.: επακτηρ (hunter). <sup>306</sup>Gr. ex.: νειος (field). <sup>307</sup>Gr. ex.: νομεις (shepherd). <sup>308</sup>Examples: farmers in a field on Achilles' shield: *Iliad* XVIII 541-549, the hunt in the youth of Odysseus: *Odyssey* XIX 435-454, the trees in the orchard of Laërtes: *Odyssey* XXIV 336-344. <sup>309</sup>Blondé 2018, p. 65-67, p. 73-74, p. 98.

of the gods, but in the end gets an eternal life. Since Herakles, unlike Hephaistos, already appears in the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition and the Aeolian Gamma Tradition, Hephaistos is probably the youngest character, who split from Herakles. Instead of surpassing the gods in fighting power, Hephaistos does it with the art of blacksmithing<sup>310</sup> and the knowledge of fire. It is he who furnished Zeus' palace on Olympos for the gods.<sup>311</sup>

Hephaistos uses two epithets that mirror each other: with limping feet<sup>312</sup> and with strong arms.<sup>313</sup> These epithets fit well within the system of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, in which horses are called swift-footed<sup>314</sup> and cattle are called slow-footed.<sup>315</sup> The epithet 'limp-footed' seems to have been invented as a replacement for strong-armed, which of course fits perfectly for a blacksmith. Yet there is a story that explains his limping foot: Zeus grabbed him by the heel and flung him off in a fit of rage. In addition, a foot, heel, or leg hurt in childhood is a typical motif for a Greek hero.<sup>316</sup>

#### E85 Bird divination

As in the Narrative Delta Tradition, Zeus communicates through large birds of prey<sup>317</sup> with the bird augurs<sup>318</sup> in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>319</sup> This is especially apparent from the *Odyssey*, in which the Narrative Delta Tradition hardly occurs.<sup>320</sup>

#### E86 Nectar and ambrosia as food for the gods

Nectar and ambrosia are foods normally only eaten by the gods.<sup>321</sup> Yet we see that Hera also uses ambrosia for washing when she adorns herself to seduce Zeus. Athene drips nectar and ambrosia into Achilles' chest so that he would not go too hungry during his mourning for Patroklos. And Thetis takes care of the corpse of Patroklos with it.<sup>322</sup>

<sup>310</sup>Known for his art = κλυτοτεχνης. <sup>311</sup>According to De Ciantis (2005), Hephaistos is the only Olympian who works. <sup>312</sup>Gr. ex.: κυλλοποδιων. <sup>313</sup>Gr. ex.: αμφιγυεις. <sup>314</sup>Gr. ex.: ωκυπους.

<sup>315</sup>Gr. ex.: ελιπους. <sup>316</sup>Examples: Hephaistos' battle with Zeus: *Iliad* I 589-594, Hephaistos making a secret lock: *Iliad* XIV 166-168, Hephaistos receiving Thetis as a guest: *Iliad* XVIII 391-427.

<sup>317</sup>Gr. ex.: οιωνος. <sup>318</sup>Gr. ex.: οιωνοπολος. <sup>319</sup>Collins 2002. <sup>320</sup>Examples: Priam prays to Zeus for a bird sign: *Iliad* XXIV 290-321, Halitherses explains a bird sign: *Odyssey* II 146-159, Penelope dreams about bird signs: *Odyssey* XIX 535-558. <sup>321</sup>Zanni (2008) examines the use of nectar and ambrosia in the Homeric texts. <sup>322</sup>Examples: Hephaistos gives nectar to the gods: *Iliad* I 598, Hera washes with ambrosia: *Iliad* XIV 171, Achilles who receives nectar and ambrosia: *Iliad* XIX 348-353, maidservants of Kalypso bring ambrosia and nectar: *Odyssey* V 199.

### E87 Blending wine and mixing vessels for wine or nectar

Mentioning mixing vessels<sup>323</sup> to mix<sup>324</sup> water and wine seems to belong more to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition than to the Narrative Delta Tradition. This is especially apparent from the fact that mixing vessels can also be found in the funeral games for Patroklos and in the *Odyssey*, but also from the fact that they are often made of silver. That the mixing vessels also appear regularly in the passages of the Narrative Delta Tradition, follows from the fact that the Narrative Delta Tradition has been translated into the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>325</sup>

### E88 Zeus, the father of gods (and men)

Although ‘the father of gods and men’<sup>326</sup> is a fixed formula that is used in all kinds of contexts, this formula is nevertheless correlated with the Ionian Epsilon verses.<sup>327</sup> Moreover, in some Ionian Epsilon passages the emphasis is on the fact that Zeus is the father of the gods, without using this fixed formula. For example: “*All the gods rose up from their chairs to greet the coming of their father*”,<sup>328</sup> “*father Zeus*”,<sup>329</sup> and Athene to Zeus: “*Son of Kronos, our father, O lordliest of the mighty*.”<sup>330</sup> A longer fixed formula about weighing someone’s death<sup>331</sup> therefore probably belongs to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition: “*Then the father balanced his golden scales, and in them he set two fateful portions of death, which lays men prostrate, for [Trojans, breakers of horses], and [bronze-armored Achaians], and balanced it by the middle. The [Achaians’] death-day was heaviest*.”<sup>332</sup> In addition to Zeus as the father, we also find the fact that it is a fixed formula of several verses (E9), that the scales are paralleled by Eastern traditions (E20), and that the scales are made of gold (E41).<sup>333</sup>

### E89 Axes

Axes, both double axes<sup>334</sup> and half-axes,<sup>335</sup> are used almost exclusively in an Ionian Epsilon context, such as in Homeric similes and games. They are mentioned twice in a war context of the European Beta Tradi-

<sup>323</sup>Gr. ex.: κρατηρ. <sup>324</sup>Gr. ex.: κεραιω. <sup>325</sup>Examples: Hephaistos scoops nectar from a mixing vessel for the gods: *Iliad* I 598, Achilles orders Patroklos to prepare a mixing vessel and to mix the wine more strongly: *Iliad* IX 202-203, servants fill the mixing vessels with wine and water: *Odyssey* I 109-110. <sup>326</sup>*Iliad* I 544, *Iliad* IV 68, *Iliad* V 426: πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε. <sup>327</sup>Calhoun (1935) argues that Zeus is the father of the gods rather than the king of the gods. <sup>328</sup>*Iliad* I 534-535: σφον πατρός. <sup>329</sup>*Iliad* V 362: Διὶ πατρί. <sup>330</sup>*Iliad* VIII 31: πατέρ ημετέρε. <sup>331</sup>This is called *kerostasia* (Dietrich 1964, Morrison 1997). <sup>332</sup>*Iliad* VIII 69-72, *Iliad* XXII 209-212. <sup>333</sup>West 1997, Chapter 7. <sup>334</sup>Gr. ex.: πέλεκυς. <sup>335</sup>Gr. ex.: ἡμιπέλεκκον.

tion, although one of these cases is also strongly colored by the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.<sup>336</sup>

#### E90 **Agamemnon and Menelaos, the duo of mighty leaders**

Closely related to the oral characteristic of respect for those in power (E60) we have Agamemnon and Menelaos as supreme leaders, who are even higher in rank than the other Greek kings. Nevertheless, Agamemnon dares to admonish his brother to modesty when transmitting military orders:

*Give him your orders, naming him by descent with the name of his father. Give each man due respect. Let not your spirit be haughty, but let it be you and I ourselves who do the work.*<sup>337,338</sup>

#### E91 **Names and synonyms, known to the gods (and men)**

Sometimes concepts are known by several synonyms to the bards and the audience, or a distinction is made between a divine and a human concept. Thus the divine blood is called ‘ichor’<sup>339</sup> and a particular bird is called ‘kymindis’ by men, but ‘chalkis’ by the gods. Kleopatra was called ‘Alkyone’<sup>340</sup> by her parents, meaning sea-bird, because her mother had grieved like a sea-bird after she had been robbed by the god Apollo. Also nectar and ambrosia are concepts belonging to the gods.<sup>341</sup>

#### E92 **Analgesic or magical herbs**

The knowledge some characters had about enchanting<sup>342</sup> herbs<sup>343,344</sup> or herbs that relieve pain<sup>345</sup> points to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Helen brought healing herbs from Egypt and Ares was supplied with painkilling herbs by Paiëon on Mount Olympos.<sup>346</sup>

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<sup>336</sup>Examples: Hektor’s heart is like an axe-blade: *Iliad* III 60, a beautiful axe with strong bronze blade upon a long polished axe-handle of olive wood: *Iliad* XIII 612-613, double axes and half-axes as prizes during games: *Iliad* XXIII 882-883. <sup>337</sup>*Iliad* X 68-70. <sup>338</sup>Examples: Atreus’ two sons, the marshals of the people: *Iliad* I 16, Agamemnon admonishes Menelaos not to let his spirit to be too haughty: *Iliad* X 64-71, Athene raised a quarrel between the sons of Atreus: *Odyssey* III 135-136. <sup>339</sup>*Iliad* V 340. <sup>340</sup>*Iliad* IX 562. <sup>341</sup>Examples: Myrine (and Batieia): *Iliad* II 813-814, chalkis (and kymindis): *Iliad* XIV 290-291, molu: *Odyssey* X 305. <sup>342</sup>Gr. ex.: *θελαγω*. <sup>343</sup>Gr. ex.: *φαρμακον*. <sup>344</sup>According to Klimis (2008), modern translations of herbs and plants in the Homeric texts are often inaccurate. <sup>345</sup>Gr. ex.: *οδυνη*. <sup>346</sup>Examples: Paiëon with Ares: *Iliad* V 899-900, Circe: *Odyssey* X 235-236, Hermes with Odysseus: *Odyssey* X 290-306.

### E93 You will not persuade me (to sit down)

A politeness formula that fits into the guest-friendship etiquette is this: “You will not persuade me.”<sup>347</sup> It is especially used when the guest is invited to sit down. Martin (1989, p. 202) has explored this formula, also outside the context in which a guest is invited to sit down. In it, a person is often first told not to do something, then follows the formula, then the reason for using this formula, and finally the person using the formula indicates what he or she is going to do.<sup>348</sup>

### E94 Untie and feed horses, and a linen cover

As for the Narrative Delta Tradition, the unyoking<sup>349</sup> of horses<sup>350</sup> is characteristic of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Linked to this is the feeding<sup>351</sup> of the horses with two nutritional substances (clover,<sup>352</sup> celery,<sup>353</sup> wheat,<sup>354</sup> barley,<sup>355</sup> or einkorn<sup>356</sup>) and covering<sup>357</sup> the wagon<sup>358</sup> under a linen cover.<sup>359</sup> Since the Narrative Delta Tradition is older, we might think that the whole type-scene comes from that oral tradition. Still, the Ionian Epsilon Tradition contains even more oral characteristics with horses and wagons: providing horses and a wagon to guests (E35), horse racing (E43), and handling the whip (E65). Moreover, this type-scene is also deployed outside Narrative Delta contexts and is strongly colored by the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. The covers (E61) that are spread over the chariots and the expression of Lykaon<sup>360</sup> that the chariots are ‘beauties, all new made, just finished’ (E2), testify this.<sup>361</sup>

### E95 Take or lead someone by the hand

Taking<sup>362</sup> someone by the hand,<sup>363</sup> giving a handshake, and leading someone by the hand to a seat<sup>364</sup> are again guest-friendship etiquette rules. We find them especially in the *Odyssey*.<sup>365</sup>

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<sup>347</sup>Gr. ex.: ουδε με πεισεις. <sup>348</sup>Examples: Hektor to Helen: *Iliad* VI 359-360, Patroklos to Nestor: *Iliad* XI 647, Priam to Achilleus: *Iliad* XXIV 553. <sup>349</sup>Gr. ex.: λυω. <sup>350</sup>Gr. ex.: ιππος. <sup>351</sup>Gr. ex.: ερεπτομαι. <sup>352</sup>Gr. ex.: λωτος. <sup>353</sup>Gr. ex.: σελινον. <sup>354</sup>Gr. ex.: ολυρα. <sup>355</sup>Gr. ex.: κρι. <sup>356</sup>Gr. ex.: ζεια. <sup>357</sup>Gr. ex.: πυκαζω. <sup>358</sup>Gr. ex.: αρμα. <sup>359</sup>Gr. ex.: πεπλος. <sup>360</sup>*Iliad* V 193-196. <sup>361</sup>Examples: the horses of the men of Achilleus: *Iliad* II 775-778, Poseidon unyokes the horses of Zeus: *Iliad* VIII 440-441, the horses of the Trojans who spend the night in the field: *Iliad* VIII 564-565, the horses of Peisistratos and Telemachos are unyoked: *Odyssey* IV 36-42. <sup>362</sup>Gr. ex.: αιρω. <sup>363</sup>Gr. ex.: χειρ. <sup>364</sup>Gr. ex.: εδριαω, θρονος. <sup>365</sup>Examples: Hermes takes Priam’s hand: *Iliad* XXIV 361, Achilleus takes Priam’s hand: *Iliad* XXIV 508, Telemachos grabs Athene by the hand: *Odyssey* I 120-121, handshakes and leading by the hand: *Odyssey* III 35-37, Alkinoös leads Odysseus by the hand to a seat: *Odyssey* VII 168-169.

## E96 **Heralds at a court**

‘Herald’<sup>366,367</sup> is another example of an oral characteristic that appears both in the Narrative Delta Tradition as well as in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. In the latter oral tradition, a herald is a servant who lives in a noble house, as the *Odyssey* shows. There is also a type-scene in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition in which servants pour water over the hands of the guests. In the *Iliad*, those servants are heralds.<sup>368</sup>

## E97 **Athene, the patron goddess of Odysseus**

That Athene constantly assists Odysseus,<sup>369</sup> probably grew out of the type-scene of the Brave Scout. That type-scene stems from the Narrative Delta Tradition, but has evolved further in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Odysseus is the main character in that type-scene (oral characteristic Ds7), and the assistance of a god is also a characteristic of it (Ds2 and Ds3).<sup>370</sup>

## E98 **The alternation of day and night**

As with the oral characteristic D17 of the Narrative Delta Tradition, the Ionian Epsilon bards regularly usher in a new day. Still, the type-scenes that accompany it are easy to distinguish. In the Narrative Delta Tradition, the transitions have to do with combat, such as setting up sentries in the evening and arming in the morning. In the Ionian Epsilon Tradition we find fixed formulas of a few verses, such as oral characteristics E62 (washing, anointing, and dressing with mantle and sandals) and E67 (spreading beds and sleeping in the back next to a woman).<sup>371</sup>

## E99 **Colors: purple, gray, ambrosia, blond, and multicolor**

We find the following colors in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition: for clothing: purple (or red)<sup>372</sup> or multicolor,<sup>373</sup> for the sea: gray,<sup>374</sup> for the dawn: of the rose fingers<sup>375</sup> or yellow-robed,<sup>376</sup> for the robe of a goddess: ambrosia,<sup>377</sup> for the skin: white,<sup>378</sup> for hair: blond (or yellow),<sup>379</sup>

<sup>366</sup>Gr. ex.: κηρυξ. <sup>367</sup>Larsen and Rhodes 2015. Dularidze (2011) examines messengers as an institution in antiquity. <sup>368</sup>Examples: heralds pour water over the hands: *Iliad* IX 174, a herald gives Menelaos a staff: *Iliad* XXIII 567-568, a herald fetches a lyre: *Odyssey* VIII 105. <sup>369</sup>Williams 2018. <sup>370</sup>Examples: Athene stands next to Odysseus: *Iliad* II 278-280, Odysseus prays to Athene, who hears him: *Iliad* X 277-295, Athene hides Odysseus' goods: *Odyssey* XIII 361-371. <sup>371</sup>Examples: Agamemnon awakens: *Iliad* II 41, Priam and Idaios stay overnight with Achilles: *Iliad* XXIV 672-674, Telemachos and Peisistratos stay overnight with Menelaos: *Odyssey* IV 302-303. <sup>372</sup>Gr. ex.: φοινικίς. <sup>373</sup>Gr. ex.: παμποικίλος. <sup>374</sup>Gr. ex.: πολίος. <sup>375</sup>Gr. ex.: ροδοδάκτυλος. <sup>376</sup>Gr. ex.: κροκοπέπλος. <sup>377</sup>Gr. ex.: αμβροσιος. <sup>378</sup>Gr. ex.: λευκον. <sup>379</sup>Gr. ex.: ξανθος.

and for the eyes: blue-gray.<sup>380</sup> All things considered, the Homeric traditions are fairly poor in colors and the translations of the colors described above are often controversial.<sup>381</sup>

#### E100 **Mourning, corpse care, and funerals**

While the emphasis in the Aeolian Gamma Tradition is whether a slain warrior will receive a funeral<sup>382</sup> at all, and whether he is not too much soiled and disfigured in the process, in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, the emphasis is on the experience of the funeral. The corpse<sup>383</sup> should be washed and anointed,<sup>384</sup> women have the task to take the lead in lamenting,<sup>385</sup> and men organize funeral games.<sup>386</sup> But men can also experience mourning intensely.<sup>387</sup>

#### E101 **Wine, to libate or drink**

Wine<sup>388,389</sup> is an oral characteristic that occurs regularly in both the Narrative Delta Tradition and the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. This similarity may be coincidental, unless the Ionian Epsilon Tradition has inherited this oral characteristic from the Narrative Delta Tradition. While in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition the wine is for consumption or pouring<sup>390</sup> to the gods, in the Narrative Delta Tradition it also has other functions, such as concluding an oath and extinguishing a pyre at a funeral.<sup>391</sup>

#### E102 **Cauldrons, tripods, and bathtubs**

The oral characteristics ‘cauldron,’<sup>392</sup> ‘tripod,’<sup>393</sup> and ‘bathtub’<sup>394</sup> may stem from the Narrative Delta-tradition. In the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, they are often precious guest gifts.<sup>395</sup>

#### E103 **The coloring dawn spreads light for gods and men**

Several chapters begin with the type-scene of the rising of the sun: a

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<sup>380</sup>Gr. ex.: γλαυκωπῖς. <sup>381</sup>Examples: the blond Menelaos: *Iliad* X 240, Hera’s ambrosial robe: *Iliad* XIV 178, the gray-eyed Athene: *Odyssey* XV 292. <sup>382</sup>Gr. ex.: τὰ φος. <sup>383</sup>Gr. ex.: νεκὺς. <sup>384</sup>Gr. ex.: ἀλείφω. <sup>385</sup>Gr. ex.: γοᾶω, κλαίω, πειθεω, στεναχῶ. <sup>386</sup>Gr. ex.: ἀθλεύω. <sup>387</sup>Examples: Achilles lies in the dust for the death of Patroklos: *Iliad* XVIII 22-35, Briseis mourns Patroklos: *Iliad* XIX 282-302, Achilles commands slave women to wash and anoint the dead Hektor: *Iliad* XXIV 580-583, the funeral of Hektor: *Iliad* XXIV 703-804. <sup>388</sup>Gr. ex.: οἶνος. <sup>389</sup>Papakonstantinou (2009) examines the use and social significance of wine in the Homeric texts. <sup>390</sup>Gr. ex.: λείβω. <sup>391</sup>Examples: Zeus says the Trojans often pour out a libation: *Iliad* IV 49, the gods drink no wine: *Iliad* V 341-342, Odysseus let Eurymachos sometimes drink a sip of wine as a child: *Odyssey* XVI 444. <sup>392</sup>Gr. ex.: λέβης. <sup>393</sup>Gr. ex.: τρίπους. <sup>394</sup>Gr. ex.: ἀσάμινθος. <sup>395</sup>Examples: Achilles presents cauldrons and tripods as prizes: *Iliad* XXIII 259-264, a cauldron and a bathtub to wash Odysseus: *Odyssey* X 359-361, the Phaiakians give Odysseus tripods and cauldrons: *Odyssey* XIII 13-14.

rose-fingered or yellow-robed Dawn, sometimes at the side of Tithonos, spreads its light over the earth, or over the immortals and men.<sup>396</sup>

#### E104 **The god who is angry or speaks angrily**

The Greeks were god-fearing for a reason. Their gods were often angry,<sup>397</sup> both at humans and other gods. Odysseus was doomed to wander for a long time because he had angered<sup>398</sup> Poseidon.<sup>399,400</sup>

This concludes listing and describing the oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. In the next section, a number of passages are examined in detail.

### **Analyzed Passages**

The passages in this section are heavily colored by the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. They are analyzed by adding the numeric codes of the oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition in square brackets in the text. Short descriptions of the oral characteristics can be found in a footnote.

In *Iliad* I, Achilles begins his anger against Agamemnon. His mother Thetis goes to Zeus and begs him to give the Trojans the upper hand in battle. Zeus agrees, and immediately Hera correctly suspects that Zeus and Thetis have been plotting. After a brief quarrel between Hera and Zeus, Hephaistos intervenes and hands his mother a two-handled goblet. Then we find the following Ionian Epsilon passage that closes *Iliad* I and that can be taken away without harming the story:

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<sup>396</sup>Examples: the young Dawn with her rosy fingers: *Iliad* I 477, the yellow-robed Dawn: *Iliad* VIII 1, Dawn, who lay by haughty Tithonos: *Iliad* XI 1-2. <sup>397</sup>Gr. ex.: οδυσομοι. <sup>398</sup>Gr. ex.: χολω.

<sup>399</sup>Murgatroyd (2015) examines Poseidon's wrath in the *Odyssey*. <sup>400</sup>Examples: Poseidon is angry about the wall of the Greeks: *Iliad* VII 445-453, Zeus speaks threateningly to the other gods: *Iliad* VIII 4-29, Zeus speaks angrily about Aigisthos: *Odyssey* I 31-43, Poseidon's wrath: *Odyssey* I 68-69.



The<sup>401</sup> goddess of the white arms [E39] Hera [E8] smiled [E82] at him, and smiling [E82] she accepted [E23] the goblet [E63] out of her son's hand [Hephaistos]. Thereafter beginning from the left [E23, E64] he poured drinks for the other gods [E26], dipping up from the mixing bowl [E87] the sweet [E5] nectar [E86]. But among the blessed immortals [E8] uncontrollable laughter [E82] went up as they saw Hephaistos [E84] bustling [E52, E84] about the palace. Thus thereafter the whole day long until the sun went under [E98] they feasted [E38], nor was anyone's hunger denied a fair portion [E38], nor denied the beautifully wrought [E5] lyre [E12, E32] in the hands of Apollo [E32] nor the antiphonal sweet [E5, E17] sound [E28] of the Muses [E32] singing [E28]. Afterward when the light [E46] of the flaming [E5, E17] sun [E46] went under [E98] they went away each one to sleep [E98] in his home [E25] where for each one the far-renowned [E5] strong-handed [E22] Hephaistos [E84] had built [E2] a house [E25] by means of his craftsmanship [E46] and cunning [E46]. Zeus the Olympian and lord of the lightning [E45] went to his own bed [E24], where always he lay when sweet [E5, E17] sleep came on him [E39]. Going up to the bed [E67] he slept and Hera [E9, E98] of the gold throne beside him.<sup>402</sup>

The Trojans do indeed gain the upper hand and several important Greek warriors are put out of action. Among them is the doctor Machaon, who is led by Nestor to the Greek camp. Then we find an extensive Ionian Epsilon passage where one gets the impression that everything is peaceful. Also this passage – other than the arrival of Patroklos – is not essential to the story:

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<sup>401</sup> The materialism (E2), the Epsilon-specific system of epithets (E5), the gods in their home on the Olympos (E8), type-scenes that repeat almost literally (E9), bards (E12), emotional, lovely, and poetic scenes (E17), double epithets (E22), etiquette and courtesy (E23), footstools, seats, and ornate furniture (E24), the facilities of the Olympos (E25), slaves and slave girls (E26), singing, dance, and the lyre (E28), Muses and Apollo with the lyre (E32), feasts and the preparation of meals (E38), descriptive clauses (E39), stories and details about the gods (E44), a verse with multiple addresses (E45), the duo of related terms (E46), sex and entertaining the audience (E52), drinking cups, greeting with them, or handing them (E63), the interior design and the positions of furniture and people (E64), spreading beds and sleeping in the back next to a woman (E67), smiling, laughing, and rejoicing (E82), the lame Hephaistos, god of blacksmithing (E84), nectar and ambrosia as food for the gods (E86), blending wine and mixing vessels for wine or nectar (E87), the alternation of day and night (E98). <sup>402</sup> *Iliad* I 595-611.

Now<sup>403</sup> when the others came to the shelter [E4] of the son of Neleus, they themselves dismounted [E35] to the prospering [E5] earth, and the henchman [E26] Eurymedon unharnessed [E94] the horses of the old man from the chariot. The men wiped off the sweat on their tunics [E61] and stood to the wind beside the beach of the sea [E7], and thereafter went inside [E64] the shelter [E4] and took their places [E23] on settles [E24]. And lovely-haired [E5] Hekamede [E26] made them [E3] a potion [E38], she whom the old man won [E26] from Tenedos, when Achilles stormed it [E39]. She was the daughter of great-hearted Arsinoös [E39]. The Achaians chose her out for Nestor, because he was best of them all in counsel [E39]. First she pushed up [E3] the table in front of them, a lovely [E5, E17] table [E24], polished [E2, E24] and with feet [E24] of cobalt [E2, E5, E22], and on it she laid a bronze [E41] basket [E72], with onion [E38] to go with the drinking [E38], and pale honey [E38, E71], and beside it bread [E71], blessed pride of the barley [E71], and beside it a beautifully [E2] wrought cup which the old man brought with him from home [E39]. It was set with golden [E41] nails [E2, E39], the eared handles upon it were four [E74], and on either side there were fashioned two doves [E17, E81] of gold [E41], feeding [E39, E83], and there were double bases beneath it [E2, E39, E40]. Another man with great effort could lift it full from the table [E24], but Nestor, aged as he was, lifted it without strain [E39]. In this the woman [E26] like the immortals [E5] mixed them a potion with Pramneian [E13, E71] wine [E101], and grated goat's-milk cheese [E38, E71, E76] into it with a bronze [E41] grater [E2], and scattered with her hand white barley [E38, E71] into it [E40].

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<sup>403</sup> The materialism (E2), the guest-friendship (E3), the house of nobles, servants, shepherds, heralds, and bards (E4), the Epsilon-specific system of epithets (E5), verbosity, or using many words to say the same thing (E7), sea trade and piracy (E13), emotional, lovely, and poetic scenes (E17), double epithets (E22), etiquette and courtesy (E23), footstools, seats, and ornate furniture (E24), slaves and slave girls (E26), (providing) a chariot, horses, and an attendant (E35), peacefulness (E37), feasts and the preparation of meals (E38), descriptive clauses (E39), actions and objects described in detail (E40), precious metals (E41), the duo of related terms (E46), clothes, sheets, and linen, often colored purple (E61), drinking cups, greeting with them, or handing them (E63), the interior design and the positions of furniture and people (E64), bread, cheese, honey, flour, and Pramneian wine (E71), baskets, often containing bread or food (E72), the two ears on a cup, bowl, or cauldron (E74), milk and cheese (E76), the animal world (E81), hunting and farming (E83), untie and feed horses, and a linen cover (E94), take or lead someone by the hand (E95), wine, to libate or drink (E101).

*When she had got the potion [E38] ready, she told them to drink it [E3, E38], and both when they had drunk [E46] it were rid of their thirst's [E38] parching and began to take pleasure [E46] in conversation [E23, E37], talking with each other, and Patroklos came and stood, a godlike man, in the doorway [E64]. Seeing him the old man started up [E23] from his shining [E2] chair [E24], and took him [E3] by the hand [E95], led him in [E64] and told him to sit down [E23].<sup>404</sup>*

Thanks to Poseidon's help, the Greeks can still resist the pressure of the Trojans. Hera, always supportive of the Greeks, sees Poseidon assisting the Greeks on the battlefield, but she fears Zeus would soon discover it. Then follows one of the passages most strongly colored by the Ionian Epsilon Tradition:

*And<sup>405</sup> now the lady [E5] ox-eyed [E22] Hera [E8] was divided in purpose as to how she could beguile the brain in Zeus of the aegis. And to her mind this thing appeared to be the best counsel, to array herself in loveliness [E2], and go down to Ida, and perhaps he might be taken with desire to lie in love [E52] with her next her skin [E52], and she might be able to drift an innocent warm [E22] sleep [E98] across his eyelids [E46], and seal his crafty perceptions [E46]. She went into her chamber [E64], which her beloved son Hephaistos [E84] had built for her [E2, E39, E84, E44], and closed the leaves in the door-posts [E64] snugly with a secret door-bar [E2, E48, E84], and no other of the gods could open it [E39, E44]. There entering she drew shut the leaves of the shining [E2] door [E64], then first from her adorable [E5] body washed [E46] away all stains with ambrosia [E86], and next anointed [E46] herself with ambrosial sweet [E22] olive [E33] oil*

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<sup>404</sup> *Iliad* XI 617-645. <sup>405</sup> The materialism (E2), the house of nobles, servants, shepherds, heralds, and bards (E4), the Epsilon-specific system of epithets (E5), verbosity, or using many words to say the same thing (E7), the gods in their home on the Olympus (E8), type-scenes that repeat almost literally (E9), double epithets (E22), the facilities of the Olympus (E25), the woman, weaving and surrounded by slave women (E31), olive trees and olive oil (E33), scented items and perfumes (E34), descriptive clauses (E39), precious metals (E41), stories and details about the gods (E44), the duo of related terms (E46), knowledge, science, and technology (E48), sex and entertaining the audience (E52), clothes, sheets, and linen, often colored purple (E61), the interior design and the positions of furniture and people (E64), the lame Hephaistos, god of blacksmithing (E84), nectar and ambrosia as food for the gods (E86), the alternation of day and night (E98), colors: purple, gray, ambrosia, blond, and multicolor (E99).

[E2], which stood there in its fragrance [E2, E34] beside her, and from which, stirred in the house [E4] of Zeus [E25] by the golden [E41] pavement, a fragrance [E34] was shaken forever forth, on earth [E46] and in heaven [E46, E39]. When with this she had anointed her delicate [E5] body [E7] and combed her hair, next with her hands she arranged the shining [E5] and lovely [E22] and ambrosial [E22] curls [E2] along her immortal head [E7], and dressed in an ambrosial [E99, E86] robe that Athene had made her carefully, smooth [E2, E46], and with many figures [E2, E46, E31] upon it, and pinned it across her breast with a golden [E41] brooch [E2, E61], and circled her waist about with a zone [E61] that floated a hundred tassels [E61], and in the lobes of her carefully pierced ears she put rings [E61] with triple drops in mulberry clusters [E2, E39], radiant [E2, E5] with beauty [E2, E22], and, lovely among goddesses, she veiled her head downward with a sweet fresh [E22] veil [E61] that glimmered pale like the sunlight [E39]. Underneath her shining [E5] feet [E46] she bound on the fair [E2, E5] sandals [E9, E46, E61].<sup>406</sup>

After Patroklos dies in battle at the hand of Hektor, Achilles joins the battle for revenge. He kills Hektor and drags his corpse to the Greek camp to have it torn up by the dogs. However, when Priam, Hektor's father, comes to the Greek camp with a large ransom, Achilles takes pity. He returns Hektor's corpse and replies to his guest's request to organize the funeral for Hektor as follows:

Then<sup>407</sup> in turn swift-footed [E5] brilliant [E22] Achilles answered him: "Then all this, aged Priam, shall be done as you ask it [E3]. I will hold off our attack [E37] for as much time as you bid me." So he spoke, and took the aged king by the right hand [E46, E95] at the wrist [E46], so that his heart might have no fear [E37]. Then these two, Priam and the herald [E96] who were both men of close counsel [E39], slept [E9, E98] in the place outside the house [E4], in the porch's shelter [E64]; but Achilles slept [E9,

<sup>406</sup> *Iliad* XIV 159-186. <sup>407</sup> The materialism (E2), the guest-friendship (E3), the house of nobles, servants, shepherds, heralds, and bards (E4), the Epsilon-specific system of epithets (E5), type-scenes that repeat almost literally (E9), double epithets (E22), slaves and slave girls (E26), peacefulness (E37), descriptive clauses (E39), the duo of related terms (E46), the interior design and the positions of furniture and people (E64), take or lead someone by the hand (E95), the alternation of day and night (E98).

*E98] in the inward corner of the strong-built [E2, E5] shelter, and at his side lay Briseis [E26] of the fair coloring [E5].*<sup>408</sup>

That the *Odyssey* is much more influenced by the Ionian Epsilon Tradition than the *Iliad* can be seen from the much greater number of passages that take place within the walls of a house or deal with shipping. In such passages the oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition are in their natural environment. The following passage, in which Menelaos receives Telemachos and Peisistratos, is an illustration of this:

*Then*<sup>409</sup> *in greeting [E23] fair-haired [E5, E99] Menelaos said to them: ‘Help yourselves to the food [E38] and welcome [E3], and then afterward, when you have tasted dinner [E38], we shall ask [E73] you who among men you are [E3], for the stock of your parents can be no lost one, but you are of the race of men who are kings, whom Zeus sustains, who bear scepters [E22]; no mean men could have sons such as you are [E7].’ So he spoke, and taking in his hands the fat beef loin [E38] which had been given as his choice portion [E39], he set it before them [E38]. They put their hands to the good things that lay ready before them [E38]. But when they had put away their desire for eating and drinking [E7, E38], then Telemachos talked to the son of Nestor, leaning his head close to his, so that none of the others might hear him [E7]: ‘Son of Nestor, you who delight my heart, only look at the gleaming [E2] of the bronze [E41] all through these echoing mansions [E64], and the gleaming of gold [E41] and amber [E46, E36], of silver [E41] and of ivory [E36, E40, E46]. The court [E29, E59] of Zeus on Olympus [E25] must be like this on the inside, such abundance [E2] of everything. Wonder takes me as I look on it.’*<sup>410</sup>

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<sup>408</sup> *Iliad* XXIV 668-676. <sup>409</sup> The materialism (E2), the guest-friendship (E3), the Epsilon-specific system of epithets (E5), verbosity, or using many words to say the same thing (E7), double epithets (E22), etiquette and courtesy (E23), the facilities of the Olympus (E25), chamber, court, forecourt, porch, and portico (E29), ivory and amber (E36), feasts and the preparation of meals (E38), descriptive clauses (E39), actions and objects described in detail (E40), precious metals (E41), the duo of related terms (E46), sanctuaries and cities in which the gods are worshipped (E59), the interior design and the positions of furniture and people (E64), asking for name, origin, intention, and means of transport (E73), colors: purple, gray, ambrosia, blond, and multicolor (E99). <sup>410</sup> *Odyssey* IV 59-75.

The following passage shows how many sub-characteristics can be hidden behind an oral characteristic such as shipping: ship, seashore, stern, go aboard, crew, gear, and oarlocks:

*‘Then<sup>411</sup> do not take me, illustrious, past my ship [E15], but leave me there, for fear the old man in his affection [E3] will keep me in his house [E4] longer than I wish. But I must make my way quickly.’ He spoke, and the son of Nestor pondered the thought within him, how he could fairly [E23] undertake this and see it accomplished. In the division of his heart this way seemed best to him. He turned the horses [E35] toward the fast ship [E15, E46] and the sand of the seashore [E15, E46], and onto the stern of the ship [E15] unloaded the beautiful [E2] presents, the clothing [E46, E61] and the gold [E46, E41], which Menelaos had given [E3, E40], and spoke, speeding him on his way, and addressed him in winged words: ‘Go aboard [E15] now in haste, and urge on all your companions to go [E7, E15], before I reach home and take the news [E30] to the old man. For I know this thing well in my heart, and my mind knows it, how overbearing his anger will be, and he will not let you go, but will come himself to summon [E3] you, and I do not think he will go away without you [E3]. As it is, he will be very angry.’ So he spoke, and drove [E35] away his bright-maned horses [E35] back to the city of the Pylians, and reached his home quickly. Telemachos then gave the sign and urged his companions [E26, E15]: ‘Put all running gear [E15] in order, friends [E26], on the black ship [E15], and let us ourselves go aboard [E15], so we can get on with the journey [E40].’ So he spoke, and they listened well to him and obeyed him, and quickly they went aboard [E15, E46] the ship and sat to the oarlocks [E15, E40, E46]. So, while he was busy with prayer [E42, E46] and sacrifice [E42, E46] to Athene [E97] beside the stern of the ship [E15, E40], there came to him an outlander.<sup>412</sup>*

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<sup>411</sup> The materialism (E2), the guest-friendship (E3), the house of nobles, servants, shepherds, heralds, and bards (E4), verbosity, or using many words to say the same thing (E7), ships and shipping (E15), etiquette and courtesy (E23), slaves and slave girls (E26), eloquence and long polite conversations (E30), (providing) a chariot, horses, and an attendant (E35), actions and objects described in detail (E40), precious metals (E41), to serve and pray to the gods piously (E42), the duo of related terms (E46), clothes, sheets, and linen, often colored purple (E61), Athene, the patron goddess of Odysseus (E97). <sup>412</sup> *Odyssey* XV 199-223.

Let us also consider a passage in the *Odyssey* that was not chosen for its oral characteristics. The last verses of the *Odyssey* can serve this purpose:

*Then<sup>413</sup> the gray-eyed goddess Athene [E97] said to Odysseus [E80]: ‘Son of Laërtes and seed of Zeus, resourceful Odysseus [E45], hold hard [E46], stop [E37, E46] this quarrel [E46] in closing combat [E46], for fear Zeus of the wide brows, son of Kronos [E45], may be angry [E104] with you.’ So spoke Athene, and with happy [E17] heart he obeyed [E42] her. And pledges [E37] for the days to come [E7], sworn to by both sides, were settled by Pallas Athene [E97], daughter of Zeus of the aegis [E45], who had likened herself in appearance and voice to Mentor [E4, E39].<sup>414</sup>*

This shows that even a random passage of the *Odyssey* is strongly colored by the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. With that, we can close this chapter on the oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. The next chapter examines a number of roles that could serve as a specialty in an alternate improvisation.

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<sup>413</sup> The house of nobles, servants, shepherds, heralds, and bards (E4), verbosity, or using many words to say the same thing (E7), emotional, lovely, and poetic scenes (E17), peacefulness (E37), descriptive clauses (E39), to serve and pray to the gods piously (E42), a verse with multiple addresses (E45), the duo of related terms (E46), assistance from gods, often outside total battle (E80), Athene, the patron goddess of Odysseus (E97), the god who is angry or speaks angrily (E104). <sup>414</sup> *Odyssey* XXIV 541-548.

## Chapter 3

# Specialized Roles

With the specialized roles we arrive at clusters of oral characteristics that are part of the *Iliad* tradition: two dramatic roles, the God Role and the War Role. The dramatic roles do make use of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, but are also strongly linked to the Narrative Delta Tradition. The older of the two dramatic roles I have called the Early Dramatic Role. I give the youngest dramatic role a double name: the Late Dramatic Role, which is equal to the Achilleus Role. The fact that the Late Dramatic Role is younger is apparent from the fact that it also uses the oral characteristics of the Early Dramatic Role. Moreover, as far as that late role is concerned, there is a real chance that it was only mastered by a single bard, who contributed – according to the theory in Chapter 5 – to the alternate improvisation of our *Iliad*: the Achilleus Bard. The Early Dramatic Role, on the other hand, is most likely traditional, as it was used by several bards who contributed to the fixation of the *Iliad*. So there is a chance that the Achilleus Bard mastered the Early Dramatic Role and then expanded it into the Achilleus Role.

As the name ‘God Role’ reveals, it is a cluster of oral characteristics that can be used by bards who improvise actions and speeches of the gods during a performance of the *Iliad* with alternate improvisation. It concerns forty-five oral characteristics that can easily be found by comparing the passages in the *Iliad* in which gods appear. The War Role uses the oral characteristics of the European Beta Tradition, as well as petrified key passages that tie together a series of seemingly random oral characteristics into a recurring pattern.

The specialized roles are part of the *Iliad* tradition and are almost non-existent in the *Odyssey*. Only the God Role is used in the *Odyssey* to a limited



extent. We expect less of the other roles in the *Odyssey*, because it does not use the European Beta Tradition, nor the Narrative Delta Tradition.

## **The Early Dramatic Role**

The passages in which the oral characteristics of the Early Dramatic Role are used can be found in two locations in the Appendix ‘Alternate Improvisation’: in the section ‘The Purely Early Dramatic Role’, and under the letter A in the section ‘The Alternately Improvised Passages.’ In addition to the oral characteristics of the Early Dramatic Role, the passages under the letter A also contain those of the Achilles Role (or the Late Dramatic Role), which grew out of the Early Dramatic Role. There are 15 purely early dramatic passages for a total of 845 verses.

In analyzing the alternate improvisation of our *Iliad* in the next chapter, we will see that the dramatic roles are used only by the Narrative Bard and the Achilles Bard. The Narrative Bard uses the Early Dramatic Role in its pure form, so without the Achilles Role. Yet there is one oral characteristic of the Early Dramatic Role, namely the question of guilt (Who is guilty of the Trojan War?), that is used by all the alternately improvising bards.

A summary and description of the oral characteristics of the Early Dramatic Role now follows. After that come analyzed passages.

### **The Oral Characteristics of the Early Dramatic Role**

#### **Ed1 Drama and emotions**

The Ionian Epsilon bards ramp up the drama through the dramatic roles. Two basic ingredients are often enough: anger and tears. The incurable anger of Achilles, the main theme of the *Iliad*, is also beautifully portrayed thanks to this role. The audience is moved with long rants and with characters who pour out their hearts or are overcome with grief. When Achilles learns of Patroklos’ death, he wallows in the dust and tears his hair out. The Trojans wail and faint with misery at the approach of their disastrous fate.<sup>1</sup>

#### **Ed2 The close bond between family members**

Family relationships are close and the members cherish a deep love

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<sup>1</sup>Examples: Helen hates Aphrodite: *Iliad* III 398-409, Achilles in the dust: XVIII 22-24, Hekabe bares weeping her breasts: *Iliad* XXII 79-81.

for each other. They are very concerned about each other's fate. Both the children and the parents fear each other's death. Peleus does not speak in our *Iliad*, but Priam reminds Achilles of his ailing father.<sup>2</sup> Andromache says that Hektor is a father, a honored mother, a brother and a young husband.<sup>3</sup> Helen refers to Priam<sup>4</sup> and Hektor<sup>5</sup> as a dear father-in-law and brother-in-law. She also mourns Hektor's death.<sup>6</sup>

### Ed3 **The question of guilt about the Trojan War**

A special motif that we find in the dramatic roles is the question of guilt:<sup>7</sup> "Whose fault caused the Trojan War?" We get different answers to this question, but the main suspects are clearly Paris, Helen and Aphrodite. Menelaos refers to Zeus and the Trojans, who violated the guest-friendship, while Achilles accuses Agamemnon as the executor of the mission.

The question of guilt is an exception to the rule that the dramatic roles are only used by the Narrative Bard and the Achilles Bard. Also the War Bard and the God Bard answer the question.<sup>8</sup>

### Ed4 **Achilleus, Helen, and other dramatic characters**

The dramatic roles focus on a small number of key characters: Achilles, Helen, Paris, Patroklos, Hektor, and Andromache are the most important people, and Aphrodite and Thetis are the most important among the gods. But their relatives are also illuminated by the role.<sup>9</sup>

### Ed5 **The Narrative Delta fairy tales**

The Early Dramatic Role probably originated in improvisations of the Narrative Delta fairy tales. In it, emotions also flare up around the same dramatic characters. This is especially the case in the Compassion Narrative, where we often find lamenting and begging. However, the dramatic roles are not part of the Narrative Delta Tradition. The goddess Aphrodite probably does not appear in the Narrative Delta Tradition, but does appear in the Early Dramatic Role. In addition, the speeches of the dramatic roles are often embedded in, and feature, Ionian Epsilon verses. The dramatic roles thus seem to have evolved further than

<sup>2</sup>*Iliad* XXIV 485-487. <sup>3</sup>*Iliad* VI 429-430. <sup>4</sup>*Iliad* III 172. <sup>5</sup>*Iliad* VI 343-344. <sup>6</sup>*Iliad* XXIV 761-762.

<sup>7</sup>Zieliński 2021. <sup>8</sup>Examples: Hektor accuses Paris: *Iliad* III 46-51, the Trojans accuse Helen, but Priam the gods: *Iliad* III 156-164, Helen accuses Aphrodite: *Iliad* III 399-405. <sup>9</sup>Examples: Hektor reproaches Paris' beauty: *Iliad* III 39, Helen reproaches herself toward Hektor: *Iliad* VI 344, Achilles: *Iliad* IX 307.

the Narrative Delta fairy tales. Yet, not all Narrative Delta passages are colored by the dramatic roles.<sup>10</sup>

#### **Ed6 The Ionian Epsilon verses around, and in, a core speech**

Most of the oral characteristics of the dramatic roles appear in the characters' speeches. Nevertheless, these speeches are usually embedded in a slightly longer passage, built with the oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. The women weave handicrafts, surrounded by slave women and beautifully embellished furniture. And Achilles receives the emissaries of Agamemnon according to all the rules of hospitality. This does not alter the fact that the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is also often clearly present in the core speeches of the dramatic roles.<sup>11</sup>

#### **Ed7 Fate predictions**

Some dramatic characters make fate predictions,<sup>12</sup> that may or may not be correct. Examples are the fall of Troy and the death of Hektor or Achilles. The latter is well aware that he will die in battle.<sup>13</sup>

#### **Ed8 The judgment of the dramatic characters**

The dramatic characters are often judged by others. Both Helen<sup>14</sup> and Patroklos<sup>15</sup> predict that later generations<sup>16</sup> will sing<sup>17</sup> about them and judge them. Hektor is concerned with the verdict of the Greeks on the shameful behavior of Paris.<sup>18</sup> This oral characteristic is related to 'honor and fame' (Ed19).

#### **Ed9 To preside in, or call for, lament**

Sometimes the lamenting<sup>19</sup> and whining in the dramatic roles fits into a type-scene consisting of presiding<sup>20</sup> in lamentation in mourning the dead. This oral characteristic has grown in importance so much that Andromache even presides in lamentation for Hektor while he is still alive.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Examples: Priam and Helen in the Helen Narrative: *Iliad* III 161, Achilles in the Anger Narrative: *Iliad* IX 307, Priam in the Compassion Narrative: *Iliad* XXII 33. <sup>11</sup>Examples: Achilles receives guests: *Iliad* IX 186-224, Achilles says that Patroklos often prepared a meal, quickly and expertly: *Iliad* XIX 315-317, Andromache, surrounded by slave women, weaves a cloak: *Iliad* XXII 440-442.

<sup>12</sup>Gr. ex.: *μαντευομαι*. <sup>13</sup>Examples: Andromache and her female slaves mourn Hektor while he is still alive: *Iliad* VI 498-502, Achilles says the Greeks will never see the fall of Troy: *Iliad* IX 418-420, Hektor predicts that Achilles will be killed by Paris at the Skaian gate: *Iliad* XXII 358-360.

<sup>14</sup>*Iliad* VI 357-358. <sup>15</sup>*Iliad* XVI 31. <sup>16</sup>Gr. ex.: *οψιγγονος*. <sup>17</sup>Gr. ex.: *αιδιμος*. <sup>18</sup>*Iliad* III 43-45.

<sup>19</sup>Gr. ex.: *γοαω*. <sup>20</sup>Gr. ex.: *ενορνυμι*. <sup>21</sup>Examples: Andromache while Hektor is still alive: *Iliad* VI 499, Achilles presides the Greeks in loud lamentation: *Iliad* XVIII 314-318, Andromache presides the Trojans in lamentation: *Iliad* XXIV 720-724.

#### Ed10 **Special addresses and insults**

The addresses given by the dramatic characters are often insulting or remarkable: ‘you wine sack, with a dog’s eyes, with a deer’s heart,’<sup>22</sup> ‘evil Paris, beautiful, woman-crazy, cajoling,’<sup>23</sup> and ‘nasty bitch evil-intriguing,’<sup>24</sup> are some such titles. As mentioned at Ed2, Andromache even addresses Hektor as a beloved mother. This oral characteristic is related to the multiple addresses (oral characteristic E45) of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.

#### Ed11 **The situation at home of the dramatic characters**

Characters such as Achilles, Helen, and Andromache, who were not born in Troy, regularly refer to their homeland. It was usually better there than in or around wretched Troy.<sup>25</sup>

#### Ed12 **The death wish**

Some characters wish they or others had died<sup>26</sup> or were killed,<sup>27</sup> before a particular event occurred or will occur. Hektor wishes Paris died before he married,<sup>28</sup> Hektor wishes himself dead before Andromache is enslaved,<sup>29</sup> Achilles wishes Briseis died before he kidnapped her,<sup>30</sup> Helen wishes she died before Paris seduced her,<sup>31</sup> Priam wishes his remaining sons dead<sup>32</sup> and says that Achilles may kill him as soon as he can hold Hektor’s corpse in his arms.<sup>33</sup>

#### Ed13 **Mourning, tears, and lament**

The war is one great vale of tears for both the Trojans and the Greeks. We see the characters constantly crying,<sup>34</sup> mourning,<sup>35</sup> and whining.<sup>36</sup> In particular, tears<sup>37</sup> are a valuable characteristic to recognize the dramatic roles.<sup>38</sup>

#### Ed14 **Providing introductory background knowledge**

Thanks to the dramatic roles, the listener gets the necessary background information. For example, about Paris ‘with his beautiful face’, who

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<sup>22</sup>*Iliad* I 225. <sup>23</sup>*Iliad* III 39. <sup>24</sup>*Iliad* VI 344. <sup>25</sup>Examples: Helen fears being taken even further from home: *Iliad* III 400-401, Andromache bemoans her conquered home city: *Iliad* VI 413-424, Achilles wants to go home: *Iliad* IX 357-364. <sup>26</sup>Gr. ex.: θνησκω. <sup>27</sup>Gr. ex.: απολλυμι, θεινω, κατακτενω. <sup>28</sup>*Iliad* III 39-40. <sup>29</sup>*Iliad* VI 464-465. <sup>30</sup>*Iliad* XIX 59-60. <sup>31</sup>*Iliad* VI 345-348. <sup>32</sup>*Iliad* XXIV 253-254. <sup>33</sup>*Iliad* XXIV 224-227. <sup>34</sup>Gr. ex.: γοαω. <sup>35</sup>Gr. ex.: πενθεω. <sup>36</sup>Gr. ex.: αναστεναχω. <sup>37</sup>Gr. ex.: δακρυον. <sup>38</sup>Examples: Andromache speaks weeping to Hektor: *Iliad* VI 405-432, Achilles mourns Patroklos: *Iliad* XVIII 354-355, Priam wails and begs: *Iliad* XXII 33-37.

has manned a ship to kidnap Helen. Or about Aphrodite deceiving Helen, so that the latter now languishes in tears, far from her homeland.<sup>39</sup>

#### Ed15 **The disastrous fate of one's own camp**

The Trojans fear the demise of Troy as the Greeks fear the destruction of their camp. Total destruction is foreseen and lamented by the characters in advance.<sup>40</sup>

#### Ed16 **The upbringing and destiny of the characters**

With what purpose were the characters conceived<sup>41</sup> and what were they raised for?<sup>42</sup> This question is frequently answered in the dramatic roles, especially for Achilles,<sup>43</sup> but also for Paris,<sup>44</sup> Helen,<sup>45</sup> Patroklos,<sup>46</sup> Andromache,<sup>47</sup> and Astyanax.<sup>48</sup> Patroklos and the other Myrmidons suspect Thetis of having raised her son with bile, so ruthlessly Achilles persists in his anger.<sup>49</sup> But Thetis speaks with a Homeric simile, which is rather exceptional in a speech: "He shot up like a young tree, I nurtured him, like a tree grown in the pride of the orchard."<sup>50</sup> Phoinix also recalls the good upbringing that Achilles has received.<sup>51</sup>

#### Ed17 **The distant homeland**

Not only for Achilles,<sup>52</sup> who wants to return to Phthia, the homeland<sup>53</sup> is far away.<sup>54</sup> The same goes for Helen, for example.<sup>55</sup> About Chryseis, Agamemnon says that she will grow old in Argos, far from her land.<sup>56</sup> This oral characteristic is especially apparent in the later Achilles Role, but it can be shown to be already present in the Early Dramatic Role because of its application to Helen.

#### Ed18 **Short, sparse similes, often in speeches**

The Homeric similes in the dramatic roles are shorter and sparser compared with the rest of the *Iliad*, but they appear relatively more often in speeches. The difference in frequency between speech and non-speech is small in the dramatic roles, and especially in the Early Dramatic Role, while it is large for the entire *Iliad*: the average distance between

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<sup>39</sup>Examples: Helen's abduction by Paris: *Iliad* III 46-49, Aphrodite deceiving Helen: *Iliad* III 399, Andromache's origin: *Iliad* VI 413-415. <sup>40</sup>Examples: The Trojans consider Helen a danger to their future: *Iliad* III 159-160, Priam predicts his own disastrous fate: *Iliad* XXII 58-76, Andromache laments the future of herself and of Astyanax: *Iliad* XXII 477-505. <sup>41</sup>Gr. ex.: *τικτω*. <sup>42</sup>Gr. ex.: *τρεφω*, *φυω*. <sup>43</sup>*Iliad* XVI 33-35, *Iliad* XXIV 540-542. <sup>44</sup>*Iliad* III 50-51. <sup>45</sup>*Iliad* VI 344-350. <sup>46</sup>*Iliad* XI 785-788. <sup>47</sup>*Iliad* XXII 477-481. <sup>48</sup>*Iliad* VI 476-481. <sup>49</sup>*Iliad* XVI 203. <sup>50</sup>*Iliad* XVIII 437-438. <sup>51</sup>*Iliad* IX 485-495. <sup>52</sup>*Iliad* IX 363, *Iliad* XXIV 541. <sup>53</sup>Gr. ex.: *πατρα*. <sup>54</sup>Gr. ex.: *τηλοθι*. <sup>55</sup>*Iliad* III 400-401. <sup>56</sup>*Iliad* I 29-30.

Homeric similes in the speeches is 196 verses for the *Iliad*, while for the dramatic speeches it is only 113 verses, and for the early dramatic speeches only 73 verses. Yet, they are scarcer overall, with an average spacing of 87 verses for the dramatic roles, versus an average spacing of 53 for the entire *Iliad*. Complete statistics about the Homeric similes can be found on p. 150.<sup>57</sup>

#### Ed19 **Honor and fame**

The honor<sup>58</sup> and the fame<sup>59</sup> usually refer to Achilles, and thus to the later Achilles Role. Achilles' desire for honor stems from the Narrative Delta fairy tale of Achilles' anger. The Achilles Bard uses it as one of his many repetitions in Achilles' long speeches.<sup>60</sup> Connected with this is the glorification of Achilles, who is called the noblest and most divine of all. Achilles cites Zeus as a reference for this special status.<sup>61</sup> Yet the honor also refers to Hektor<sup>62</sup> within the purely Early Dramatic Role.

#### Ed20 **(Bitter) sorrow**

Bitter<sup>63</sup> sorrow,<sup>64</sup> pain,<sup>65</sup> and calamity<sup>66</sup> are oral characteristics of the dramatic roles that are particularly prominent in the Achilles Role.<sup>67</sup> However, the characteristic already appears within the purely Early Dramatic Role.<sup>68</sup>

#### Ed21 **Respect for the gods**

Mortals should respect the gods and be obedient when they receive oracles. Achilles does not obey men, but when one of the gods descends, he accepts all that is proclaimed to him.<sup>69</sup> Helen<sup>70</sup> and Priam<sup>71</sup> neither dare to disobey when a god descends before them. The passages about the special contact between Achilles and the gods are listed in Appendix 'Achilles' Special Contact With the Gods.'

#### Ed22 **The death of the hero**

Both Hektor and Achilles will die on the battlefield, as fate foresees.

<sup>57</sup>Examples: old Trojan men as crickets: *Iliad* III 151-152, Odysseus' words as snowflakes: *Iliad* III 222, Hektor fresh as dew: *Iliad* XXIV 758. <sup>58</sup>Gr. ex.: τιμη, Διοτρεφης. <sup>59</sup>Gr. ex.: κλεος. <sup>60</sup>*Iliad* IX 319, *Iliad* IX 413. <sup>61</sup>*Iliad* IX 608. <sup>62</sup>*Iliad* VI 446, *Iliad* XIII 827. <sup>63</sup>Gr. ex.: αλγος. <sup>64</sup>Gr. ex.: αχος, κακη, κηδος. <sup>65</sup>Gr. ex.: αλγος. <sup>66</sup>Gr. ex.: πημα. <sup>67</sup>Examples: Agamemnon on Kalchas: *Iliad* I 107, Odysseus to Achilles: *Iliad* IX 229, Achilles on the death of Patroklos: *Iliad* XIX 321. <sup>68</sup>Examples: the sorrow that presses the Trojan women: *Iliad* VI 241, Priam about his sons: *Iliad* XXII 53-55, Priam about Achilles: XXII 422. <sup>69</sup>*Iliad* XVIII 188-190. <sup>70</sup>*Iliad* III 418-420. <sup>71</sup>*Iliad* XXIV 220-224.

This inevitable death is regularly mentioned in the speeches of the dramatic roles.<sup>72</sup>

**Ed23 The fateful day when the mother gave birth to the child**

The dramatic characters all have their ultimate destiny. Achilles is destined for a short life, Priam to see his own people perish, and Andromache to become a slave. Paris and Helen are even destined to be sung by later generations.<sup>73</sup> That destiny<sup>74</sup> is often linked to the day<sup>75</sup> whereupon the mother gave birth to the child.<sup>76</sup> Helen wished she had been swallowed up in the sea that day,<sup>77</sup> Paris says he was not born a coward (or destined<sup>78</sup> to be),<sup>79</sup> and Hekabe fears that Hektor had been ordained since that day by Destiny<sup>80</sup> to saturate the dogs with his flesh after his death.<sup>81</sup> Andromache laments that she and Hektor were born to a single destiny, she in Thebe, he in Troy.<sup>82</sup>

**Ed24 Hektor, who protects Troy all alone**

Hektor is not only an important warrior; without him, Troy is no longer protected.<sup>83</sup> Priam wishes that his sons left after Hektor's death were all killed instead of Hektor. Hektor's son is called Astyanax – savior of the city – because Hektor alone protects Troy.<sup>84</sup>

**Ed25 Artemis killing women with her arrows**

Artemis<sup>85</sup> who kills women with her arrows,<sup>86</sup> is probably an oral characteristic of the Aeolian Gamma Tradition. Yet we see the characteristic appear three times in the *Iliad*, each in a dramatic role.<sup>87</sup>

**Ed26 Your heart is iron**

Three times a character says to another that his heart<sup>88</sup> is of iron:<sup>89</sup> Hektor says it to Achilles,<sup>90</sup> Hekabe to Priam,<sup>91</sup> and Achilles to Priam.<sup>92</sup> Three times it fits within a dramatic role, twice in the Achilles Role (with Hektor and Achilles as speakers). Possibly this oral character-

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<sup>72</sup>Examples: Andromache says Hektor's courage will be his death: *Iliad* VI 407, Achilles says he will die gloriously when he goes to war again: *Iliad* IX 410-416, Priam says Hektor will die if he waits for Achilles: *Iliad* XXII 39-40. <sup>73</sup>*Iliad* VI 357-358. <sup>74</sup>Gr. ex.: *μορος*. <sup>75</sup>Gr. ex.: *ημεαρ*. <sup>76</sup>Gr. ex.: *τικτω*. <sup>77</sup>*Iliad* VI 345-348. <sup>78</sup>Gr. ex.: *μελλω*. <sup>79</sup>*Iliad* XIII 777. <sup>80</sup>Gr. ex.: *Μοιρα*. <sup>81</sup>*Iliad* XXIV 209-211. <sup>82</sup>*Iliad* XXII 477-481. <sup>83</sup>Gr. ex.: *ερωω*. <sup>84</sup>Examples: the Trojans lack Hektor's help: *Iliad* VI 361-362, Astyanax – savior of the city: *Iliad* VI 403, Priam wishes his other sons dead: *Iliad* XXIV 253-254. <sup>85</sup>Gr. ex.: *ιοχειρα* (shooting arrows). <sup>86</sup>Gr. ex.: *ιος*. <sup>87</sup>Examples: Andromache's mother: *Iliad* VI 427-428, Achilles wished Briseis had been killed by Artemis: *Iliad* XIX 59, the daughters of Niobe: *Iliad* XXIV 606. <sup>88</sup>Gr. ex.: *ητορ*, *φρεσι θυμος*. <sup>89</sup>Gr. ex.: *σιδηρεος*. <sup>90</sup>*Iliad* XXII 357. <sup>91</sup>*Iliad* XXIV 205. <sup>92</sup>*Iliad* XXIV 521.

istic stems from the Compassion Narrative, because it also always fits into it.

#### Ed27 **Hate and expressing hate**

The characters in the dramatic roles regularly express very graphically the hatred<sup>93</sup> and the disgust they feel for another person, be it directly or indirectly.<sup>94</sup>

#### Ed28 **You will not persuade me**

The Ionian Epsilon Tradition has a politeness formula (E93) in which someone, when invited to sit down, says: You will not persuade me. This formula is used regularly within the dramatic roles, although usually not in the context of sitting down. It remains unclear where this association comes from. In any case, eight of the thirteen<sup>95</sup> instances of ‘not persuade (me)’<sup>96</sup> in the *Iliad*<sup>97</sup> belong to the dramatic roles, six of which to the Achilles Role. Finally, Priam (in the Achilles Role) also refuses a seat that Achilles offers him,<sup>98</sup> without the phrase ‘not persuade.’ Possibly this formula therefore grew somewhat by accident within the dramatic roles, from the politeness formula not to sit down.<sup>99</sup>

#### Ed29 **Dogs and birds eating a corpse, outside the combat passages**

Dogs<sup>100</sup> and birds<sup>101</sup> or vultures<sup>102</sup> that eat a corpse of a slain warrior are weak characteristics of the dramatic roles, because the War Bard uses them as well. Yet, there is sometimes a lot of emphasis on it in the dramatic roles. As in Priam’s plea to Hektor, in which Priam predicts that his own dogs will eat him. The characteristic also appears in the prologue of the *Iliad*, which is probably composed by the Achilles Bard.<sup>103</sup>

#### Ed30 **Unfortunate, disastrous, doomed**

We find several related terms in the speeches of the dramatic roles for ‘unfortunate,’<sup>104</sup> usually referring to the speaker or the addressee.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>93</sup>Gr. ex.: *εχθρος*. <sup>94</sup>Examples: Achilles hates like the gates of Hades: *Iliad* IX 312, Hekabe wants to clamp Achilles’ liver between her teeth and eat it: *Iliad* XXIV 412-413, the Trojans hate Helen: *Iliad* XXIV 767-771. <sup>95</sup>*Iliad* I 132, V 201, VI 360, IX 315, IX 345, IX 587, XI 647, XII 173, XVII 33, XVIII 126, XXII 56, XXIV 219, and XXIV 433. <sup>96</sup>Gr. ex.: *οὐδε (με) πείσει(ς)*. <sup>97</sup>In the *Odyssey* this formula seems to be hardly ever used. <sup>98</sup>*Iliad* XXIV 553. <sup>99</sup>Examples: Agamemnon to Achilles: *Iliad* I 132, Hektor to Helen: *Iliad* VI 359-360, Achilles to Thetis: *Iliad* XVIII 126. <sup>100</sup>Gr. ex.: *κύνων*. <sup>101</sup>Gr. ex.: *οἰωνός*. <sup>102</sup>Gr. ex.: *γυψ*. <sup>103</sup>Examples: prologue: *Iliad* I 4-5, Priam to Hektor: *Iliad* XXII 42-76, Hekabe to Priam: *Iliad* XXIV 211. <sup>104</sup>Gr. ex.: *δυσστηνος, δυσαμμορος, δυσμορος, ανομορος, δυσαριστοτοκεια*. <sup>105</sup>Examples: Thetis about herself: *Iliad* XVIII 54, Priam about himself: *Iliad* XXII 59-60, Andromache about herself: *Iliad* XXII 477.



### Ed31 **Slave girls**

Although slave women<sup>106</sup> are characteristic of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, it is striking to see how the dramatic characters are constantly being surrounded by slave women within the passages of the dramatic roles. This mainly happens outside the core speeches, but sometimes also within them.<sup>107</sup>

### Ed32 **Reception type-scenes**

Be welcome. Sit down. Enjoy this meal. Spend the night in my house. In the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, there are several type-scenes in which guests are welcomed by the host. The dramatic roles pay special attention to it. This oral characteristic is especially useful outside the speeches. For example, for preparing food for the guests: *Then when he had roasted all, and spread the food on the platters, Patroklos took the bread and set it out on a table in fair baskets, while Achilles served the meats.*<sup>108</sup> Yet, we also find the special attention to hospitality inside the speeches. Nestor tells Patroklos about his reception with Peleus, Achilles' father: *Achilleus sprang up wondering and took us by the hand and led us in, and told us to sit down, and set hospitality properly before us, as is the stranger's right.*<sup>109</sup> When Achilles sits grieving by the corpse of Patroklos, he praises him like this: *There was a time, ill fated, O dearest of all my companions, when you yourself would set the desirable dinner before me quickly and expertly.*<sup>110</sup> Finally, we see that Helen too, in the purely Early Dramatic Role, invites Hektor to sit down.<sup>111</sup>

### Ed33 **The Skaian Gate**

The Skaian Gate,<sup>112</sup> the main entrance to Troy, is an oral characteristic of the Compassion Narrative, and by extension of the entire Narrative Delta Tradition. It may have grown into the dramatic roles from there.<sup>113</sup>

These were the oral characteristics of the Early Dramatic Role. In the next section, three passages are analyzed.

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<sup>106</sup>Gr. ex.: γράνους, δμῶν. <sup>107</sup>Examples: Aphrodite disguises herself as a slave woman of Helen: *Iliad* III 386-388, Hektor asks the slave women where Andromache is: *Iliad* VI 374-375, Andromache orders her female slaves to put a cauldron of water on the fire: *Iliad* XXII 442-443. <sup>108</sup>*Iliad* IX 215-217. <sup>109</sup>*Iliad* XI 776-779. <sup>110</sup>*Iliad* XIX 315-317. <sup>111</sup>*Iliad* VI 354. <sup>112</sup>Gr. ex.: πύλη. <sup>113</sup>Examples: Hektor on his return to Troy: *Iliad* VI 237, Achilles on Hektor: IX 354, Thetis to Hephaistos: *Iliad* XVIII 453, Hektor to Achilles: *Iliad* XXII 360.

## Analyzed Passages of the Early Dramatic Role

According to the *Trojan Cycle*, the Greeks and the Trojans had been fighting for ten years when Achilles' anger began. Still, the next passage makes it seem like the fighters are just meeting each other for the first time. Paris had just fled into the Trojan ranks, as Menelaos came to meet him:

*But<sup>114</sup> Hektor [Ed4] saw him [Ed2] and in words of shame rebuked [Ed1] him: "Evil [Ed10, Ed30] Paris [Ed4], beautiful, woman-crazy, cajoling [Ed10], better had you never been born [Ed23], or killed [Ed12] unwedded [Ed1]. Truly I could have wished it so; it would be far better than to have you with us to our shame [Ed8, Ed19, Ed27], for others to sneer at [Ed1, Ed3, Ed27]. Surely now the flowing-haired Achaians [Ed8] laugh [Ed1] at us, thinking you are our bravest [Ed19] champion, only because your looks are handsome, but there is no strength [Ed19] in your heart, no courage [Ed19]. Were you like this that time when in sea-wandering vessels assembling oarsmen to help you you sailed over the water [Ed14], and mixed with the outlanders [Ed14], and carried away a fair woman [Ed4, Ed5, Ed14] from a remote [Ed17] land, whose lord's kin were spearmen and fighters [Ed19]."*<sup>115</sup>

When Achilles gives up his anger, he chases all the Trojans within the ramparts of Troy, each time killing the last man. When Achilles has nearly reached Troy, he is misled by the god Apollo, who runs in the guise of Agenor in another direction. This gives all surviving Trojans the chance to enter through the gate of Troy in time. Only Hektor is too proud and ashamed to flee into Troy. He waits for Achilles, much to the horror of his father Priam, who watches from the ramparts:

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<sup>114</sup> Drama and emotions (Ed1), the close bond between family members (Ed2), the question of guilt about the Trojan War (Ed3), Achilles, Helen, and other dramatic characters (Ed4), the Narrative Delta fairy tales (Ed5), the judgment of the dramatic characters (Ed8), special addresses and insults (Ed10), the death wish (Ed12), providing introductory background knowledge (Ed14), the distant homeland (Ed17), honor and fame (Ed19), the fateful day when the mother gave birth to the child (Ed23), hate and expressing hate (Ed27), unfortunate, disastrous, doomed (Ed30). <sup>115</sup> *Iliad* III 38-49.

The<sup>116</sup> old man [Ed4] groaned [Ed1, Ed13, Ed20] aloud and with both hands high uplifted beat [Ed1] his head, and groaned [Ed1, Ed13] again, and spoke supplicating [Ed13] his beloved son, who there still in front of the gateway stood fast in determined fury to fight with Achilles [Ed4]. The old man stretching his hands out called pitifully [Ed1] to him: "Hektor [Ed4], beloved child [Ed2, Ed10], do not wait the attack of this man alone, away from the others. You might encounter your destiny [Ed7] beaten down [Ed19, Ed22] by Peleion [Ed5], since he is far stronger [Ed19] than you are. A hard [Ed27] man: I wish he were as beloved of the immortal as loved by me [Ed20]. Soon he would lie dead [Ed12], and the dogs and the vultures [Ed29] would eat him, and bitter sorrow [Ed20] so be taken from my heart [Ed1]. He has made me desolate of my sons [Ed2], who were brave [Ed19] and many. He killed [Ed22] them, or sold them away among the far-lying [Ed14, Ed17] islands." <sup>117</sup>

The moment Priam brings Hektor's corpse into Troy, he is surrounded by all the Trojans who want to mourn Hektor. Hektor's wife Andromache is the first to bemoan him:

Andromache<sup>118</sup> [Ed4] of the white arms led the lamentation [Ed1, Ed9, Ed13] of the women, and held in her arms the head of man-slaughtering Hektor [Ed4]: "My husband [Ed2], you were lost young from life [Ed22], and have left me a widow [Ed2, Ed15] in your house, and the boy is only a baby [Ed2] who was born [Ed14, Ed23] to you and me, the unhappy [Ed30]. I think he will never come of age [Ed7, Ed16], for before then head to heel this city

<sup>116</sup> Drama and emotions (Ed1), the close bond between family members (Ed2), Achilles, Helen, and other dramatic characters (Ed4), the Narrative Delta fairy tales (Ed5), fate predictions (Ed7), special addresses and insults (Ed10), the death wish (Ed12), mourning, tears, and lament (Ed13), providing introductory background knowledge (Ed14), the distant homeland (Ed17), honor and fame (Ed19), (bitter) sorrow (Ed20), the death of the hero (Ed22), hate and expressing hate (Ed27), dogs and birds eating a corpse, outside the combat passages (Ed29). <sup>117</sup> *Iliad* XXII 33-45. <sup>118</sup> Drama and emotions (Ed1), the close bond between family members (Ed2), Achilles, Helen, and other dramatic characters (Ed4), the Narrative Delta fairy tales (Ed5), fate predictions (Ed7), to preside in, or call for, lament (Ed9), special addresses and insults (Ed10), mourning, tears, and lament (Ed13), providing introductory background knowledge (Ed14), the disastrous fate of one's own camp (Ed15), the upbringing and destiny of the characters (Ed16), honor and fame (Ed19), (bitter) sorrow (Ed20), the death of the hero (Ed22), the fateful day when the mother gave birth to the child (Ed23), Hektor, who protects Troy all alone (Ed24), hate and expressing hate (Ed27), unfortunate, disastrous, doomed (Ed30), slave girls (Ed31).

*will be sacked [Ed15, Ed7], for you, its defender [Ed10, Ed19, Ed24], are gone [Ed5, Ed22], you who guarded [Ed24] the city, and the grave wives [Ed2], and the innocent children [Ed2], wives who before long must go away in the hollow ships, and among them I shall also go [Ed7, Ed15], and you, my child [Ed2], follow where I go, and there do much hard work [Ed31] that is unworthy of you [Ed16], drudgery for a hard [Ed27] master; or else some Achaian will take you by hand and hurl you from the tower into horrible death [Ed7, Ed15]."*<sup>119</sup>

This concludes the Early Dramatic Role. Now comes the Late Dramatic Role, which revolves around the character Achilles.

## **The Late Dramatic Role: The Achilles Role**

The Late Dramatic Role – or the Achilles Role – evolved even further from the Early Dramatic Role, which in turn grew out of the cross-fertilization of the Narrative Delta Tradition and the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. The Achilles Role may have been developed by a single bard who specialized in portraying Achilles and his kin during performances with alternate improvisation.

The fact that Achilles' speeches are special has not escaped the notice of other analysts of the *Iliad*. Martin (1989, p. 259) wrote the following about Adam Parry's (1956) article "Language of Achilles":<sup>120</sup>

*Ten years after his "Language of Achilles" paper, Adam Parry had come to see this: "The analysis of formulaic diction shows us that there can be no or very little individual vocabulary and individual combination of single words. Therefore, the individuality which is so obviously there, and so much a part of the poem's greatness, must lie in the juxtaposition of formulae."*

Indeed, as can be seen from the list of oral characteristics in this section, the Achilles Role is not about individual vocabulary or individual combinations of individual words, but rather about oral characteristics that transcend the level of individual words in complexity. That list partly overlaps with other oral scopes and is partly unique to the Achilles Role. Nevertheless,

<sup>119</sup>*Iliad* XXIV 723-736. <sup>120</sup>An important finding of Adam Parry is that Achilles, who opposes the heroic ideal, must abuse the traditional language, because that language has been formed to describe the heroic ideal (Nimis 1986).

given that there is a one-to-one correspondence between the Achilles Role and the Achilles Bard, it is possible that certain linguistic (non-translatable) preferences can be found in the passages improvised by the Achilles Bard. Such preferences are characteristics that escape my working method.

## **The Oral Characteristics of the Achilles Role**

### **Ea1 The Early Dramatic Role**

The Achilles Role is an application of the Early Dramatic Role to the character Achilles. This means that the oral characteristics of the Early Dramatic Role are also oral characteristics of the later Achilles Role. Many of the additional oral characteristics are the application to Achilles of one oral characteristic of the Early Dramatic Role: ‘providing introductory background knowledge’ (Ed14). So we learn about Achilles’ homeland Phthia, about the cities he conquered, about his anger, and so on. Also oral characteristic Ed6, the Ionian Epsilon verses around, and in, a core speech, is an important oral characteristic of the Achilles Role.<sup>121</sup>

### **Ea2 Achilles, his interlocutors, and his relatives**

The Achilles Role mainly revolves around Achilles, but it is also used for other characters. This includes Achilles’ interlocutors (Agamemnon,<sup>122</sup> Priam<sup>123</sup>) and Achilles’ closest relatives (Thetis,<sup>124</sup> Peleus,<sup>125</sup> Patroklos,<sup>126</sup> Phoinix,<sup>127</sup> Nestor<sup>128</sup>).

### **Ea3 Achilles as leader of the Greeks**

In the passages in which Achilles does not give in to his anger, he regularly takes over the leading role of Agamemnon. That is an additional indication to state that the dramatic role of Achilles was voiced by a separate bard. Casting Achilles as the leader allows this bard to increase his impact on the story. After all, the role requires a great talent for improvisation from the Achilles Bard. It is therefore an understandable desire that he also wants to steer the plot on a large scale in most of the alternate improvisations in which he participates. Achilles as leader has a one-to-one correspondence with the Achilles

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<sup>121</sup>Examples: Phthia: *Iliad* IX 439, Achilles conquered Lesbos: *Iliad* IX 664-665, Patroklos about Achilles’ anger: *Iliad* XVI 29-30. <sup>122</sup>*Iliad* I 102-106. <sup>123</sup>*Iliad* XXIV 485. <sup>124</sup>*Iliad* IX 410. <sup>125</sup>*Iliad* XVI 15. <sup>126</sup>*Iliad* XVI 7. <sup>127</sup>*Iliad* IX 432. <sup>128</sup>*Iliad* XI 761.

Role: only the Achilleus Bard uses this oral characteristic and he uses it whenever he can.<sup>129</sup>

#### **Ea4 Picking a fight, even on a meta-level**

According to Agamemnon, Achilleus always longs for quarreling and wars and battles.<sup>130</sup> The Achilleus Bard therefore consistently magnifies the disagreement between Achilleus and other kings. But he does not just do that for the character Achilleus. Also on a meta-level he increases the disagreement with the other alternately improvising bards. Examples of this are a different view of the number of envoys that come to visit Achilleus in *Iliad* IX, the building of the rampart of the Greeks, and the intensity with which he lets Achilleus and the Greeks experience the mourning and revenge for the death of Patroklos in *Iliad* XIX and XXIII.<sup>131</sup>

#### **Ea5 Achilles' respect for, and close contact with, the gods**

By creating a special relationship between Achilleus and the gods, the bards can better interact with each other in their improvisations. In particular, the God Bard can keep the Achilleus Bard in line by intervening. Therefore, Achilleus always obeys<sup>132</sup> the gods. See also the passages in the appendix 'Achilleus' Special Contact With the Gods.'<sup>133</sup>

#### **Ea6 Achilles' anger**

The main theme of our *Iliad* – Achilles' anger<sup>134</sup> toward Agamemnon because of a girl taken from him – is constantly repeated by Achilleus. We do not expect otherwise for the main theme, but Achilleus exaggerates to such an extent with it that we recognize the Achilleus Role in it again.<sup>135</sup>

#### **Ea7 Peleus' mission and Achilles' return to Phthia**

Peleus has sent his son Achilleus to Troy from Phthia,<sup>136</sup> along with Patroklos and Phoinix, and has provided them with wise counsel. Achilleus has promised to return to his homeland, because a number of plans

<sup>129</sup>Examples: Achilleus takes action against the plague: *Iliad* I 54, Achilleus wants all Greeks to fight soberly: *Iliad* XIX 205-207, Achilleus organizes the funeral games for Patroklos: *Iliad* XXIII 257.

<sup>130</sup>*Iliad* I 177. <sup>131</sup>Examples: the number of envoys: *Iliad* IX 182, the rampart of the Greeks: *Iliad* IX 348-350, the mourning for Patroklos: *Iliad* XIX 205-207. <sup>132</sup>Gr. ex.: επιπειθομαι. <sup>133</sup>Examples: Achilleus obeys Athene: *Iliad* I 194-222, Achilleus on a prophecy of Thetis: *Iliad* IX 410, Iris tells Achilleus to rise: *Iliad* XVIII 166-180. <sup>134</sup>Gr. ex.: μηνυς. <sup>135</sup>Examples: Achilleus does not give up his anger: *Iliad* I 224, without gifts Achilleus' anger was justified: *Iliad* IX 523, Patroklos on Achilleus' anger: *Iliad* XVI 30. <sup>136</sup>Mackie 2002.

for the future must be fulfilled. Achilles will protect his father in his old age, he will marry, and prepare his son for kingship. To return or not to return, that is the question. The fate that determines that Achilles will die prematurely conflicts with Achilles' plans for the future.<sup>137</sup>

#### **Ea8 The companions of Achilles**

Achilles is not only in the company of the slave girls captured by himself, but also with comrades<sup>138</sup> dear to him. Patroklos is the most important example. After his death, it is Automedon and Alkimos that he honors most.<sup>139</sup>

#### **Ea9 The woman Achilles will marry in Phthia**

The woman<sup>140</sup> whom Achilles would marry in the future is mentioned in the Achilles Role in several ways: as a gift from Agamemnon to Achilles,<sup>141</sup> as the wife<sup>142</sup> whom Peleus would pick on Achilles' return to Phthia,<sup>143</sup> and as Briseis who would be made the legal wife of Achilles.<sup>144,145</sup>

#### **Ea10 The conquest of many cities by Achilles**

Before his quarrel with Agamemnon, Achilles conquered cities<sup>146</sup> in the vicinity of Troy, taking many slave women in the process. The Achilles Role often reminds us of this. The cities were conquered by the Greeks, but most of the battle was fought at the hands of Achilles.<sup>147</sup>

#### **Ea11 The death of Achilles**

The fate prediction Achilles most often quotes is that he will die<sup>148</sup> in battle.<sup>149</sup> It was an unlucky day when his mother Thetis gave birth to him. As a result, Achilles is doomed to live a short life.<sup>150</sup>

#### **Ea12 Rants and insults**

Rants and insults mainly come from Achilles' mouth toward Agamemnon. But Thersites' insults against Agamemnon and the Greeks

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<sup>137</sup>Examples: Achilles says to return to Phthia: *Iliad* I 169-171, Achilles wants to sail back the next day: *Iliad* IX 359-363, Achilles on his return with Patroklos: *Iliad* XVIII 326-327. <sup>138</sup>Gr. ex.: *εταίρος*. <sup>139</sup>Examples: Achilles and Patroklos at the arrival of the envoys: *Iliad* IX 190, at the arrival of Thetis: *Iliad* XXIV 123, at the arrival of Priam: *Iliad* XXIV 474. <sup>140</sup>Gr. ex.: *γυνή*.

<sup>141</sup>*Iliad* IX 144-147. <sup>142</sup>Gr. ex.: *ακούτις*. <sup>143</sup>*Iliad* IX 393-397. <sup>144</sup>Wright 2016. <sup>145</sup>*Iliad* XIX 297-299. <sup>146</sup>Gr. ex.: *πολεις*. <sup>147</sup>Examples: Achilles who fought most of the battle: *Iliad* I 163-166, Achilles who conquered twelve cities: *Iliad* IX 328-329, Achilles and Patroklos conquering cities: *Iliad* XVIII 342. <sup>148</sup>Gr. ex.: *καταθνησκω, θάνατος* (death). <sup>149</sup>Burgess 2009. <sup>150</sup>Examples: 'no homecoming' as a synonym for dying: *Iliad* IX 412-413, Achilles to Thetis: *Iliad* XVIII 89-96, Hector to Achilles: *Iliad* XXII 358-366.

also show characteristics of the Achilles Role, such as the return journey, the slave girls captured during the conquest of cities, and Achilles' point of view.<sup>151</sup>

**Ea13 Thetis, her prophecies, and her sorrow**

Thetis, Achilles' mother, has an important role in the Achilles Role.<sup>152</sup> She is in direct contact with both Achilles and the supreme god Zeus. Moreover, she is clairvoyant and predicts various things to Achilles, such as that Achilles will die if he participates in the battle. A constant sorrow<sup>153</sup> befell Thetis because of her failed, forced marriage she had as goddess with the mortal Peleus. On top of that comes the misfortune to see that her only son is destined for a short life.<sup>154</sup>

**Ea14 Homeric similes about Achilles**

Of the twenty-nine Homeric similes in the Achilles Role, twelve compare to Achilles himself. Furthermore, the Achilles Role also makes comparisons with the companions, the son,<sup>155</sup> and the horses of Achilles.<sup>156</sup> Achilles compares himself with a bird that feeds its offspring but is itself suffering,<sup>157</sup> and with a boy tending swine.<sup>158</sup>

**Ea15 Repeating what has already happened and what will happen**

In addition to providing background knowledge about what is beyond the narration, the Achilles Role also keeps the audience in the know by regularly repeating what has already happened and what will happen in the narration.<sup>159</sup>

**Ea16 Exaggerated, imaginative representations or similes**

The Achilles Role is occasionally noticed by exaggerated, imaginative representations, similes, or metaphors. Those similes are usually short

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<sup>151</sup>Examples: Achilles insulting: *Iliad* I 223-226, Thersites: *Iliad* II 211-283, Achilles to Odysseus on Agamemnon: *Iliad* IX 330-347. <sup>152</sup>Slatkin (1986) wonders why a second-rate character like Thetis plays such an important role in the *Iliad*. <sup>153</sup>Gr. ex.: *αλγος*. <sup>154</sup>Examples: Thetis conveying a question from Achilles to Zeus: *Iliad* I 393-395, the prophecy of Achilles' fate: *Iliad* IX 410-416, Thetis' sorrow: *Iliad* XVIII 53-55. <sup>155</sup>Beautiful as a god: *Iliad* XIX 327. <sup>156</sup>Fast as Zephyros: *Iliad* XIX 415. <sup>157</sup>*Iliad* IX 323-325. <sup>158</sup>Examples: Achilles shining like the sun: *Iliad* XIX 398, Achilles as a boy tending swine: *Iliad* XXI 282-283, Achilles as a man of substance who marvels at a fugitive: *Iliad* XXIV 480-483. <sup>159</sup>Examples: Achilles tells Thetis what happened: *Iliad* I 364-392, Achilles tells Thetis what happened and that he will die: *Iliad* XVIII 79-93, Achilles to Priam on the past and his future fate: *Iliad* XXIV 517-551.



Homeric similes. Possibly such Homeric similes stem from the Early Dramatic Role.<sup>160</sup>

**Ea17 Hades, Hades' house, and the souls that dwell there**

Hades<sup>161</sup> occurs frequently in the *Iliad*, but mostly as a fossilized expression to say that someone is dying.<sup>162</sup> The Achilleus Bard often puts more emphasis on Hades, Hades' house,<sup>163</sup> and the souls<sup>164</sup> that live there. In any case, Hades is hated by the people.<sup>165</sup>

**Ea18 Ships and tents, but no rampart**

The Narrative Delta fairy tales in which Achilles plays a leading role fit best in a background without sea and ships,<sup>166</sup> but with a rampart<sup>167</sup> and a ditch around the Greek camp. However, the Achilleus Role makes it clear that the *Iliad* has a different background. The Greeks live during the war on their ships and in tents<sup>168</sup> that are set up on the beach. The Trojans try to set the ships on fire to prevent the Greeks from returning. Moreover, the rampart that the Greeks build in *Iliad* VII, and which is discussed frequently in the following chapters, is completely absent for the Achilleus Bard, except for a single dismissive mention.<sup>169</sup>

**Ea19 Digressions, morals, wisdom, and gods**

The Achilleus Bard regularly incorporates digressions with a moral and moralizing wisdom into the speeches he elaborates. Often gods are involved. This leads us to suspect that the Achilleus Bard specialized in improvising digressions, even when they show characteristics of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition. 16,6%, or 460 out of the 2764 verses improvised by the Achilleus Bard, have the characteristics of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition. In contrast, only 9,4%, or 1480 out of the 15688 verses in the *Iliad*, have those characteristics.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>160</sup>Examples: Achilles was raised by the gray sea and the towering rocks: *Iliad* XVI 33-35, Achilles loved Patroklos as his own life: *Iliad* XVIII 81-82, anger compared with honey and smoke: *Iliad* XVIII 109-110, Thetis raised Achilles like a plant in an orchard: *Iliad* XVIII 437-438. <sup>161</sup>Gr. ex.: *Αἰδης*.

<sup>162</sup>Hooper 2021. <sup>163</sup>Gr. ex.: *δωμα* (house). <sup>164</sup>Gr. ex.: *ψυχη*. <sup>165</sup>Examples: Agamemnon hates Hades: *Iliad* IX 158-159, Achilles hates the gates of Hades: *Iliad* IX 312, Patroklos at the gates of Hades: *Iliad* XXIII 74. <sup>166</sup>Gr. ex.: *ναυς*. <sup>167</sup>Gr. ex.: *τειχος*. <sup>168</sup>Gr. ex.: *κλισια*. <sup>169</sup>Examples: no one will harm Kalchas at the ships: *Iliad* I 89, Achilles returns to tents and ships: *Iliad* I 306, Achilles about the rampart of the Greeks: *Iliad* IX 348-350, Patroklos rushes past ships and tents: *Iliad* XI 616, chasing the Trojans away from the ships and tents: *Iliad* XI 802. <sup>170</sup>Examples: Meleager's anger: *Iliad* IX 524-599, Achilles wishes that strife would vanish away from among gods and mortals: *Iliad* XVIII 107-110, the tragedy of Niobe: *Iliad* XXIV 601-619.

## **Ea20 Special addresses of, or facts about, the gods**

The Early Dramatic Role already contained ‘special addresses and insults’ (Ed10). The Achilles Role seems to have applied this to the gods. Apollo is addressed by Chryses as ‘lord of the silver bow who set your power about Chryse and Killa the sacrosanct, who are lord in strength over Tenedos, Smintheus.’<sup>171</sup> Achilles speaks of ‘High Zeus, lord of Dodona, Pelasgian, living afar off, brooding over wintry Dodona, your prophets about you living, the Selloi who sleep on the ground with feet unwashed.’<sup>172</sup> Later Achilles turns to a little-known river god ‘Spercheios’,<sup>173</sup> whom he addresses several times in the second person.

## **Ea21 The slave girls captured by Achilles**

Slave women<sup>174</sup> were already a characteristic of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition and the Early Dramatic Role. Added to the Late Dramatic Role is almost invariably the idea that these female slaves were captured by Achilles in one of the cities in the vicinity of Troy.<sup>175</sup>

## **Ea22 Huge, or overly large treasures**

A portion of exaggeration is not alien to the Achilles Role. The same goes for the treasures<sup>176</sup> and gifts<sup>177</sup> that are mentioned. Chryses’ gifts<sup>178</sup> are ‘beyond count’,<sup>179,180</sup> Achilles speaks of ‘gifts as many as the sand or the dust is’<sup>181</sup> and later of Hektor’s weight in gold.<sup>182</sup>

## **Ea23 Achilles’ many possessions**

Achilleus has much property<sup>183</sup> which he left behind in his homeland Phthia, acquired by his father Peleus. But his ships lying on the Trojan beach are also loaded with possessions: gold, copper, iron, and women. Phthia is also rich in women, of which Achilles wishes to marry one on his return. Achilles plans to show his son Neoptolemos all his possessions on his return to Phthia.<sup>184</sup>

## **Ea24 Achilles who wants to quickly avenge and bury Patroklos**

As soon as Achilles learns of the death of Patroklos, he wants to

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<sup>171</sup>*Iliad* I 37-39. <sup>172</sup>*Iliad* XVI 233-235. <sup>173</sup>*Iliad* XXIII 144. <sup>174</sup>Gr. ex.: δμωη. <sup>175</sup>Examples: Diomedes from Lesbos: *Iliad* IX 664-665, Hekamede from Tenedos: *Iliad* XI 623-624, Briseis from the city of King Mynes: *Iliad* XIX 292-296. <sup>176</sup>Gr. ex.: κειμηλιον. <sup>177</sup>Gr. ex.: δωρον. <sup>178</sup>Gr. ex.: αποιννα. <sup>179</sup>Gr. ex.: απερεισιος. <sup>180</sup>*Iliad* I 13. <sup>181</sup>*Iliad* IX 385. <sup>182</sup>*Iliad* XXII 351-352. <sup>183</sup>Gr. ex.: κτησις. <sup>184</sup>Examples: Achilles challenges Agamemnon to confiscate some of his possessions: *Iliad* I 300-303, Achilles on his possessions in Phthia and in his ships: *Iliad* IX 364-367, Achilles hopes that after his death the Greeks will show his possessions to Neoptolemos: *Iliad* XIX 328-333.

avenge it as soon as possible<sup>185</sup> by killing Hektor and sacrificing twelve Trojans on Patroklos' pyre. He is annoyed by Agamemnon and the other Greeks who first want to arrange all kinds of other things, such as handing over the promised gifts for Achilles<sup>186</sup> and having a meal.<sup>187</sup> Moreover, Achilles does not want to wash as long as Patroklos is not buried.<sup>188,189</sup> Finally, Achilles wants his bones to be collected in the same urn as the bones of Patroklos.

#### Ea25 **Peleus, father of Achilles**

Achilleus often talks about his father<sup>190</sup> Peleus, who has been ill in the homeland of Phthia. Peleus raised Achilleus and Patroklos together. On his marriage to Thetis, Peleus was given armor and horses as a gift from the gods, which he gave to Achilleus.<sup>191</sup> Achilleus has promised him to return, together with Patroklos, showered with fame. If Peleus died, Achilleus and Patroklos would take it hard.<sup>192</sup>

#### Ea26 **The weapons and horses of Achilles**

Achilleus' weapons are unique and difficult to wield. For example, the ash wood Pelias, the spear that Cheiron had once given to Peleus, is too heavy for Patroklos. The horses of Achilles are divine and immortal and can only be controlled by skilled drivers. Xanthos, one of these horses, even prophesies that Achilles will die, at a moment when Hera provides Xanthos with human speech.<sup>193</sup>

#### Ea27 **The safe return to the distant homeland**

The safe<sup>194</sup> return<sup>195</sup> of Achilles<sup>196</sup> is closely related to his return to Phthia. But Chryses also expresses the wish that the Greeks may have a fair homecoming.<sup>197</sup>

#### Ea28 **Agamemnon, hated by Achilles**

Agamemnon naturally appears often in the Achilles Role, since Achilles' anger is against him.<sup>198</sup>

<sup>185</sup>Gr. ex.: τεισαιμεθα λωβην. <sup>186</sup>*Iliad* XIX 147-150. <sup>187</sup>*Iliad* XIX 203-210. <sup>188</sup>Gr. ex.: αθαπτος. <sup>189</sup>*Iliad* XXIII 43-45. <sup>190</sup>Gr. ex.: πατηρ. <sup>191</sup>Wilson 1974. <sup>192</sup>Examples: Peleus will seek a wife for Achilles: *Iliad* IX 394, Achilles and Patroklos taking Peleus' death hard: *Iliad* XVI 15-16, Nestor visits Peleus' court: *Iliad* XI 768-771. <sup>193</sup>Examples: Patroklos dons Achilles' weapons: *Iliad* XVI 130-154, Achilles' horses weep: *Iliad* XVII 426-427, Xanthos predicts Achilles' death: *Iliad* XIX 404-417. <sup>194</sup>Gr. ex.: σωζω. <sup>195</sup>Gr. ex.: οικαδε. <sup>196</sup>Achilleus would sacrifice for his return: *Iliad* IX 357, Achilles' safe return: *Iliad* IX 393. <sup>197</sup>*Iliad* I 19. <sup>198</sup>Examples: Achilles insults Agamemnon: *Iliad* I 223-225, Achilles asks not to show love for Agamemnon: *Iliad* IX 613-614, Achilles about himself and Agamemnon: *Iliad* XIX 56-57.

### Ea29 **Hektor**

Hektor is the only worthy opponent for Achilles on the battlefield. Achilles does not even speak of other Trojans, so much stronger is he. He talks about Hektor all the more often, though mostly to remind that he, Achilles, is even stronger. It seems that the Achilles Bard does not want to leave any doubt that he voices the greatest character of all.<sup>199</sup>

### Ea30 **Patroklos**

Patroklos is an important character for Achilles. In both the Anger Narrative and the Compassion Narrative, the death of Patroklos is the main plot twist in the story, and the reason why Achilles wants to take revenge on Hektor. Especially after the death of Patroklos, Achilles mentions Patroklos very often.<sup>200</sup>

### Ea31 **Apollo**

We have already seen the goddess Artemis appear in the Early Dramatic Role. Her twin brother Apollo also seems to be an oral characteristic of the dramatic roles, or at least of the later Achilles Role. It is an additional indication that the beginning of the *Iliad* was improvised by the Achilles Bard.<sup>201</sup>

### Ea32 **The burning of the Greek (and Achilles') ships**

For the Achilles Bard, the burning down<sup>202</sup> of the Greek ships<sup>203</sup> by the Trojans symbolizes the ultimate failure of the Greeks. The situation is different for Achilles' ships. Achilles is confident that he can drive<sup>204</sup> the Trojans off his ships himself.<sup>205</sup>

## **Analyzed Passages of the Achilles Role**

A number of passages also follow for the Achilles Role in which the oral characteristics are indicated between square brackets. The very first verses of

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<sup>199</sup>Examples: on Hektor in earlier times: *Iliad* IX 351-356, the echoing of Hektor's voice: *Iliad* XVI 77-78, Achilles wants Hektor's head: *Iliad* XVIII 334-335. <sup>200</sup>Examples: Achilles says that Aias fights for the corpse of Patroklos: *Iliad* XVIII 195, Achilles worries about maggots in the corpse of Patroklos: *Iliad* XIX 24, Achilles cries for Patroklos: *Iliad* XXIV 512. <sup>201</sup>Examples: Apollo causing Achilles' anger: *Iliad* I 9, Apollo's seer gift: *Iliad* I 72, the treasures in the temple of Apollo: *Iliad* IX 405, Apollo slaying Patroklos: *Iliad* XVIII 454. <sup>202</sup>Gr. ex.: *καίω*. <sup>203</sup>Gr. ex.: *ναύς*. <sup>204</sup>Gr. ex.: *αμυννῶ*. <sup>205</sup>Examples: once the ships are on fire, it is difficult to save them: *Iliad* IX 601-602, Achilles on the fight for his own ships: *Iliad* XVI 62-63, Achilles sees the ships catch fire: *Iliad* XVI 127-128, the dead Hektor is much softer than the Hektor who sets the ships on fire: *Iliad* XXII 373-374.

the *Iliad* were probably improvised by the Achilleus Bard. This can be seen from the analysis of the first sixteen verses of the *Iliad*:

*Sing,*<sup>206</sup> goddess, the anger [Ea6] of Peleus' [Ea25] son Achilleus [Ea2] and its devastation, which put pains [Ed20, Ea1] thousand-fold upon the Achaians, hurled in their multitudes to the house of Hades [Ea17] strong souls [Ea17] of heroes, but gave their bodies to be the delicate feasting of dogs, of all birds [Ed29, Ea1], and the will of Zeus [Ed21, Ea1] was accomplished since that time when first there stood in division of conflict Atreus' son [Ea28] the lord of men and brilliant Achilleus [Ea2].

What god was it then set them together in bitter collision? Zeus' son and Leto's [Ea31, Ea20], Apollo [Ea31], who in anger at the king drove the foul pestilence [Ed20, Ea1] along the host, and the people perished [Ed20, Ea1], since [Ed14, Ea1] Atreus' son [Ea28] had dishonored [Ed21, Ea1, Ea12] Chryses, priest of Apollo, when he came beside the fast ships [Ea18] of the Achaians to ransom back his daughter [Ed14, Ea1], carrying gifts beyond count [Ea22] and holding in his hands wound on a staff [Ed21, Ea1] of gold the ribbons of Apollo [Ea31] who strikes from afar, and supplicated all the Achaians, but above all Atreus' two sons [Ea28], the marshals of the people.<sup>207</sup>

Later, in *Iliad* IX, Agamemnon tries to reconcile Achilleus by offering him numerous precious gifts. Although Achilleus receives the embassy sent by Agamemnon according to the rules of the guest friendship, his response is inexorable. He refuses the gifts of Agamemnon:

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<sup>206</sup> *Early Dramatic Role*: Providing introductory background knowledge (Ed14), (bitter) sorrow (Ed20), respect for the gods (Ed21), dogs and birds eating a corpse, outside the combat passages (Ed29). *Achilleus role*: The Early Dramatic Role (Ea1), Achilleus, his interlocutors, and his relatives (Ea2), Achilleus' anger (Ea6), rants and insults (Ea12), Hades, Hades' house, and the souls that dwell there (Ea17), ships and tents, but no rampart (Ea18), special addresses of, or facts about, the gods (Ea20), huge, or overly large treasures (Ea22), Peleus, father of Achilleus (Ea25), Agamemnon, hated by Achilleus (Ea28), Apollo (Ea31). <sup>207</sup> *Iliad* I 1-16.

Nor<sup>208</sup> will I marry [Ea9] a daughter of Atreus' son, Agamemnon [Ea28], not if she challenged Aphrodite the golden [E41, Ed6, Ea1] for loveliness, not if she matched the work of her hands [E31, Ed6, Ea1] with gray-eyed Athene; not even so will I marry [Ea9] her; let him pick some other Achaian, one who is to his liking and is kinglier than I am. For if the gods [Ea5] will keep me alive [Ea27], and I win homeward [Ea7], Peleus [Ea25] himself will presently arrange a wife [Ea9] for me. There are many Achaian girls in the land of Hellas [Ed17, Ea1] and Phthia [Ed17, Ea1], daughters of great men who hold strong places in guard. And of these any one that I please I might make my beloved lady [Ea9]. And the great desire in my heart drives me rather in that place [Ed17, Ea1] to take a wedded [Ea9] wife in marriage [Ed14, Ea1, Ea9], the bride of my fancy, to enjoy with her the possessions [Ea23] won by aged Peleus [Ea25]. For not worth the value of my life [Ea11] are all [Ea22] the possessions they fable were won for Ilion, that strong-founded citadel, in the old days when there was peace, before the coming of the sons of the Achaians [Ed14, Ea1]; not all [Ea22] that the stone [E2, Ed6, Ea1] doorsill of the Archer [Ea20] holds fast within it, of Phoibos Apollo [Ea20, Ea31] in Pytho of the rocks.<sup>209</sup>

The main oral characteristics in this passage are the woman Achilles would marry (Ea9), exaggeratedly large treasures (Ea22), and Achilles' possessions (Ea23).

Not only Achilles, but also Achilles' relatives are regularly featured in the Achilles Role. In the following passage, Patroklos talks to Achilles:

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<sup>208</sup> *Generic Epsilon characteristics:* The materialism (E2), the woman, weaving and surrounded by slave women (E31), precious metals (E41). *Early Dramatic Role:* The Ionian Epsilon verses around, and in, a core speech (Ed6), providing introductory background knowledge (Ed14), the distant homeland (Ed17). *Achilles role:* The Early Dramatic Role (Ea1), Achilles' respect for, and close contact with, the gods (Ea5), Peleus' mission and Achilles' return to Phthia (Ea7), the woman Achilles will marry in Phthia (Ea9), the death of Achilles (Ea11), special addresses of, or facts about, the gods (Ea20), huge, or overly large treasures (Ea22), Achilles' many possessions (Ea23), Peleus, father of Achilles (Ea25), the safe return to the distant homeland (Ea27), Agamemnon, hated by Achilles (Ea28), Apollo (Ea31). <sup>209</sup> *Iliad* IX 388-405.

But<sup>210</sup> you, Achilles [Ea2]; who can do anything with you [Ed26, Ea1]? May no such anger take me [Ea2] as this that you cherish [Ed1, Ea1]! Cursed courage [Ed30, Ea1]. What other man born hereafter [Ed8, Ea1] shall be advantaged unless you beat [Ed19, Ea1] aside from the Argives this shameful destruction? Pitiless [Ed26, Ea1]: the rider Peleus [Ea25] was never your father [Ed2, Ed14, Ea1] nor Thetis [Ea13] was your mother [Ed2, Ed14, Ea1], but it was the gray sea [Ed18, Ea1, Ea14] that bore [Ed16, Ea1] you and the towering rocks [Ed18, Ea1, Ea14], so sheer the heart in you is turned from us [Ed26, Ea1]. But if you are drawing back from some prophecy [Ea5] known in your own heart and by Zeus' will [Ea5] your honored mother [Ed2, Ea13] has told you of something [Ea13], then send me [Ea2] out at least, let the rest of the Myrmidon people follow me, and I may be a light given to the Danaäns.<sup>211</sup>

This concludes the Achilleus Role section. The next section is about the God Role.

## The God Role

A third role that seems indispensable to explain the *Iliad* through alternate improvisation, is the God Role. This role is used by the God Bard. The God Role can easily be found by comparing the passages in which the gods appear in the *Iliad*. Nevertheless, this is a useful exercise. For example, we learn that

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<sup>210</sup> *Early Dramatic Role*: Drama and emotions (Ed1), the close bond between family members (Ed2), the judgment of the dramatic characters (Ed8), providing introductory background knowledge (Ed14), the upbringing and destiny of the characters (Ed16), short, sparse similes, often in speeches (Ed18), honor and fame (Ed19), your heart is iron (Ed26), unfortunate, disastrous, doomed (Ed30). *Achilleus Role*: The Early Dramatic Role (Ea1), Achilles, his interlocutors, and his relatives (Ea2), Achilles' respect for, and close contact with, the gods (Ea5), Thetis, her prophecies, and her sorrow (Ea13), Homeric similes about Achilles (Ea14), Peleus, father of Achilles (Ea25). <sup>211</sup> *Iliad* XVI 29-39.

this role has been applied to the *Odyssey* to a much lesser extent.<sup>212</sup> Moreover, this way we can sharpen the transitions between the different alternately improvising bards.

## **The Oral Characteristics of the God Role**

As with the previous oral scopes, first a description with examples of each oral characteristic follows, and then some analyzed passages.

### **Eg1 Gods**

The role of the God Bard is to portray the gods,<sup>213</sup> so we find at least one god in every passage of the God Bard.<sup>214</sup> The reverse is not true: not every passage in which a god appears has been improvised by the God Bard. Gods appear in all five Homeric oral traditions.<sup>215</sup>

### **Eg2 The Ionian Epsilon Tradition**

The God Bard uses most of the oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, with the exception of those that do not apply to the gods. In addition, many of the passages in which the Ionian Epsilon Tradition appears in its purest form are passages improvised by the God Bard. This makes it sometimes difficult to distinguish the oral characteristics of the God Bard from those of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. The *Odyssey* can serve as an arbiter: if we do find an oral characteristic in the god passages of the *Iliad*, but not outside of it and not in the *Odyssey*, then there is a good chance that it is not an oral characteristic of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, but rather one of the God Role.<sup>216</sup>

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<sup>212</sup>At one of the few god meetings in the *Odyssey*, *Odyssey* V 1-191, I find the following oral characteristics: gods (Eg1), the Ionian Epsilon Tradition (Eg2), Zeus, the supreme leader (Eg7), the sacrifices and prayers for the gods (Eg9), the great differences in strength between the gods (Eg10), the journey to or from the Olympos, often in a simile (Eg12), the docility to Hera and Zeus (Eg16), the darlings of the gods (Eg19), the tops of mountains (Eg22), Hera (or Zeus) sending an obedient god (Eg28), which god are you? Who sent you? Why are you coming? (Eg31), recognizing the gods (Eg39), gold and precious metals (Eg40), Kronos, Rhea, Okeanos, Tartaros, Hades, Styx, and Herakles (Eg42). This shows that the God Role was traditional. Still, there could have been more oral characteristics in such a long passage. For example, the palace of the gods on Olympos (Eg3) and (almost) literal repetitions of Zeus' (or Hera's) words (Eg6) are missing. <sup>213</sup>Gr. ex.: *θεος*. <sup>214</sup>Willcock (1970) describes aspects of how the gods in the *Iliad* are used. <sup>215</sup>Examples: Athene pacifies Achilles: *Iliad* I 194-222, Hera and Athene want to break Zeus' prohibition: *Iliad* VIII 343-484, the gods want to free Hektor's corpse: *Iliad* XXIV 18-121. <sup>216</sup>Examples: the gods feast on Olympos: *Iliad* I 596-611, Hera helps the Greeks by deceiving Zeus: *Iliad* XIV 135-362, Hephaistos warmly welcomes Thetis: *Iliad* XVIII 356-427.



**Eg3 The palace of the gods on Olympus**

Passages that take place in the palace (or house<sup>217</sup>) of the gods on Olympus are probably attributable exclusively to the God Bard. The other bards of our alternately improvised *Iliad* do not enter this domain.<sup>218</sup>

**Eg4 The gods watching the warriors from a mountain**

The gods have a sharp sight. They can watch the fighters on the battlefield at Troy<sup>219</sup> from the Olympus. Nevertheless, Zeus travels to Mount Ida to follow the battle more closely.<sup>220</sup>

**Eg5 The position of the gods on the fall of Troy**

The gods are divided into two camps: those who want to overthrow Troy and those who support the Trojans. This division regularly shows up in the actions of the gods and in their mutual conversations.<sup>221</sup>

**Eg6 (Almost) literal repetitions of Zeus' (or Hera's) words**

When Zeus, and once Hera, sends someone out with a message, moments later that message is repeated almost literally by the god who has been sent. Only the perspective ('I command' versus 'Zeus commands') needs to be adjusted.<sup>222</sup>

**Eg7 Zeus, the supreme leader**

In many passages of the gods, Zeus is mentioned, for example as the commanding god, or the god whose will must be respected.<sup>223</sup> Zeus is stronger<sup>224</sup> than all the other gods combined.<sup>225</sup>

**Eg8 The family relations and the relations between the gods**

The God Bard regularly seizes the opportunity to pass on the family bonds and other relationships between the gods to the audience. For

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<sup>217</sup>Gr. ex.: *δομος*. <sup>218</sup>Examples: *Iliad* IV 1, *Iliad* XIV 166, *Iliad* XV 85. <sup>219</sup>Gr. ex.: *καθοραω*.

<sup>220</sup>Examples: Athene sees the Greeks die from Olympus: *Iliad* VII 17-19, Zeus arrives at the Ida and looks out over Troy and over the Greek ships: *Iliad* VIII 47-52, Poseidon follows the battle from a mountaintop of Thracian Samos: *Iliad* XIII 10-14, Hera sees Poseidon fighting from Olympus: *Iliad* XIV 153-156. <sup>221</sup>Examples: Hera fears that Zeus wants the Trojans to triumph: *Iliad* I 551-559, Zeus says that Troy is his most beloved city: *Iliad* IV 44-49, Zeus predicts that he will overthrow Troy: *Iliad* XV 70-71. <sup>222</sup>Examples: Zeus gives the deceptive Dream a message for Agamemnon: *Iliad* II 11-15 ≈ *Iliad* II 23-33 ≈ *Iliad* II 60-70, Zeus sends Iris with a message to Hera and Athene: *Iliad* VIII 401-408 ≈ VIII 415-420 + VIII 423-424, Zeus sends Iris with a message to Hektor: *Iliad* XI 187-194 ≈ *Iliad* XI 202-209. <sup>223</sup>Pucci 2018. <sup>224</sup>Gr. ex.: *καρτιστος*. <sup>225</sup>Examples: Zeus leads the gods back to Olympus: *Iliad* I 495, Zeus warns the gods of his omnipotence: *Iliad* VIII 1-27, Poseidon warns Hera that Zeus is much stronger: *Iliad* VIII 208-211, Hera says Zeus is much more powerful: *Iliad* XV 104-109.

example, Hera is the wife and sister of Zeus at the same time. Some gods are also parents or ancestors of heroes on the battlefield.<sup>226</sup>

**Eg9 The sacrifices and prayers for the gods**

The people regularly make offerings<sup>227</sup> on altars<sup>228</sup> that are dedicated to a particular god and they pray<sup>229</sup> also to the gods. The gods in turn attach great importance to this.<sup>230</sup>

**Eg10 The great differences in strength between the gods**

It is especially Zeus who is the strongest<sup>231</sup> among the other gods. Yet, as can be seen from the battle between the gods in *Iliad* XXI (the Theomachy), there are also great differences in strength between the other gods. The gods assisting the Greeks are generally much stronger than the gods in the Trojan camp.<sup>232</sup>

**Eg11 The quarrel between Hera and Zeus**

Of all the gods who want to thwart Zeus, Hera is the boldest.<sup>233</sup> Therefore, the God Bard lets Zeus and Hera quarrel continuously, especially about the fate of Troy. That division over Troy extends over all the gods. Zeus is the most powerful god assisting Troy, while Hera is the most powerful on the Greek side. References are also made to the past when Zeus and Hera quarreled over the fate of Herakles.<sup>234</sup>

**Eg12 The journey to or from the Olympos, often in a simile**

According to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, the gods reside on Mount Olympos. The God Bard likes to mention this, especially when a god travels to or from Olympos. Remarkably, about this act, the travel or

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<sup>226</sup>Examples: the relationship between Hera and Zeus: *Iliad* IV 54-64, the division of power between Zeus, Poseidon and Hades: *Iliad* XV 182-199, the gods on the wedding of Thetis and Peleus: *Iliad* XXIV 58-66. <sup>227</sup>Gr. ex.: εκατομβη. <sup>228</sup>Gr. ex.: βωμος. <sup>229</sup>Gr. ex.: ευχομαι. <sup>230</sup>Examples: Zeus says that the Trojans often sacrifice to him: *Iliad* IV 48-49, Poseidon complains that the Greeks build a wall without sacrificing: *Iliad* VII 446-450, the sacrificial altar of Zeus: *Iliad* VIII 48, Hektor offered many thigh pieces of oxen to Zeus: *Iliad* XXII 169-172. <sup>231</sup>Gr. ex.: καρτιστος. <sup>232</sup>Examples: Zeus claims to be stronger than all the other gods combined: *Iliad* VIII 10-29, Poseidon has to admit that Zeus is mightier: *Iliad* XV 179-217, the Theomachy: *Iliad* XXI 379-513. <sup>233</sup>Pirenne-Delforge and Pironti (2022) investigate Hera as enemy and wife of Zeus. <sup>234</sup>Examples: Hera accuses Zeus of not disclosing his plans: *Iliad* I 539-543, the gods would all be on the side of Hera: *Iliad* II 30-33, Hera is accustomed to always opposing the word of Zeus: *Iliad* VIII 407-408, Zeus on his eternal quarrel with Hera: *Iliad* XV 13-34.

flight of a god, at least six times<sup>235</sup> a Homeric simile has been made, each time in a passage best ascribed to the God Bard.<sup>236</sup>

**Eg13 Iris, the messenger**

Iris probably stems from the European Beta Tradition, in which she had the role of summoning warriors to combat and ushering in a new phase in the war.<sup>237</sup> Her name is in any case similar to that of the other war gods, Ares and Eris. With the God Bard, we find Iris in a role that has evolved further. She is the messenger of the gods who is sent out to men as well as gods.<sup>238</sup>

**Eg14 The desire of Hera and Athene to overthrow Troy**

It is especially Hera and Athene who are most eager to bring down Troy. Yet, eventually all Olympian gods choose a side in the war between the Greeks and the Trojans.<sup>239</sup>

**Eg15 Divine concepts, often in duo**

We owe most of the examples of divine concepts in the *Iliad* to the God Bard. We find evil Dream, Terror, Hatred, Battle Strength, Onslaught, Gorgon, Love, Desire, Night, Sleep and Death. Often they are listed in groups of two or more, such as Fear and Terror, Love and Desire, Sleep and Death, and Terror, Hatred, Battle Strength, Onslaught, and Gorgon.<sup>240</sup>

**Eg16 The docility to Hera and Zeus**

Especially Zeus, but also Hera, have the power to give orders to other gods. Zeus wished that he and Hera would be of one accord and that the other gods would follow them both.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>235</sup>*Iliad* IV 74-78, *Iliad* V 864-867, *Iliad* XIII 62-65, *Iliad* XV 79-83, *Iliad* XV 236-238, and *Iliad* XXIV 80-82. <sup>236</sup>Examples: Aphrodite wants to return to Olympos: *Iliad* V 359-369, Athene descends from the peaks of Olympos to Troy: *Iliad* VII 17-20, Hera's journey to Troy via Thrace: *Iliad* XIV 225-230. <sup>237</sup>Leight (2011) emphasizes the association between Iris and water and heaven.

<sup>238</sup>Examples: Iris accompanies Aphrodite: *Iliad* V 353-368, Iris brings a message from Zeus to Hera and Athene: *Iliad* VIII 398-425, Zeus wants to send Iris and Apollo as messengers: *Iliad* XV 55-56.

<sup>239</sup>Examples: Hera's plea to overthrow Troy: *Iliad* II 30-32, Hera recruited warriors to overthrow Troy: *Iliad* IV 26-28, Apollo on the desire of Athene and Hera to overthrow Troy: *Iliad* VII 27-32, the desire of Poseidon, Athene, Hera, Hermes and Hephaistos to overthrow Troy: *Iliad* XV 213-217.

<sup>240</sup>Examples: evil Dream: *Iliad* II 8, Terror, Hatred, Battle Strength, Onslaught, and Gorgon: *Iliad* V 739-741, Gorgon and Ares: *Iliad* VIII 348-349, Love and Desire: *Iliad* XIV 198, Sleep and Death: *Iliad* XIV 231 and *Iliad* XVI 672, Night: *Iliad* XIV 261, Fear and Terror: *Iliad* XV 119. <sup>241</sup>Examples: If Zeus and Hera agree, the other gods will follow: *Iliad* IV 62-64, Zeus says that Poseidon would follow him and Hera: *Iliad* XV 49-52, Iris obeys a command from Hera: *Iliad* XVIII 166-168.

**Eg17 Zeus casting gods on earth**

When the almighty Zeus gets angry, the other gods had better be submissive. Zeus threatens to throw them out of the abode on Olympos, and has already done so in the past.<sup>242</sup>

**Eg18 Atypical digressions**

The digressions that the God Bard makes are almost always myths about the gods (oral characteristic A54) and have neither the compact style of the other digressions, nor a clear intro and closure. They are more of a natural part of the direct speech of the character making the digression. Besides A54, these digressions show few characteristics of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition, unlike the digressions that the other bards make. A complete overview of all digressions of the God Bard can be found in the appendix ‘Digressions of the God Bard.’

**Eg19 The darlings of the gods**

Many gods have one or more favorites on the battlefield. Often it is a son or a descendant, or a warrior who brings them many sacrifices.<sup>243</sup>

**Eg20 The special contact between Achilleus and the gods**

Although the special contact between Achilleus and the gods is mainly an oral characteristic of the Achilleus Role (Ea5), this oral characteristic also influences the improvisations of the God Bard here and there.<sup>244</sup>

**Eg21 Staying in the sea and diving from or in the waves**

Most of the important gods reside on Olympos, but a few dwell in the depths of the sea. They are then reported to dive out of or into the sea and the waves, instead of traveling to or from the Olympos (Eg12).<sup>245</sup>

**Eg22 The tops of mountains**

The gods have a preference for the tops of high mountains. They live there, sit on them as a lookout, or travel along them.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>242</sup>Examples: Zeus throws Hephaistos on Lemnos: *Iliad* I 590-593, Zeus threatens to throw the gods into Tartaros: *Iliad* VIII 10-16, Zeus threw down Hera’s helpers: *Iliad* XV 16-25. <sup>243</sup>Examples: Aineias, who is most beloved to Aphrodite: *Iliad* V 377-378, Askalaphos, the beloved son of Ares: *Iliad* XV 112-116, Sarpedon, the darling and son of Zeus: *Iliad* XVI 433-438. <sup>244</sup>Examples: Achilleus knows that he must obey the gods: *Iliad* I 216-217, Zeus speaks of his promise to Achilleus: *Iliad* XV 72-78, Thetis must bring Achilleus a message from Zeus: *Iliad* XXIV 71-76. <sup>245</sup>Examples: Thetis emerges from the waves: *Iliad* I 496, Poseidon rides the waves: *Iliad* XIII 15-34, Poseidon dives into the sea: *Iliad* XV 219. <sup>246</sup>Examples: Zeus sits on the highest peak of Olympos: *Iliad* I 498-499, Zeus sits on the top of Ida: *Iliad* XI 183, Poseidon sits high on a mountaintop of Thracian Samos: XIII 12-14, Hera travels over the highest peaks: *Iliad* XIV 225-229.

**Eg23 Imperishability and immortality**

The attributes of the gods are imperishable<sup>247</sup> and immortal.<sup>248,249</sup> That last term, ‘immortal’, is used as a petrified expression to refer to ‘god’. But if immortality is emphasized in any other way, it is likely to be a passage of the God Bard.<sup>250</sup>

**Eg24 The Aeolian Gamma Tradition**

The relationships between the gods, their hatred or love for Troy, and the way they interact with each other and with humans probably stem in large part from the Aeolian Gamma Tradition. So it should come as no surprise that the God Bard regularly uses the oral characteristics of the Aeolian Gamma Tradition.<sup>251</sup>

**Eg25 Chariots as a means of transport for the gods**

Like the human warriors, the gods also have chariots.<sup>252</sup> Their horses have bronze hooves and gold manes. They are served divine food.<sup>253</sup>

**Eg26 Nectar and ambrosia**

Nectar<sup>254</sup> and ambrosia<sup>255</sup> are the drink and the food of the gods, but they are also used as ointments to care for the bodies of gods and mortals.<sup>256</sup> So it is no wonder that the God Bard mentions them regularly.<sup>257</sup>

**Eg27 Gods that have pain and incurable wounds**

Since the gods are immortal, there is only one method of teaching them a lesson: incurable<sup>258</sup> pain<sup>259</sup> and injuries.<sup>260,261</sup> Paiëon,<sup>262</sup> the physician of the gods, can help them with pain-relieving herbs.<sup>263</sup>

**Eg28 Hera (or Zeus) sending an obedient god**

The God Bard regularly uses a type-scene in which Hera, or sometimes Zeus, sends out another god. In addition, it is occasionally mentioned

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<sup>247</sup>Gr. ex.: αγγραος. <sup>248</sup>Gr. ex.: αθανατος. <sup>249</sup>Andersen 1981. <sup>250</sup>Examples: the aegis of Athene is inviolable and eternal: *Iliad* II 447, the immortal blood flows from Aphrodite’s arm: *Iliad* V 339, Hades heals from his wound because he is immortal: *Iliad* V 402. <sup>251</sup>Examples: the gods discuss the fate of Troy: *Iliad* IV 1-74, Diomedes and Herakles fight the gods: *Iliad* V 330-415, Apollo washes and anoints Sarpedon: *Iliad* XVI 666-683. <sup>252</sup>Gr. ex.: διφρος. <sup>253</sup>Examples: Aphrodite asks for Ares’ horses: V 363-369, Zeus’ horses with gold manes: VIII 41-46, Poseidon’s horses in his undersea palace: XIII 23-38. <sup>254</sup>Gr. ex.: νεκταρ. <sup>255</sup>Gr. ex.: αμβροσιη. <sup>256</sup>Zanni 2008. <sup>257</sup>Examples: Hebe gives nectar to the gods: *Iliad* IV 2-3, Hera’s horses eat ambrosia: *Iliad* V 776, Hera washes with ambrosia: *Iliad* XIV 171. <sup>258</sup>Gr. ex.: ανηκεστος. <sup>259</sup>Gr. ex.: αλγος. <sup>260</sup>Gr. ex.: ελκος. <sup>261</sup>Andersen (1981) argues that even the immortality of the Olympian gods is not entirely certain. <sup>262</sup>*Iliad* V 401, *Iliad* V 899-900. <sup>263</sup>Examples: Aphrodite is severely tormented by pain: *Iliad* V 352, Athene may punish Ares with grim pains: *Iliad* V 763-765, ten-year wounds: *Iliad* VIII 404-405.

that the sent god is not disobedient<sup>264</sup> and the one to whom the god has been sent sometimes asks who has sent out the god. The gods sent out are Iris, Athene, Hera, Apollo, Thetis, or the wind gods. In the *Odyssey*, it is Hermes who is sent in a rare passage<sup>265</sup> with the characteristics of the God Bard.<sup>266</sup>

#### Eg29 **Hebe**

The goddess Hebe relates to the gods like a human slave to the nobility. She gives nectar to the gods, harnesses their horses, or gives them a bath.<sup>267</sup>

#### Eg30 **The aegis, the shield, and the helm of Death of Athene**

Particular attributes with which Athene goes into battle are the ghostly aegis<sup>268,269</sup> with fluttering straps, her shield, and the helm of Death.<sup>270</sup> Yet, Apollo also uses the aegis to fight the Greeks.<sup>271</sup>

#### Eg31 **Which god are you? Who sent you? Why are you coming?**

When a god gets to a human or other god, the person or god visited often asks a number of questions, such as: Which god are you? Who sent you? Why did you come?<sup>272</sup>

#### Eg32 **Clothing woven by Athene**

The noble women weave their own clothing<sup>273</sup> in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Translated to the gods, this means that Athene, the goddess of crafts, also weaves clothing.<sup>274</sup>

#### Eg33 **The Hours**

The Hours,<sup>275</sup> or the Seasons, are mentioned a number of times in the passages of the God Bard. Especially in a type-scene about gods leaving or returning with their chariots on Olympus. They are also the guardians of the gates of heaven. Poseidon also speaks of the changing

<sup>264</sup>Gr. ex.: *απιθεω*. <sup>265</sup>*Odyssey* V 1-54. <sup>266</sup>Examples: Hera sent Athene to Achilleus: *Iliad* I 194-208, Hera sends Athene, who was not disobedient, to Odysseus: *Iliad* II 156-167, Hera sends Athene to Diomedes: *Iliad* V 710-793, Zeus sends Hera, who was not disobedient, to the other gods: *Iliad* XV 54-79. <sup>267</sup>Examples: Hebe pours nectar to the gods: *Iliad* IV 2, Hebe harnesses Hera's horses: *Iliad* V 730, Hebe bathes Ares: *Iliad* V 905. <sup>268</sup>Gr. ex.: *αιγίς*. <sup>269</sup>Watkins (2000) traces the origin of the aegis to the Hittites. <sup>270</sup>Gr. ex.: *Αιδος κυνέην*. <sup>271</sup>Examples: divine concepts on the aegis of Athene: *Iliad* V 738-742, Zeus tells Apollo to drive out the Greeks with the aegis: *Iliad* XV 229-230, the ghostly aegis of Athene: *Iliad* XXI 400-401. <sup>272</sup>Examples: Achilleus to Athene: *Iliad* I 201-203, Apollo to Athene: *Iliad* VII 24-27, Zeus to Hera: *Iliad* XIV 297-298, Achilleus to Iris: *Iliad* XVIII 182. <sup>273</sup>Gr. ex.: *πεπλος*. <sup>274</sup>Examples: Athene takes off the cloth she has woven herself: *Iliad* V 734-735 and *Iliad* VIII 385-386, Hera puts on a cloth that Athene has woven: *Iliad* XIV 178-179. <sup>275</sup>Gr. ex.: *Ωρα*.

Seasons who announced the time for the labor of Poseidon and Apollo to be paid.<sup>276</sup>

**Eg34 Gods who shake the Olympos or the earth**

The mightiest gods, Zeus, Hera, and Poseidon, sometimes make Olympos or the earth tremble in their actions. Poseidon is also known as the shaker of the earth.<sup>277</sup>

**Eg35 Athene, urged to what she had already desired**

A type-scene of the God Bard with a fixed formula is that of Zeus urging Athene to do something that she herself wanted to do anyway. Then follows the formula: ‘Speaking so he stirred up Athene, who was eager before this.’<sup>278</sup>

**Eg36 The god who does not keep a blind watch**

A special expression is used for a god who does not keep *blind watch*.<sup>279</sup> It means that the god was on the lookout and springs into action because of the events he sees.<sup>280</sup>

**Eg37 Being hidden in a mist**

An oral characteristic of the God Bard that probably stems from the Aeolian Gamma Tradition, is to shroud something or someone in a thick mist.<sup>281,282</sup>

**Eg38 The counseling god**

In addition to fighting on the battlefield, the gods can also assist their favorite warriors with advice.<sup>283</sup> When Zeus orders that the gods should

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<sup>276</sup>Examples: the type-scene of the Hours opening the gates of heaven: *Iliad* V 749-751 and *Iliad* VIII 393-395, the Hours harness the horses of Hera and Athene: *Iliad* VIII 433, Poseidon on the changing seasons: *Iliad* XXI 450. <sup>277</sup>Examples: Zeus’ head nod makes Olympos tremble: *Iliad* I 529-530, an impatient movement of Hera makes Olympos tremble: *Iliad* VIII 199, Olympos trembles as Zeus sits down on his throne: *Iliad* VIII 443, the forest and the great mountains tremble under Poseidon’s step: *Iliad* XIII 18-19. <sup>278</sup>Examples: Athene wants to have the treaty between the Greeks and the Trojans violated: *Iliad* IV 73, Athene wants to feed Achilleus: *Iliad* XIX 349, Athene wants to assist Achilleus: *Iliad* XXII 186. <sup>279</sup>Gr. ex.: αλαοσκοπία. <sup>280</sup>Examples: Apollo sees Athene helping Diomedes: *Iliad* X 515, Poseidon sees Zeus is no longer attentive: *Iliad* XIII 10, Poseidon sees that the wounded Greeks return to battle: *Iliad* XIV 135. <sup>281</sup>Gr. ex.: ὄνηρ. <sup>282</sup>Examples: Ares and his chariot are hidden behind a wall of nebula: *Iliad* V 356, Zeus wraps his horses in a thick nebula: *Iliad* VIII 49-50, Zeus shrouds himself and Hera in a dense nebula: *Iliad* XIV 342-344. <sup>283</sup>Kechagias and Antoniou (2019) examine Athene as a leader and mentor in the Homeric texts.

stop fighting, Athene gets permission from Zeus that she may still give advice to the Greeks.<sup>284</sup>

**Eg39 Recognizing the gods**

Another oral characteristic that probably stems from the Aeolian Gamma Tradition (G18), is the recognition<sup>285</sup> of a god by a human.<sup>286</sup> When the god takes the form of a human being, recognition usually only occurs when the god flies away.<sup>287</sup>

**Eg40 Gold and precious metals**

Precious metals (E41) is an oral characteristic of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Yet, gods are especially often associated with precious metals, and in particular with gold.<sup>288</sup>

**Eg41 Smile, laugh, laugh loudly, sneer, laugh at, and tease**

Although laughter is also an oral characteristic of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition (E82), the God Bard uses it extra often, and in all forms that laughter can take.<sup>289</sup> For example, the Homeric laughter at the end of *Iliad I* must have been improvised by the God Bard. We also regularly see teasing, especially by Zeus.<sup>290</sup>

**Eg42 Kronos, Rhea, Okeanos, Tartaros, Hades, Styx, and Herakles**

A number of proper names are found more often with the God Bard in comparison with other passages: Kronos, Rhea, Okeanos, Tartaros, Hades, Styx and Herakles. Herakles then deals with the relationship between Herakles and the Olympian gods.<sup>291</sup>

**Eg43 An introduction according to the European Beta Tradition**

When the God Bard takes over from the War Bard, he sometimes improvises some more verses that have the hallmarks of the European Beta

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<sup>284</sup>Examples: Athene advises Achilles not to use violence against Agamemnon: *Iliad* I 206-207, Athene gets permission from Zeus that she can still advise the Greeks: *Iliad* VIII 36-40, Hera agrees to persuade Poseidon with her advice: *Iliad* XV 45-46. <sup>285</sup>Gr. ex.: γιγνώσκω. <sup>286</sup>Turkeltaub (2007) describes how humans perceive the gods. <sup>287</sup>Examples: Achilles immediately recognizes Athene: *Iliad* I 199-200, Odysseus recognizes the voice of Athene: *Iliad* II 182, Diomedes says he recognizes Athene: *Iliad* V 814-815, Aias realizes that the semblance of Kalchas is an Olympian god: *Iliad* XIII 68-70. <sup>288</sup>Examples: the gods are gathered on the golden pavement: *Iliad* IV 2, the chariot of Athene is made of gold, silver, bronze and iron: *Iliad* V 720-731, the golden attributes of Zeus: *Iliad* VIII 41-43, manes streaming of gold: *Iliad* XIII 23-25. <sup>289</sup>Bell (2007) deals with humor and laughter in the *Iliad*. <sup>290</sup>Examples: Hera's smile and the Homeric laughter among the gods: *Iliad* I 595-600, Zeus smiles at Athene: *Iliad* VIII 38, Hera laughs with her lips, but not with her forehead: *Iliad* XV 101-103. <sup>291</sup>Examples: Zeus threatens to throw the gods into Tartaros: *Iliad* VIII 13, Herakles and the Styx: *Iliad* VIII 363-369, Hera says she wants to see Okeanos, the origin of the gods: *Iliad* XIV 302.



Tradition. Yet those verses often also partly show the characteristics of the God Bard.<sup>292</sup>

**Eg44 An overwhelmingly loud voice or call**

The gods are also superior to humans in voice. Sometimes the gods call<sup>293</sup> with an overwhelmingly loud voice in the passages of the God Bard.<sup>294</sup>

**Eg45 Addressing with ‘impudent’ or ‘audacious’**

The gods do not fail to insult each other regularly. In particular, they often blame each other for being impudent,<sup>295</sup> rude,<sup>296</sup> or reckless.<sup>297, 298</sup>

**Analyzed Passages of the God Role**

Here again a number of analyzed passages follow, annotated with the oral characteristics of the analyzed oral scope – the God Role. After the duel between Paris and Menelaos, in which Aphrodite saved Paris’ life by carrying him away to his bedroom, the gods hold a meeting on Olympos:

*Now<sup>299</sup> the gods [Eg1] at the side of Zeus [Eg7] were sitting in council over the golden [Eg40] floor [Eg3], and among them the goddess Hebe [Eg29] poured them nectar [Eg26] as wine, while they in the golden [Eg40] drinking-cups drank to each other, gazing [Eg4] down on the city of the Trojans. Presently the son of Kronos was minded to anger Hera [Eg11], if he could, with words offensive [Eg41], speaking to cross [Eg41] her: “Two among the goddesses stand by Menelaos [Eg19], Hera of Argos [Eg9], and*

<sup>292</sup>Examples: Diomedes wounds Aphrodite: *Iliad* V 330-351, the Greeks flee over the ditch and the sharp stakes: *Iliad* VIII 343-349, Zeus leaves the warriors to the hard work and sorrow of fighting: *Iliad* XIII 1-2, the Trojans flee over the ditch and the sharp stakes: *Iliad* XV 1-3. <sup>293</sup>Gr. ex.: αὐω.

<sup>294</sup>Examples: Hera calls with the voice of Stentor: *Iliad* V 783-785, Ares screams as loud as nine or ten thousand men of pain: *Iliad* V 859-861, Poseidon utters a battle cry, as loud as nine or ten thousand men: *Iliad* XIV 147-151, Achilleus and Athene frighten the Trojans with their shrill cry: *Iliad* XVIII 217-221. <sup>295</sup>Gr. ex.: νεμεσιζέται ουδε. <sup>296</sup>Gr. ex.: χολω. <sup>297</sup>Gr. ex.: απτοεπης.

<sup>298</sup>Examples: Poseidon calls Hera reckless: *Iliad* VIII 209, Iris calls Athene a bold brazen wench and audacious: *Iliad* VIII 421, Zeus calls Hera shameless: *Iliad* VIII 483, Hera calls Aphrodite a dogfly: *Iliad* XXI 421, Hera calls Artemis a shameless hussy: *Iliad* XXI 481. <sup>299</sup>Gods (Eg1), the palace of the gods on Olympos (Eg3), the gods watching the warriors from a mountain (Eg4), the position of the gods on the fall of Troy (Eg5), Zeus, the supreme leader (Eg7), the sacrifices and prayers for the gods (Eg9), the great differences in strength between the gods (Eg10), the quarrel between Hera and Zeus (Eg11), the desire of Hera and Athene to overthrow Troy (Eg14), the darlings of the gods (Eg19), nectar and ambrosia (Eg26), Hebe (Eg29), gold and precious metals (Eg40), smile, laugh, laugh loudly, sneer, laugh at, and tease (Eg41).

*Athene who stands by her people [Eg5, Eg9, Eg14]. Yet see, here they are sitting apart [Eg10], looking [Eg4] on at the fighting, and take their pleasure. Meanwhile laughing [Eg41] Aphrodite forever stands by her man [Eg19] and drives the spirits of death away from him [Eg5].”<sup>300</sup>*

In this passage, the great difference in power between Zeus and the other gods (Eg10) is thematic, allowing Zeus to tease Hera and Athene with their powerlessness. Another important oral characteristic is that of the darlings (Eg19). These two oral characteristics are also found in the following passage, in which Zeus has just sent Hera to the other gods to remind them not to take part in battle:

*The<sup>301</sup> lady Hera [Eg1] spoke so and sat down [E23, Eg2], and the gods [Eg1] about the house [Eg3] of Zeus [Eg7] were troubled [Eg10]. Hera was smiling [Eg41] with her lips, but above the dark brows her forehead was not at peace. She spoke before them all [Eg1] in vexation: “Fools, we who try to work against [Eg11] Zeus [Eg7], thoughtlessly. Still we are thinking in our anger to go near, and stop him by argument or force [Eg10]. He [Eg7] sits apart and cares nothing nor thinks of us [Eg10], and says that among the other immortals [Eg23] he is pre-eminently the greatest in power and strength [Eg10]. Therefore each of you must take [Eg16] whatever evil he sends you [Eg10]. Since I think already a sorrow has been wrought against Ares [Eg1]. His son [Eg8] has been killed in the fighting, dearest [Eg19] of all men to him, Askalaphos, whom stark Ares [Eg1] calls his own son [Eg8].”<sup>302</sup>*

In the final chapter of the *Iliad*, we see Achilles desecrating Hektor’s corpse by dragging it around Patroklos’ grave. Apollo, pitying Hektor and the Trojans, proposes to the gods to do something about the situation, and to call Achilles to order. After these words of Apollo, this passage follows:

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<sup>300</sup> *Iliad* IV 1-11. <sup>301</sup> *Generic Epsilon characteristic*: Etiquette and courtesy (E23). *God Role*: gods (Eg1), the Ionian Epsilon Tradition (Eg2), the palace of the gods on Olympos (Eg3), Zeus, the supreme leader (Eg7), the family relations and the relations between the gods (Eg8), the great differences in strength between the gods (Eg10), the quarrel between Hera and Zeus (Eg11), the docility to Hera and Zeus (Eg16), the darlings of the gods (Eg19), imperishability and immortality (Eg23), smile, laugh, laugh loudly, sneer, laugh at, and tease (Eg41). <sup>302</sup> *Iliad* XV 100-112.

Then<sup>303</sup> bitterly Hera [Eg1] of the white arms answered him, saying: “What you have said could be true, lord of the silver [Eg40] bow [Eg1], only if you give Hektor [Eg19] such pride of place as you give to Achilles [Eg19]. But Hektor was mortal [Eg23], and suckled at the breast of a woman [Eg23], while Achilles is the child of a goddess [Eg1], one whom I myself nourished [Eg18, Eg8] and brought up and gave her as bride [Eg8] to her husband Peleus, one dear to the hearts of the immortals [Eg23], for you all went, you gods [Eg1], to the wedding [E38, Eg2]; and you too feasted [E38, Eg2] among them and held your lyre [E32, Eg2], O friend of the evil [Eg8], faithless forever [Eg5, Eg14].” In turn Zeus [Eg7] who gathers the clouds spoke to her in answer [Eg11]: “Hera, be not utterly angry with the gods [Eg1], for there shall not be the same pride [Eg16] of place given both. Yet Hektor also was loved [Eg19] by the gods [Eg1], best of all the mortals in Ilion. I loved [Eg19] him too. He never failed of gifts [Eg9] to my liking. Never yet has my altar [Eg9] gone without fair sacrifice [Eg9], the smoke and the savor of it, since that is our portion of honor.”<sup>304</sup>

## The War Role

In addition to bards who specialized in one of the dramatic roles or the God Role, we also need bards who devoted themselves to the war passages for the analysis of the *Iliad* with regard to alternate improvisation. The oral characteristics they used are those of the European Beta Tradition and, to a lesser extent, the Aeolian Gamma Tradition. Still, I would like to point out in this section that the war bards used fixed patterns here and there. These patterns consist of a series of oral characteristics that normally do not form a cluster, but which do occur together in a certain key passage of the *Iliad* or the *Trojan Cycle*. That key passage and its coincidental oral characteristics are then memorized to a greater extent, so that they appear elsewhere in the *Iliad* as a cluster. This is the case to such an extent that the Paphlagonian

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<sup>303</sup> *Generic Epsilon characteristics*: Muses and Apollo with the lyre (E32), feasts and the preparation of meals (E38). *God Role*: Gods (Eg1), the Ionian Epsilon Tradition (Eg2), the position of the gods on the fall of Troy (Eg5), Zeus, the supreme leader (Eg7), the family relations and the relations between the gods (Eg8), the sacrifices and prayers for the gods (Eg9), the quarrel between Hera and Zeus (Eg11), the desire of Hera and Athene to overthrow Troy (Eg14), the docility to Hera and Zeus (Eg16), the darlings of the gods (Eg19), imperishability and immortality (Eg23), gold and precious metals (Eg40).

<sup>304</sup> *Iliad* XXIV 55-70.

Pylaimenes is used as a living character in *Iliad* XIII (643 and 658), while in *Iliad* V (576) he was already killed. Such pattern passages also allow speculation about variants of the key passage from which they stem.

### **Pattern Formation of the Battle for the Corpse of Patroklos**

One of the peculiarities of the *Iliad* is that Menelaos and Antilochos are often in close proximity to each other. I have provided an explanation for this with the reconstruction of the Narrative Delta fairy tale about Achilles' anger (Blondé 2021, p. 41-73.). Menelaos and Antilochos play a similar role in it, namely that of the inexperienced youth who commits great deeds on the battlefield. The battle over the corpse of Patroklos in *Iliad* XVII is an important passage in the Anger Narrative in which Menelaos and Antilochos play a key role. Menelaos is one of the most important fighters in the battle for Patroklos' corpse, though he must go behind the lines to relay the news of Patroklos' death to Antilochos. The latter was ordered by Nestor not to fight in front,<sup>305</sup> and he is also the one who informs Achilles of the death of Patroklos. Furthermore, it appears from our *Iliad* that the armor that Patroklos wore, namely that of Achilles, was stolen by Hektor. The corpse of Patroklos and the horses of Achilles, on the other hand, were saved by the Greeks.

It follows from an analysis of three passages in the *Iliad* that a pattern of oral characteristics has formed around this key passage in the Anger Narrative. Two passages are found far outside *Iliad* XVII, namely *Iliad* V 561-589 and *Iliad* XIII 383-659, while the third passage does belong to *Iliad* XVII: *Iliad* XVII 456-542. The oral characteristics of the pattern are the following:

1. Antilochos and Menelaos
2. Leaving the front row and coming back
3. Passing armor, a corpse, or a wounded to friends
4. Aineias and an attack from Aineias
5. Getting or requesting help from another fighter
6. Turning or driving horses back into or from the front lines
7. Protecting and rescuing corpses from the hands of the enemy
8. Dragging corpses by the limbs

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<sup>305</sup> *Iliad* XVII 378-383.

9. Following closely, around or near a chariot
10. Dust<sup>306</sup> and lying stretched in the dust
11. Consecutive deaths on both sides
12. Scratching with fingers in the dust<sup>307</sup>
13. Meriones
14. Lifting armor, a corpse, or a wounded on a chariot
15. Pylaimenes, the Paphlagonian

From this pattern we can draw conclusions about the variants of the battle for the corpse of Patroklos at the time of the fixation of our *Iliad*. Meriones may also have played the role of an inexperienced youth who proves himself in battle. And possibly the Greeks managed to lift Patroklos along with his armor into Achilles' chariot and save him this way. Finally, it becomes clear that the role Aineias plays in *Iliad* XVII is not coincidental.

### **Pattern Formation of Achilles' Taunts**

More evidence of pattern formation is found in three passages, all three of which occur in the Compassion Narrative, when Achilles ruthlessly slaughters the Trojans. Each time Achilles taunts a slain Trojan. To begin with, there is the death of Lykaon. This passage is best preserved from the Narrative Delta Tradition:

*Achilleus caught him by the foot and slung him into the river to drift, and spoke winged words of vaunting derision over him: "Lie there now among the fish, who will lick the blood away from your wound, and care nothing for you, nor will your mother lay you on the death-bed and mourn over you, but Skamandros will carry you spinning down to the wide bend of the salt water. And a fish will break a ripple shuddering dark on the water as he rises to feed upon the shining fat of Lykaon."*<sup>308</sup>

This passage fits well into the Compassion Narrative, because of the character Lykaon, the river, and the reference to weeping and caring on the deathbed. When Asteropaios is killed, we read:

<sup>306</sup>Gr. ex.: κονια. <sup>307</sup>Gr. ex.: κονιησι πεσων ελε γαιαν αγοστω, κονιος δεδραγμενος. <sup>308</sup>*Iliad* XXI 120-127.

*Springing upon his chest Achilles stripped his armor away and spoke in triumph above him: "Lie so: it is hard even for those sprung of a river to fight against the children of Kronos, whose strength is almighty. You said you were of the generation of the wide-running river, but I claim that I am of the generation of great Zeus."*<sup>309</sup>

This is what Achilles says to Asteropaios, who, because of the two spears Asteropaios carried, also fits well into the Compassion Narrative. Losing a spear and being left unarmed is also thematic in it. Achilles also slew a certain Iphition, son of Otrynteus, whose mother was a river nymph:

*Great Achilles vaunted above him: "Lie there, Otrynteus' son, most terrifying of all men. Here is your death, but your generation was by the lake waters of Gyge, where is the allotted land of your fathers by fish-swarming Hyllos and the whirling waters of Hermos."*<sup>310</sup>

Each of the three passages contains the same pattern:

1. vaunting words
2. there you lie
3. you are dead
4. your parents
5. a river with fish

This pattern stems from a Compassion passage in the Narrative Delta Tradition, and has become petrified in the improvisations of war bards who work in the European Beta Tradition. Yet we see that the Aeolian Gamma Tradition has also strongly influenced this pattern. We find the following oral characteristics of the Aeolian Gamma Tradition: Gamma-specific proper names (G2), Achilles (G4), the environment of Troy (G10), the mixture with the European Beta Tradition (G12), local nature gods and nymphs (G13), eponyms (G15), injuries (G17), rivers (G19), taking care of the dead and wounded (G28), immersing a body in a river or the sea (G31), nymphs and gods as one's mother or father (G38), corpses that are often mutilated (G40), and lineages to an ancestor (G42). As for the rest of *Iliad* XXI, the presence of the Aeolian Gamma Tradition is probably due to its association with Achilles and the river.

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<sup>309</sup>*Iliad* XXI 182-187. <sup>310</sup>*Iliad* XX 388-392.

## Pattern Formation of an Archer Attack

A third pattern deals with the interaction between Diomedes and a cowardly archer (Paris or Pandaros). This pattern has been discussed in the book on the Narrative Delta Tradition (Blondé 2021, p. 110-112). It is derived from a passage of the Helen Narrative. The pattern can be found in *Iliad* V 280-287 and *Iliad* XI 376-392 and has the following characteristics:

1. Diomedes is the terror of all Trojans.
2. An archer attacks Diomedes.
3. Archer: “You are hit.”
4. Archer: “I achieve great fame among the Trojans.”
5. Diomedes answers *not frightened*.<sup>311</sup>
6. Diomedes: “This wound is not deadly. I do not count this.”
7. Diomedes’ spear is deadly.

This concludes the chapter on the specialized roles. The next chapter deals with the fixation of the *Iliad* tradition and the question of whether this happened through alternate improvisation.

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<sup>311</sup> *Iliad* V 286 = *Iliad* XI 384 = τον δ' ου ταρβησας προσεφη κρατερος Διομηδης.

## Chapter 4

# The Alternate Improvisation of Our *Iliad*

In this chapter, the assumption is examined that the *Iliad* came into fixed form thanks to an alternate improvisation of master bards. This improvisation was either memorized immediately by a team of memorizers, or written down immediately – and without delay – by a team of writers. A combination of memorization and writing is of course also possible. The basic idea of alternate improvisation is that a few bards alternated during improvised performances and thus together formed the plot of the story. They may have used a scepter to determine who was speaking and possibly asked for the floor by means of a show of hands. One theoretical possibility is that a pointer determined who spoke, although that does not seem to apply to our *Iliad*. Furthermore, it remains an open question whether an audience was involved during the fixation of our *Iliad*.

### The Master Bards and Their Specialties

The simplest theory for our *Iliad* requires four master bards, each with their own specialties. Those four bards are the Achilles Bard, the Narrative Bard, the War Bard, and the God Bard. Their specialties are the distinct Homeric oral traditions, but also the Early and Late Dramatic Role, the God Role, and the *Iliad* tradition. The *Iliad* tradition refers to the idea that the *Iliad* was already roughly fixed: the merging of the three Narrative Delta fairy tales, the chapters that are more strongly colored by the Aeolian Gamma Tradition, who dies and who stays alive, and also the passages of the Narrative Delta



fairy tales that have petrified into fixed patterns in the War Role. This gives the following picture of the main specialties of the four bards:

- The Achilles Bard: The Late Dramatic Role, the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition and the Ionian Epsilon Tradition
- The Narrative Bard: The Early Dramatic Role, the *Iliad* Tradition, the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition, the Narrative Delta Tradition, and the Ionian Epsilon Tradition
- The War Bard: the *Iliad* tradition, the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition, the European Beta Tradition, the Aeolian Gamma Tradition, and the many proper names of warriors
- The God Bard: the God Role, the Aeolian Gamma Tradition, and the Ionian Epsilon Tradition

It is important to emphasize that these are the *main* specialties of these four bards. The bards must all have had some knowledge of the other specialties. After all, all bards perform in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, although not all use all Epsilon characteristics. Their use of Homeric similes is also very similar.

There are also some exclusions: the Narrative Bard and the Achilles Bard make little or no use of the Aeolian Gamma Tradition, while the Achilles Bard also almost never improvises according to the European Beta Tradition and the Narrative Delta Tradition. The Narrative Bard can distinguish between improvising with or without the Early Dramatic Role, while the Achilles Bard always uses the Late Dramatic Role (the Achilles Role). The Achilles Bard is also the only one to use the Achilles Role. The Early Dramatic Role – pure, without the Late Dramatic Role – is also used almost exclusively by the Narrative Bard, except for the question of guilt (Ed3), which is also answered by others.

The Achilles Bard seems to be less concerned than other bards about all kinds of ancient material that should be covered at a certain place in the text according to an *Iliad* tradition. He improvises mainly on the basis of the Achilles Role and the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Although the Narrative Bard often makes use of the Ionian Epsilon characteristics, he does so to the extent that the Narrative Delta Tradition and the Ionian Epsilon Tradition overlap. The Narrative Bard therefore almost always integrates old material that stems from the Narrative Delta Tradition.

If this analysis of the *Iliad* is successful, we must almost accept the hypothesis that the *Iliad* is too rich in oral traditions, oral characteristics, and oral scopes for a single bard to handle. On the other hand, the War Bard also has a very rich oral scope. Yet the other bards remain indispensable to match the level of our *Iliad*.

## **The Division of Our *Iliad* Into Twenty-Four Chapters**

All editions of the *Iliad*, young or old, agree on the division of our *Iliad* into twenty-four chapters and the twenty-three breaking points that go with it. Yet, it remains fodder for discussion<sup>1</sup> when this division was created. Many, including Bitto (2019), believe that the division was made by the Alexandrian editors (3rd century BC), while others trace it back to the origin of our *Iliad* (Heiden 1998). It is probably no coincidence that the number of chapters in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* – twenty-four – corresponds to the number of letters in the Greek alphabet.

It is therefore not a bad idea to examine the relationship between the number twenty-four and the oral traditions. In it, the numbers three, nine, and twelve appear as oral characteristics (A27, G32, and E79). The number of suitors in the *Odyssey* is 108, which is equal to two to the second power times three to the third power. So it seems that the Homeric oral traditions had a preference for numbers consisting only of the prime factors two and three. The number twenty-four – two to the third power times three – also fits into this picture. We may thus surmise that both the number of chapters in the *Iliad* and the number of letters in the Greek alphabet are due to the numerological preferences of the oral traditions known in the Homeric era.

In any case, the theory that the division is connected with the origin of the *Iliad* fits best with my findings about an alternate improvisation. Fifteen of the twenty-three chapter transitions are accompanied by a transition to another master bard. Of the eight other transitions, the Narrative Bard keeps improvising five times, the War Bard two times, and the God Bard one time. This seems to be compatible with the hypothesis that with each new chapter a random master bard starts improvising, regardless of whose turn it is at the end of the previous chapter. In addition, alternate improvisation requires good planning, which is already partly realized by division into chapters.

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<sup>1</sup>See the overviews made by de Jong (1996, p. 21-22), Skafte-Jensen (1999, p. 6-10), and Heiden (2000, p. 247-248).

In addition, Heiden's (1998) analysis that the chapter transitions are not random at all is very convincing. The analysis is twofold: scenes that precede a chapter transition have little or no influence on the flow of the narration, while scenes that follow a chapter transition have immediate effects and persist until at least 400 verses further into the narration. Every transition of that type is a chapter transition, and every chapter transition is of that type. An analysis cannot be much more compelling. The twenty-three chapter transitions must therefore have been made during the recording of our *Iliad*.

Because many Homeric scholars hold to the idea that *Iliad* X, the Doloneia, was not part of the original *Iliad*, they are forced to assume that the division into twenty-four chapters is of an even later date. However, I see no good reason to believe that the Doloneia was not improvised by the Narrative Bard.

## **A Hypothesis: the Improvisation Principle**

The following hypothesis – the improvisation principle – deserves special attention: the cooperating bards tried to make it seem as much as possible that their performances were improvised, both by making it difficult for themselves during the improvisation and by preparing difficult plot twists together in advance. In an era when the oral tradition evolved from improvisation to memorization, this was probably a quality feature appreciated by the audience.

Alternate improvisation is itself the most important example of a phenomenon that satisfies the improvisation principle. The bards were able to display their ability to improvise by responding to the idiosyncrasies of the other bards' improvisations. The number of possible unexpected plot twists increases substantially as the number of bards with different specialties increases. As a result, the audience gets to hear something different during each performance with alternate improvisation, which provides proof that the poems are improvised.

A second phenomenon is that each cooperating bard holds his own keys to unexpectedly change the context: the War Bard can cause an important character to die, the God Bard can or cannot allow the gods to join the battle through a command of Zeus, the Achilles Bard can suddenly have Achilles invoke one of the gods, such as Athene or Thetis, and the Narrative Bard can have the wall of the Greeks be built at an unexpected moment. The wall of the Greeks can also be removed again by the God Bard, for example by

Apollo who smooths the plain again. Furthermore, the Achilleus Bard also makes a distinction between the context in which Achilles sits resentfully, and the context in which Achilles can take all kinds of initiatives. The War Bard undergoes these plot twists and has to improvise to adapt to the situation: whether or not he can use gods and whether or not there is a wall. As for Achilles' initiatives by the Achilleus Bard, it is mainly the Narrative Bard who has to resist, because according to his specialty it is Agamemnon, Nestor, and Odysseus who take the lead.

## **Alternative Improvisation: a Systematic Investigation**

In this section, the characteristics of alternate improvisation are examined for each of the twenty-four chapters. Those characteristics are most evident in three locations – at the end of *Iliad* XIII, in *Iliad* XIX, and at the beginning of *Iliad* XXIII. The analysis is inescapable at these three locations. For the rest of the *Iliad*, I have merely conducted a systematic investigation into whether alternate improvisation is a tenable hypothesis. The verse transitions associated with this research can be found in Appendix 'Alternate Improvisation.' In total, there are 186 seams in the *Iliad* (187 atomic passages), of which 178 are bard changes and 8 chapter transitions with the same bard continuing to speak. The Achilleus Bard accounts for 43 atomic passages (with a total of 3038 verses), the God Bard 49 (2585 verses), the War Bard 41 (5518 verses), and the Narrative Bard 54 (4547 verses).

### ***Iliad* I: Introduction to the Master Bards**

The first 194 verses of the *Iliad* must have been improvised by the Achilleus Bard. Already in the seven introductory verses, we find several characteristics of the Achilleus Role: the anger of Achilles (Ea6), the sorrow (Ea1, Ed20), Hades and the souls in it (Ea17), dogs and birds outside a combat passage (Ea1, Ed29), in addition to Achilles (Ea2) and Agamemnon (Ea28).

What is very remarkable about those first 194 verses of the Achilleus Bard is that it is Achilles who summons the Greeks when they are hit by the plague:

*On the tenth [day] Achilles called the people to assembly; a thing put into his mind by the goddess of the white arms, Hera.<sup>2</sup>*

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<sup>2</sup>*Iliad* I 54-55.

Normally, that task is reserved for the supreme leader Agamemnon. Only the Achilleus Bard gives Achilles such extra capacities. At the transition at verse I 194 we read the following:

*So he spoke. And the anger came on Peleus' son, and within his shaggy breast the heart was divided two ways, pondering whether to draw from beside his thigh the sharp sword, driving away all those who stood between and kill the son of Atreus, or else to check the spleen within and keep down his anger. Now as he weighed in mind and spirit these two courses and was drawing from its scabbard the great sword, ...*

*... Athene descended from the sky.*<sup>3</sup>

In this way the Achilleus Bard incorporates a passage improvised by the God Bard. Among other things, the God Bard makes Achilles ask who sent Athene, which is a typical characteristic of the God Role. The Achilleus Bard gets the floor again. However, he quickly gives up the word in the following way:

*Thus spoke Peleus' son and dashed to the ground the scepter studded with golden nails, and sat down again ...*

*... But Atreides raged still on the other side, and between them Nestor the fair-spoken rose up ...*<sup>4</sup>

Achilles throwing down the scepter is the signal for the Narrative Bard to take over the narration. This can be recognized, among other things, by the phrase 'in the council (D2) and in the war (D10),' which is a typical opposition (D4) of the Narrative Delta Tradition. This transition with the dropped scepter increases the chance that the master bards pass a scepter to determine who is speaking.

Moments later, the disagreement between the Achilleus Bard and the Narrative Bard emerges for the first time, which will become one of the common threads in the analysis of the alternate improvisation. The Narrative Bard has Agamemnon respond to Nestor's attempt at mediation as follows:

*Yes, old sir, all this you have said is fair and orderly. Yet here is a man who wishes to be above all others, who wishes to hold power over all, and to be lord of all, and give them their orders, yet I think one will not obey him.*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup>*Iliad* I 188-195. <sup>4</sup>*Iliad* I 245-247. <sup>5</sup>*Iliad* I 286-289.

In doing so, the Narrative Bard criticizes the Achilleus Bard's idea of having Achilleus summon the Greeks in *Iliad* I 54-55, instead of Agamemnon. The Achilleus Bard interrupts the Narrative Bard as follows:

*Then looking at him darkly brilliant Achilleus answered<sup>6</sup> him:  
“So must I be called of no account and a coward if I must carry  
out every order you may happen to give me. Tell other men to do  
these things, but give me no more commands.”<sup>7</sup>*

Then the Achilleus Bard elaborates a short passage based on Achilleus' possessions (Ea23). This is an example of how the different bards respond to the idiosyncrasies in each other's improvisations. In any case, the bards made it seem as if they were improvising. Yet it is likely that the four master bards had performed together so often that little had to be improvised.

At the end of *Iliad* I (verse 604) we find a direct hint that our *Iliad* may have come about by means of alternate improvisation: the Muses sing in turn.<sup>8</sup>

## ***Iliad* II: A Scepter and Overlapping Oral Scopes**

At the beginning of *Iliad* II, between verses 45 and 46, we see another example of a transition, namely from the God Bard to the Narrative Bard, that occurs through the taking up of a scepter. In the preceding verses, the God Bard uses the Ionian Epsilon Tradition for dressing (E9, E61) Agamemnon. After that comes the Narrative Bard with a time indication (D17), heralds (D14), and a meeting (D2), in addition to the scepter (D36) itself. This again increases the chance that the performing bard held a scepter in the alternate improvisation.

Not only the words of Achilleus take shape thanks to the Achilleus Role. In *Iliad* II there is Thersites who, like Achilleus, scolds Agamemnon. He ends his speech as follows:

*Let us go back home in our ships, and leave this man here by  
himself in Troy to mull his prizes of honor that he may find out  
whether or not we others are helping him. And now he has dis-  
honored Achilleus, a man much better than he is. He has taken  
his prize by force and keeps her. But there is no gall in Achilleus'*

<sup>6</sup>interrupt:  $\nu\pi\omicron\beta\lambda\eta\delta\eta\nu$ . <sup>7</sup>*Iliad* I 292-296. <sup>8</sup>Gr.:  $\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\beta\omega$ .

*heart, and he is forgiving. Otherwise, son of Atreus, this were your last outrage.”*<sup>9</sup>

This is Achilles’ point of view, but brought by a different character. Sailing back home is also a characteristic of the Achilles Role (Ea7, Ea27).

At the end of *Iliad* II, at the enumerations of the Greek and Trojan forces, the War Bard takes on a tough memory task. All alone, he makes sure that the many proper names of warriors are no longer used after they die, and that the dying warriors are introduced only once.

When the War Bard arrives at Achilles and the Myrmidons in the list of the Greek forces, he briefly passes the word to the Achilles Bard. Also between the enumerations of the Greeks and the Trojans another bard improvises, namely the Narrative Bard.

### ***Iliad* III: A Chapter for the Narrative Bard**

*Iliad* III is completely improvised by the Narrative Bard. He makes use of the Early Dramatic Role for the first time, as here by Hektor:

*“Evil Paris, beautiful, woman-crazy, cajoling, better had you never been born, or killed unwedded. Truly I could have wished it so; it would be far better than to have you with us to our shame, for others to sneer at.”*<sup>10</sup>

It is, among other things, from answering the question of guilt (Ed3) – the question through whose fault the Trojan War originated – that we recognize the Early Dramatic Role. There are also the special addresses and insults (Ed10), the disastrous fate of one’s own camp (Ed15), and the Helen Narrative (Ed5).

### ***Iliad* IV: The War Bard and Total Battle**

At the end of *Iliad* IV, at verse 457, the crude battle passages begin that can definitely be attributed to the War Bard:

*Antilochos was first to kill a chief man of the Trojans, valiant among the champions, Thalysias’ son, Echepolos. Throwing first, he struck the horn of the horse-haired helmet, and the bronze*

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<sup>9</sup>*Iliad* II 236-242.    <sup>10</sup>*Iliad* III 39-42.

*spearpoint fixed in his forehead and drove inward through the bone.*<sup>11</sup>

However, it is less clear where the War Bard first speaks in *Iliad* IV. Possibly or probably IV 86-126, about Pandaros shooting an arrow at Menelaos, has already been improvised by the War Bard. The Aeolian Gamma Tradition is also present in that passage. Perhaps the verses prior to IV 457 have already been improvised by the War Bard. We are in the gray area here between the European Beta Tradition of the War Bard and the Narrative Delta Tradition of the Narrative Bard.

### ***Iliad* V: The War Bard in the Aeolian Gamma Tradition**

*Iliad* V is almost entirely improvised by the War Bard; interrupted only here and there by the God Bard. It is about the triumphant raid of Diomedes. The Aeolian Gamma Tradition is present here as a layer and ensures that the gods are heavily involved in the battles. That makes it difficult to determine where exactly the War Bard is taking over from the God Bard. The passage V 431-459, just after the verses that were certainly improvised by the God Bard, is in the border area between the War Bard and the God Bard. Perhaps in an *Iliad* tradition, this passage has acquired the characteristics of both oral scopes, being improvised sometimes by a war bard and sometimes by a god bard. The passage contains the following verses:

*Take care, give back, son of Tydeus, and strive no longer to make yourself like the gods in mind, since never the same is the breed of gods, who are immortal, and men who walk groundling.*<sup>12</sup>

... also these:

*Apollo, who caught Aineias now away from the onslaught, and set him in the sacred keep of Pergamos where was built his own temple. There Artemis of the showering arrows and Leto within the great and secret chamber healed his wound and cared for him.*<sup>13</sup>

... and finally this one:

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<sup>11</sup>*Iliad* IV 457-461. <sup>12</sup>*Iliad* V 440-442. <sup>13</sup>*Iliad* V 444-448.



*Ares, Ares, manslaughtering, blood-stained, stormer of strong walls.*<sup>14</sup>

This last verse, *Iliad* V 455, is identical to *Iliad* V 31. In turn, V 31 is also incorporated in a twilight zone between the War Bard and the God Bard on a small scale of only eight verses, but on a larger scale it is exclusively applicable to the War Bard. This supports the choice to attribute *Iliad* V 431-459 to the War Bard, because a takeover for only eight verses and without good reason is rather rare. At the same time, it underlines the difficulties of making a strict analysis.

### ***Iliad* VI: An Ancient Scene From the *Iliad* Tradition**

*Iliad* VI contains a scene, from verse 237 to the end of *Iliad* VI, which is presumably very old and must have been handed down to us through an *Iliad* tradition. The scene is about Hektor visiting his relatives within the ramparts of Troy, and it contains an interweaving of four type-scenes of the European Beta Tradition:<sup>15</sup> setting up the army before the fight, the warrior in need and the helper, the cowardly archer, and the warrior who blames his companion.<sup>16</sup> In the last finishing layer, however, we recognize the Narrative Bard who applies the Early Dramatic Role to the whole. That means that the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is present stronger than average.

### ***Iliad* VII: The Narrative Bard Who Builds the Wall of the Greeks**

In *Iliad* VII we find a long passage that stands out for the purity with which the Narrative Bard applies the Narrative Delta Tradition. The passage begins at the end of a duel between Hektor and Aias:

*And now they would have been stabbing with their swords at close quarters, had not the heralds, messengers of Zeus and of mortals, come up, one for the bronze-armored Achaians, one for the Trojans, Idaios and Talthybios, both men of good counsel. They held their staves between the two men, and the herald Idaios out of his knowledge of prudent advices spoke a word to them: "Stop the fight, dear children, nor go on with this battle. To Zeus who gathers the clouds both of you are beloved, and both of you*

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<sup>14</sup>*Iliad* V 455. <sup>15</sup>See also Blondé 2019, p. 115-116. <sup>16</sup>See also Appendix 'An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics'.

*are fighters; this thing all of us know surely. Night darkens now. It is a good thing to give way to the night-time.”*<sup>17</sup>

In this small piece we already find four characteristics of the Narrative Delta Tradition: the heralds (D14), Zeus (D24), the scepter (D36) and the nightfall (D17). However, there is a reasonable chance that the Narrative Bard has already improvised one verse earlier. These are the verses immediately preceding this passage:

*After him Aias in turn lifting a stone far greater whirled it and threw, leaning into the cast his strength beyond measure, and the shield broke inward under the stroke of the rock like a millstone, and Hektor’s very knees gave, so that he sprawled backward, shield beaten upon him, but at once Apollo lifted him upright.*<sup>18</sup>

There is a chance that the War Bard, as a joke, or according to the improvisation principle, wanted to test the improvisational talent of the Narrative Bard by stopping at ‘shield beaten upon him.’ Hektor seems to find himself in an impossible position there, so that the Narrative Bard had to use a *deus ex machina*, namely raising Hektor with the help of Apollo. Jokes like this give alternate improvisation an extra dimension only accessible to those who can see or hear the transitions.

If this analysis is correct, then the Narrative Bard and the War Bard probably develop the ‘single man against single man’ duel between Hektor and Aias into a duel between themselves at the meta-level. Possibly the Narrative Bard somehow, through gestures or intonation, provoked the War Bard when he passed the scepter to the War Bard 38 verses earlier, for he has Hektor begin like this:

*Tall Hektor of the glancing helm answered him: “Aias, son of Telamon, seed of Zeus, O lord of the people, do not be testing me as if I were some ineffectual boy, or a woman, who knows nothing of the works of warfare. I know well myself how to fight and kill men in battle; I know how to turn to the right, how to turn to the left the ox-hide tanned into a shield which is my protection in battle; I know how to storm my way into the struggle of flying horses; I know how to tread my measures on the grim floor of the war god.”*<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>*Iliad* VII 273-282. <sup>18</sup>*Iliad* VII 268-272. <sup>19</sup>*Iliad* VII 233-241.

This meta-duel gives the War Bard a chance to prove that he can also describe his own specialty on a poetic level.

The end of the fight between Hektor and Aias may have been a known or prearranged breaking point to give the lead to the Narrative Bard. This bard immediately powerfully redirects the story, to improvise in the next 165 verses an essential passage of the Helen Narrative, and to have the Greeks build a rampart around their camp. Even after nightfall we find many characteristics of the Narrative Delta Tradition: the joy of relatives for a safe return (D22), the meal (D5), councils of war (D2), Nestor planning the formalities (D19), the rampart (D9), a burial mound (D30), and much more. What is striking in this passage is the very symmetrical treatment of the Greeks and the Trojans (D15). A little further on we read the following:

*They [the Trojans] made their swift preparations, for two things, some to gather the bodies, and the others firewood; while the Argives on the other side from their strong-benched vessels went forward, some to gather the bodies, and others firewood.*<sup>20</sup>

Until the end of *Iliad* VII, we detect this mysterious symmetry, which is quite unique. It indicates that this section of the text is a unit improvised by a single bard.

There is a notable break in the material characterized by the Narrative Delta Tradition. Poseidon turns to Zeus to comment on the building of the rampart by the Greeks. The association between Poseidon and walls stems from the Aeolian Gamma Tradition, which is also one of the specialties of the God Bard.

The rampart built by the Greeks to protect their camp plays an important role in the *Iliad*. But nowhere is the rampart mentioned before *Iliad* VII verse 436. After all, the rampart is not even built yet. It is the Narrative Bard who introduces the rampart in the *Iliad* as follows:

*But when the dawn was not yet, but still the pallor of night's edge, a chosen body of the Achaians formed by the pyre; and they gathered together and piled one single mound all above it indiscriminately from the plain, and built a fort on it with towered ramparts, to be a defense for themselves and their vessels; and they built within these walls gates strongly fitted that there might be a way*

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<sup>20</sup> *Iliad* VII 417-420.

*through them for the driving of horses; and on the outer side and against it they dug a deep ditch, making it great and wide, and fixed the sharp stakes inside it.*<sup>21</sup>

With such simplicity, the Narrative Bard introduces this rampart, which will become so important in the story, as the conclusion of a long passage in which he had the floor. It seems an excellent technique to construct the rampart during twilight, because immediately the God Bard has Poseidon complain to Zeus:

*Father Zeus, is there any mortal left on the wide earth who will still declare to the immortals his mind and his purpose? Do you not see how now these flowing-haired Achaians have built a wall landward of their ships, and driven about it a ditch, and not given to the gods any grand sacrifice? Now the fame of this will last as long as dawnlight is scattered, and men will forget that wall which I and Phoibos Apollo built with our hard work for the hero Laomedon's city.*<sup>22</sup>

The Narrative Bard thus introduces a rampart, apparently without any consultation, and thus presents the other bards with a *fait accompli*. There is no doubt, however, that this rampart will be spoken of in the poem. The oral characteristics of the European Beta Tradition and the Narrative Delta Tradition make the Greek rampart indispensable, while for the stone ramparts around Troy there are no repeated oral characteristics in the *Iliad*. The controversy surrounding this rampart will also become a common thread in the analysis of the alternate improvisation of our *Iliad*. The War Bard and the Narrative Bard, who need the rampart, face the Achilles Bard and the God Bard, who want to get rid of the rampart as quickly as possible. The Achilles Bard even refuses to mention the rampart. The God Bard, on the other hand, offers a conciliatory solution by having Zeus say the following to Poseidon:

*Come then! After once more the flowing-haired Achaians are gone back with their ships to the beloved land of their fathers, break their wall to pieces and scatter it into the salt sea and pile again the beach deep under the sands and cover it; so let the great wall of the Achaians go down to destruction.*<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>*Iliad* VII 433-441. <sup>22</sup>*Iliad* VII 446-453. <sup>23</sup>*Iliad* VII 459-463.

The fact that it is Poseidon who objects in any case indicates that the intervention of the God Bard has a traditional character. According to the Aeolian Gamma Tradition, Poseidon is an angry god.

### ***Iliad* VIII: Zeus' Prohibition to Fight**

At the beginning of *Iliad* VIII, Zeus, the supreme god, summons all the gods and forbids them to intervene on the battlefield. All the gods must remain on Olympus, while Zeus himself settles on the Ida, a mountain next to the battlefield. With this, the God Bard sets in motion a plot that mainly relates to the passages that the War Bard will improvise, but also to those of himself. A chapter like *Iliad* V, in which many gods participate in the battle, is now no longer possible. Nevertheless, Athene can still give advice to the Greeks. The setup in which all the gods can fight along on the battlefield stems mainly from the Aeolian Gamma Tradition, while the Narrative Delta Tradition only needs Zeus who communicates with the mortal warriors via signs, such as birds or lightning. The situation in the European Beta Tradition is in between these two extremes, with war gods, such as Ares, Eris, and Iris, who incite the warriors on the battlefield. This prohibition of Zeus will also become one of the common threads in the analysis of the alternate improvisation.

As for the end of *Iliad* VII, *Iliad* VIII closes with a very pure passage<sup>24</sup> of the Narrative Delta Tradition, which must have been improvised by the Narrative Bard. Nightfall (D17), Hektor as captain (D19), and setting up sentries (D20) are oral characteristics of the Narrative Delta Tradition.

### ***Iliad* IX: The Delegation and the Duals**

In *Iliad* IX, in which a delegation is sent to Achilles' tent, the Achilles Bard again gets the floor for an extensive improvisation. Still, the chapter opens with the Narrative Bard improvising in the Narrative Delta Tradition. On the transition from the Narrative Bard to the Achilles Bard we are confronted with a phenomenon that some Homeric scholars have identified as the biggest problem in our *Iliad*.<sup>25</sup> The Narrative Bard lists a delegation of five people: Phoinix, Aias, Odysseus, and the heralds Odios and Eurybates.<sup>26</sup> The enumeration of a group of several persons is an oral characteristic of the Narrative Delta Tradition (D33), just like heralds (D14). However, when the

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<sup>24</sup>*Iliad* VIII 485-561. <sup>25</sup>Louden 2002. <sup>26</sup>*Iliad* IX 168-170.

Achilleus Bard gets the word, he refers to that group several times as ‘these two.’<sup>27</sup>

This phenomenon may be part of one of the common threads of the analysis of alternate improvisation, namely the disagreement between the Narrative Bard and the Achilleus Bard. So it is quite possible that the bards of our *Iliad* have deliberately inserted this inconsistency, or deliberately preserved it, to emphasize that disagreement once again. The Achilleus Bard reasons that Phoinix is a close relative of Achilleus, and thus must have been already present in Achilleus’ tent when the delegation was enumerated. Moreover, the heralds Odios and Eurybates play no part for the Achilleus Bard. ‘These two’ then refers to Odysseus and Aias. In any case, the transition from the Narrative Bard to the Achilleus Bard is very clear, because it can be substantiated with many oral characteristics. The Narrative Bard also has hands washed with water (D38) and wine served for drinking and libation (D21, D35), while the passage of the Achilleus Bard begins with the Ionian Epsilon Tradition (Ed6). In it, Achilleus is busy with a lyre (E32, E28) and preparing food according to a type-scene of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition (E38, E9). That the Achilleus Bard knew what he was doing can also be seen from the following verses:

*But when they had put aside their desire for eating and drinking,  
Aias nodded to Phoinix, and brilliant Odysseus saw it, and filled  
a cup with wine, and lifted it to Achilleus.*<sup>28</sup>

With those verses, the Achilleus Bard also nods to the audience, namely by repeating who the protagonists are in *Iliad* IX. The heralds Eurybates and Odios are not among them, at least not for the Achilleus Bard. He does not mention them anywhere, and he lets Phoinix sleep in Achilleus’ hut. In doing so, he makes it clear that, as far as he is concerned, the delegation only had to consist of two people: Odysseus and Aias.

The disagreement between the Achilleus Bard and the Narrative Bard is deepened even further through another common thread, namely the construction of the rampart of the Greeks. In Achilleus’ long reply to Odysseus, in which Achilleus refuses to fight again, we read the following:

*Let him take counsel with you, Odysseus, and the rest of the  
princes how to fight the ravening fire away from his vessels. In-  
deed, there has been much hard work done even without me; he*

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<sup>27</sup>It is actually a verb form, namely the dual, used for a group of two people. <sup>28</sup>*Iliad* IX 222-224.

*has built himself a wall and driven a ditch about it, making it great and wide, and fixed the sharp stakes inside it.*<sup>29</sup>

Just as Achilles personifies the Achilleus Bard, the Narrative Bard is represented by Odysseus for the Greeks, and Poulydamas for the Trojans. The Achilleus Bard thus criticizes the Narrative Bard's idea of building the rampart. This criticism probably has a traditional character, because the rampart is needed by both the War Bard and the Narrative Bard. Achilles is a perfect character to criticize, because the Achilleus Bard has him constantly arguing according to oral characteristic Ea4, also at the meta-level between the bards themselves. Yet it is striking that the Achilleus Bard very consistently adheres to his resistance against the wall and the ditch. He never mentions them further in the passages he improvises. It is an important aid to distinguish the Achilleus Bard from the other master bards.

### ***Iliad* X: The Doloneia: a Special Building Block**

*Iliad* X, the Doloneia, is the only long passage that can be cut out of the *Iliad* without difficulty. It is a whole in itself, and is not referenced in the rest of the *Iliad*. That makes it a special chapter, partly because it is suspected that it was added later to our *Iliad*. Yet there is an argument that a chapter with those characteristics was part of an age-old *Iliad* tradition. Because it is not referenced, the bards were able to improvise much more freely here without introducing inconsistencies into the whole of the *Iliad*. And because it forms a whole in itself, the chapter was more likely to be performed as a short story. That way, a Doloneia tradition – or a 'Brave Scout'<sup>30</sup> tradition – may have originated within an *Iliad* tradition. That the chapter has all sorts of quirks and seems younger than the rest of the *Iliad*, then, is only a reflection of the fact that this was a popular chapter that was freely improvised. When the Doloneia was improvised for our *Iliad*, the idiosyncrasies may have been deliberately left in or incorporated.

Because of the Doloneia's special properties, its self-sufficiency and its idiosyncrasies, the current scientific consensus is that the Doloneia was added later to the *Iliad*.<sup>31</sup> Danek (2012) has thoroughly researched this issue and endorses that position. Despite a thorough search for linguistic differences between the Doloneia and the *Iliad*, he has to conclude that there are

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<sup>29</sup>*Iliad* IX 346-350. <sup>30</sup>See D8, Ds1-Ds34, and E18 in Appendix 'An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics.' <sup>31</sup>That was already the case in Henry's time (1905, p. 192), who argues that the Doloneia is poetically inferior.

none.<sup>32</sup> Danek notes that the Doloneia uses fixed formulas taken out of their normal context. But my own research has shown that this also often happens outside the Doloneia.<sup>33</sup> Finally, Danek points out that only the Doloneia breaks Zielinski's law<sup>34</sup> – repeatedly and consciously. In that regard, I repeat that this is an idiosyncrasy that may have been included deliberately.

From the analysis on the basis of oral characteristics, the Doloneia can be explained as a narration of the Narrative Bard, who by his nature also makes use of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. The Doloneia comes from the Narrative Delta Tradition<sup>35</sup> and its type-scene of the Brave Scout and it has been influenced by the Aeolian Gamma Tradition.<sup>36</sup> As for the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, for example, we see the type-scene for getting dressed:

*He stood upright, and slipped the tunic upon his body, and underneath his shining feet he bound the fair sandals, and thereafter slung across him the tawny hide of a lion glowing and huge, that swung to his feet.*<sup>37</sup>

The skin of a lion is indeed an unusual element, but *Iliad* X is a passage that takes place in the middle of the night. In addition, Paris also appears in *Iliad* III 17 with a panther skin. Another example is that Athene constantly assists Odysseus, which is especially the case in the *Odyssey*, rather than the *Iliad*. But the chances are slim that Athene's continuous aid to Odysseus was not yet an established fact in the oral tradition, at the time of the alternate improvisation of our *Iliad*. The help of a god is part of the type-scene of the Brave Scout, of which the Doloneia is one of the most beautiful examples. *Iliad* X has also been influenced by the Aeolian Gamma Tradition, which can be seen from the following verses, among other things:

*Next the sea are the Karians [G10], and Paionians [G10] with their curved bows [A18, G1], the Leleges [G10] and Kaukonians [G10] and the brilliant Pelasgians [G10]. By Thymbre [G10] are stationed the Lykians [G24] and the proud Mysians [G10] with the Phrygians [G10] who fight from horses [G23], and Maionians [G10], lords of chariots. But why do you question me on all this,*

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<sup>32</sup>More precisely, the formulation is that the Doloneia is too short to reveal statistically significant differences. <sup>33</sup>For example: you will not persuade me (to sit down): *Iliad* I 132 versus *Iliad* XI 647, holding the reins (before the own ditch): *Iliad* XII 84-85 versus *Iliad* XI 47-48, they slept outside (in the porch's shelter): *Iliad* XXIV 672-676 versus *Odyssey* IV 301-305. <sup>34</sup>According to Zielinski's law (1999) the Homeric works do not describe actions occurring simultaneously. <sup>35</sup>Blondé 2021, p. 39 and p. 174-177. <sup>36</sup>Blondé 2020, p. 19-21, p. 76 and p. 144. <sup>37</sup>*Iliad* X 21-24.



*each thing in detail? For if you are minded to get among the mass of the Trojans, here are the Thracians [G10], new come, separate, beyond all others in place, and among them Rhesos [G2] their king [A3, G1], the son of Eioneus. And his are the finest [G23] horses [G23] I ever saw, and the biggest [G23]; they are whiter than snow [G23], and their speed of foot is the winds' speed [G23].*<sup>38</sup>

Also the similarities with the story about the Thracian Diomedes, who is killed by Herakles, stem from the Aeolian Gamma Tradition. The resemblance between the fall of Troy and the Doloneia has its origin mainly in the Narrative Delta Tradition, but also partly in the Aeolian Gamma Tradition.<sup>39</sup> Because of all those influences, the Doloneia is clearly much older than the fixation through alternate improvisation of our *Iliad*.

### ***Iliad* XI: The Versatility of the War Bard**

The first 73 verses of *Iliad* XI are a fine example of the type-scene of preparing the army for battle, which is part of the European Beta Tradition. So those verses can be ascribed to the War Bard. Verses 17 through 42, on the other hand, are clearly the materialistic description of Agamemnon's armor according to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Precisely because materialistic descriptions are an important characteristic of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, the latter tradition apparently has taken over the description of armor from the European Beta Tradition. The easiest assumption is that the War Bard, though against his nature, improvised these verses himself.

The presence of Eris, goddess of strife, at the battle is another oral characteristic of the European Beta Tradition, and thus of the War Bard. But the God Bard wants to add how this fits in with Zeus' prohibition against letting the gods participate in battle. This is an indication that the bards could also ask for the floor, for example by show of hands. After all, the verses of the God Bard, *Iliad* XI 74-82, follow immediately after the mention of Eris. They make it clear, among other things, that Eris was the only one of the gods present at the battle.

Also verse XI 385 shows the versatility of the War Bard. In it, Diomedes addresses Paris as follows:

*You archer, foul fighter, lovely in your locks, eyer of young girls.*<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup>*Iliad* X 428-437. <sup>39</sup>This applies in particular to the horse as the central motif. <sup>40</sup>*Iliad* XI 385.

This one verse portrays the Early Dramatic Role in which Paris is taunted, and thereby indirectly accused as the instigator of the war. However, it is also part of a partially memorized pattern (see p. 106) in which Diomedes takes on Pandaros or – as a corruption of Pandaros – Paris. So we can surmise that the War Bard also memorized this verse. The War Bard normally never uses one of the dramatic roles. Answering the question of guilt (Ed3) is an exception to this rule.

At the end of *Iliad* XI, when Patroklos makes his way through the Greek camp, the Achilleus Bard speaks again, although Achilleus himself barely appears. As in welcoming Agamemnon's delegation in the tent of Achilleus,<sup>41</sup> the Achilleus Bard's improvisation begins with an Ionian Epsilon scene,<sup>42</sup> this time in Nestor's tent. Then the Achilleus Bard completes a long speech by Nestor intersected by a digression, which is also an oral characteristic of the Achilleus Role (Ea19).

### ***Iliad* XII: The Battle for the Wall of the Greeks**

At the beginning of *Iliad* XII, the common thread of the wall of the Greeks is picked up again, this time by the God Bard. He has Poseidon, Apollo, and Zeus team up to destroy the rampart and level the plain in a flash forward, namely when the Greeks have sailed back home. In any case, this makes the archaeological picture correct, because at no time has such a rampart of earth and wood been built in the vicinity of Troy. At the same time, *Iliad* XII is introduced, in which the rampart of the Greeks is central. The rampart is further introduced by the Narrative Bard, who uses one of his beloved characters for this: Poulydamas. He approaches Hektor and says the following:

*We are senseless trying to drive our fast-footed horses over this ditch. It is hard indeed to cross, and sharp stakes are planted inside it, and across from these the wall of the Achaians. There, there is no way to get down, no way again to do battle from horses, for the passage is narrow and I think they must be hurt there.*<sup>43</sup>

The Narrative Bard probably wants to clarify the essentials about the rampart, so that the War Bard is not tempted to mention chariots any longer during the battle for the rampart. In response, the War Bard lets the Trojans advance on foot, except for one particular 'fool' named Asios, who drives his chariot through one of the gates in the rampart.

<sup>41</sup>*Iliad* IX 185-224. <sup>42</sup>*Iliad* XI 617-647. <sup>43</sup>*Iliad* XII 62-66.

### ***Iliad* XIII: Critique of the Narrative Bard on the War Bard**

*Iliad* XIII starts with the God Bard, but it is not easy to determine where the War Bard takes over from the God Bard. The passage XIII 39-75 shows oral characteristics of both master bards. Therefore, it can be helpful to look for a hidden hint. We find this in the following verses, in which one Aias speaks to another Aias about Poseidon, who addressed them in the form of the seer Kalchas:

*Aias, since some one of the gods, whose hold is Olympos, has likened himself to the seer, and told us to fight by our vessels, this is not Kalchas, the bird interpreter of the gods.*<sup>44</sup>

Perhaps we can translate that as: ‘That was the God Bard, who in the guise of the War Bard improvised a number of verses about the battle. That was not the War Bard himself.’ Accordingly, the transition is then between verses 65 and 66.

What stands out in the second part of *Iliad* XIII is a short combat passage that uses the oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition much more than other combat passages. Moreover, that passage is followed by Menelaos’ lengthy answer to the question of guilt (oral characteristic Ed3 in the Early Dramatic Role), accusing the Trojans and Zeus of being the instigators of the war.<sup>45</sup> The short Ionian Epsilon passage is this:

*Drawing his sword with the silver [E41] nails [E2], the son of Atreus sprang at Peisandros, who underneath his shield’s cover gripped [E78] his beautiful [E2, E5] axe [E89] with strong bronze [E22, E41] blade upon a long [E5] polished [E2, E22] axe-handle [E89] of olive [E33] wood.*<sup>46</sup>

The oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition herein are the materialism (E2), the Epsilon-specific system of epithets (E5), double epithets (E22), olive trees and olive oil (E33), precious metals (E41), take or take over weapons and walk around with them (E78), and axes (E89). Hardly anywhere else is there a battle axe to be found,<sup>47</sup> of a weapon taken from underneath a shield, or of a weapon made of olive wood.

Precisely this passage is quickly followed by a twenty verse long treatment of the question of guilt in the Early Dramatic Role (oral characteristic

<sup>44</sup>*Iliad* XIII 68-70. <sup>45</sup>*Iliad* XIII 620-639. <sup>46</sup>*Iliad* XIII 610-613. <sup>47</sup>*Iliad* XV 711 being an exception.

Ed3). This suggests that the War Bard wanted to follow the rule of starting the Early Dramatic Role with a passage in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition (oral characteristic Ed6). That it is the War Bard who is speaking here, and not the Narrative Bard, can be seen from the fact that between verses 613 and 620 there are still seven verses that are improvised in the style of the War Bard. The Early Dramatic Role is normally only used by the Narrative Bard or the Achilleus Bard, but answering the question of guilt is an exception.

This brings us to one of the clearest examples of criticism that one bard makes toward another bard. The text from *Iliad* XIII 723 to XIV 134 is improvised using various oral characteristics of the Narrative Delta Tradition: Poulydamas reproaching Hektor (D41), Paris hiding – or not (Dh12), Aias the protector (Da3), signs from Zeus (D24) to Hektor (D19), and a crucial council of war (D2) in which Diomedes can prove his courage (D23, Dh6).

It is the first sixty verses of that passage in which the Narrative Bard criticizes the War Bard. After three chapters with battle passages of the War Bard, the overview is completely lost. It is in this context that we see Poulydamas making the following criticism to Hektor:

*Hektor, you are too intractable to listen to reason. Because the god has granted you the actions of warfare therefore you wish in counsel also to be wise beyond others. But you cannot choose to have all gifts given to you together. To one man the god has granted the actions of warfare, to one to be a dancer, to another the lyre and the singing, and in the breast of another Zeus of the wide brows establishes wisdom, a lordly thing, and many take profit beside him and he saves many, but the man's own thought surpasses all others. Now I will tell you the way that it seems best to my mind. For you, everywhere the fighting burns in a circle around you, but of the great-hearted Trojans since they crossed over the rampart some are standing back in their war gear, others are fighting fewer men against many, being scattered among the vessels. Draw back now, and call to this place all of our bravest, and then we might work out together our general counsel, whether we can fall upon their benched ships, if the god might be willing to give such power to us, or whether thereafter we can win away from the ships unhurt.*<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> *Iliad* XIII 726-744.

In effect, the Narrative Bard is saying: “War Bard, retreat now. This endless fight is going nowhere, so leave it to me for now so I can bring some structure to the story.” Immediately afterwards, he summarizes the main events that occurred during the long battle by having Hektor run around the lines and discover which of the important characters have died. Then the Narrative Bard begins to develop his own passage, notably with a very short battle passage in which he has all the Trojans advance together, with Hektor as leader. In it the Narrative Bard has Aias say the following to Hektor:

*It is not that we are so unskilled in fighting.*<sup>49</sup>

We might translate that as: “I, the Narrative Bard, am not unskilled in improvising battle passages.” That this critique is traditional can be seen from the verses of the War Bard that precede it. In it, from verse 679, the War Bard makes a half-hearted attempt to give an overview of the battle. But he undermines that attempt himself by stating that Hektor has lost his leadership:

*But Hektor held where first he had broken a way through the rampart and the gates, and shattered the close ranks of the armored Danaäns.*<sup>50</sup>

After that, the War Bard soon gets lost again in an abundance of proper names and details. The War Bard thus already prepares the internal critique of the Narrative Bard, as well as his superior techniques for creating an overview. The words of Poulydamas give us an insight into how our *Iliad* could have arisen with alternate improvisation. The fact that Poulydamas talks about ‘discussing carefully,’ increases the chance that the improvisation of our *Iliad* also involved discussion off the record. Still, during normal alternate improvisations, i.e. without memorizers but with an audience, there was probably less time to discuss matters carefully. It is in such normal performances that the internal criticism has probably become a traditional part.

This critique of the Narrative Bard on the War Bard is the best proof so far that our *Iliad* has come about through alternate improvisation, at least for some passages. More rigorous evidence will be found in *Iliad* XIX and the beginning of *Iliad* XXIII.

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<sup>49</sup>*Iliad* XIII 811. <sup>50</sup>*Iliad* XIII 679-680.

### ***Iliad* XIV: A Long Passage for the God Bard**

*Iliad* XIV contains a long God Role passage that results from the common thread that the God Bard stretched for the War Bard and himself in *Iliad* VIII. This common thread is that the gods are not allowed by Zeus to participate in battle. In XIV 135-362, Hera rebels against this by putting Zeus to sleep with the help of Aphrodite and the Sleep god. This God Role passage is strongly colored by the Ionian Epsilon Tradition.

### ***Iliad* XV: The Oral Scope and the Direction of the God Bard**

The end of *Iliad* XIV was improvised by the War Bard. The opening verses of *Iliad* XV also belong to the European Beta Tradition, although they are immediately followed by verses of the God Bard:

*But after they had crossed back over the ditch and the sharp stakes in flight, and many had gone down under the hands of the Danaäns, they checked about once more and stood their ground by the chariots, green for fear and terrified. But now Zeus wakened . . .*<sup>51</sup>

In *Iliad* VIII we find a similar pattern:

*But after they had crossed back over the ditch and the sharp stakes in flight, and many had gone down under the hands of the Trojans, they reined in and stood fast again beside their ships, calling aloud upon each other, and to all of the gods uplifting their hands each man of them cried out his prayers in a great voice, while Hektor, wearing the stark eyes of a Gorgon, or murderous Ares, wheeled about at the edge his bright-maned horses. Now seeing them the goddess of the white arms, Hera, took pity . . .*<sup>52</sup>

Praying to the gods and the divine concepts Gorgo and Ares also point to the God Bard. So it seems that a brief, introductory description of the battle situation according to the European Beta Tradition (Eg43) is still part of the God Bard's oral scope.

When Zeus awakens, he is first angry, but then predicts the further course of the story to Hera. What is striking is that this prediction is not at all an accurate description of the further course of the *Iliad*:

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<sup>51</sup>*Iliad* XV 1-4. <sup>52</sup>*Iliad* VIII 343-350.

*Let him [Hektor] drive strengthless panic into the Achaians, and turn them back once more; let them be driven in flight and tumble back on the benched ships of Achilleus, Peleus' son. And he shall rouse up Patroklos his companion. And glorious Hektor shall cut down Patroklos with the spear before Ilion, after he has killed many others of the young men, and among them my own son, shining Sarpedon. In anger for him brilliant Achilleus shall then kill Hektor. And from then on I would make the fighting surge back from the vessels always and continuously, until the Achaians capture headlong Ilion through the designs of Athene.*<sup>53</sup>

Troy does not fall at all in the *Iliad* and cannot be taken like the camp of the Greeks, because of Troy's high stone walls. At no point in the *Iliad* are Greek ships pulled into the sea. One possible explanation is the improvisation principle. Zeus' prediction then fits into a normal performance with alternate improvisation, in which the bards at that point in the story did not yet know exactly how far and with which traditional material they would take each other. The God Bard makes an attempt to direct the story with Zeus' prediction, but this succeeds only partially.

The following key passage shows once again how difficult a strict analysis can sometimes be:

*Meanwhile Patroklos, all the time the Achaians and Trojans were fighting on both sides of the wall, far away from the fast ships, had sat all this time in the shelter of courtly Eurypylos and had been entertaining him with words and applying medicines that would mitigate the black pains to the sore wound. But when he saw the Trojans were sweeping over the rampart and the outcry and the noise of terror rose from the Danaäns Patroklos groaned aloud then and struck himself on both thighs with the flats of his hands and spoke a word of lamentation: "Eurypylos, much though you need me I cannot stay here longer with you. This is a big fight that has arisen. Now it is for your henchman to look after you, while I go in haste to Achilleus, to stir him into the fighting. Who knows if, with God helping, I might trouble his spirit by entreaty, since the persuasion of a friend is a strong thing." As he was speaking his feet carried him away.*<sup>54</sup>

<sup>53</sup>*Iliad* XV 61-71. <sup>54</sup>*Iliad* XV 390-405.

The passage begins with an oral characteristic of the Narrative Delta Tradition, namely the structure *As long as A, so long A', but when B, then B'* (D51). This suggests that these verses (*Iliad* XV 390-398) were improvised by the Narrative Bard. In addition, the rampart of the Greeks is mentioned in that part of the passage, which probably excludes the Achilles Bard. But in the second part, the direct speech of Patroklos (*Iliad* XV 399-405), an idea is formulated which is expressed by the Achilles Bard in three other places, namely XI 792-794, XVI 36-37, and XVI 50-51. This idea is that a friend can persuade Achilles with the help of a god. However, by attributing this passage in part to the Narrative Bard, and in part to the Achilles Bard, we must abandon the assumption that a bard who starts improvising does not immediately give up the floor again. However, the latter option seems to be preferable here, precisely because it concerns a key passage. Moreover, neither the Narrative Bard nor the Achilles Bard are contributing further in *Iliad* XV. A short intervention then ensures more balance in the alternation.

Finally, *Iliad* XV also contains one of the common threads in the analysis of the alternate improvisation: the presence or absence of the rampart around the Greek camp. It is probably the War Bard who is improvising the following verses:

*Phoibos Apollo easily, kicking them with his feet, tumbled the banked edges of the deep ditch into the pit between, and bridged over a pathway both wide and long, [...] and wrecked the bastions of the Achaians easily, as when a little boy piles sand by the seashore when in his innocent play he makes sand towers to amuse him and then, still playing, with hands and feet ruins them and wrecks them. So you, lord Apollo, piled in confusion much hard work and painful done by the Argives and drove terror among them.*<sup>55</sup>

By tearing down the rampart again, the War Bard can once again deploy chariots during the Trojan attack, which the rampart had made impossible. In this way, each master bard has his own input about the wall.

### ***Iliad* XVI: Imperfections Versus the Improvisation Principle**

A good example of the improvisation principle is found in verses 1 to 100 of the Achilles Bard at the beginning of *Iliad* XVI. In it, Patroklos almost

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<sup>55</sup> *Iliad* XV 361-366.



literally repeats the words given to him by Nestor in *Iliad* XI 793-795, and which were also composed by the Achilleus Bard:

*But if you are drawing back from some prophecy known in your own heart and by Zeus' will your honored mother has told you of something, then send me out at least.*<sup>56</sup>

This is an almost literal repetition of *Iliad* XI 793-795, which is a very common practice in oral texts. But the special thing about these repeated verses is that Thetis has had no contact at all with Achilleus in the meantime. This makes the verses seem redundant. One might think that the God Bard is embarrassing the Achilleus Bard by omitting such contact. But the point of the improvisation principle is that the public now comes to know, or thinks, that the Achilleus Bard had to improvise at least the following verses:

*I have not any prophecy in mind that I know of; there is no word from Zeus my honored mother has told me.*<sup>57</sup>

The improvisation principle is thus a more important principle than avoiding imperfections and useless verses in the text. Another possibility is that these verses fit in with the disagreement that the Achilleus Bard continuously seeks (oral characteristic Ea4).

A clear example of the God Bard making use of the oral characteristics of the Aeolian Gamma Tradition is found in the passage *Iliad* XVI 666-683. In it, Apollo cleans Sarpedon's mutilated body in a river and takes it to his homeland Lycia.

### ***Iliad* XVII: The Achilleus Bard on the Battlefield**

Of all the chapters in the *Iliad*, *Iliad* XVII is most and most uniformly colored by the European Beta Tradition. It is therefore in all probability almost entirely composed by the War Bard. Yet there are two passages that must have been composed by the God Bard and the Achilleus Bard: *Iliad* XVII 198-210 by the God Bard, in which Zeus watches Hektor donning the armor of Achilleus, and *Iliad* XVII, 401-465, by the Achilleus Bard, in which Zeus gives strength to the horses of Achilleus with which Patroklos had gone to battle.

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<sup>56</sup>*Iliad* XVI 36-38.    <sup>57</sup>*Iliad* XVI 50-51.

In that last passage, the Achilles Bard gets into trouble by making Automedon, who controls Achilles' team all alone after the death of Patroklos, waver between attacking and fleeing:

*Automedon fought from them, though grieving for his companion. He would dash in, like a vulture among geese, with his horses, and lightly get away out of the Trojans' confusion and lightly charge in again in pursuit of a great multitude, and yet could kill no men when he swept in in chase of them. He had no way while he was alone in a separate chariot to lunge with the spear and still keep in hand his fast-running horses.*<sup>58</sup>

He is rescued by the War Bard, who has Alkimedon say the following to Automedon:

*Automedon, what god put this unprofitable purpose into your heart, and has taken away the better wits, so that you are trying to fight the Trojans in the first shock of encounter by yourself, since your companion [Patroklos] has been killed?*<sup>59</sup>

The War Bard finishes the idea of the attacking Automedon. He first makes Automedon admit that after Patroklos there is no one better than Alkimedon to lead Achilles' team. Then he has Automedon, with the help of Alkimedon, kill a Trojan and carry his armor to the Greek camp on Achilles' team. The lesson to be learned is that there is no one better than the War Bard to improvise the battle passages. The Achilles Bard helped prepare this lesson by getting Automedon into trouble.

### ***Iliad* XVIII: The Solution via the God Bard**

The passage *Iliad* XVIII 166-231, in which Iris, Athene, and Achilles work together to save the corpse of Patroklos from the hands of the Trojans, is one with a past in the *Iliad* tradition. Central to that passage is a type-scene from the European Beta Tradition, namely the setting up of the army before the battle begins. According to that type-scene, the commander of the attacked army shows himself in his shining and brilliant armor at or on the rampart and ditch of his stronghold, and impresses the enemy with an overwhelmingly loud battle cry. At the end of the type-scene, one or more fighters die

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<sup>58</sup> *Iliad* XVII 459-465. <sup>59</sup> *Iliad* XVII 469-472.

in a ridiculous way. These oral characteristics are nicely combined here: because of the overwhelming impression Achilleus makes on the rampart and the ditch, the Trojan army is so confused that twelve warriors die in the rush of their own chariots and spears.

In a reconstruction of the Anger Narrative,<sup>60</sup> Achilleus, the impressive captain, has just received his new armor at that moment. Our *Iliad*, however, has the curious problem that Achilleus has no armor at the moment when he is needed to show off with it. Achilleus also suggests that he could possibly use the armor of Aias,<sup>61</sup> who, according to the Anger Narrative, is the greatest hero after Achilleus. But Aias himself is fighting in the field. As a substitute for the shining armor, Athene therefore lets a fire blaze over Achilleus' head.

This means that all four bards are candidates for improvising this passage. However, the God Bard and the Achilleus Bard have the best references: Iris was sent by Hera (Eg28), unbeknownst to the other gods, and Achilleus asks who sent Iris (Eg31). Then another deity comes in, Athene, to apply the fierce brilliance and to shout a war cry. Those are the oral characteristics of the God Bard. Achilleus, Thetis, Achilleus' respect for the gods (Ea5) and repeating what has already happened (Ea15) can be found in *Iliad* XVIII 187-195 as oral characteristics of the Achilleus Bard.

There are several possible explanations for this scene. It may be a summary of a discussion the bards have made beforehand, off the record. Or the four bards already have experience improvising the *Iliad* together, so that the situation of the unarmed Achilleus has already happened before. What seems very unlikely is that the God Bard or any other bard for that matter introduced the new idea of having Athene make a flame without prior discussion. Nor is it likely that the whole scene, beginning with Iris descending, was started by more than one bard, without the idea of the flame being known to everyone. That would mean a leap in the dark for the God Bard when he passes the word on to the Achilleus Bard. It is a nice solution that the God Bard and the Achilleus Bard have discussed the idea of the flame in advance, so that it *looks like* the God Bard improvises the idea. This allows the Achilleus Bard to say the following:

*How shall I go into the fighting? They have my armor. And my beloved mother told me I must not be armored, not before with my own eyes I see her come back to me.*<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Blondé 2021. <sup>61</sup>*Iliad* XVIII 193. <sup>62</sup>*Iliad* XVIII 188-190.

This solution is compatible with the idea that there was an audience present during the improvisation of our *Iliad*, so that they could enjoy the extra dimension that alternate improvisation gave. On the other hand, this solution is not compatible with the exclusion rules. According to these rules, the God Bard does not improvise passages of the European Beta Tradition. Probably an exception can be made, because only the God Bard can provide a good solution to the problem of the unarmed Achilles and because the type-scene of the impressive captain (B39) in that place has long been a petrified part of the *Iliad* tradition.

*Iliad* XVIII ends with the description of the scenes Hephaistos applies on the shield for Achilles.<sup>63</sup> This passage uses the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, even for the description of states of war:

*Their beloved wives and their little children stood on the rampart to hold it, and with them the men with age upon them, but meanwhile the others went out. And Ares led them, and Pallas Athene. These were gold, both, and golden raiment upon them, and they were beautiful and huge in their armor, being divinities, and conspicuous from afar, but the people around them were smaller.*<sup>64</sup>

The emphasis on gold (E41) and the double adjectives ‘beautiful and great’ (E22) are characteristic of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. There are two arguments as to why it is the God Bard who has improvised the description of Achilles armor. First, the scene immediately preceding<sup>65</sup> and immediately following<sup>66</sup> it has been improvised by the God Bard. And second, the other bards have already claimed building blocks of considerable length: the Narrative Bard has the Doloneia (*Iliad* X), the Achilles Bard has the funeral games for Patroklos (the main part of *Iliad* XXIII), while the War Bard has several chapters in which he is improvising almost alone (for example, *Iliad* XVII).

### ***Iliad* XIX: A Quarrel Between the Master Bards**

Now we can finally move on to one of the most fascinating discoveries. In *Iliad* XIX and *Iliad* XXIII, the Narrative Bard and the Achilles Bard take turns speaking, going into great detail about each other’s attempts to steer the story. To put it even more sharply: they seem to be arguing with each other.

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<sup>63</sup>*Iliad* XVIII 478-612. <sup>64</sup>*Iliad* XVIII 514-519. <sup>65</sup>*Iliad* XVIII 468-477. <sup>66</sup>*Iliad* XVIII 612-616.

Their disagreement arises over the different specialties they use to improvise the *Iliad*. *Iliad* XIX is a turning point in the story for the Achilleus Bard. At that moment Achilles declares that he is giving up his anger. In the chapters that follow, Achilles comes to the fore by taking all kinds of initiatives. We can imagine that the Achilleus Bard will be eagerly awaiting this turning point.

The Achilleus Bard has two outspoken views that he wants to express in the story. First, he wants Achilles to take revenge immediately after the death of Patroklos (Ea24). Achilles takes possession of his new weapons as soon as possible to go after Hektor. To bolster that position, the Achilleus Bard argues that Achilles cannot eat, drink, or sleep, and that flies will breed maggots in Patroklos' wounds as long as Patroklos is neither burned nor buried. Mourning (Ed13) is an important oral characteristic of his specialty, and he also lets Priam experience mourning in this way. Second, Achilles unites all Greeks under his leadership as soon as he gives up his anger.

However, the Narrative Bard also has his views, which are mainly inspired by the oral characteristics of the Narrative Delta Tradition. They stipulate that a meal must be prepared regularly, that the leaders must discuss all kinds of daily tasks in a council, that the soldiers must wash after the battle, that a new day must be announced regularly, and so on. Furthermore, for the Narrative Bard, the supreme command lies with Agamemnon, not with Achilles.

The Achilleus Bard is annoyed – at least apparently – by these unnecessary banalities. They undercut his expectation to direct the story under Achilles' strong leadership, and they do not fit at all with his views of the immediate revenge that the bellicose Achilles must take.

The – probably feigned – quarrel between the Achilleus Bard and the other master bards begins as early as *Iliad* XIX 23, where Achilles expresses his fear that flies will breed worms in Patroklos' wounds. If the feud is real, then the Achilleus Bard may have voiced this argument to start the battle immediately off the record. In that case it is probably the God Bard who speaks from verse 23. In any case, the undermining of this argument comes from Thetis, who says she would keep Patroklos' body intact for even a full year. The God Bard can be identified by the nectar and ambrosia that is dripped into Patroklos' nose.

The disagreement between the Achilleus Bard and the Narrative Bard can best be traced from *Iliad* XIX 54, where Achilles declares his anger to-

ward Agamemnon has ended. We recognize the Achilles Bard by the claim that it was Achilles who destroyed the city of Lyrnessos (Ea10), by the mention of Hektor (Ea29), in addition to the direct speech of Achilles himself (Ea2). Achilles concludes his argument with an admonition to Agamemnon to immediately send the Greeks to war. From verse 78 it is the Narrative Bard who formulates Agamemnon's answer. He exhorts the Greeks to silence, after which he apologizes to Achilles in a long speech, which even includes a digression, and asks him to first receive the atonement gifts. At verse 145 the Achilles Bard speaks again. He tries to postpone the receipt of the gifts to a later date and makes another appeal to start the battle without hesitation. He uses only nine verses for this. At verse 154 it is the turn of the Narrative Bard again. He uses the authority of the wise Odysseus to change the Achilles Bard's mind:

*Rather tell the men of Achaia here by their swift ships, to take food and wine, since these make fighting fury and warcraft. For a man will not have strength to fight his way forward all day long until the sun goes down if he is starved for food.*<sup>67</sup>

Next, the Narrative Bard prepares a type-scene of the Narrative Delta Tradition in which Agamemnon has the gifts brought by youthful warriors and swears a solemn oath. At verse 198 the Achilles Bard complains again about the way things are going. He makes Achilles say that it is impossible for him to get food or drink down his throat, now that his friend lies dead in his tent. He would immediately let the Greeks go into battle on an empty stomach. And then, from verse 216, we read the second admonition of the Narrative Bard, who again uses the wise Odysseus as speaker:

*Son of Peleus, Achilles, far greatest of the Achaians, you are stronger than I am and greater by not a little with the spear, yet I in turn might overpass you in wisdom by far, since I was born before you and have learned more things. Therefore let your heart endure to listen to my words. When there is battle men have suddenly their fill of it when the bronze scatters on the ground the straw in most numbers and the harvest is most thin, when Zeus has poised his balance, Zeus, who is administrator to men in their fighting.*<sup>68</sup>

These are perhaps the most beautiful verses of the *Iliad*. However, the beauty of these verses can only be fully grasped by those who can see the

<sup>67</sup> *Iliad* XIX 160-163. <sup>68</sup> *Iliad* XIX 216-224.

disagreement between Achilleus and Odysseus as a disagreement between the bards who improvise their verses. What the Narrative Bard is actually saying here is, “Achilleus Bard, now be patient. You may excel in your role, but I am more experienced in directing the story. Soon the audience is fed up with all those boring battle passages, which yield a lot of text, but with which little success is harvested with the public. The balance must be restored with poetic passages.” In addition, the ‘have their fill’<sup>69</sup> refers to the Achilleus Bard’s idea of not eating. By conveying precisely this message in a poetic and ambiguous flood of words, the Narrative Bard may well show himself here as the greatest bard of all.

The Narrative Bard even tries to be diplomatic toward the Achilleus Bard, by having Odysseus call for battle after he summoned Achilleus for the second time:

*Let one not wait longing for any other summons to stir on the people. This summons now shall be an evil on anyone left behind by the ships of the Argives. Therefore let us drive on together and wake the bitter war god on the Trojans, breakers of horses.*<sup>70</sup>

In any case, the Achilleus Bard returns to his role, because in *Iliad* XIX 268-302 and in *Iliad* XIX 314-339 he improvises the mourning of Briseis and Achilleus with his typical oral characteristics, although Achilleus continues to refuse to eat or drink. Then follows a passage of the God Bard in which Athene descends on the battlefield to drip Achilleus nectar and ambrosia into the throat so that hunger would not torment him in battle. Apparently, the Achilleus Bard does not get his way at all in this chapter – or so it seems to the audience. The improvisation principle thus appears to be more important here than the pride of the improvising bards.

That this disagreement is a traditional event can also be seen from the reconstruction of the Anger Narrative.<sup>71</sup> This narrative shows that Achilleus was only interested in his armor, and not in the handing over of a girl. Achilleus also wants to take revenge in it as soon as possible, but is not interested in a girl because he knows that he will die in battle. The resentment between Achilleus, and Agamemnon and his heralds, over the handing over of gifts is therefore probably a situation with a long history.

Perhaps we should also discuss the fact that Agamemnon exhorts silence at *Iliad* XIX 76:

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<sup>69</sup>Gr.: κορος. <sup>70</sup>*Iliad* XIX 233-237. <sup>71</sup>Blondé 2021, p. 41-73.

*Now among them spoke forth the lord of men Agamemnon from the place where he was sitting, and did not stand up among them: "Fighting men and friends, O Danaäns, henchmen of Ares: it is well to listen to the speaker, it is not becoming to break in on him. This will be hard for him, though he be able. How among the great murmur of people shall anyone listen or speak either? A man, though he speak very clearly, is baffled." <sup>72</sup>*

This call for silence does not contain oral characteristics of any Homeric oral scope. That raises the question why the Narrative Bard puts so much emphasis on it. One possible explanation is that there was a heated discussion going on off the record about how to proceed after the proposal of the Achilles bard to start the battle immediately. The Narrative Bard then used improvisation to silence all the participants and bring the attention to memorization and writing again. By letting Agamemnon call for silence, the message becomes even stronger. In any case, these verses also fit in with the Narrative Bard's attempts to slow down the story before the battle resumes.

If this explanation is correct, the chances increase that the Achilles Bard and the Narrative Bard had a real disagreement. Nevertheless, there is the possibility that heated discussions off the record had become a traditional part of the performance in order to mislead the audience about the level of improvisation involved. This would be the ultimate application of the improvisation principle. Such a 'meta-performance' will also be needed to explain *Iliad* XXIII.

### ***Iliad* XX: Zeus Lifting the Ban on Fighting**

At the beginning of *Iliad* XX, the God Bard, through Zeus, lifts the prohibition that the gods were no longer allowed to fight on the battlefield (see the beginning of *Iliad* VIII). That changes the context for both the God Bard and the War Bard. The God Bard makes this change of context in response to the change of context that Achilles has given up his anger. He makes Zeus say the following to the gods:

*For if we leave Achilles alone to fight with the Trojans they will not even for a little hold off swift-footed Peleion.*<sup>73</sup>

This reinforces the hypothesis that both giving up Achilles' anger and Zeus' will to let the gods fight are deliberate changes of context, through

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<sup>72</sup>*Iliad* XIX 76-82. <sup>73</sup>*Iliad* XX 26-27.



which the bards force themselves to improvise more. For the Achilleus Bard, it means he can re-establish Achilleus as leader of the Greeks, while the War Bard and the God Bard can deploy the gods again during the battle passages.

The following passage appears at first sight to be a God Role passage, yet retains the characteristics of the type-scene of setting up the army before the fight (B39, Ba1-23), which stems from the European Beta Tradition:

*Now in the time when the gods were still distant from the mortals, so long the Achaians were winning great glory, since now Achilleus showed among them, who had stayed too long from the sorrowful fighting. But the Trojans were taken every man in the knees with trembling and terror, as they looked on the swift-footed son of Peleus shining in all his armor, a man like the murderous war god. But after the Olympians merged in the men's company strong Hatred, defender of peoples, burst out, and Athene bellowed standing now beside the ditch dug at the wall's outside and now again at the thundering sea's edge gave out her great cry, while on the other side Ares in the likeness of a dark stormcloud bellowed, now from the peak of the citadel urging the Trojans sharply on, now running beside the sweet banks of Simoeis.<sup>74</sup>*

The oral characteristics are the gods taking sides (Ba14), the glorious description of the leader Achilleus (Ba3), the leader who instills terror with his brightly glaring armor (Ba6), the incitement of the armies by the gods of war Eris, Ares, and Athene (B27, Ba13), the loud battle cry (Ba9), and showing up on the rampart by the ditch (Ba5-Ba7). So this passage was probably improvised by the War Bard.

### ***Iliad* XXI: The Gods Fighting Among Themselves**

*Iliad* XXI 328-520 contains the main *Theomachy*, a passage in which the Olympian gods fight each other on the battlefield. This *Theomachy* is the culmination of the common thread of Zeus, who may or may not grant the gods permission to assist the warriors on the battlefield. The gods begin a series of one-on-one battles that, except for the showdown between Hermes and Leto, are systematically settled in favor of the gods assisting the Greeks. Another

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<sup>74</sup>*Iliad* XX 41-53.

Theomachy is *Iliad* V 710-904, in which Diomedes and Athene overthrow Ares.

There are two bards that qualify to improvise a Theomachy: the God Bard and the War Bard. Now it becomes clear what it yields to characterize the oral scope of each master bard, for we find several oral characteristics of the God Bard in the Theomachy of *Iliad* XXI: the gods' view on the fall of Troy (Eg5), in the form of Xanthos<sup>75</sup> and Athene;<sup>76</sup> smiling, laughing or laughing loudly (Eg41), in the form of Zeus,<sup>77</sup> Athene,<sup>78</sup> Hera,<sup>79</sup> and again Zeus;<sup>80</sup> the great differences in strength and power (Eg10); angry gods (E104, Eg2), twice in the form of Hera<sup>81</sup> and once in the form of the gods who lost the battle;<sup>82</sup> and the return of the gods to Olympos (Eg12).<sup>83</sup>

The oral characteristics that relate to fighting are not very traditional. Hera, for example, strikes Artemis around her ears with her own bow, so that the arrows fall from her quiver. The beginning of the Theomachy in *Iliad* XXI, the battle between the fire god Hephaistos and the river Xanthos, is completely beyond the oral scope of the War Bard. In addition, the Theomachy in *Iliad* V 710-904 is also unmistakably composed by the God Bard. So it seems clear that the Theomachy in *Iliad* XXI 328-520 was improvised by the God Bard.

### ***Iliad* XXII: The Achilles Bard on the Narrative Bard's Domain**

*Iliad* XXII is almost entirely improvised by the Narrative Bard, intersected only by a passage of the God Bard (XXII 166-187) and of the Achilles Bard (XXII 331-429). The last passage, from the Achilles Bard, contains the death of Hektor by Achilles and the plea of Priam, who in his despair wishes to meet Achilles. Both these elements, death and supplication, are nevertheless characteristics of the Compassion Narrative in the Narrative Delta Tradition. So we might expect that they were also improvised by the Narrative Bard, rather than by the Achilles Bard. Yet we recognize the Achilles Bard thanks to the oral characteristics of the Achilles Role: Hektor (Ea29), Achilles' anger (Ea6), rants and insults (Ea12), huge, or overly large treasures (Ea22), Hades, Hades' house, and the souls that dwell there (Ea17), the death of Achilles (Ea11), Achilles as leader of the Greeks (Ea3), repeating what has already happened and what will happen (Ea15), Achilles who wants to quickly avenge and bury Patroklos (Ea24), ships and tents, but no

<sup>75</sup>*Iliad* XXI 374-376. <sup>76</sup>*Iliad* XXI 433. <sup>77</sup>*Iliad* XXI 389-390. <sup>78</sup>*Iliad* XXI 408. <sup>79</sup>*Iliad* XXI 491.

<sup>80</sup>*Iliad* XXI 508. <sup>81</sup>*Iliad* XXI 384 and *Iliad* XXI 420-422. <sup>82</sup>*Iliad* XXI 519. <sup>83</sup>*Iliad* XXI 518.

rampart (Ea18), and Peleus, father of Achilleus (Ea25). Added to this are the oral characteristics of the Early Dramatic Role, such as dogs and birds eating a corpse, outside the combat passages (Ed29). These also belong to the Achilleus Bard's oral scope, but are also used sometimes by the Narrative Bard.

Two matters cannot be ignored in connection with this passage of the Achilleus Bard: the use of the oral characteristic 'knees' and Achilleus' proposal to attack Troy. The knees are an oral characteristic of the Compassion Narrative (Dc30), but do not belong to the Achilleus Bard's oral scope. Yet the Achilleus Bard uses them three times in *Iliad* XXII 331-429: twice in 'entreating by the knees,' and once in 'knees that have their spring beneath me.' At least three assumptions can solve this problem: either the Achilleus Bard retells a version of Hektor's death improvised to him (immediate translation), or he largely memorized the passage (memorization), or his knowledge extends beyond his classic oral scope (broad mastery). I think broad mastery is the correct assumption. The Achilleus Bard has probably heard this passage being improvised many times by a narrative bard. I also assume that the four master bards had some basic knowledge of all the oral scopes that were used in the *Iliad* tradition.

What deserves further attention is that Achilleus briefly proposes to attack Troy, but then decides differently:

*Come, let us go in armor about the city to see if we can find out what purpose is in the Trojans, whether they will abandon their high city, now that this man has fallen, or are minded to stay, though Hektor lives no longer. Yet still, why does the heart within me debate on these things? There is a dead man who lies by the ships, unwept, unburied: Patroklos: and I will not forget him, never so long as I remain among the living and my knees have their spring beneath me.*<sup>84</sup>

Such an attack on Troy agrees with Zeus' predictions in *Iliad* XV:

*In anger for him brilliant Achilleus shall then kill Hektor. And from then on I would make the fighting surge back from the vessels always and continuously, until the Achaians capture headlong Ilion through the designs of Athene.*<sup>85</sup>

<sup>84</sup>*Iliad* XXII 381-388. <sup>85</sup>*Iliad* XV 68-71.

This may indicate that the fall of Troy occurred in most versions of the *Iliad*. Another possibility is that the audience is left ignorant of the ending of the story to increase the tension. In our *Iliad*, the choice has been made to conclude the story with the funeral ceremonies of two important heroes, a Greek (Patroklos) and a Trojan (Hektor), following the logic of the Compassion Narrative.

### ***Iliad* XXIII: The Direction of the Achilles Bard**

In *Iliad* XXIII 1 to 258, about the burial of Patroklos before the funeral games, we find the same tense relationship between the oral characteristics of the Achilles Bard and those of the Narrative Bard as in *Iliad* XIX. But while the Achilles Bard is defeated in *Iliad* XIX, he triumphs in *Iliad* XXIII. What we have to conclude is that the Achilles Bard is in control of the direction of *Iliad* XXIII, even when the Narrative Bard and the God Bard are improvising. This allows us – or forces us – to make additional assumptions about how our *Iliad* came about through alternate improvisation.

What we see is that the Narrative Bard uses his own oral characteristics, but, under pressure from the Achilles Bard, he provides them with a denial or a postponement. After just a few verses, the Narrative Bard has Achilles say this:

*Myrmidons, you of the fast horses, my steadfast companions, we must not yet slip free of the chariots our single-foot horses, but with these very horses and chariots we must drive close up to Patroklos and mourn him, since such is the privilege of the perished. Then, when we have taken full satisfaction from the sorrowful dirge, we shall set our horses free, and all of us eat here.*<sup>86</sup>

Unharnessing the horses (D42) and eating a meal (D5) are very typical characteristics of the Narrative Delta Tradition, the main specialty of the Narrative Bard. However, the Achilles Bard has other priorities, such as mourning Patroklos (Ea24). The unharnessing of the horses and the meal are therefore postponed. Yet they remain oral characteristics of the Narrative Delta Tradition, so these verses were probably improvised by the Narrative Bard, albeit under the direction of the Achilles Bard.

After this passage, the Achilles Bard himself takes the floor in the alternate improvisation. In it he can be recognized by leading the lamentation

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<sup>86</sup>*Iliad* XXIII 6-11.

(Ed9, Ea1), tears (Ed13, Ea1), Thetis (Ea13), and the dwelling of Hades (Ea17) as part of the Achilles Role. But we also find the sacrificing of twelve Trojans and the desecration of Hektor's corpse in other places improvised by the Achilles Bard.

After that, the Narrative Bard can continue with the unharnessing of the horses and the meal. But when it comes to washing after battle, and gathering the chiefs with Agamemnon, the Achilles Bard again vetoes it. We read the following verses from the Narrative Bard:

*But now the kings of the Achaians brought the swift-footed lord, the son of Peleus, to great Agamemnon, hardly persuading him, since his heart was still angered for his companion. When these had made their way to the shelter of Agamemnon straightway they gave orders to the heralds, the clear crying, to set a great cauldron over the fire, if so they might persuade the son of Peleus to wash away the filth of the bloodstains, but he denied them stubbornly and swore an oath on it: "No, before Zeus, who is greatest of gods and the highest, there is no right in letting water come near my head, until I have laid Patroklos on the burning pyre, and heaped the mound over him, and cut my hair for him, since there will come no second sorrow like this to my heart again while I am still one of the living. Then let us now give way to the gloomy feast; and with the dawn cause your people to rise, O lord of men Agamemnon, and bring in timber."<sup>87</sup>*

The oral characteristics of the Narrative Delta Tradition herein are: gathering the chiefs in a meeting (D2), a meal (D5), swearing an oath (D11), heralds (D14), Zeus (D24), Agamemnon as the supreme leader (D25), fire and firewood (D26), a burial mound (D30), the washing after battle (D32), a cauldron and bath water (D38), and blood and filth (D48). Besides the trouble it takes to persuade Achilles to a meeting, and the refusal to wash, Achilles also speaks of 'this gloomy<sup>88</sup> feast.' These are again forms of a negation of the oral characteristics of the Narrative Bard. Also in the fact that Achilles orders Agamemnon to have firewood fetched, we recognize the influence of the Achilles Bard on the characteristics of the Narrative Bard.

Furthermore, it is remarkable that it is not mentioned that the other Greeks wash, according to the Narrative Delta characteristic D32. This leads

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<sup>87</sup>*Iliad* XXIII 35-50. <sup>88</sup>Gr.: *στυγερὸς*.

us to suspect that the following has happened: First, the Narrative Bard improvises that all Greeks wash. Then, second, the Achilles Bard vetoes it, saying Achilles is too much in mourning to wash. Third, the Narrative Bard improvises the above verses, without ever mentioning that the Greeks wash after battle. Such interventions of the Achilles Bard again indicate that actions off the record had become a traditional part of a performance that should give the impression that there was more improvisation than what was actually the case.

In the further course of *Iliad* XXIII 1-258, the Achilles Bard can be recognized, in addition to his usual oral characteristics, by the fact that there are other living beings on the pyre besides Patroklos: both sacrificial animals and sacrificed Trojans. When the God Bard speaks of ‘the corpses’ in the plural on verse 197, we may recognize the direction of the Achilles Bard in it. On the other hand, the God Bard is always very lenient and gives priority to the consistency of the story rather than to a predetermined set of oral characteristics. This weak<sup>89</sup> oral characteristic of the Achilles Bard, the beings sacrificed at the stake, allows the Achilles Bard to continue after the following verses from the Narrative Bard, halfway through a speech of Achilles:

*First put out with gleaming wine the pyre that is burning, all that still has on it the fury of fire; and afterward we shall gather up the bones of Patroklos, the son of Menoitios, [...]*<sup>90</sup>

The pyre (D30), wine (D21), fire (D26), and the gathering of the bones (D30) are oral characteristics of the Narrative Bard. The Achilles Bard then lets Achilles continue:

*[...] which we shall easily tell apart, since they are conspicuous where he lay in the middle of the pyre and the others far from him at the edge burned, the men indiscriminately with the horses.*<sup>91</sup>

This ‘which we shall easily tell apart’ is possibly a nod to the analyst who tries to tell apart the different bards in the text on the basis of their oral characteristics. Taking over halfway the speech of a character is exceptional. It might be permitted because of the nod. In any case, there are more oral characteristics of the Achilles Bard, such as Hades (Ea17), Achilles predicting his own death (Ea11), and Achilles’ wish to be salvaged in the same

<sup>89</sup>Even though the characteristic occurs only twice, there is much emphasis on it. <sup>90</sup>*Iliad* XXIII 237-239. <sup>91</sup>*Iliad* XXIII 240-242.

urn as Patroklos (Ea24).

*Iliad* XXIII ends with the funeral games for Patroklos. That part is a clearly delineated building block, which was probably improvised as a whole by the Achilleus Bard. Achilleus constantly takes the lead, without even any mention of Agamemnon in a leadership role. The entire passage is heavily colored by the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, but all in all it is only weakly influenced by the Achilleus Role.

### ***Iliad* XXIV: Whether or Not a Wall of the Greeks**

In *Iliad* XXIV there are regular changes between the master bards, with the exception of the War Bard. The latter improvised his last verse on XXI 327. The Narrative Bard also uses the Early Dramatic Role twice, making *Iliad* XXIV as a whole more strongly colored by the Ionian Epsilon Tradition than an average chapter.

The last chapter of the *Iliad* also picks up the common thread of the presence or absence of the Greek wall. We had previously assumed that the master bards had a number of techniques to build or tear down the rampart as they wished. For example, in *Iliad* XV, the War Bard had the rampart completely demolished by Apollo. Now we might expect that passage to be the absolute final signal for mentioning the rampart and the ditch in our *Iliad*. The rampart is indeed not mentioned often anymore, but apparently it is still there. Both Achilleus and the gods reappear at the rampart and the ditch to terrify the Trojans according to the logic of the type-scene of setting up the army before the fight.<sup>92</sup> When Priam comes to Achilleus' hut in *Iliad* XXIV, the Achilleus Bard makes Achilleus astonished that Priam was able to come to him without help. Yet this does not mean that the Achilleus Bard must endorse the presence of the rampart of the Greeks, because the oral tradition had already invented a different wall in case the large wall around the Greek camp had already disappeared at that point in the story. This second wall is a fence around Achilleus' hut. The god Hermes is needed to guide Priam along both these walls:

*The kind god spoke, and sprang up behind the horses and into the chariot, and rapidly caught in his hands the lash and the guide reins, and breathed great strength into the mules and horses. Now*

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<sup>92</sup> Achilleus: *Iliad* XVIII 215, the gods: *Iliad* XX 49.

after they had got to the fortifications about the ships, and the ditch, there were sentries, who had just begun to make ready their dinner, but about these the courier Argeiphontes drifted sleep, on all, and quickly opened the gate, and shoved back the door-bars, and brought in Priam and the glorious gifts on the wagon. But when they had got to the shelter of Peleus' son: a towering shelter the Myrmidons had built for their king, hewing the timbers of pine, and they made a roof of thatch above it shaggy with grass that they had gathered out of the meadows; and around it made a great courtyard for their king, with hedgepoles set close together; the gate was secured by a single door-piece of pine, and three Achaians could ram it home in its socket and three could pull back and open the huge door-bar; three other Achaians, that is, but Achilles all by himself could close it. At this time Hermes, the kind god, opened the gate for the old man.<sup>93</sup>

This double wall is necessary because the presence of the large wall around the Greek camp was a variable factor in Priam's visit to Achilles. Therefore, Achilles might be surprised by the arrival of Priam, regardless of what preceded it. Finally, our *Iliad* shows all the options available to the bards regarding the great wall.

Finally, a critical note to conclude the systematic investigation of alternate improvisation. Like *Iliad* XXII, *Iliad* XXIV is primarily a product of the Narrative Delta Tradition. It fits both within the Compassion Narrative and the type-scene of the Brave Scout. However, the Narrative Delta Tradition is beyond the Achilles Bard's classical oral scope. Still, the Delta oral characteristics do not disappear when the Achilles Bard improvises. An example of this are the following verses:

His<sup>94</sup> companions [Ea8] were sitting apart, as two only, Automedon the hero and Alkimos [Ea8], scion of Ares, were busy beside him. He had just now got through with his dinner, with eating and drinking [D5], and the table [Ea1, Ed6, E24] still stood

<sup>93</sup> *Iliad* XXIV 440-457. <sup>94</sup> *The Mykenaian Alpha Tradition*: Bloody feuds within the family (A2), the move to a distant place (A17), the flight after a crime (A32), being rich and noble (A51). *The Narrative Delta Tradition*: Meals with much meat and wine (D5). *The Compassion Narrative*: Knees (Dc30). *The type-scene of the Brave Scout*: Silence and the silent, hidden approach (Ds12), the amazement (Ds28). *The Ionian Epsilon Tradition*: Homeric similes (E6), suppliants and beggars (E21), footstools, seats, and ornate furniture (E24). *The Early Dramatic Role*: The Ionian Epsilon verses around, and in, a core speech (Ed6). *The Achilles Role*: The Early Dramatic Role (Ea1), the companions of Achilles (Ea8).



by [E24]. Tall Priam came in unseen [Ds12] by the other men and stood close beside him and caught the knees [Dc30, E21] of Achilles in his arms, and kissed the hands that were dangerous and manslaughtering and had killed so many of his sons. As [E6] when dense disaster [A31] closes on one who has murdered [A2] a man in his own land, and he comes [A32] to the country of others [A17], to a man of substance [A51], and wonder [Ds28] seizes on those who behold him, so Achilles wondered [Ds28] as he looked on Priam, a godlike man, and the rest of them wondered [Ds28] also, and looked at each other.<sup>95</sup>

In this short passage, we have oral characteristics from different oral scopes: the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition, the Narrative Delta Tradition, the Compassion Narrative, the type-scene of the Brave Scout, the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, the Early Dramatic Role, and the Achilles Role. This leads to the same problem as in *Iliad* XXII, namely whether the Achilles Bard masters all these oral scopes. Here I propose once more that the Achilles bard, even though he is not a specialist of all these oral scopes, masters them enough to show off with a dense mixture of oral scopes. This can also explain the unique occurrence of a Homeric simile that uses the oral characteristics of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition.

This concludes the systematic inquiry into whether the entire *Iliad* can be the result of an alternate improvisation that was immediately fixed. The answer is positive, although an exact analysis can only be assumed with reservations. All things considered, I think the most likely theory is that all the criticism, jokes, and attempts to direct the story worked so well because the four participating bards had performed together many times before. Even their apparent quarrels were deliberate acting that served to give the impression that the performance was improvised to a high degree.

In the next two sections it is examined on the basis of the digressions and the Homeric similes, whether there is room for additional bards who contributed to the fixation of our *Iliad*, apart from the Achilles Bard, the God Bard, the War Bard and the Narrative Bard.

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<sup>95</sup>*Iliad* XXIV 473-484.

## The Digressions

Let us examine here the question of whether there is a need for a fifth digression bard in addition to the four indispensable bards.<sup>96</sup> The main argument for this is that the digressions require a separate specialty, namely that of the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition. Moreover, there are often few substantive connections between the digressions and the context in which they are made. That makes it easy for a bard who specialized in the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition to serve as a digression bard.

Yet I see a series of arguments as to why the digressions were not improvised or inserted by a single bard. To start with, the bard who was speaking before the digression always gets the word back after it. Moreover, the transitions cannot be made sharp. A digression usually has an intro and a closure, and these are, in contrast to the digressions themselves, often related to the context. This is to say that the intro and closure often still show the oral characteristics of the context in which the digression is made – that is, of the bard who would give up the word. On the other hand, the intro and the closure belong to the uninterrupted train of thought of the person making the digression. So technically it may have been difficult to deploy a digression bard.

An argument can also be found for each of the four indispensable bards why they did not use a digression bard. The War Bard already uses a lot of Mykenaian Alpha characteristics in his background descriptions of the dying fighters anyway. For him there is a continuum between short background descriptions and longer digressions. This makes a digression bard unnecessary for the War Bard. The digressions of the Achilles Bard fit into a pattern of moralizing wisdom, according to oral characteristic Ea19, so that it seems plausible that the Achilles Bard also specialized in making digressions. Another argument for why the Achilles Bard makes his own digressions is that there is a digression in the funeral games for Patroklos.<sup>97</sup> Those funeral games form a separate building block that the Achilles Bard probably prepared independently without alternating improvisation.

If a digression bard had taken part in the alternate improvisation of our *Iliad*, the God Bard most likely did not use him. According to oral characteristic Eg18 the digressions of the God Bard are atypical, and thus form a specialty in themselves. Finally, the Narrative Bard makes a digression<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup>An overview of all passages that could have been improvised by a digression bard can be found in the appendix with the overview of all passages. <sup>97</sup>*Iliad* XXIII 629-646. <sup>98</sup>*Iliad* I 261-274.

when he first speaks.<sup>99</sup> That digression is the culmination of his intervention. We can therefore surmise that the Narrative Bard wanted to showcase his skills by making that digression. So we can conclude that it is unlikely that a digression bard contributed to the alternate improvisation of our *Iliad*.

## Homeric Similes: Statistics and Analysis

At first glance, the Homeric similes seem of little interest in an analysis, as they are used in every oral scope, be it bards, roles, oral traditions, or stories. Moreover, they also seem to be homogeneous in content, according to the categories described on p. 25. This raises the question of whether they may have been inserted – all or most of them – afterward by an editor. To answer that question, I made a quantitative analysis of the Homeric similes (HV), broken down by bards, roles and speeches:

Abbreviation	Oral scope	Number of verses		Number of HVs		1/freq. HVs	Length HVs	Fraction HVs
W	War Bard	5335	165	32	2.5	7.8%		
N	Narrative Bard	3858	66	59	2.2	3.7%		
A	Achilleus Bard	2764	29	94	1.4	1.5%		
G	God Bard	2565	27	93	1.7	1.8%		
D	Digression Bard	620	4	155	1.4	0.9%		
Do	Doloneia Bard	546	8	68	1,5	2,2%		
<b>I</b>	<b><i>Iliad</i></b>	<b>15688</b>	<b>299</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>2,2</b>	<b>4,3%</b>		
EN	Early role + Narrative	812	12	68	1.4	2.1%		
EW	Early role + War	20	0	-	-	0.0%		
EG	Early role + God	13	0	-	-	0.0%		
E	Early Dramatic Role	845	12	70	1.4	2.0%		
Dr	Dramatic role	3571	41	87	1.4	1.6%		
S	Speeches	7050	36	196	1,2	0,6%		
AS	Achilleus Bard speeches	1672	12	139	1.1	0.8%		
ES	Early role speeches	581	8	73	1,2	1,7%		
DS	Dramatic speeches	2253	20	113	1.1	1.0%		

<sup>99</sup> *Iliad* I 246-291.

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The first numeric column is the total number of verses of the oral scope<sup>100</sup> and the second column the total number of Homeric similes. The third column is the inverse of the frequency with which the Homeric similes appear, and thus the average number of verses between the Homeric similes (or also the division of the total number of verses by the number of Homeric similes). The fourth column is the average length of the Homeric similes, and the fifth column is the fraction of the oral scope occupied by the Homeric similes (or also the division of the number of Homeric similes by the total number of verses multiplied by the average length), expressed in percent.<sup>101</sup>

I classify Homeric similes according to the criterion that they are comparisons, and not according to their length or form. This means that there is a continuum between long Homeric similes and epithets: similes like ‘quick as the wind’, ‘like a god’, ‘like a lion’ and ‘fresh as dew’ can also be Homeric similes by that criterion.<sup>102</sup>

This analysis shows that there are significant differences between the different oral scopes with respect to the length and frequency of the Homeric similes. These are probably due to several factors. First, to the fact that Homeric similes fit better with certain oral scopes, such as the long battle passages, where they can provide variation. Second, to the dramatic roles that refined the use of the Homeric similes. And third, to personal preferences of the bards who helped fix the *Iliad*. This means that there is no room for a final editor who has applied the Homeric similes homogeneously in our *Iliad*. Homer’s finishing touch symbolizes the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, and not a concrete bard who helped fix the *Iliad*.

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<sup>100</sup>The oral scopes are not all mutually independent. The following relationships hold for the first two numerical columns:  $I = W + N + A + G + D + Do$ ,  $E = EN + EW + EG$ ,  $Dr = A + E$  and  $DS = AS + ES$ . <sup>101</sup>The number of verses in the speeches are calculated estimates based on Ian Johnston’s <http://johnstoniatexts.x10host.com/homer/speeches.html>. <sup>102</sup>I must admit that I may have overlooked a good number of such short Homeric similes.

## Chapter 5

# Conclusions

The Ionian Epsilon Tradition can be found in the *Iliad* as the roofing, the putty and the wallpaper on a shell that has long been standing. The influence on the *Odyssey* is greater and there the Ionian Epsilon Tradition delivers quite a bit of solid carpentry and neatly polished building blocks. The Ionian Epsilon Tradition relates to the *Iliad* handed down to us in a fundamentally different way than the other four oral traditions in the Homeric Traditions series: our *Iliad* is fixed in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. The remaining four oral traditions and their oral scopes appear only as subspecialties of bards who operated in the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. They are diachronic (continuous) translations of an alien oral tradition into the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. So we have to distinguish between the actual Ionian Epsilon Tradition and the diachronically translated subspecialties.

As for the other oral traditions, the oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition proper can be identified by looking for clusters of oral characteristics that, first, appear in the same passages and, second, have interrelated content. This shows that the entire *Odyssey* is strongly colored by the Ionian Epsilon Tradition, so that we have a third method to discover the Ionian Epsilon characteristics: collecting the repeated oral characteristics in the *Odyssey*. However, we must not forget that the *Odyssey* comes from the King Story,<sup>1</sup> the Tele Story<sup>2</sup> and the type-scene of the Brave Scout.<sup>3</sup>

The Ionian Epsilon Tradition probably originated in circles of nobles who practiced the guest-friendship. Besides the guest-friendship itself, materialism, shipping and a noble house are striking characteristics that refer to the social background of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. This also includes

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<sup>1</sup>Blondé 2018. <sup>2</sup>Blondé 2020. <sup>3</sup>Blondé 2021.

the great wealth and exotic objects, such as clothing from Sidon, ivory and amber. Trade and piracy are also oral characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. Connected to the guest-friendship we also find all kinds of etiquette rules, polite conversations, and type-scenes about receiving guests. Slaves, servants, shepherds, heralds, and bards live and work in the houses of the nobles. Finally, the Ionian Epsilon society is peaceful.

In addition to the semantic content of the oral characteristics, there are also a series of stylistic characteristics that characterize the purest Ionian Epsilon passages: more epithets, more double epithets, more descriptive clauses, plural addresses (such as the lord Zeus, son of Kronos), detailed descriptions of actions and material objects, and a poetic style.

The Homeric similes, the epithets and the descriptions of the scenes on Achilles' shield are closely related in content. They describe an idyllic, peaceful world. The categories that are naturally epithetized are women, animals and objects. Their epithets usually refer to external characteristics, such as the gray-eyed Athene, the long-necked swans, and the smooth-polished bathtubs. Many concepts that come from alien oral traditions have a somewhat unnatural translation to this system, such as the bronze-armored Argives, the flowing-haired Achaians, Hektor of the glancing helm, and Achilles of the swift feet. Still, not all epithets are related to the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. For example, place names and peoples have epithets related to the Mykenian Alpha Tradition.

That the Ionian Epsilon Tradition in the *Iliad* is only a finishing layer is evidenced by the fact that no Ionian Epsilon characteristics appear in a summary of the *Iliad*. On the other hand, the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is present in every passage thanks to its stylistic characteristics: the epithets, the Homeric similes, the subordinate clauses, and so on. After all, the chariots are also smoothed, as the system of epithets prescribes.

A summary of the *Odyssey* does contain the characteristics of the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. In it, the Ionian Epsilon characteristics are present on both a large and a small scale. So we find two arguments why the Ionian Epsilon Tradition is the youngest oral tradition: it appears too late to leave its mark on the oldest epic – the *Iliad* – and its content is connected with the guest-friendship among nobles in the Homeric era.

The Ionian Epsilon Tradition also includes some roles that could serve as a subspecialty in which an Ionian Epsilon bard could become proficient: the Early and Late Dramatic Role, the God Role, and the War Role. The two dramatic roles stem from the fusion of the Narrative Delta Tradition with

the Ionian Epsilon Tradition. A prominent oral characteristic of the Early Dramatic Role is the question of guilt: who is to blame for the origin of the Trojan War? The Late Dramatic Role is a refinement of the Early Dramatic Role applied to the character Achilles and Achilles' relatives.

In three places in the *Iliad*, at the end of *Iliad* XIII, *Iliad* XIX, and the beginning of *Iliad* XXIII, there are clear indications that the fixation of our *Iliad* took place thanks to a performance in which a number of bards took turns taking the floor. Further research shows that four bards are indispensable: the Achilles Bard, the Narrative Bard, the War Bard and the God Bard. Their main specialties are the Late Dramatic Role, the Narrative Delta Tradition, the European Beta Tradition, and the God Role, respectively. In the three aforementioned chapters of the *Iliad*, the bards, who improvise alternately, criticize each other, or try to steer the further course of the story. The disagreement between characters such as Poulydamas, Hektor, Achilles and Odysseus can be interpreted as a disagreement between the improvising bards. Yet it seems that such apparent quarrels have a traditional character. Presumably this quartet of bards has often performed together. Since such alternate improvisation would probably have been difficult to slow down, we must assume that many memorizers and/or writers were present during the performance in order to be able to reproduce the whole literally later on.

The climax of the *Iliad* can be found in the answer of the Narrative Bard, who, through Odysseus, aims for more narrative and poetic passages, to the Achilles Bard, who has Achilles summon to start the battle immediately – before dinner:

*When there is battle men have suddenly their fill of it when the bronze scatters on the ground the straw in most numbers and the harvest is most thin, when Zeus has poised his balance.*<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>*Iliad* XIX 221-223.

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# Overview of the Oral Traditions

1. *The Mykenaian Alpha Tradition: On the Origin of Greek Stories*
2. *The European Beta Tradition: On the Origin of the Iliad*
3. *The Aeolian Gamma Tradition: On the Origin of Roman Stories*
4. *The Narrative Delta Tradition: Iliadic Fairy Tales*
5. *The Ionian Epsilon Tradition: Homer's Finishing Touch*

# Overview of the Passages

All the passages in this appendix are passages of the *Iliad*.

## The Ionian Epsilon Tradition

The passages annotated with a 3 below are most strongly colored by the Ionian Epsilon tradition. Those that are not mentioned least.

I 430-502	2 The Greeks bring Chriseis back to her father
I 531-536	2 Zeus is welcomed by the other gods
I 568-611	3 The gods celebrate on Olympos
II 41-49	3 Agamemnon gets dressed
II 87-332	1 The Greek army is put to the test
II 421-493	2 Homeric similes and the Muses
III 1-27	2 Homeric similes about the Greek advance
III 121-144	3 Iris informs Helen about the duel for her
III 228-244	1 Helen describes Greek kings
III 380-447	3 Aphrodite has Helen make love to Paris
IV 1-4	3 The gods are gathered in the palace of Zeus
IV 127-147	1 Menelaos turns blood red by an arrow shot
V 59-64	2 Phereklos, a master craftsman, built ships for Paris
V 352-430	1 Aphrodite travels to Olympos
V 719-785	2 Hera and Athene come to help the Greeks
V 868-909	1 Ares returns to Olympos
VI 12-16	2 Axylos welcomed many guests in his house
VI 212-236	2 Diomedes on the exchange of guest gifts
VI 237-529	2 Hector meets his family in Troy
VII 296-324	3 Hector and Aias exchange gifts and eat
VII 466-477	1 The Greeks buy wine and feast

VIII 1-52	1 Zeus forbids the gods to fight
VIII 346-485	1 Hera and Athene tamper with Zeus' prohibition
IX 182-228	3 Achilles receives Greek envoys in his tent
IX 465-477	1 Phoinix escapes captivity
IX 656-671	3 Achilles and Patroklos go to sleep
X 1-579	1 The Doloneia: a nighttime sneak trip
X 261-270	3 Meriones' boar tusk helmet was a present
XI 17-42	3 The description of Agamemnon's armor
XI 620-647	3 Nestor receives Machaon and Patroklos
XI 766-779	3 The reception of Nestor and Odysseus by Peleus
XII 293-306	2 The description of Sarpedon and his shield
XIII 18-38	3 Poseidon travels to the battlefield near Troy
XIII 427-433	1 Alkaïthoös' wife surpassed all in beauty and skills
XIII 610-613	3 The weapons of Menelaos and Peisandros
XIII 625-639	2 Menelaos accuses Zeus and the Trojans
XIII 660-661	2 Harpalion was a guest friend of Paris
XIV 1-8	2 Nestor takes care of Machaon as a guest
XIV 153-353	2 Hera travels to Zeus and deceives him
XIV 162-188	3 Hera makes herself beautiful and fragrant
XV 78-103	3 The gods receive Hera on Olympus
XV 530-532	2 Meges' shield was given by a guest of Meges' father
XVI 143-144	2 Achilles' spear was a present by Cheiron for Peleus
XVI 211-235	2 Achilles prays at the departure of the Myrmidons
XVIII 369-427	3 Thetis is received by Hephaistos
XVIII 462-616	3 The description of Achilles' weapons
XIX 282-302	2 Briseis laments Patroklos
XXII 153-164	2 Achilles chases Hektor
XXII 440-470	2 Andromache sees Hektor being dragged along
XXIII 185-230	2 Gods help Hektor and Achilles
XXIII 259-897	3 The funeral games for Patroklos
XXIV 20-111	3 Zeus plans to save Hektor's corpse
XXIV 112-227	1 Thetis and Iris bring the message of Zeus
XXIV 228-285	3 Priam getting ready to go
XXIV 286-576	1 Achilles shows compassion for Priam
XXIV 577-601	3 Achilles loads Hektor on Priam's wagon
XXIV 621-678	3 Achilles and Priam eat and sleep
XXIV 679-785	1 The Trojans mourn and bury Hektor

## Alternate Improvisation

### The Alternately Improvised Passages

Here follows, to the best of my ability, a possible division of the *Iliad* according to an alternate improvisation with four bards (A = Achilles Bard, G = God Bard, N = Narrative Bard, W = War Bard). It should be clear that this classification is accompanied by great uncertainties here and there. Both with respect to whom is speaking, and what the verse numbers of the transitions are exactly.

I 1-194	A: Achilleus and Agamemnon quarrel
I 194-222	G: Athene pacifies Achilleus
I 223-246	A: Achilleus scolds and passes the word
I 246-291	N: Nestor mediates in the quarrel
I 292-307	A: Achilleus on his possessions
I 308-348	N: Agamemnon has Briseis collected from Achilleus
I 348-356	A: Achilleus prays to his mother Thetis
I 357-363	G: Thetis emerges from the waves and answers
I 364-395	A: Achilleus tells what happened
I 396-406	G: A digression about a revolt against Zeus
I 407-422	A: Thetis laments the fate of Achilleus
I 423-427	G: Zeus is traveling to Okeanos
I 428-430	A: Achilleus continues to hold grudges
I 430-487	N: The Greeks bring Chryseis back to Chryses
I 488-492	A: Achilleus abstains from the fight
I 493-611	G: Zeus makes plans with Thetis
II 1-45	G: Zeus sends Dream to Agamemnon
II 46-55	N: Agamemnon gathers the chiefs at Nestor's ship
II 56-71	G: The repetition of Zeus' command
II 72-156	N: Agamemnon puts the army to the test
II 156-182	G: Athene has Odysseus recall the army
II 183-210	N: Odysseus calls the Greeks back
II 211-283	A: Thersites taunts Agamemnon
II 283-444	N: The army prepares for battle
II 445-685	W: The enumeration of the Greek fighters
II 686-694	A: Achilleus lies down in his tent
II 695-770	W: Further listing of the Greek fighters
II 771-815	N: Iris summons the Trojans to battle

II 816-877	W: Enumeration of the Trojan fighters
III 1-461	N: Menelaos and Paris duel
IV 1-85	G: The gods let the Trojans break the treaty
IV 86-126	W: Pandaros wounds Menelaos with an arrow
IV 127-456	N: The Greeks and the Trojans clash again
IV 457-544	W: Overall fight; Apollo encourages the Trojans
V 1-329	W: Diomedes goes wild and kills Pandaros
V 330-430	G: Aphrodite complains about the bold Diomedes
V 431-709	W: Overall fight; Tlepolemos dies
V 710-904	G: Athene and Diomedes injure Ares
VI 1-72	W: Overall fight; Agamemnon kills Adrastus
VI 73-118	N: Helenos advises Hektor to make sacrifices
VI 119-236	W: Diomedes and Glaukos swap their weapons
VI 237-529	N: Hektor visits his relatives in Troy
VII 1-16	W: Hektor and Paris each kill an enemy
VII 17-43	G: Athene and Apollo want that Hektor duels
VII 44-122	N: The Greeks prevent Menelaos from dueling
VII 123-160	A: Peleus would pray to enter Hades
VII 161-232	N: The allotment of dueling Hektor indicates Aias
VII 233-272	W: Hektor and Aias duel
VII 272-441	N: A truce and the Greek wall
VII 442-463	G: The wrath of Poseidon about the Greek wall
VII 464-482	N: The Greeks buy and drink wine
VIII 1-52	G: Zeus forbids the gods to fight
VIII 53-77	N: The Greeks and Trojans clash again
VIII 78-129	W: Diomedes calls on Odysseus to help Nestor
VIII 130-197	N: Diomedes and Nestor have to give way to Hektor
VIII 198-211	G: Hera wants to violate Zeus' prohibition
VIII 212-252	N: Agamemnon turns the tide with a prayer to Zeus
VIII 253-342	W: Teukros kills many, but not Hektor
VIII 343-484	G: Hera and Athene want to break Zeus' ban
VIII 485-561	N: The Trojans stay in the field overnight
IX 1-102	N: Agamemnon weeps and the Greeks gather
IX 103-161	A: Agamemnon lists the gifts for Achilles
IX 162-181	N: Nestor puts together a delegation
IX 182-692	A: Achilles receives the Greek delegation
IX 693-713	N: Diomedes proposes to eat and sleep
X 1-506	N: The Doloneia: a nighttime sneak trip

X 507-519	G: Athene and Apollo assist the warriors
X 520-579	N: Odysseus and Diomedes safely return
XI 1-73	W: The armies line up for battle
XI 74-82	G: The gods must stay on Olympus
XI 83-180	W: Agamemnon's triumphant raid
XI 181-210	G: Zeus sends Iris to Hektor
XI 211-595	W: The Greeks are injured
XI 595-848	A: Patroklos meets Nestor and Eurypylos
XII 1-35	G: Poseidon, Apollo, and Zeus destroy the wall
XII 35-80	N: Poulydamas gives advice on the Greek wall
XII 81-194	W: The Trojans are attacking the wall orderly
XII 195-250	N: Poulydamas and Hektor explain a bird omen
XII 251-471	W: The Trojans try to break the wall
XIII 1-65	G: Poseidon awakens the fighting spirit of the Aiantes
XIII 66-344	W: Poseidon assists the Greeks
XIII 345-360	G: Zeus and Poseidon help the warriors
XIII 361-520	W: Overall fight; Idomeneus, Deïphobos, Aineias
XIII 521-525	G: Ares remains ignorant of his son's death
XIII 526-722	W: Overall fight; Menelaos about the question of guilt
XIII 723-837	N: Poulydamas and Hektor restore order
XIV 1-134	N: Odysseus and Diomedes give good advice
XIV 135-362	G: Hera helps the Greeks by deceiving Zeus
XIV 363-522	W: The Greeks win thanks to Poseidon
XV 1-261	G: Zeus awakens and commands the gods
XV 262-389	W: Apollo leads the Trojans forward
XV 390-398	N: Patroklos sees the Trojans within the wall
XV 399-405	A: Patroklos wants to persuade Achilles
XV 405-746	W: Even Aias can no longer resist the Trojans
XVI 1-100	A: Patroklos borrows Achilles' armor
XVI 101-124	W: Hektor throws fire into the ships
XVI 124-154	A: Patroklos puts on Achilles' armor
XVI 155-197	W: The Myrmidons are classified into groups
XVI 198-256	A: Achilles pours wine for Zeus
XVI 257-430	W: The Myrmidons defeat the enemy
XVI 431-461	G: Zeus feels sorry for Sarpedon
XVI 462-644	W: Battle for the corpse of Sarpedon
XVI 644-683	G: Apollo washes and anoints Sarpedon
XVI 684-829	W: Hektor kills the victorious Patroklos

XVI 830-867	A: Patroklos predicts Hektor's death
XVII 1-197	W: Menelaos protects Patroklos' corpse
XVII 198-210	G: Zeus sees the overconfident Hektor
XVII 210-401	W: Menelaos and Aias fight for Patroklos' corpse
XVII 401-465	A: Zeus provides Achilles' horses with power
XVII 466-761	W: Menelaos sends Antilochos to Achilles
XVIII 1-147	A: Achilles learns of the death of Patroklos
XVIII 148-165	W: Hektor does not depart from Patroklos' corpse
XVIII 166-186	G: Iris makes Achilles stand up
XVIII 187-195	A: Achilles says he has no armor
XVIII 196-231	G: Athene makes Achilles look frightening
XVIII 231-323	N: No one listens to Poulydamas' good advice
XVIII 324-342	A: Achilles laments Patroklos
XVIII 343-355	N: Achilles has Patroklos washed and anointed
XVIII 356-427	G: Hephaistos receives Thetis warmly
XVIII 428-467	A: Thetis tells weeping about Achilles
XVIII 468-616	G: Achilles' weapons forged by Hephaistos
XIX 1-27	A: Achilles gets his weapons from Thetis
XIX 28-39	G: Thetis keeps Patroklos' corpse intact
XIX 40-55	N: Achilles calls the Greeks to a meeting
XIX 56-73	A: Achilles ends his grudge against Agamemnon
XIX 74-144	N: Agamemnon offers Achilles gifts
XIX 145-153	A: Achilles wants to start fighting immediately
XIX 154-197	N: Agamemnon wants to give the gifts first
XIX 198-214	A: Achilles wants to fight and not eat
XIX 215-268	N: Agamemnon hands over the gifts
XIX 268-302	A: Achilles is regretful and Briseis mourns
XIX 303-313	N: A coalition wants to let Achilles eat
XIX 314-339	A: Achilles recalls what he left at home
XIX 340-356	G: Athene drips nectar into Achilles' chest
XIX 356-383	W: The Greeks advance and Achilles arms
XIX 384-424	A: Achilles, armed, talks to his horses
XX 1-40	G: Zeus no longer forbids the gods to fight
XX 41-53	W: Eris stirs up to battle
XX 54-74	G: The gods oppose each other
XX 75-111	W: Aineias meets Achilles
XX 112-155	G: Poseidon sits down on the wall for Herakles
XX 156-291	W: Aineias and Achilles fight

XX 292-341	G: Poseidon carries Aineias away from Achilles
XX 342-503	W: Apollo carries Hektor away from Achilles
XXI 1-26	W: The Trojans flee into the river Xanthos
XXI 26-116	N: Lykaon falls into the hands of Achilles
XXI 116-272	W: Achilles kills many Trojans in the Xanthos
XXI 272-283	A: Achilles begs for help against Xanthos
XXI 284-298	G: Poseidon and Athene advise Achilles
XXI 299-327	W: Xanthos attacks Achilles
XXI 328-520	G: The gods fight among themselves
XXI 520-611	N: Apollo and Agenor deceive Achilles
XXII 1-166	N: Achilles drives Hektor three times around Troy
XXII 166-187	G: Zeus allows Athene to help Achilles
XXII 188-330	N: Achilles just leaves Hektor's windpipe intact
XXII 331-429	A: Achilles mistreats the dead Hektor
XXII 430-515	N: Hekabe and Andromache lament Hektor's death
XXIII 1-11	N: Achilles holds the Myrmidons together
XXIII 12-26	A: Achilles leads the mourning
XXIII 26-58	N: Achilles eats but does not wash
XXIII 59-108	A: Achilles talks to the ghost of Patroklos
XXIII 109-139	N: The Greeks throw locks of hair on Patroklos
XXIII 140-153	A: Achilles gives Patroklos a lock of hair
XXIII 154-167	N: The captains are preparing a pyre
XXIII 167-183	A: Achilles places sacrifices on the pyre
XXIII 184-230	G: The gods of the wind let the pyre burn
XXIII 231-239	N: Achilles sleeps, is awakened, and commands
XXIII 240-248	A: Achilles says how to arrange the funeral
XXIII 249-257	N: The Greeks arrange the funeral
XXIII 257-897	A: Achilles organizes funeral games
XXIV 1-3	N: The Greeks eat and go to sleep
XXIV 3-18	A: Achilles drags Hektor through the dust
XXIV 18-121	G: The gods want to free Hektor
XXIV 122-132	A: Thetis arrives at Achilles' tent
XXIV 133-137	G: Thetis brings Achilles the message of Zeus
XXIV 138-140	A: Achilles agrees to Zeus' request
XXIV 141-160	G: Zeus sends Iris to Priam
XXIV 160-168	N: Priam wallows in the dust
XXIV 169-188	G: Iris brings Zeus' message to Priam
XXIV 189-331	N: Priam collects a ransom for Hektor



XXIV 331-348	G: Zeus sends Hermes to Priam
XXIV 349-409	N: Priam meets Hermes
XXIV 410-428	G: Hermes says Hektor's corpse is unharmed
XXIV 428-447	N: Hermes brings Priam into the Greek camp
XXIV 448-676	A: Achilles returns Hektor's body
XXIV 677-694	G: Hermes safely guides Priam away
XXIV 695-804	N: The Trojans take care of Hektor's funeral

### **The Purely Early Dramatic Role**

Most of the passages of the Early Dramatic Role that do not also contain characteristics of the later Achilles Role, are improvised by the Narrative Bard (N). The God Bard (G) and the War Bard (W) also use the Early Dramatic Role to improvise the question of guilt, but these passages are much shorter than those of the Narrative Bard.

III 38-66	N: Hektor blames Paris for his beauty
III 121-244	N: Helen talks to Priam on the ramparts of Troy
III 373-447	N: Aphrodite brings Helen and Paris together in bed
V 347-351	G: Diomedes accuses Aphrodite
V 418-425	G: Athene accuses Aphrodite
VI 237-529	N: Hektor visits his relatives in Troy
XI 385	W: Diomedes taunts Paris
XIII 621-639	W: Menelaos accuses Zeus and the Trojans
XIII 769-777	N: Paris answers Hektor's accusation
XIII 823-832	N: Hektor taunts Aias
XXII 33-90	N: Priam and Hekabe bemoan their fate
XXII 430-515	N: Hekabe and Andromache lament Hektor's death
XXIV 160-168	N: The Trojans bemoan the slain
XXIV 200-264	N: Hekabe and Priam's sons hinder Priam
XXIV 723-776	N: The women of Troy mourn Hektor

### **The Digressions**

#### **The Digression Bard**

Here are the digressions that may have been improvised by a digression bard in the Mykenaian Alpha Tradition, should such bard have taken part in the alternate improvisation. I exclude most of the digressions of the God Bard from this oral scope, because these have their own distinct style.

I 261-274	N: Nestor on his fight against the Centaurs
II 101-108	N: The lineage of Agamemnon's scepter
II 663-670	W: Tlepolemos flees from the Heraklids
III 184-190	N: Priam describes the war against the Amazons
IV 374-400	N: Agamemnon tells of Tydeus' deeds
V 636-651	W: Tlepolemos boasts of his father Herakles
V 800-813	G: Athene praises Tydeus' exploits at Thebes
VI 129-140	W: Diomedes learns lessons from Lykurgos' hubris
VI 145-211	W: Glaukos glorifies the deeds of Bellerophontes
VII 132-158	A: Nestor compares Hektor to Ereuthalion
IX 445-484	A: Phoinix explains how he became king
IX 524-599	A: Phoinix tells of the battle at Kalydon
X 260-271	N: The lineage of the helmet with the boar teeth
X 284-291	N: Diomedes recalls the exploits of Tydeus
XI 668-762	A: Nestor's exploits against the Epeians
XIV 109-127	N: Diomedes boasts of his lineage
XVI 180-192	W: Polymele bore Eudoros to Hermes
XIX 85-136	N: Agamemnon on Zeus' blindness
XX 178-243	W: Aineias shows off his divine lineage
XXIII 629-646	A: Nestor recalls past funeral games
XXIV 601-619	A: Achilleus recalls the tragedy of Niobe

### **Digressions of the God Bard**

The digressions of the God Bard, which have a different style, follow here:

I 396-406	Thetis enlists the help of Briareos
I 590-594	Hephaistos recalls the wrath of Zeus
V 383-404	Dione condemns the reckless acts of mortals
V 800-813	Athene praises Tydeus' exploits at Thebes
VIII 362-369	Athene talks about her help to Herakles
XII 3-33	The gods destroy the ramparts of the Greeks
XIV 201-207	Hera on the relationship between Okeanos and Tethys
XIV 250-261	The god Sleep about the wrath of Zeus
XIV 317-327	Zeus about his crushes
XV 18-30	Zeus is angry with Hera
XVIII 395-405	Hephaistos on his stay with Thetis
XX 145-148	The rampart the Trojans built for Herakles
XXI 441-457	The labor of Poseidon and Apollo for Laomedon

XXIV 28-30	Paris' sorrowful choice for Aphrodite
XXIV 59-63	Hera on the marriage between Peleus and Thetis

## **Achilleus' Special Contact With the Gods**

Achilleus has a special contact with the gods, which enables more interaction between the Achilleus Bard and the God Bard. The following passages reveal this special contact:

I 194-222	Achilleus obeys Athene, who was sent by Hera
I 350-365	Achilleus prays and Thetis visits him
I 420-425	Thetis advises Achilleus to stand aside
IX 415-425	Achilleus on Thetis' oracles and the will of Zeus
IX 500-515	Phoenix pleads obedience to the gods with Achilleus
IX 605-610	Achilleus declares that Zeus honors and assists him
XI 795-800	Nestor hopes Thetis gives advice to Achilleus
XV 72-78	Zeus speaks of his promise to Achilleus
XVI 50-55	Achilleus says to have received no oracle from Thetis
XVI 220-255	Achilleus prays to Zeus, who hears his message
XVIII 35-150	Achilleus and Thetis confer after the death of Patroklos
XVIII 165-195	Achilleus obeys Iris, who was sent by Hera
XIX 1-40	Thetis brings Achilleus the weapons of Hephaistos
XIX 340-355	Athene provides Achilleus with new strength
XIX 400-424	Achilleus can talk to his horse Xanthos thanks to Hera
XX 85-105	Aineias explains Achilleus' relationship with the gods
XXI 210-230	Achilleus talks to the river god Xanthos
XXI 275-300	Poseidon and Athene give Achilleus advice and help
XXII 5-25	Achilleus speaks with Apollo
XXII 215-225	Athene consults with Achilleus how to kill Hektor
XXIII 195-200	Achilleus prays to the gods and is answered by Iris
XXIV 125-135	Thetis brings Achilleus a message from Zeus

# An Updated Overview of All Oral Characteristics

This appendix contains an updated and improved overview of all the oral characteristics. It has new identifiers in the leftmost column that are ordered from most important to least important, except for oral scopes that have a chronological order, such as story types and type-scenes. Sometimes, the short descriptions are improved and the new identifiers contain a clue about the name of their oral scope. For example, the identifiers of the characteristics of the European Tradition start with the letter E, while those of its type-scene ‘Setting up the army before the fight,’ start with Es. The old identifiers, which are still used in this book, can be found in the second column.

Estimated importance scores of both the oral characteristics and the passages can be found in a spreadsheet “Homeric Traditions Apparatus,” available on the Academia website.<sup>1</sup> For the characteristics, an interest score is first estimated, usually from 1 to 3. Interest takes into account how characteristic an oral characteristic is for its oral scope, how informative it is about its oral scope (e.g. about its historical background), how much it is interrelated with other characteristics in the scope, and how often the characteristic is used in the Iliad and the Odyssey. Importance then distinguishes oral characteristics with the same interest score via estimates from 1 to 3 of how characteristic an oral characteristic is for its scope and how often the characteristic occurs in the Iliad and the Odyssey.

## A1–54 G1–54: The Aeolian-Homeric Tradition

A1    G10    The environment of Troy

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<sup>1</sup><https://independent.academia.edu/WardBlonde>

A2	G1	The close relationship with the Mykenaian Tradition
A3	G12	The mixture with the European Tradition
A4	G2	Proper names specific to the Aeolian Tradition
A5	G23	Precious, special horses
A6	G14	Defensive walls with a history
A7	G15	Eponyms
A8	G44	Seafaring, storms at sea, and islands
A9	G6	Aineias
A10	G11	Herakles
A11	G19	Rivers
A12	G7	The fall of Troy
A13	G42	Lineages to an ancestor
A14	G48	Fatal marriages and romances
A15	G4	Achilleus
A16	G5	Diomedes
A17	G21	The name Xanthos
A18	G24	The Lykians
A19	G13	Local nature gods and nymphs
A20	G50	Huge, composite, evil monsters
A21	G36	Sea gods and sea monsters
A22	G38	Nymphs and gods as one's mother or father
A23	G39	Precious, divine weapons
A24	G46	Mighty mothers, women, and goddesses
A25	G31	Immersing a body in a river or the sea
A26	G20	Bow and arrow
A27	G45	Mount Ida
A28	G28	Taking care of the dead and wounded
A29	G37	Centaur and Amazons
A30	G43	Insulting the gods, who avenge themselves cruelly
A31	G54	Snakes
A32	G34	Medicine, magic, and mysteries
A33	G3	The gods who interfere, divided over two camps
A34	G8	Paris and Pandaros
A35	G16	Destruction of cities
A36	G17	Injuries
A37	G22	Clusters of oral characteristics
A38	G40	Corpses that are often mutilated
A39	G47	Phantoms, dreams, and false appearances

A40	G27	The wrath of Poseidon
A41	G9	Apollo, Poseidon, and sometimes Artemis
A42	G35	The supreme command of Zeus
A43	G51	Twins
A44	G25	The fate and wishes of the gods
A45	G30	The god who envelops a person in a cloud
A46	G32	Three times the same action
A47	G33	Predicting death or downfall
A48	G41	The strife between Hera and Zeus
A49	G26	Duels and quarrels that often end peacefully
A50	G18	Typical interactions between god and human
A51	G29	The war between two camps
A52	G49	Priests, sacrifices, holiness, and prayer to the gods
A53	G52	Parallels with Eastern oral traditions
A54	G53	Contests and solemn games

#### **AR1–14 G55–68: The Aeolian-Roman Tradition**

AR1	G55	The founding of cities and colonization
AR2	G66	The mother goddess Cybele
AR3	G59	The stories of the Trojan Cycle
AR4	G58	Difficult wanderings in far-off places
AR5	G61	The leader followed by a large group
AR6	G63	Revealed conditions for an expedition to succeed
AR7	G65	The son raised by an animal
AR8	G67	The woman in love who betrays her father or hometown
AR9	G68	The sorrowful queen who dies of suicide
AR10	G62	The inexperienced, desirable juvenile in action
AR11	G56	Madness, crazy deeds, and suicide
AR12	G60	Immortality, the underworld, and the hereafter
AR13	G64	House as home, family, or family tree
AR14	G57	Seers and oracles

#### **Ad 1–21 Gd 1–21: The Destruction Story Type**

Ad1	Gd1	The theme of godliness
Ad2	Gd2	The wickedness of townspeople

Ad3	Gd3	Insulting the god(s)
Ad4	Gd4	The punishment of the god(s)
Ad5	Gd5	The destruction of the city
Ad6	Gd6	The threatening monster
Ad7	Gd7	Petrified people
Ad8	Gd8	The individual who is spared
Ad9	Gd9	The beautiful, special woman in the city
Ad10	Gd10	The king of the city
Ad11	Gd11	The hero's wanderings
Ad12	Gd12	The envoys entering the city
Ad13	Gd13	Providing hospitable shelter
Ad14	Gd14	The return to the city
Ad15	Gd15	The death of a woman
Ad16	Gd16	The human in a small, enclosed space
Ad17	Gd17	Perverted acts
Ad18	Gd18	Narrowly avoided human sacrifices
Ad19	Gd19	A thread for recognition
Ad20	Gd20	Ruins of cities
Ad21	Gd21	The hero as ancestor of a people

### **Am1–9 Gm1–9: The Monster Story Type**

Am1	Gm1	The monster that has existed since the beginning of time
Am2	Gm2	The monster that regularly needs human flesh
Am3	Gm3	The people sacrificed to the monster
Am4	Gm4	The hero who kills the monster
Am5	Gm5	The helper who helps the hero
Am6	Gm6	The exceptional weapons used against the monster
Am7	Gm7	The monster that has people in its stomach
Am8	Gm8	Gratitude or ingratitude to the helper
Am9	Gm9	The helper who dies or commits suicide

### **As1–13 Gs1–13: The Savior Story Type**

As1	Gs1	The evil-doer that has existed since the beginning of time
As2	Gs2	The snake-like monsters or evil gods
As3	Gs3	The creator who makes a new generation of beings

As4	Gs4	The new generation from clay or from evil beings
As5	Gs5	The savior with special gifts, origins, and weapons
As6	Gs6	The savior who acquires forbidden, divine knowledge
As7	Gs7	The savior assisted by good-natured gods
As8	Gs8	The savior who destroys the evil-doers
As9	Gs9	The horrifying corporal punishment of the evil-doers
As10	Gs10	The savior's weapons from remains of evil-doers
As11	Gs11	The savior who comes into contact with the dead
As12	Gs12	The resurrection of the savior or of the dead
As13	Gs13	The savior who gains eternal life

### **At1–11 Gt1–11: The Tele Story Type**

At1	Gt1	The prediction about a hero who ends a dominion
At2	Gt2	Gods and seers who keep repeating the prediction
At3	Gt3	The ruler who wants to undo the prediction
At4	Gt4	The hero who washes ashore on a remote island
At5	Gt5	The unbearable suffering of the hero
At6	Gt6	The woman who provides support, healing, and knowledge
At7	Gt7	The unmarried woman who has a strong bond with the sea
At8	Gt8	Seers who predict the hero's future and goal
At9	Gt9	The chain of helpers who help the hero achieve his goal
At10	Gt10	The hero who is recognized on his arrival by a sign
At11	Gt11	The hero who shows himself to the ruler and kills him

### **E1–49 B1–50: The European Tradition**

E1	B1	The battle scene
E2	B32	Chariot warriors and infantry
E3	B8	The clan system
E4	B24	The rampart and the ditch
E5	B5	Thematic type-scenes
E6	B20	The warrior who does not fight
E7	B39	Setting up the army before the fight
E8	B45	Fame for the father
E9	B44	The resentful warrior



E10	B43	The withheld honor gift
E11	B40	The warrior in need and the helper
E12	B42	The cowardly archer
E13	B41	The warrior who blames his companion
E14	B3	Chariots
E15	B12	Robbing the armor, the horses, or a corpse
E16	B17	The chase and the flight
E17	B18	The triumphant raid of a single hero
E18	B15	The fight for a corpse
E19	B16	Highborn champions
E20	B23	Sons-in-law
E21	B22	The blood revenge
E22	B2	Gruesome injuries
E23	B7	Duels
E24	B13	Godfathers and bastard sons
E25	B19	Bluff, scorn, and reproach
E26	B26	Background information for every dying warrior
E27	B27	The gods of war Ares, Eris, and Iris
E28	B38	Weapons and armor
E29	B37	The driver who should watch the horses
E30	B46	The attack on the enemy stronghold
E31	B28	The combat teacher
E32	B35	The care for a wounded warrior
E33	B50	The loving education or adoption in a palace
E34	B10	Fixed formulas specific to the European Tradition
E35	B47	The war symbol or aegis held high
E36	B48	Overwhelmingly loud battle cries and noise
E37	B11	The duo of brave warriors
E38	B31	The corpse that remains for dogs and birds
E39	B21	The shiny light around the great hero
E40	B9	Combat psychology
E41	B25	Allied armies
E42	B49	Blaming a god or praying to them for help in the fight
E43	B14	The direction of Zeus
E44	B33	Huge crowds of warriors
E45	B36	One or two heroes who stand fast alone
E46	B34	The worried wife waiting at home
E47	B6	The intervention of the gods of war

- E48 B30 Cremation, urns, and burial mounds
- E49 B29 The fame for posterity
- B4 Progressive type-scenes

### **Eb1–10 Bc1–10: The Warrior Who Blames His Companion**

- Eb1 Bc1 The enemy who gains the upper hand in battle
- Eb2 Bc2 The duo of warriors of which a warrior cannot fight
- Eb3 Bc3 The reason a warrior cannot fight
- Eb4 Bc4 The warrior who blames another as a coward
- Eb5 Bc5 The call to compete side by side or on the same chariot
- Eb6 Bc6 The warrior who explains why he could not fight
- Eb7 Bc7 The acceptance of the excuse
- Eb8 Bc8 Fighters who encourage each other to battle
- Eb9 Bc9 Weapons, often shields, or drivers being exchanged
- Eb10 Bc10 The duo that goes to battle in an orderly manner

### **Ec1–10 Bd1–10: The Cowardly Archer**

- Ec1 Bd1 The archer who is far behind the battle zone
- Ec2 Bd2 The great hero who takes the archer to the fierce battle
- Ec3 Bd3 The archer who follows the great hero closely
- Ec4 Bd4 The great hero's shield that serves as a shelter
- Ec5 Bd5 The archer who shoots arrows from hidden positions
- Ec6 Bd6 The archer who hits the enemy in clumsy places
- Ec7 Bd7 The archer who fails to kill an enemy
- Ec8 Bd8 The bow of the archer that breaks
- Ec9 Bd9 The archer fleeing from the fierce battle
- Ec10 Bd10 Paris, Pandaros, or Apollo as the cowardly archer

### **Ef1–22 Bg1–22: Fame for the Father**

- Ef1 Bg1 The father who was a brave and famous warrior
- Ef2 Bg2 The son too young to fight
- Ef3 Bg3 The son training for battle
- Ef4 Bg4 The son nursing the wounded during the fight

Ef5	Bg5	The father hiding the weapons and chariot for the son
Ef6	Bg6	The son begging to go to war with his father's weapons
Ef7	Bg7	The son who goes to war
Ef8	Bg8	The father who predicts the death of his son
Ef9	Bg9	The father who advises against fighting in the front lines
Ef10	Bg10	Avoiding the enemy's greatest hero
Ef11	Bg11	The return to the father
Ef12	Bg12	The gifts from the father for the son
Ef13	Bg13	The father who hands his own weapons to his son
Ef14	Bg14	The son who goes to war on a chariot
Ef15	Bg15	The son who gains great fame in the front lines
Ef16	Bg16	The son who challenges a great hero to a duel
Ef17	Bg17	Dueling fighters who boast about their origins
Ef18	Bg18	The son killed by a great hero
Ef19	Bg19	The fellow fighters who recapture the son's corpse
Ef20	Bg20	The father who mourns his dead son
Ef21	Bg21	The large ransom for the body of the son
Ef22	Bg22	Nestor, Patroklos, Menelaos, and/or Antilochos

### **Eh1–9 Be1–9: The Withheld Honor Gift**

Eh1	Be1	The warrior who will perform a great act of war
Eh2	Be2	The warrior who expects a significant honor gift
Eh3	Be3	The clan leader who solemnly promises an honor gift
Eh4	Be4	The warrior who goes into battle without a gift
Eh5	Be5	The warrior without a gift of honor who is displeased
Eh6	Be6	The warrior who dies or does not get his gift of honor
Eh7	Be7	The warrior who decides to stop fighting
Eh8	Be8	The clan leader who sees his mistake
Eh9	Be9	The solemn delivery of the honor gift

### **En1–15 Bb1–15: The Warrior in Need and the Helper**

En1	Bb1	The old, weak, or dead warrior facing superior numbers
En2	Bb2	The comrade who just notices the warrior in need
En3	Bb3	The loud cry for help drowned out by the riot of war
En4	Bb4	The comrade seeking a helper

En5	Bb5	The helper far behind the battle zone
En6	Bb6	The chain of fighters looking for help
En7	Bb7	The helper's youthful strength
En8	Bb8	The helper's archery skills
En9	Bb9	The comrade crying and begging for help
En10	Bb10	The helper who comes next to the warrior in need
En11	Bb11	The group that comes to help the warrior in need
En12	Bb12	The enemy who backs out in fear of the helpers
En13	Bb13	The weak warrior helped on a chariot
En14	Bb14	The fight that is in balance again
En15	Bb15	Aias, Menelaos, and/or Antilochos in one of the roles

### **Er1–10 Bf1–10: The Resentful Warrior**

Er1	Bf1	The warrior who holds grudges
Er2	Bf2	The warrior who refuses to fight
Er3	Bf3	The warrior who isolates himself
Er4	Bf4	The warrior who even refrains from sexual intercourse
Er5	Bf5	The woman who can still touch the warrior's heart
Er6	Bf6	The comrades of war oppressed in the fight
Er7	Bf7	Relatives who try to persuade the warrior in vain
Er8	Bf8	The woman who succeeds in persuading the warrior
Er9	Bf9	The warrior who fights again
Er10	Bf10	The warrior who has sexual intercourse again

### **Es1–23 Ba1–23: Setting up the Army Before the Fight**

Es1	Ba1	The clan leader warned about a war
Es2	Ba2	Gathering the warriors in the stronghold
Es3	Ba3	Glorious descriptions of the clan leader and captain
Es4	Ba4	Warriors who arm themselves
Es5	Ba5	The captain who watches the enemy from the rampart
Es6	Ba6	The bright glare of the captain on the rampart
Es7	Ba7	The exodus along the bridge over the ditch
Es8	Ba8	The glitter, boom, and noise of the army
Es9	Ba9	The captain's overwhelmingly loud battle cry
Es10	Ba10	Lining up the army near the ditch and the rampart

Es11	Ba11	Listing leaders, regiments, and numbers
Es12	Ba12	The captain holding a war symbol or aegis
Es13	Ba13	Gods of war who wander through the ranks
Es14	Ba14	Gods who choose a side
Es15	Ba15	The captain who returns to sacrifice and pray
Es16	Ba16	The clan leader who watches from the rampart
Es17	Ba17	The captain who moves back and forth through the army
Es18	Ba18	The captain who leads the way to the enemy army
Es19	Ba19	The loud clatter when jumping off the chariot
Es20	Ba20	Drivers who hold the horses by the ditch
Es21	Ba21	Drivers who follow the chariot warriors
Es22	Ba22	The battle that ignites
Es23	Ba23	The fool who dies first

## **I1-104 E1-104: The Ionian Tradition**

I1	E1	Extraneous oral traditions/scopes as subspecialty
I2	E2	The materialism
I3	E3	The guest friendship
I4	E4	The house of nobles, servants, shepherds, heralds, and bards
I5	E5	The system of epithets specific to the Ionian Tradition
I6	E6	Homeric similes
I7	E7	Verbosity, or using many words to say the same thing
I8	E8	The gods in their home on Olympos
I9	E9	Type-scenes that repeat almost literally
I10	E10	Travel and travel matters
I11	E11	Jurisdiction
I12	E12	Bards
I13	E13	Shipping merchants, pirates, and slave sellers
I14	E14	Sidon and Phoenicia
I15	E15	Ships and shipping
I16	E16	The legacy of the Narrative Tradition
I17	E17	Emotional, lovely, and poetic scenes
I18	E18	The type-scene of the brave scout
I19	E19	The legacy of the Mykenaian Tradition
I20	E20	Parallels with Eastern oral traditions
I21	E21	Suppliants and beggars

I22	E22	Double epithets
I23	E23	Etiquette and courtesy
I24	E24	Footstools, seats, and ornate furniture
I25	E25	The facilities of Olympos
I26	E26	Slaves and slave girls
I27	E27	Crafts and professions
I28	E28	Singing, dance, and the lyre
I29	E29	Chamber, court, forecourt, porch and portico
I30	E30	Eloquence and long polite conversations
I31	E31	The woman, weaving and surrounded by slave women
I32	E32	Muses and Apollo with the lyre
I33	E33	Olive trees and olive oil
I34	E34	Scented items and perfumes
I35	E35	(Providing) a chariot, horses, and an attendant
I36	E36	Ivory and amber
I37	E37	Peacefulness
I38	E38	Feasts and the preparation of meals
I39	E39	Descriptive clauses
I40	E40	Actions and objects described in detail
I41	E41	Precious metals
I42	E42	To serve and pray to the gods piously
I43	E43	Games and horse racing
I44	E44	Stories and details about the gods
I45	E45	A verse with multiple addresses
I46	E46	The duo of related terms
I47	E47	Young, extensive background knowledge about our Iliad
I48	E48	Knowledge, science and technology
I49	E49	Iron as a gift, medium of exchange, or in competition
I50	E50	The description of special or Mykenaian objects
I51	E51	Flashbacks and references to the Trojan Cycle
I52	E52	Sex and entertaining the audience
I53	E53	Hermes, the messenger and guide
I54	E54	Distant geographic locations
I55	E55	Focalization and narrative situations
I56	E56	Person-dependent styles of direct speech
I57	E57	Apostrophizing characters
I58	E58	Conquering cities and looting women and livestock
I59	E59	Sanctuaries and cities in which the gods are worshipped

I60	E60	The respect for those in power
I61	E61	Clothes, sheets, and linen, often colored purple
I62	E62	Washing, anointing, and dressing with mantle and sandals
I63	E63	Drinking cups, greeting with them, or handing them
I64	E64	The interior design and the positions of furniture and people
I65	E65	The whip and unreluctantly trotting horses
I66	E66	Hecatomb, altar, ox, libation, savor, fat, thigh and wine
I67	E67	Spreading beds and sleeping in the back next to a woman
I68	E68	Meat, guts, banquet, roasting, spitting, and dividing
I69	E69	Washing hands, mixing vessels, cups, libating and drinking
I70	E70	The age of an untamed head of cattle
I71	E71	Bread, cheese, honey, flour and Pramneian wine
I72	E72	Baskets, often containing bread or food
I73	E73	Asking for name, origin, intention, and means of transport
I74	E74	The two handles on a cup, bowl, or cauldron
I75	E75	Torches as lighting
I76	E76	Milk and cheese
I77	E77	Gods who swear by the Styx
I78	E78	Take or take over weapons and walk around with them
I79	E79	The numbers nine and twelve (and ten and eleven)
I80	E80	Assistance from gods, often outside total battle
I81	E81	The animal world
I82	E82	Smiling, laughing, and rejoicing
I83	E83	Hunting and farming
I84	E84	The lame Hephaistos, god of blacksmithing
I85	E85	Bird divination
I86	E86	Nectar and ambrosia as food for the gods
I87	E87	Blending wine and mixing vessels for wine or nectar
I88	E88	Zeus, the father of gods (and men)
I89	E89	Axes
I90	E90	Agamemnon and Menelaos, the duo of mighty leaders
I91	E91	Names and synonyms, known to the gods (and men)
I92	E92	Analgesic or magical herbs
I93	E93	You will not persuade me (to sit down)
I94	E94	Untie and feed horses, and a linen cover
I95	E95	Take or lead someone by the hand
I96	E96	Heralds at a court
I97	E97	Athene, the patron goddess of Odysseus

I98	E98	The alternation of day and night
I99	E99	Colors: purple, gray, ambrosia, blond, and multicolor
I100	E100	Mourning, corpse care, and funeral games
I101	E101	Wine, to libate or drink
I102	E102	Cauldrons, tripods, and bathtubs
I103	E103	The coloring dawn spreads light for gods and men
I104	E104	The god who is angry or speaks angrily

### **Ia1–32 Ea1-32: The Late Dramatic Role (the Achilles Role)**

Ia1	Ea1	The Early Dramatic Role
Ia2	Ea2	Achilleus, his interlocutors, and his relatives
Ia3	Ea3	Achilleus as leader of the Greeks
Ia4	Ea4	Picking a fight, even on a meta-level
Ia5	Ea5	Achilleus' respect for, and close contact with, the gods
Ia6	Ea6	Achilleus' anger
Ia7	Ea7	Peleus' mission and Achilleus' return to Phthia
Ia8	Ea8	The companions of Achilleus
Ia9	Ea9	The woman Achilleus will marry in Phthia
Ia10	Ea10	The conquest of many cities by Achilleus
Ia11	Ea11	The death of Achilleus
Ia12	Ea12	Rants and insults
Ia13	Ea13	Thetis, her prophecies, and her sorrow
Ia14	Ea14	Homeric similes about Achilleus
Ia15	Ea15	Repeating what has already happened and what will happen
Ia16	Ea16	Exaggerated, imaginative representations or similes
Ia17	Ea17	Hades, Hades' house, and the souls that dwell there
Ia18	Ea18	Ships and tents, but no rampart
Ia19	Ea19	Digressions, morals, wisdom, and gods
Ia20	Ea20	Special addresses of, or facts about, the gods
Ia21	Ea21	The slave girls captured by Achilleus
Ia22	Ea22	Huge, or overly large treasures
Ia23	Ea23	Achilleus' many possessions
Ia24	Ea24	Achilleus who wants to quickly avenge and bury Patroklos
Ia25	Ea25	Peleus, father of Achilleus
Ia26	Ea26	The weapons and horses of Achilleus
Ia27	Ea27	The safe return to the distant homeland
Ia28	Ea28	Agamemnon, hated by Achilleus



Ia29	Ea29	Hektor
Ia30	Ea30	Patroklos
Ia31	Ea31	Apollo
Ia32	Ea32	The burning of the Greek (and Achilleus') ships

### **Id1–33 Ed1-33: The Early Dramatic Role**

Id1	Ed1	Drama and emotions
Id2	Ed2	The close bond between family members
Id3	Ed3	The question of guilt about the Trojan War
Id4	Ed4	Achilleus, Helen, and other dramatic characters
Id5	Ed5	The Narrative-Homeric fairy tales
Id6	Ed6	The Ionian-Homeric verses around, and in, a core speech
Id7	Ed7	Fate predictions
Id8	Ed8	The verdict on the dramatic characters
Id9	Ed9	To preside in, or call for, lament
Id10	Ed10	Special addresses and insults
Id11	Ed11	The situation at home of the dramatic characters
Id12	Ed12	The death wish
Id13	Ed13	Mourning, tears and lament
Id14	Ed14	Providing introductory background knowledge
Id15	Ed15	The disastrous fate of one's own camp
Id16	Ed16	The upbringing and destiny of the characters
Id17	Ed17	The distant homeland
Id18	Ed18	Short, sparse similes, often in speeches
Id19	Ed19	Honor and fame
Id20	Ed20	(Bitter) sorrow
Id21	Ed21	Respect for the gods
Id22	Ed22	The death of the hero
Id23	Ed23	The fateful day when the mother gave birth to the child
Id24	Ed24	Hektor, who protects Troy all alone
Id25	Ed25	Artemis killing women with her arrows
Id26	Ed26	Your heart is iron
Id27	Ed27	Hate and expressing hate
Id28	Ed28	You will not persuade me
Id29	Ed29	Dogs and birds eating a corpse, outside the combat passages
Id30	Ed30	Unfortunate, disastrous, doomed
Id31	Ed31	Slave girls

Id32	Ed32	Reception type-scenes
Id33	Ed33	The Skaian Gate

### **Ig1–45 Eg1-45: The God Role**

Ig1	Eg1	Gods
Ig2	Eg2	The Ionian Tradition
Ig3	Eg3	The palace of the gods on Olympos
Ig4	Eg4	The gods watching the warriors from a mountain
Ig5	Eg5	The position of the gods on the fall of Troy
Ig6	Eg6	(Almost) literal repetitions of Zeus' (or Hera's) words
Ig7	Eg7	Zeus, the supreme leader
Ig8	Eg8	The family relations and the relations between the gods
Ig9	Eg9	The sacrifices and prayers for the gods
Ig10	Eg10	The great differences in strength between the gods
Ig11	Eg11	The quarrel between Hera and Zeus
Ig12	Eg12	The journey to or from Olympos, often in a simile
Ig13	Eg13	Iris, the messenger
Ig14	Eg14	The desire of Hera and Athene to overthrow Troy
Ig15	Eg15	Divine concepts, often in duo
Ig16	Eg16	The docility to Hera and Zeus
Ig17	Eg17	Zeus casting gods on earth
Ig18	Eg18	Atypical digressions
Ig19	Eg19	The darlings of the gods
Ig20	Eg20	The special contact between Achilles and the gods
Ig21	Eg21	Staying in the sea and diving from or in the waves
Ig22	Eg22	The tops of mountains
Ig23	Eg23	Imperishability and immortality
Ig24	Eg24	The Aeolian Tradition
Ig25	Eg25	Chariots as a means of transport for the gods
Ig26	Eg26	Nectar and ambrosia
Ig27	Eg27	Gods that have pain and incurable wounds
Ig28	Eg28	Hera (or Zeus) sending an obedient god
Ig29	Eg29	Hebe
Ig30	Eg30	The aegis, the shield, and the helm of Death of Athene
Ig31	Eg31	Which god are you? Who sent you? Why are you coming?
Ig32	Eg32	Clothing woven by Athene
Ig33	Eg33	The Hours

Ig34	Eg34	Gods who shake Olympos or the earth
Ig35	Eg35	Athene, urged to what she had already desired
Ig36	Eg36	The god who does not keep a blind watch
Ig37	Eg37	Being hidden in a mist
Ig38	Eg38	The counseling god
Ig39	Eg39	Recognizing the gods
Ig40	Eg40	Gold and precious metals
Ig41	Eg41	Smile, laugh, laugh loudly, sneer, laugh at, and tease
Ig42	Eg42	Kronos, Rhea, Okeanos, Tartaros, Hades, Styx and Herakles
Ig43	Eg43	An introduction according to the European Tradition
Ig44	Eg44	An overwhelmingly loud voice or call
Ig45	Eg45	Impudent, audacious

## **M1–58 A1–58: The Mykenaian Tradition**

M1	A15	Digressions
M2	A54	Age-old, well-known myths and stories
M3	A3	Kings
M4	A19	The seven-gated Thebes
M5	A5	The change of power
M6	A2	Bloody feuds within the family
M7	A7	The revenge on the return
M8	A11	(Divine) genealogies
M9	A1	Wars against cities or between peoples
M10	A6	The cycle of misery
M11	A10	Failed marriages
M12	A4	The brave hero
M13	A12	The many places and personal names
M14	A58	The Peloponnese (and Central Greece)
M15	A34	Riches of the soil, typical of a place or city
M16	A9	Fatal women
M17	A23	The hero who defeats a whole army
M18	A24	The exiled son
M19	A32	The flight after a crime
M20	A28	Herakles, Tydeus, Neleus, Peleus, or Nestor
M21	A35	The story of a character's life
M22	A18	(Strange) peoples (with a typical characteristic)

M23	A51	Being rich (and honorable)
M24	A14	Long wanderings
M25	A16	Recruiting soldiers
M26	A20	The reward of the king
M27	A37	The painful, prolonged captivity
M28	A39	Furies (Erinyes), wrathful goddesses, and Hades
M29	A45	Palaces with solid walls
M30	A8	The special education
M31	A13	Large herds of cattle, horses, or sheep
M32	A33	The marriage to a king's daughter
M33	A47	Games
M34	A53	The loving education or adoption in a palace
M35	A48	Cunning ambushes
M36	A43	Superlatives, as in "the bravest of all mortals"
M37	A56	Orchards and vineyards
M38	A31	Ate, goddess of delusion
M39	A57	The gift that results in the death of the husband
M40	A22	Gods who cruelly punish those who insult them
M41	A49	The old age of a man
M42	A50	Moralizing digressions
M43	A52	Male, godlike beauty
M44	A17	The move to a distant place
M45	A26	The abduction of livestock
M46	A36	The secret intercourse of a mortal and a god
M47	A38	The mortal abducted by a god
M48	A40	(Delegated) counselors
M49	A42	The abduction of a woman
M50	A44	The human who fights the gods
M51	A46	The overpowering of a wild animal
M52	A55	Hermes mentioned in a digression
M53	A21	Polytheism
M54	A41	Holiness
M55	A25	Destinies, seers, and curses
M56	A27	The numbers nine and twelve
M57	A29	The hero assisted by the gods
M58	A30	The honorable funeral

## **Mh1–42 Ah1–42: The Hero Story Type**

Mh1	Ah1	The birth of the hero in a Greek city
Mh2	Ah2	The destiny that lies in a neighboring kingdom
Mh3	Ah3	The disturbed relationship with and between the educators
Mh4	Ah4	The evil woman who rules the hero
Mh5	Ah5	The wound on the foot during the hero's youth
Mh6	Ah6	The good educator who takes care of the hero
Mh7	Ah7	The hero who gets a name after his educators
Mh8	Ah8	The hero who ends up in a neighboring kingdom
Mh9	Ah9	Great, remarkable deeds of the hero
Mh10	Ah10	Applying for the hand of the king's daughter
Mh11	Ah11	The formal agreement between hero and king
Mh12	Ah12	Commands that the king gives to the hero
Mh13	Ah13	Special weapons of the hero
Mh14	Ah14	The close friendship with an ally
Mh15	Ah15	Changing roles with the ally
Mh16	Ah16	The king attempting to have the hero killed
Mh17	Ah17	The hero who is recognized as very special
Mh18	Ah18	The king's reward for the hero
Mh19	Ah19	The hero's revenge on his educators
Mh20	Ah20	The hero's glorious peak
Mh21	Ah21	The unfortunate end of the hero
Mh22	Ah22	The hero's arch-enemy
Mh23	Ah23	The hero's caregiver
Mh24	Ah24	The monster killed by the hero
Mh25	Ah25	The hostile king
Mh26	Ah26	Multiple cities in the hero's life cycle
Mh27	Ah27	The hero's lonely captivity
Mh28	Ah28	Oral characteristics from the East
Mh29	Ah29	Twins
Mh30	Ah30	The heavenly-earthly pair of humans
Mh31	Ah31	Distant and exotic geographic locations
Mh32	Ah32	Famous horses and horsemen
Mh33	Ah33	Snakes
Mh34	Ah34	Fabulous monsters
Mh35	Ah35	The visit of a living person to the underworld
Mh36	Ah36	Captivity in a cramped (metal) construction

Mh37	Ah37	The hero raised by an animal
Mh38	Ah38	Explanation myths
Mh39	Ah39	The savior who frees the earth from monsters
Mh40	Ah40	Explanation myths of geographic place names
Mh41	Ah41	The distant journey to Okeanos
Mh42	Ah42	The first man on Earth, who quickly surpasses the gods

### **Mk1–34 Ak1–34: The King Story Type**

Mk1	Ak1	The king who loses his power
Mk2	Ak2	The queen who betrays the king
Mk3	Ak3	The king's son who receives a decent education
Mk4	Ak4	Gathering warriors
Mk5	Ak5	The enumeration of the warriors
Mk6	Ak6	The failure of the original attack plan
Mk7	Ak7	Seers who predict the dramatic outcome
Mk8	Ak8	Sentries and murder plans of the traitors
Mk9	Ak9	Attackers who assemble at a distance from the city
Mk10	Ak10	The loyal few among the traitors
Mk11	Ak11	The loyal friend who hospitably welcomes the king
Mk12	Ak12	The negotiator who ventures into the city
Mk13	Ak13	The individual who defeats the traitors in a game
Mk14	Ak14	The attack on the city
Mk15	Ak15	The nobleman who is the first to die
Mk16	Ak16	The death of the king
Mk17	Ak17	Many years that pass with the traitors in power
Mk18	Ak18	The king's son who joins in the fight as an adult
Mk19	Ak19	The exile who joins the fight or predicts the end
Mk20	Ak20	Attackers who get into the city by a ruse
Mk21	Ak21	The fight during a feast or solemn games
Mk22	Ak22	Revelers who are massacred
Mk23	Ak23	The city that falls thanks to tricks and advice
Mk24	Ak24	Sacrificing women, acts of revenge, and gathering riches
Mk25	Ak25	Loyal individuals who are spared or who flee
Mk26	Ak26	The transport of corpses, leading to new deaths
Mk27	Ak34	The woman who marries the (new) king
Mk28	Ak27	The madness and the punishment of the gods
Mk29	Ak28	The new cycle of return dramas

Mk30	Ak29	The theme of loyalty and infidelity
Mk31	Ak30	The fear of the king's return
Mk32	Ak31	The educator of the king's son
Mk33	Ak32	The spy
Mk34	Ak33	The smuggler

## **N1–51 D1–51: The Narrative Tradition**

N1	D7	The cooperation with the European Tradition
N2	D12	Themes and motifs
N3	D2	War assemblies
N4	D11	Oaths and treaties
N5	D30	Burial mounds, cremation, and urns
N6	D8	The type-scene of the brave scout
N7	D1	The diversification from the fight
N8	D3	Speeches
N9	D9	Ramparts, ditches, gates, and the battlefield
N10	D21	Wine
N11	D17	The alternation of day and night
N12	D32	To wash and to anoint
N13	D36	The scepter
N14	D41	Polydamas, Hektor's friend and counselor
N15	D45	Ransom
N16	D20	Sentries
N17	D22	The safe return within the ramparts
N18	D26	Fire and firewood
N19	D4	Oppositions
N20	D6	The repetition of the same oral characteristic
N21	D5	Meals with much meat and wine
N22	D14	Heralds
N23	D16	Gifts and valuables
N24	D29	Women, children, young men, and old men
N25	D31	To arm and the transition between rest and battle
N26	D38	Boilers, bathtubs, and water for washing
N27	D44	References to the Trojan Cycle
N28	D13	The somewhat austere materialism
N29	D40	The joint applause of a proposal or a long silence

N30	D18	Odysseus, Idaios, and Odios as heralds
N31	D23	Young antiheroes
N32	D28	Machaon, the physician who nurses the wounded Greeks
N33	D15	The symmetry between the two enemy camps
N34	D49	Ah me, why does my heart debate these things?
N35	D50	Now would (persistence of A), if not (twist B)
N36	D10	(Mentioning) “words” or “war”
N37	D19	Nestor, Hektor, and Achilles as captains
N38	D25	Agamemnon and Priam as clan leaders
N39	D34	Bird augurs, seers, and the priestly role
N40	D35	The sacrifice of cattle and wine
N41	D39	Snakes, birds of prey, and lightning as divine signs
N42	D42	Driving, unyoking, and feeding the horses
N43	D43	Old versus young fighters
N44	D46	Tears, weeping, and lamentation
N45	D27	Wiles and deceit
N46	D33	The enumeration of a group or a retinue
N47	D47	Successfully invoking a god
N48	D48	Blood and dirt
N49	D24	Zeus and sometimes Athene or Apollo
N50	D37	Mourning and funeral care
N51	D51	So long as (A), so long (B), but when (A’), then (B’)

### **Na1–15 Da1–15: The Anger of Achilles**

Na1	Da2	The anger of Achilles
Na2	Da1	Achilles, the tragic main character
Na3	Da12	The many people who try to persuade Achilles
Na4	Da5	Agamemnon, the leader who took Achilles’ girl
Na5	Da8	The prediction that Achilles will die
Na6	Da4	Patroklos, the bosom friend of Achilles
Na7	Da6	Thetis, Achilles’ mother
Na8	Da11	Phoinix, who trained Achilles and Patroklos
Na9	Da13	Briseis, the girl taken away from Achilles
Na10	Da9	The gifts for Achilles
Na11	Da10	The joint funeral of Achilles and Patroklos
Na12	Da3	Aias, the greatest hero after Achilles



Na13	Da14	Menelaos, the inexperienced but brave hero
Na14	Da15	Antilochos, who persuades Achilles to fight
Na15	Da7	The heavily besieged camp of the Greeks

### **Nc1–41 Dc1–41: The Compassion of Achilles**

Nc1	Dc1	The compassion and ruthlessness of Achilles
Nc2	Dc10	The prehistory of Achilles against the enemy
Nc3	Dc11	Priam's many sons and their mothers and deaths
Nc4	Dc3	Hektor, whose death leaves Troy unprotected
Nc5	Dc4	The impending fall of Troy
Nc6	Dc6	Hektor's family
Nc7	Dc2	Troy and the Trojans
Nc8	Dc5	The wealth of Troy
Nc9	Dc13	Accurate geographic references around Troy
Nc10	Dc30	Knees
Nc11	Dc7	To gain fame in the fight for the father and for the people
Nc12	Dc14	Polydamas predicting Trojan defeat
Nc13	Dc15	Selling the captured Trojans for ransom
Nc14	Dc17	Getting unarmed, losing the last spear
Nc15	Dc23	The invulnerable Achilles, who is scraped at most
Nc16	Dc8	The signs of Zeus
Nc17	Dc9	Hektor's pride
Nc18	Dc12	Begging for pity
Nc19	Dc16	Loved ones' care and mourning for a corpse
Nc20	Dc20	The river along the battlefield
Nc21	Dc19	Fast feet and knees in pursuit and flight
Nc22	Dc28	Tree species
Nc23	Dc18	The encirclement and siege of Troy
Nc24	Dc25	Tying the prisoners with straps
Nc25	Dc26	The mother who gave birth to Priam's child
Nc26	Dc29	Lykaon
Nc27	Dc32	A heart of iron
Nc28	Dc24	The danger of being outside the ramparts
Nc29	Dc27	The self-pity
Nc30	Dc22	Washing after the fight
Nc31	Dc31	The knowledge, or lack thereof, of the plot
Nc32	Dc21	The spear and the sword

Nc33	Dc37	The integration with the family tree of Priam
Nc34	Dc33	The Mykenaian-Homeric context of Achilles' captures
Nc35	Dc41	The mixture with the Aeolian Tradition
Nc36	Dc40	The faded glory of Troy
Nc37	Dc38	The divine Skamandros
Nc38	Dc35	The earlier encounter with Aineias
Nc39	Dc36	Selling prisoners as slaves
Nc40	Dc34	Troy's neighboring cities, regions, and islands
Nc41	Dc39	Allies' replacement of the Trojans

### **Nh1–17 Dh1–17: The Abduction of Helen**

Nh1	Dh7	Helen, languishing in Troy
Nh2	Dh6	Diomedes, the youth who turns out to be the greatest hero
Nh3	Dh2	The dishonest, corrupt Trojans who violate the treaties
Nh4	Dh1	Oaths and treaties
Nh5	Dh8	Odysseus, the brave herald and companion of Diomedes
Nh6	Dh12	Paris and Pandaros, cowardly archers
Nh7	Dh3	Zeus, who watches over the oaths and treaties
Nh8	Dh4	The opposites of cowardice and bravery in battle
Nh9	Dh17	Menelaos, the warrior whose wife was abducted
Nh10	Dh5	Excelling in war assemblies
Nh11	Dh9	The type-scene of the brave scout
Nh12	Dh10	Agamemnon, the leader who is outclassed in the councils
Nh13	Dh14	Antenor, the righteous among the Trojans
Nh14	Dh13	Nestor, the captain who takes care of practical matters
Nh15	Dh15	Wounded fighters and the physician Machaon
Nh16	Dh16	Snakes as inauspicious omens
Nh17	Dh11	The impending fall of Troy

### **Ns1–34 Ds1–34: The Brave Scout**

Ns1	Ds1	The scout entering dangerous territory
Ns2	Ds25	The scout who reaches the wanted person
Ns3	Ds5	The transformation: A change of role or appearance
Ns4	Ds7	Odysseus
Ns5	Ds26	(Not) recognizing somebody

Ns6	Ds8	The person who is filthy and dressed in rags
Ns7	Ds10	Emphasis on outward appearance
Ns8	Ds19	The questioning
Ns9	Ds27	The scout who is made clean and recognizable
Ns10	Ds11	The god who constantly assists the scout
Ns11	Ds6	The role of herald, beggar, or old man
Ns12	Ds9	Clothes and getting them or losing them
Ns13	Ds21	The person who is anxious, sad, or in distress
Ns14	Ds22	Lies, wiles, evil, and bold plans
Ns15	Ds3	The god or man who gives advice, support, or a sign
Ns16	Ds32	The information, objects, or persons obtained
Ns17	Ds20	Scepters, swords, and magic staffs
Ns18	Ds34	The safe return to one's own camp
Ns19	Ds13	The nighttime action
Ns20	Ds12	Silence and the silent, hidden approach
Ns21	Ds15	The person who lies down or jumps up
Ns22	Ds16	Objects or persons hidden in vegetation
Ns23	Ds17	The ambush
Ns24	Ds24	Killing enemies during a mission
Ns25	Ds28	The amazement
Ns26	Ds31	The silence about the arrival of the scout
Ns27	Ds29	Begging for pity
Ns28	Ds2	The god or man who gives an order
Ns29	Ds4	The reassurance
Ns30	Ds14	Mules and horses
Ns31	Ds18	Sentries
Ns32	Ds30	The hospitable reception
Ns33	Ds33	The flight to one's own camp
Ns34	Ds23	Solemn oaths