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The *Iliad*, a large-scale composition**

Beginning in Antiquity and through the entire history of the Homeric Question, exploration of the repetitions in the *Iliad* has occurred frequently. These repetitions are considered as a sign either of the author's clumsiness or of its composition by multiple authors, often with the inference of a relationship between quality and the plurality of authors. The tradition of a unitary analysis of the *Iliad* is however equally well represented, perhaps even more so if one takes into account the opinions of the general public. Beginning in Antiquity, this scrutiny flourishes in the cultivated France of the seventeenth century with the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*¹, then after the discovery by d'Ansse de Villoison of the *Venetus A* and the abundant scholia it comprises, by the 1884 edition of WOLF's *Prolegomena ad Homerum*, which unleashed in Germany a lasting schism between the analysts or *chorizontes* and the unitarists. Finally, in the twentieth century, the French theses of Milman Parry investigate the Homeric formulas and continue with his return to the United States and his missions to the Slavic *guslari* in a theory of orality, while with the movement called Neo-analysis KAKRIDIS finds in the fragments of the Epic Cycle traces of epic narratives prior to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which must be taken into account when examining the tradition that "Homer" knew and that he was able to use, modify or even challenge. In all these stages, it seems that the finding of many repetitions in the text is problematic and causes reactions almost always negative—prior to Parry, the first probably to identify in the repetitions the existence of a positive element, an integral part of Homeric Poetics.²

In the hypothesis of an oral composition of the epic that we share, without prejudging the date of its notation in writing or the question of the possible «author», the association between the form style and the typical scenes appears one of the constitutive traits of the Homeric poetics.³ Yet, not all repetitions are necessarily formulaic in Homer, and I would like

* My gratitude goes to the organizers and editors of *Homer 21*, and to Stephen Rojcewicz who patiently corrects my English.

¹ See HEPP 1968, LÉTOUBLON 1999.

² On the Homeric question, see GONZALEZ 2013. We continue to speak of Homer for both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, even though there is maybe no actual individual authorship we can recognize.

³ EDWARDS 1992, PACHE 2020.

to show here the possibility of the role of certain types of repetitions in the composition of the epic, at least in the case of the *Iliad*.

1. The composition of the *Iliad*

There is little doubt that the *Iliad* is composed, and even firmly composed, according to a clear design. It has been recognized since Antiquity by the *Poetics* of Aristotle as well as by many modern critics including J.A. SCOTT, *The Unity of Homer*, 1921, J.T. SHEPPARD, *The Pattern of the Iliad*, 1922, then Samuel BASSETT 1938, Cedric WHITMAN 1958, 1981, Karl REINHARDT 1961, more recently TAPLIN 1992, EDWARDS 1992, STANLEY 1993, RICHARDSON 1998 among others. The title of an article of the recent *Cambridge Guide to Homer* (MURNAGHAN 2020), “The *Iliad*: An Overview”, even seems to take it as obvious⁴.

1.1. A story that advances

If we allow ourselves to synthesize these works, the narrative of the *Iliad* takes as its starting point the beginning of the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, tells the development of Achilles' anger and his decision to withdraw from the fighting, then «advances» continuously noting the days, evenings and nights with the times of meals and rest,⁵ most of the text (books 1 to 18) being marked by the absence of the main hero; then, learning of Patroclus' death, Achilles returns to battle (19 to 24). The narrative content of the different books shows a fairly constant alternation of battle scenes with assembly scenes entailing many speeches, descriptions of the battlefield,⁶ incursions into the city of Troy and its ramparts etc. Even if some critics have said that “Homer sometimes nods”,⁷ or if we can find inconsistencies,⁸ we never have the impression that the story is hanging on. The narrative

⁴ See also READY 2020.

⁵ LÉTOUBLON 1999.

⁶ The Catalogue is thus interpreted by CLAY 2011.

⁷ English translation by Dryden and Pope of Hor. *Ars Poetica* 2.359 *indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus*. See HURST 2023.

⁸ LORD 1938, WHITMAN 1981, WILSON 2000.

sometimes reminds us that “the will of Zeus is fulfilled”,⁹ the absence of Achilles from the fighting leads to the defeat of the Achaeans and numerous losses of warriors, until Patroclus begged his friend to let him take his place, his weapons and troops to save the situation (16). But Patroclus forgets his promise not to go too far, he confronts Hector who kills him and takes Achilles' weapons. Antilochus relates this to Achilles, who decides to return to combat (book 19) with the weapons that Thetis provided, these weapons having been made during the night by Hephaestus. After Achilles confronts several Trojan heroes, the fight becomes cosmic (21), and the summit of his *aristeia* causes him to kill Hector (22). At book 24, a mediation of the gods brings Priam's visit to his tent, during which his anger turns into pity,¹⁰ which makes him return to the old king the corpse of his son for ransom.

1.2. Echoes between books 1 and 24

Several critics (REINHARDT, MACLEOD among others) have noticed the remarkable echo effects produced by the repetition of certain words and themes in the large-scale composition of the *Iliad*, between book 1 and 24:¹¹ the priest Chryses claiming his daughter Chryseis from Agamemnon for ransom, who refuses, finds a sort of reverse parallel with the old Priam claiming the corpse of Hector from Achilles, the formulas of the *lusi* and the *apoina* recall book 1 in 24,¹² and the two passages contain the same apostrophe by γέρον (1.26, 24.560) and the same μη(κέτι) νῦν μ' ἐρέθιζε (1.32 // 24.560).

⁹ *Il.* 1.5 Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. A scholion to this verse leads to interpret it as an allusion to the first verse of the *Kypria*, therefore as a first instance of intertextuality, see CHRISTOPOULOS 2011, EDMUNDS 2017, MONSACRÉ 2019, 1028-9.

¹⁰ KIM 2000.

¹¹ The division of the *Iliad* into 24 books may be not ancient: for Taplin, it probably dates from Hellenistic period. But we can only refer to the text in the version kept by the vulgate. See ZISSOS 2019.

¹² LÉTOUBLON 2007.

1.3. The communication chain

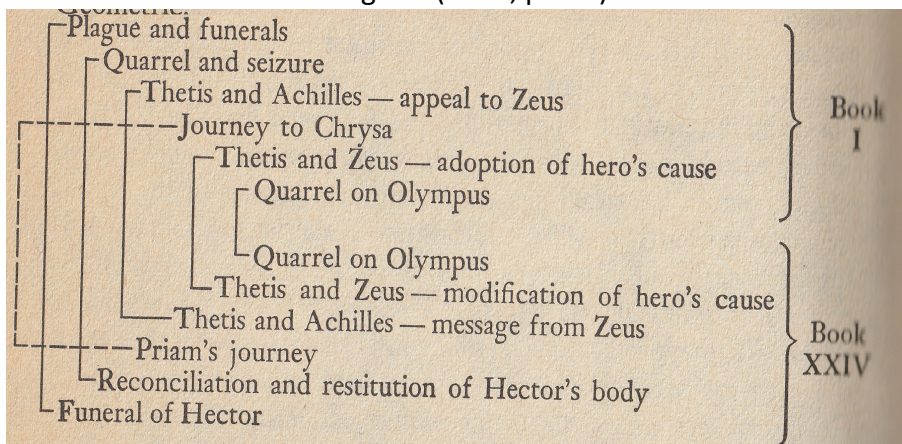
Another relation between the two songs is the chain of communication (consisting of numerous repetitions of messages)¹³ which in both cases involves Achilles and Zeus through Thetis, but with an inversion forming a chiasm:

Achilles → Thetis → Zeus // Zeus → Thetis → Achilles.

We will not insist here on these forms of non formulaic repetition already analyzed elsewhere,¹⁴ which perhaps serve to emphasize the circular composition of the set, to turn to other examples, several of which highlight the importance of book 16, the Patrocleia, in the composition of the Iliad.

Cedric Whitman 1961 analyses what he calls the «geometric structure» of the *Iliad* with much more detail on the relationship between 1 and 24, and the rest of his chapter shows many other relations based on the principle of Ring composition in the text.¹⁵ But without posing the problem of how it could be memorized by the *oidoi* and perceived by the public, which I would like to try to do.

Whitman's diagram (1961, p.260)



2. Non-formulaic repetitions

¹³ LÉTOUBLON 1987.

¹⁴ LÉTOUBLON 1983, 1997. McLeod 1982 shew the recurrence of the formulas for dawn (ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως) whereas books 1 and 24 amplify this formula with the epithet ἠριγένεια. See also Taplin 1992.

¹⁵ See also BIRD 2020 with references.

2.1. The dark source

A comparison of a character in tears to a mountain waterfall involves a literal repetition of two complete verses, the first element of the first single verse varying (ἴστατο δάκρυ / δάκρυα θερμὰ):

Iliad 9.14-15

ἴστατο δάκρυ χέων ὥς τε κρήνη μελάνυδρος
ἦ τε κατ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης δνοφερὸν χέει ὕδωρ·
ὥς ὁ βαρὺ στενάχων ἔπε' Ἀργεῖοισι μετηύδα·

16.2-3 Πάτροκλος δ' Ἀχιλῆϊ παρίστατο ποιμένι λαῶν

δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων ὥς τε κρήνη μελάνυδρος,
ἦ τε κατ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης δνοφερὸν χέει ὕδωρ.

In book 9, the narrator applies this comparison to Agamemnon, following this comparison with another, much broader one, which shows the Achaean army in which Hector sowed terror like a windswept sea (9.1-9). In *Achilles' Tears*, H. MONSACRÉ, whose aim is to show that the Homer Greeks are not ashamed to cry, cites the comparison of book 9, but not that of 16: the formulaic character of the Homeric style seems to have little importance for the author.¹⁶ ARNOULD,¹⁷ on the other hand, shows that the “dark source” like the “laughter of the waves” are traditional images, that of tears coming for her from the association between tears and a verb meaning “pour, flow” (δάκρυ χέων, δάκρυα θερμὰ χέων for the real term / χέει ὕδωρ for the image term). The repetition of the comparison and its meeting in both cases in the narrator’s account suggest a traditional character, in the sense that FOLEY speaks of “traditional referentiality”.¹⁸ The sequence of the two comparisons of book 9 to oppose the desolation of Agamemnon to the terror in his army goes in this direction. The example of the book 16 is more subtle, because to the impersonal comparison of Patroclus to a waterfall by the narrator succeeds a speech of Achilles to his friend, whose pain he sees: he

¹⁶ The English edition quotes both similes without commenting the repetition (<https://archive.chs.harvard.edu/CHS/article/display/6812.iii-4-the-language-of-tears>).

¹⁷ ARNOULD 0000, 129-130. See also VAN WEES 2009.

¹⁸ FOLEY 1991.

asks the reason for it and in turn, applies to Patroclus the poetic process of comparison in a much more personal way, as L. MUELLNER shows following a series of studies taking into account the gender opposition:¹⁹

16. 6-11

καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
τίπτε δεδάκρυσαι Πατρόκλεες, ἤϋτε κούρη
νηπίη, ἢ θ' ἄμα μητρὶ θεοῦσ' ἀνελέσθαι ἀνώγει
εἰανοῦ ἀπτομένη, καί τ' ἐσσυμένην κατερύκει,
δακρῶεσσα δέ μιν ποτιδέρκεται, ὄφρ' ἀνέληται·
τῆ ἴκελος Πάτροκλε τέρεν κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβεις.

The tone seems ambiguous, between pitying tenderness and manly admonishment . The passage in any case contradicts the intransigent interpretation of MONSACRÉ who sees in Achilles a «hero of sobs», which seems to me to have little regard for this passage and the attitude of Achilles towards the tears of Patroclus. His comparison makes him a mother to a capricious child.

If the comparison made by the narrator is of the traditional type as WHITMAN thought,²⁰ the sequence with the discourse of Achilles to Patroclus shows how Homeric comparisons can subtly combine the objectivity of the narrator in an agreed framework with the individual style of a particular hero, making these two «aspects» succeed each other in the same context de Patroclus.²¹

While the comparison of a character in tears to a waterfall, being traditional, can be applied to both Patroclus and Agamemnon, neither of the two passages seems to have a primary character compared to the other. On the contrary, the comparison of Patroclus to a little girl has a very individual and emotional character: it is accepted in Achilles' words in front of his friend, and because it follows in context from the previous comparison. It could be part of the “Achilles language” and its individual ethos.²²

¹⁹ MUELLNER 2019 uses psychoanalysis and the notion of *transitional object* for this image, for him metaphor and metonymy at the same time.

²⁰ WHITMAN 1981, 74.

²¹ MCCARY 1982, ZANKER 1996, 98, SCOTT 2009, 158.

²² Adam PARRY's study of Achilles' language only takes into account books 1 to 9.

2.2. The ash spear from Pelion

The variations on the arming scene, one of the most obvious models of the typical scene using a highly formulaic style, also show that the formulas bring together Patroclus (16) and Achilles (19) to contrast them to the «standard» arming scene represented by Paris and Agamemnon (distinguished by the description of his cuirass). Verses 130-139 of book 16 practically repeat word for word verses 330-338 of book 3, dedicated to the equipment of Paris: beautiful greaves decorated with silver nails, cuirass, bronze sword with silver nails, shield large and solid, well-crafted helmet in horse hair, spear, all these weapons very comparable from one character to another are taken in this order imposed by the logic of the body and are said in similar terms, usually exactly identical. After the typical *suite* of arming (leggings, breastplate, sword, shield, helmet, spears, always in this order more or less imposed by physical necessities), book 16 brings into play a new theme, never before discussed in the Iliad. Homer relates, in an astonishing negative form, that Patroclus does not arm himself with the ash spear from Pelion which Chiron had given to Peleus:

Iliad 16.140-144 ἔγχος δ' οὐχ ἔλετ' οἷον ἀμύμονος Αἰακίδαο
βριθὸν μέγα στιβαρόν· τὸ μὲν οὐ δύνατ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν
πάλλειν, ἀλλὰ μιν οἷος ἐπίστατο πῆλαι Ἀχιλλεὺς
Πηλιάδα μελίην, τὴν πατρὶ φίλῳ πόρε Χείρων
Πηλίου ἐκ κορυφῆς, φόνον ἔμμεναι ἠρώεσσιν.

Why mention in the equipment scene a weapon that the warrior does not take, except precisely to highlight the similarity between Patroclus and Achilles, the fact that the «best of the Achaeans» sends his companion in his place, in order to provoke in the enemy a terror analogous to that which he would produce if he presented himself,²³ and to insist on the capital difference which opposes them, this ash spear from Pelion which Achilles alone is capable of brandishing, this weapon that connects it, so to speak, underground to the telluric and magical forces embodied by the Centaur Chiron, who cut this tree for Peleus? The mention of the spear that Patroclus does not take in book 16 is perhaps fraught with threats for him: if the spear has the magical value that one can suspect by following its trajectory in the narrative of the *aristeia* of Achilles, the substitute of Achilles can actually

²³ On Patroclus as Achilles' double, WHITMAN 1965, 195-204, SINOS 1980, LOWENSTAM 1981, 126-131.

win only if he remains strictly within the limits that his friend has assigned: but we know that Patroclus will not be able to resist the fury of the fight.²⁴

From a narrative point of view, the mention in book 16 of Achilles' spear is above all a way of putting it in reserve for the scene of the arming of Achilles himself, in 19.387-392

ἐκ δ' ἄρα σύριγγος πατρώϊον ἐσπάσατ' ἔγχος
βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν· τὸ μὲν οὐ δύνατ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν
πάλλειν, ἀλλὰ μιν οἷος ἐπίστατο **πῆλαι** Ἀχιλλεύς·
Πηλιάδα μελίην, τὴν **πατρὶ φίλω** πόρε Χείρων
Πηλίου ἐκ κορυφῆς φόνον ἔμμεναι ἠρώεσσιν·

On the whole constituted by the four typical arming scenes of the *Iliad*, we can see that the formulaic structure does not prevent the narrator from placing subtle variations involving a poetic gradation and dramatization that puts Achilles at the top, and makes Patroclus a waiting stone for the appearance of the only true hero:

- Paris, bk 3: "standard" equipment, no ornamental comparisons (one in the context of the armament scene)
- Agamemnon, bk 11: almost standard equipment (armor decorated as variant, lower variant for sword), no comparisons
- Patroclus, bk 16: standard equipment (but the set belonging of to Achilles makes it exceptional), and mention of the spear that Patroclus does not take
- Achilles, bk 19: these are the weapons made the night before by Hephaestus and brought by Thetis in the morning, their brilliance is exceptional; mention of the ash spear of the Pelion that Achilles takes; four similes in the arming scene proper, prepared by a series of comparisons preparing this exceptional flowering .

The repeated verses with negative form at first have several remarkable archaic traits: in other occurrences of the typical scene, the spear is called either ἔγχος, or δόρυ (or in the dual form, δοῦρε), the first of the two forms is used here in 16.140 and in 19.387 (at the initial of the verse in the first case, in the final in the second, perhaps conspicuous place), here, the Achilles' weapon is called Πηλιάδα μελίην (16.143 = 19.390). Since μελίην evokes the epithet μείλιον attested in a formula with ἔγχος, (7 occurrences, always at the end of verse) as well as with δόρυ (5 occurrences, always in the same place with bucolic diaeresis), we will logically conclude that this is a quasi-formulaic epithet meaning ash. In this case, Πηλιάδα, deriving from the name of the Pelion mountain attested in the same passage at the first hemistich of the following verse (Πηλίου ἐκ κορυφῆς), would be a name, and more specifically a proper name, as is the patronym of Achille himself, *Peleides*.

²⁴ LÉTOUBLON 2007.

We know of other cases in the great Indo-European stories where a weapon has a proper name: swords like *Durandal* in the tradition of *Song of Roland*, Excalibur in that of the Arthurian cycle, or more specifically a spear, *Gungnir*, weapon of the god Odinn in northern traditions. The narrator seems to have made a wordplay on root παλ- / πηλ-, with πάλλειν, πῆλαι, Πηλιάδα μελίην, and Πηλίου ; however, Peleus' name, that would be anticipated here since Cheiron gave the spear to him, is not attested in this verse, but is represented by the phrase “to his dear father”. I conclude that the massive presence of παλ- / πηλ-, in the three verses where there are four examples in all is an encrypted way of designating the recipient, represented in verse 16.143= 19.391 by πατρὶ φίλῳ. If I am right, the hidden name of Peleus, to guess under the play of words based on a popular etymology that associates because of its aorist form the verb πάλλειν ‘brandish’, could be justified by a magical reason, which could be related to the wild Centaur’s role beside Achilles’ more human tutor Phoenix.

The final clausula φόνον ἔμμεναι ἠρώεσσιν is archaic by the very free use of the infinity of determination affixed to a name, by the very form of this infinitive of the verb to be, to which is added the dative in –εσσι.²⁵ This qualification of the spear as a deadly weapon anticipates the end of the *Iliad*: indeed, the spear will give the deadly blow to Hector. One may also think that it could be a gloss of the very name of Achilles, if one accepts its interpretation as «pain for the warriors».²⁶

Even if φόνον ἔμμεναι ἠρώεσσιν has a formulaic appearance, its phraseology is attested only in the contexts of the Achilles' spear at books 16 and 19. We can accept the idea of Antoine Meillet on formulas attested only once, as Parry did.²⁷ But the set of 4 verses repeated with a minimal variant can in any case absolutely not be considered as a formula in the Parryian sense of the term. The repetition can therefore be interpreted as an element of narrative and formal connection between the arming scene of Patroclus and that of Achilles, a mark of the analogies between the two heroes and their difference at the same time, and therefore an element that advances the narrative of Achilles' anger and vengeance towards its end, the

²⁵ Infinitive in -μεναι as Aeolisms: WATHELET 1970, 193, 320-2; dative in -εσσι : idem, 258-260.

²⁶ PALMER 1963, NAGY 1979, WATKINS 2001, 489.

²⁷ De LAMBERTERIE 1997.

death of Hector, but also towards the end not narrated in the *Iliad* but constantly present to the mind, that of Achilles himself.²⁸

Another repetition, of two absolutely identical verses with even more striking archaic features, links this time the death of Patroclus to that of Hector.

2.3. A «beautiful death» in parallel for Patroclus and for Hector

This is the end of the Patrocleia, and more specifically the verses reserved for the moment of Patroclus' death: I analyzed the remarkable recurrence of various formulas of death, of the type “the shadow covered his eyes”, “his knees loosened”, “his soul or his breath left him” etc.²⁹ These formulas are well known in all the battle accounts of the *Iliad* and their relative monotony characterizes the typical scenes of heroic deaths. On the other hand, for Patroclus and for Hector, and for them alone, we have an identical sequence of two quite specific verses: for Patroclus

Iliad 16.856-857 ψυχή δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων παμένη Ἴδιδος δὲ βεβήκει
ὄν πότμον γούωσα λιπούσ' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην.

The two verses are repeated exactly in 22. 362-363 for Hector's death.

The first of the two verses attests well to the archaic conception of the soul as having a materiality in the body, which it leaves at the time of death to “fly away” (παμένη) towards the kingdom of Hades (Αἴδιδος δὲ):³⁰ this is not the point that will hold us most. The second verse poses a major problem: one remarks that the soul is able to bemoan its fate (ὄν πότμον γούωσα), and manhood and youth (ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην) seem roughly equivalent.³¹ But the crucial point is based on the metric; the consonant group -ndr- lengthening the preceding vowel makes the verse ametric, we are obliged to act as if the syllable does not count in the verse. Most commentators have noted this by tracing the scan back to a very old state where there was still an r-voyelle (*nr-) guaranteed by parallels in other Indo-European languages. It seems to me that one can conclude that the repetition of this very ancient form (once again, if

²⁸ On the predictions announcing this death, see WHITMAN 1981, 89-90.

²⁹ LÉTOUBLON 2003.

³⁰ BREMMER 1993, 74-6.

³¹ Though Aristarchus says that ἀνδροτῆτα cannot mean ἀνδρεῖαν, see JANKO 1992, 421. See also BARNES 2011, HURST 2023.

for the second hemistich it is a formula in the Parryian sense of the term), it is in the sense of a very old lexical association, frozen in a state of the language prior to that of the *aidoi*. It seems difficult to suppose that this repetition of a very rare expression in the same association along two complete verses for the death of Patroclus first, then Hector, can be explained by chance: the phenomenon of echo seems on the contrary intended and to be part of the compositional processes that bind the songs of the *Iliad* to each other. This is also the conclusion reached by Watkins 1987:

The deaths of Patroklos and Hector are in equipoise; their balance can be seen as a metaphor for the thematic structure of the *Iliad* itself. Other repeated formulas as well point to, are *indexical* to, their equipoise of the two deaths. Such are the two “invitations to death” given to Patroklos (XVI 693) and Hektor (XXII 297). The sinister phrase *theoi thanatonde kalessan* strikingly recalls the Hittite New Year’s myth about the Illuyanka dragon, with the cognate verb.³²

These two verses repeated quite unusually, do not only remind the listeners of Patroclus’ death when they hear that of Hector, but they project on the last books a sinister, tragic shadow, evoking that of Achilles.³³

A final example of “non-formulaic repetition” (or dating back to a time before that of the *aidoi*) is found at the end of the *Iliad* and links the episode of Hector’s death to the meeting between Achilles and Priam.

2.4. The iron heart of Achilles and that of Priam

Research on the Homeric metaphors of the heart of iron, bronze and stone³⁴ allowed us to observe a remarkable repetition of the metaphor of the «iron heart» in the discourse of the characters of the *Iliad*. It is a formulaic metaphor, which is relatively rare, and its strict reduction to discourse excluding the narrative seems to give it a distinctly idiomatic character. In the order of Homeric narration, it is first the dying Hector (strong durative value of the participle present *καταθνήσκων*) who recognizes Achilles’ *thymos* as “(hard as) iron”, *σιδήρεος*:

Il. 22.355-357 Τὸν δὲ καταθνήσκων προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἴκτωρ·
ἦ σ' εὖ γινώσκων προτιόσσομαι, οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλον
πείσειν· ἦ γὰρ σοί γε σιδήρεος ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός.

³² WATKINS 1987, 290.

³³ BURGESS 2005, CURRIE 2016.

³⁴ LÉTOUBLON & MONTANARI 2004.

But on the twenty-fourth book, on two occasions, the metaphor is applied to Priam, first by his wife, Hecabe:

24.203-205 πῶς ἐθέλεις ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν ἐλθέμεν οἶος
 ἀνδρὸς ἐς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὅς τοι πολέας τε καὶ ἐσθλοὺς
 υἷεας ἐξενάριξε· σιδήρειόν νύ τοι ἦτορ.

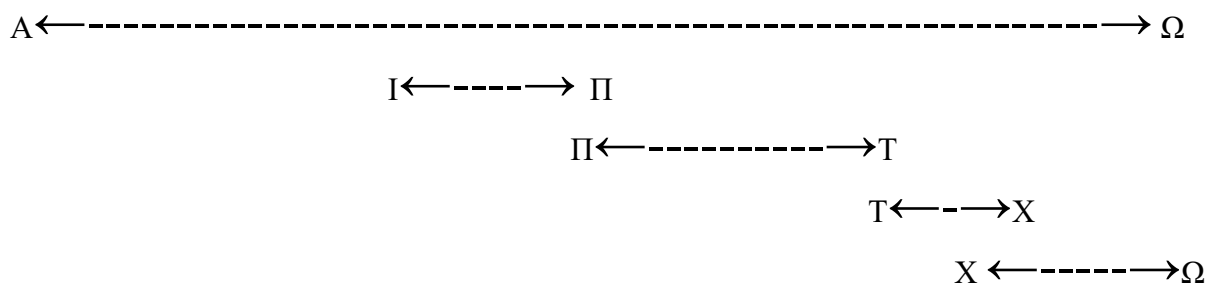
then by Achilles in the famous episode of their meeting in the Achaean camp, where the «plan of Zeus» and the benevolent protection of Hermes brought the old king, in search of the corpse of his son .

24.519-521 πῶς ἔτλης ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν ἐλθέμεν οἶος
 ἀνδρὸς ἐς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὅς τοι πολέας τε καὶ ἐσθλοὺς
 υἷεας ἐξενάριξα; σιδήρειόν νύ τοι ἦτορ.

How Achilles' words can repeat those of Hecabe, with a slight variation on the beginning of the first verse (πῶς ἐθέλεις / πῶς ἔτλης), then on verbal persons (ἐξενάριξε / ἐξενάριξα)? The memory of the *oidoi* alone could answer. But for the echo of Hector's words in those of Achilles, less literal, one might suggest that a memory of Hector's last words has permeated the memory of Achilles, who, taken with astonishing admiration at the boldness of this old man, It characterizes him in the same way that Hector once did to him.

But the important is probably not in the psychological characterization of Achilles and Priam, even if such lexicalized metaphorical uses contribute to it. The most important phenomenon for the present research is the phenomenon of linking one book to another: at the time of the ransom of Hector's corpse, his last words are recalled by the echo of Achilles' words to Priam, an echo that is supposed to go unnoticed by the character very probably. But are the bards and the public aware of the phenomenon? The relative rarity of such "formulas" suggests that they are likely to strike precisely because they add to the style of the ordinary form a striking relief, if we pay attention to it.

If this is the case, we see that non-formulaic repetitions link together, a bit like the arches of a bridge or rather as colored threads in a weave, the various books of the Iliad (designated here for the convenience of the scheme by the letters of the Greek alphabet):



The relationship between A and Ω corresponds to the first point developed here, between I and Π to point 1, between Π and T to point 2.1, between Π and X to 2.2, and between X and Ω to 2.3. The key character of the Patrocleia is manifested by the number of non-formulaic repetitive relations that it maintains with the other books of the *Iliad*: upstream with book 9, downstream with books 19 and 22.

Let's add the relationship between 9 and 19 by the theme of the failure of the embassy highlighted by MONTANARI 2017 and the comparison of Paris to a horse released in book 6 repeated in book 15 for the return of Hector to combat, analyzed by BAKKER 2017 to demonstrate the "telescopic vision of the *Iliad*".

All these links play the role of reminders, for the modern reader, but all the more so, it seems to me, for the audience. In any case, in a culture where attention was not constantly solicited by visual sensations, hearing played an immensely more important role than for us. The return, even after several books, of these rare verses, containing words that people no longer understood very well, such as ἀνδροτήτα, or forms characterized by an archaic or almost foreign appearance, such as ἔμμεναι, was to strike an attentive and exercised ear. For the memory of the *oidoi*, as well, it could play the role of *mental beacons*, related to the most important characters like Achilles and Patroclus, Patroclus and Hector, or Achilles, Hector and Priam. The four verses concerning the spear that Peleus had received from the Centaur in particular are striking for the memory by the play of echoes on the radical *pal-/pel-* and the evocation of the name Peleus that they involve: paradoxically, the difficulty of understanding can become a stimulant for memorization. If this can be valid both for the narrator and for the listener, we see the interest that such linguistically marked verses can present for the memorization of a text of very large magnitude: they are points of reference in the poet's mental map.

Books 16, 19 and 22 show the greatest number of links with other ones, highlighting the importance of Patroclus, Hector and Achilles. Now the comparison between the *Iliad* and the *Aithiopsis* in the neo-analyst current seems to show that the episode of the Patrocleia and its hero were very secondary in the *Epic Cycle*, some going so far as to suppose that Patroclus was invented by Homer, replacing Antilochos.³⁵ Without going that far, we can admit that the

³⁵ KAKRIDIS 1949, WHITMAN 1981, 88, KULLMANN 2005.

Iliad seems to have granted a central role to a character who was previously very bland. If this is indeed the case, the density of the links we have found seems paradoxical: why these rare, archaic or dialectically marked words, to link this character and his *aristeia* to other episodes? I would like to suggest that it is precisely to help integrate it strongly into the overall scheme of Achilles' Anger: his arming scene insists on his status as Achilles' substitute, but the fact that he cannot take his spear symbolizes the limit of their similarity, and his last breath similar to that of Hector shows the imminence of the fall of Troy and Achilles' fate.

I insisted on the repetitions of passages more or less extensive, with small variations (on people and verbal times, on personal pronouns: anything that can mark the insertion of a point of view in the language) to show that such a repetition can be memorized by the poet as well as noticed by the public, on condition of some attention.³⁶ In these conditions, listening to the *Iliad*, we note successively the echo of book 9 (the comparison of the source) in book 16, then in book 19 (the embassy), book 16 in 19, book 19 in 22, and finally, in book 24, those of 1 and 22. If the melodic variations of the nightingale evoked by the comparison of Penelope in book 19 of the *Odyssey* can be applied to those of the *aidoi* as suggested by the first chapter of *Poetry as Performance*, these non-formulaic repetitions that punctuate the text could be a form.³⁷

In a representation of the oral poet composing at the same time as he sings or recites, one can suppose that he has in mind a general pattern known by tradition, in this case for the *Iliad*, the account of a limited period in the tenth year of the Trojan War, going from Achilles' anger to his appeasement by the death of the enemy, with great milestones that serve as benchmarks: the embassy trying to bring him back to battle; his return to battle; his duel with Hector. In this hypothesis, we can imagine that when beginning the story, the poet has in mind a fairly precise image of its end with the loop effects (*Ringkomposition*) that it comprises, of the type of those schematized by Whitman above (or in a less detailed and less complex way). When recurring elements appear, they naturally evoke the memory of precedents. But if, when the narrator begins to tell, he has the idea of the end and of the successive stages by which he will

³⁶ On repetitions and memory, see BOUVIER 1997, MINCHIN 2001, 2021. We are far away from the idea of a "stock of formulas", see BOUVIER 2015.

³⁷ NAGY 1996, 7-9 on the notion of *mouvance* taken from Zumthor.

achieve it, it is perhaps necessary to speak of an anticipatory memory. This is what I wanted to symbolize by the double arrows, going from A to Ω but also from Ω to A.

It can therefore be inferred that the order of occurrence between the two “dark source” comparisons is of little importance. Their repetition is an indication of their traditional character, such as the fact that they are both in the narrator’s voice, and what matters to us is the sequence in the second case with Achilles’ speech and the much more personal comparison that he makes of Patroclus to a little girl . On the other hand, the order of occurrence of the repetitions is very important for the passage on the ash spear from Pelion (Π-T): for the arming scene of Patroclus, it is essential, as Whitman showed, that he puts on the arms of Achilles to become his double, his substitute. This becomes a reality, but has a limit, symbolized in the text by this spear that only Achilles can wield. Patroclus cannot therefore take it, but its history is mentioned with the significant negation of 16.140 ἔγχος δ οὐχ ἔλετ’ precisely because this very special object plays the role of textual reference. It is clear that its original “place” is at the end of the arming of Achilles, not that of Patroclus. But the occurrence of book 16 with negation may be considered a sign of its anticipatory character. As for the two deaths of Patroclus and Hector with the same two enigmatic verses, it is clear that one anticipates the other, but both anticipate another, present in the text in the form of a shadow, that of Achilles, as shown by BURGESS.

In short, the repetitions analyzed here may be due to the poet who conceived the *Iliad* as a whole, developing the role of the character of Patroclus, in a way incompatible³⁸ with some traditional data that we know through the meagre remains of the Epic Cycle. I don’t want to say that he designed all of these repetitions in one go, but rather that he wanted to develop the character of Patroclus and integrate it firmly into the pattern of Achilles’ Wrath by connecting the episodes in which he plays a major role.

3. The “reverberation” of mythological examples and the diffuse mythological background of the *Iliad*

I borrow the notion of reverberation of exempla from Mabel LANG (1983), who studied all cases in which a character of the *Iliad* evokes a mythological exemplum for rhetorical purposes, to lead another character to act in a direction suggested by the myth, following a

³⁸ MONTANARI 2017, 52.

famous article by Malcolm WILLCOCK that showed that the mythological exempla were «adapted» to achieve their rhetorical goal, until the invention of *ad hoc* details.³⁹

Except for Nestor, Achilles and Phoenix, most of the examples are put in the mouth of one god who tries to convince another; these are most often family relations, between Achilles and his mother, Hephaestus and hers, Dione and her daughter in a series of three examples in song 5, husband and wife for Zeus and Hera, brothers for Poseidon and Apollo. As many formulas explicitly recall, all these stories are supposed to be part of the «divine memory», as if the gods were telling each other their mythology. Several of them also have the same conclusion, recalled by a formula in the first two cases:

1.586 τέτλαθι μήτερ ἐμή, καὶ ἀνάσχεο κηδομένη περ,

5.382 τέτλαθι τέκνον ἐμόν, καὶ ἀνάσχεο κηδομένη περ·

5.406 [...] μάλ' οὐ δηναῖος ὃς ἀθανάτοισι μάχεται,

What LANG shows in her analysis is that they manifest a kind of diffuse knowledge of mythological traditions to which the Epic Cycle or other texts sometimes allude, while in other cases it is a *unicum*. They all have an argumentative purpose, and as many of them report battles between themselves (in particular Hera, Poseidon and Athena chained Zeus in the song 1.396-406, Ares chained by the giants Aloades in 5.382-391, Hera hanged and chained by Zeus in 15.16-33, and Poseidon and Apollon enslaved together to Laomedon by Zeus in 21.441-460) they may refer to a tradition of the wars of the gods, or wars between gods and Giants or Titans, of which there are very few written traces, even less so than for the Epic Cycle, but in which the enslavement or confinement of divinities was a recurring theme, the role of Heracles and Hera's jealousy towards this son of her adulterous husband in four episodes (5.392-4, 5.395-402, 15.16-33, 20.145-149) showing on his side that the hero's gesture largely predated the account of his “works”.⁴⁰

All of these examples could bear witness to an archaic Gigantomachia and Heracleid, whose diffusion may have remained purely oral.

LANG draws from the *Iliad* a fabric of allusions known by everyone at that time, and maybe still at the time of the *Library* of [Apollodorus]. I find an important clue of it in book 1.19 of the *Library*, where is found a kind of synthesis in only one paragraph of two of the *exempla* about Hera and Heracles; the beginning passage reminds *Il.* 1.586-594, the end *Il.* 15.16-33:

³⁹ WILLCOCK 1964, 1977.

⁴⁰ Ch. 13 of GANTZ 1993; BÄR 2018.

5. Ἥρα δὲ χωρὶς εὐνῆς ἐγέννησεν Ἥφαιστον; ὡς δὲ Ὅμηρος says, καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ Διὸς ἐγέννησε. Πίπτει δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ Ζεὺς Ἥρα δεθείση βοηθοῦντα; bull γὰρ ἐκρέμασε Ζεὺς ἐξ Ὀλύμπου χειμῶνα ἐπιπέμψασαν Ἡρακλεῖ, ὅτε Trovalorem ἐλὼν ἔπλει. Pesoda d' Ἥφαιστον ἐν Λήμνω καὶ hit τὰς bases saved them.

Mabel LANG's article found resonance in particular with two articles by Laura SLATKIN (1986a and b), then her 1991 book: the episode of the Zeus sequence by the trio of Hera, Poseidon and Athena, mentioned by Achilles in *Il.* 1.259-273 is indeed a key to the whole of Achilles' Wrath: it is Thetis who delivered Zeus from his chains and this is what gives her a form of power upon him, and also explains Hera's fury, nourished by the constancy of her jealousy towards Alcmena and Heracles, reflected in the four episodes mentioned.

In conclusion on this point, we could borrow from astrophysics the term "diffuse background" by applying it to mythology: the mythological allusions of the *Iliad* allude to this mythological diffuse background.

4. Three or four times and counterfactual hypotheses of the *Iliad*

FORTE 2021 highlights another kind of echo from book to another : an act is repeated three or four times (τρὶς ... τέταρτον), resolved in our cases by a failure.

First in Diomedes' *aristeia*, 5, 436-9

τρὶς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρουσε κατακτάμεναι μενεαίνων,
τρὶς δέ οἱ ἐστυφέλιξε φαεινὴν ἀσπίδ' Ἀπόλλων·
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος,
δεινὰ δ' ὁμοκλήσας προσέφη ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων·

Second in the Patrocleia, twice, 16.702-6

τρὶς μὲν ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος βῆ τείχεος ὑψηλοῖο
Πάτροκλος, τρὶς δ' αὐτὸν ἀπεστυφέλιξεν Ἀπόλλων
[...]
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος,

and 16.784-786 τρὶς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρουσε θεῶν ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηϊ

[...] ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος,

Fourth for Achilles against Hector, where Apollo protects his protégé under a cloud :

20.445-447 τρὶς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρουσε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς
ἔγχεϊ χαλκείῳ, τρὶς δ' ἡέρα τύψε βαθεῖαν.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος,

FORTE's interpretation involves cognitive psychology and behavioral theory:⁴¹ these repeated assaults create dramatic tension and leave action in abeyance. They very strongly imply the

⁴¹ BECK 2018, FORTE 2021.

character's body, and failure on the fourth try leaves him strongly frustrated. This in no way excludes a poetic effect of the process, which makes us wait for the decisive battle of book 22, also marked by the number three, but this time by the triple turn of the walls of Troy, in the account at verse 165, then in Hector's speech at about 251.

In many cases, the narrator or a character engages in story-fiction using the form process of *καί νύ κεν* or *καί νύ κεν ἔνθ'* that linguists call counterfactual, showing that the story could have taken another course: in song 5, Nicole LORAUX clearly showed the role of this process in the repetition of the formula "he would have died if..." for mortal Aeneas (5.311 *Καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας*), and for immortal god Ares, (5.388 *καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο Ἴαρος ἄτος πολέμοιο*). Comparable formulas concern Nestor (8.90), the Achaeans (11.310), the Molions (11.750) etc. And at song 18, we see combining the last two processes mentioned 18.155-158

τρις μὲν μιν μετόπισθε ποδῶν λάβε φαίδιμος Ἴεκτωρ
ἐλκόμεναι μεμαώς, μέγα δὲ Τρώεσσιν ὀμόκλα·
τρις δὲ δὴ Αἴαντες θοῦριν ἐπειμένοντες ἀλκὴν
νεκροῦ ἀπεστυφέλιξαν

and 165-167 *καί νύ κεν εἴρυσσέν τε καὶ ἄσπετον ἦρατο κῦδος,
εἰ μὴ Πηλεΐωνι ποδὴνεμος ὠκέα Ἴρις
ἄγγελος ἦλθε θεοῦσ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου θωρήσσεσθαι*

Between repetition three times ... , three times ... and the counter-factual hypothesis comes a nice comparison of the Ajax to shepherds trying to remove a lion "caught in hunger", and it is tempting to suppose that it is the detour through the image that causes the narrator to suppress the third term (*τέταρτον* ...) of the repetition to lighten the narrative.

All these echoes connect together in a subtle way Diomedes facing Apollo or Ares,⁴² Patroclus facing Hector and Hector facing Achilles, Apollo always being in the background as «protector of Troy».⁴³

All of these non-formulaic repetitions, mythological allusions and repetitions of the formula "three times... but the fourth ...", all this seems to me to converge towards a unity that is first of all thematic, but also of a much deeper order, relevant to the intimate emotions that the

⁴² On Diomedes' *aristeia*, SCOTT 2009, 102-112.

⁴³ WATHELET 1993.

aidoi and their audience share, and which is ultimately of the order of poetic composition, probably first oral, but may be supported secondarily by written notation.

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