

# Slaying men, or an etymology? Homeric ἀνδρειφόντης

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## 1 The unmetrical verse

B 651	Μηριόνης τ' ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυάλῳ ἀνδρειφόντη	
H 166	Μηριόνης ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυάλῳ ἀνδρειφόντη	
Θ 264	Μηριόνης ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυάλῳ ἀνδρειφόντη	
P 259	Μηριόνης ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυάλῳ ἀνδρειφόντη	'Meriones, the peer of Enyalios, slayer of men.'

### 1.1 Metrical Analysis

<sup>1</sup>mē.ri.o | <sup>2</sup>nēs.ta.ta | <sup>3</sup>lan.to.se | <sup>4</sup>nū.a.li | <sup>5</sup>ῥ.ian.dre.i | <sup>6</sup>p<sup>h</sup>on.tēi

or: <sup>5</sup>ῥ.ian.drē | <sup>6</sup>p<sup>h</sup>on.tēi

<sup>1</sup> — — — | <sup>2</sup> — — — | <sup>3</sup> — — — | <sup>4</sup> — — — | <sup>5</sup> — — — | <sup>6</sup> — —

There is at least one syllable too many!

This verse is on a whole other level of “unmetricity” than most other unmetrical verses in Homer.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.2 How to read it?

Previous attempts (19<sup>th</sup> century) to read the line have partly been concerned with the scansion of Ἐνυάλῳ:

- |     |   |   |
|-----|---|---|
| (a) | e   <sup>4</sup> nū.a.li   <sup>5</sup> ῥan.dre.i   <sup>6</sup> p <sup>h</sup> on.tēi  | (with synizesis of -ῥ ἄν-) <sup>2</sup>               |
| (b) | e   <sup>4</sup> nūa.li.o   <sup>5</sup> ian.dre.i   <sup>6</sup> p <sup>h</sup> on.tēi | (with synizesis of -ῥῃ- and correption) <sup>3</sup>  |
| (c) | e   <sup>4</sup> nū.a.liō   <sup>5</sup> ian.dre.i   <sup>6</sup> p <sup>h</sup> on.tēi | (with “yod-ization” of ι and correption) <sup>4</sup> |

Ad (a): e | <sup>4</sup>nū.a.li | <sup>5</sup>ῥan.dre.i | <sup>6</sup>p<sup>h</sup>on.tēi

- (1) A synizesis of <sup>o</sup>-ῥῖ\_V-<sup>o</sup> across a word boundary is not only **metrically egregious** (Leaf 1900 *ad* B 651: “... violent synizesis of “-ωι ἄν- ...”; Wackernagel 1916:172: “... ungeheuerliche Krasis von -ῥ ἄ-”; Mühlestein 1958:226: “... gewaltsame Synizese ...”), it is also **otherwise virtually unheard of**.
- (2) *Cf.* West 2018:376: “To crush ωιαν into one syllable would go beyond any other Homeric instance of synizesis, and it would be especially unlikely in a formula.”

Ad (b): e | <sup>4</sup>nūa.li.o | <sup>5</sup>ian.dre.i | <sup>6</sup>p<sup>h</sup>on.tēi

- (1) There is **no other case** of a synizesis of disyllabic <sup>o</sup>-Cū.aC-<sup>o</sup> to monosyllabic <sup>o</sup>-CūaC-<sup>o</sup>.<sup>5</sup>
- (2) The name Ἐνυάλῳς in its 5 other attestations in Homer is **always scanned** Ἐνυάλῳ (- — — —).

Ad (c): e | <sup>4</sup>nū.a.liō | <sup>5</sup>ian.dre.i | <sup>6</sup>p<sup>h</sup>on.tēi

- (1) There are apparently **only two cases** in which a “yod-ization” of ι occurs after a *brevis* in the Iliad and **doesn't make position** (*cf.* Monro 1882:282; Chantraine 1958:170; Schwyzer 1939:244; Hackstein 2002:30f.):

B 811	ἔστι δέ τις προπάρσιθε πόλιος αἰπεῖα κολώνη	'There is in front of the city a steep mound, ...'
	... pro.pa   <sup>3</sup> ro.i.t <sup>h</sup> e.po   <sup>4</sup> lios ...	

<sup>1</sup> For a general overview of unmetrical verses in Homer *cf.* West 2018.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Menrad 1886:162, 175; Wackernagel 1916:172, referring to the German tradition.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned as the “commonly scanned” way to read the line by Monro 1882:282, probably referring to the Anglophone tradition.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* Wathelet 1966:171; Wathelet calls this the “la scansion traditionnelle” and probably refers to the French academic tradition.

<sup>5</sup> No mention at all in Menrad 1886; Chantraine 1958:27–67. Differently from <sup>o</sup>-Civ-<sup>o</sup> (-<sup>o</sup>-Civ-<sup>o</sup>; see below), there is also no case in Homer in which <sup>o</sup>-CūV-<sup>o</sup>, let alone <sup>o</sup>-CūV-<sup>o</sup>, can be read as <sup>o</sup>-CūV-<sup>o</sup> with consonantal v. Actual cases of such a scansion are rare and post-Homeric and never affect *ū* (*cf.* Schwyzer 1939:244f.).

- (2) This verse is just a variation of an almost identical verse with the nom. sg. ἔστι δέ τις |<sup>3</sup> ... |<sup>14</sup> πόλις αἰπεῖα κολώνη #: Λ 711 ἔστι δέ τις Θυρούεσσα πόλις αἰπεῖα κολώνη 'Now there is a city Thyroessa, a steep hill, ...' ...<sup>h</sup>ru.o|<sup>3</sup>es.sa.po|<sup>4</sup>lis ... (with an unremarkable *brevis in longo* at the hephthemimeris<sup>6</sup>)
- (3) The irregular metrical behavior of πόλις is, therefore, easily understandable within the concept of 'inflected formulae'.<sup>7</sup>
- a. The other occurrence of such a πόλις is, then, based on the ... |<sup>3</sup> προπάροιθε πόλις |<sup>7</sup> ... already established in B 811:
- Φ 567 εἰ δέ κέν οἱ προπάροιθε πόλις κατεναντίον ἔλθω  
'What then if in front of the city I go out to meet him?'
- (4) This means that ... e|<sup>4</sup>nū.a.l̄iō| ..., in which a "yod-ized" ι appears in a sequence V.CiV (scanning ~ ⊃) that does not originate as an inflected version of V.CiC (scanning ~ ⊃), would be a **totally isolated case** and must be **discarded**.
- (5) There is, thus, **no way** that this line can be read as a hexameter.

## 2 ἀνδρειφόντης 'slayer of men'

### 2.1 The majority view today:

- (1) ἀνδρειφόντη synchronically reflects – ⊃ – – but the meter needs ~ ~ ~ ⊃. Therefore, ἀνδρειφόντη is probably not the original form.
- (2) Wackernagel (1914:113 n. 1): The first member ἀνδρει-<sup>o</sup> of ἀνδρειφόντη is remodeled after the enigmatic ἀργειφόντης for original ἀνδρο-<sup>o</sup> (as in ἀνδροφόντην Aesch. *Soph.* 572) or even ἀνδρα-<sup>o</sup> (as in ἀνδραφόνος Solon *ap.* Phot.).
- (3) ἀνδρο-<sup>o</sup> or ἀνδρα-<sup>o</sup> continues earlier \**anr-* scanning ~ ~ and can thus be compared to the scansion of ἀνδροτήτα, ἀβροτάξομεν, ἀβρότη, all with initial ~ ~.<sup>8</sup>
- (4) Hugo Mühlestein (1958:223f.): **Myc. a-no-*qo-ta*** (male personal name and perhaps sometimes a title<sup>9</sup>) represents /anork<sup>wh</sup>ontās/ < \**anrk<sup>wh</sup>ontās* and is identical to ἀνδροφόντης (Aesch. *Soph.* and >> Hom. ἀνδρειφόντης).
- (5) Mycenaean already shows a development \**r* > *ar/ra, or/ro*, so verses containing ἀνδρειφόντης (scanning ~ ~ ~ – –) and ἀνδροτήτα (scanning ~ ~ ~ – ~) and similar formulas are, in essence, **pre-Mycenaean**, and so is the hexameter.
- (6) The originator of the formula said ... e|<sup>4</sup>nū.a.li|<sup>5</sup>ō.ja.n̄r̄|<sup>6</sup>k<sup>wh</sup>on.tāi (vel sim.).<sup>10</sup>

### 2.2 This idea has found many followers:

- (1) Wathélet (1966:171): \**anrp<sup>h</sup>ontēi* with Achaean (*r*)*o* from *r* ("vocalisme *o* de l'achéen") > \*ἀνδροφόντη >> ἀνδρειφόντη (after ἀργειφόντης).
- (2) Watkins 1987:289: "the phrase must be scanned and read *E-nū-(w)a-li-ōi a-nr̄-phon-tāi* (more accurately *a-nr̄-k<sup>wh</sup>on-tāi*); p. 290: "The line[s] with *a-nr̄-k<sup>wh</sup>on-tāi* ... could only have been composed when the syllabic liquid *r* was real in Greek. And we know that that time was before Mycenaean ..."
- (3) Ruijgh (1995:85-88): "un vers formulaire d'origine proto-mycénienne"; Proto-Mycenaean \**anrk<sup>wh</sup>ontāi* gave \**androk<sup>wh</sup>ontāi* in historical Mycenaean times scanning ~ ~ ~ – –, and Mycenaean *aidoi* already sang the verse

<sup>6</sup> Unremarkable in the sense that one could argue for a syntactic break coinciding with the hephthemimeris in this verse (αἰπεῖα κολώνη being in apposition to πόλις) in addition to the fact that ... πόλις |<sup>7</sup> followed by a consonant appears as frequent as 9x in the Iliad, which could have additionally encouraged such a *brevis in longo* at |<sup>7</sup>. The same phenomenon of ... πόλις |<sup>7</sup> with *brevis in longo* but no syntactic break (and thus probably authorized by the aforementioned cases) is found at Π 69 Ἀργεῖοι, Τρώων δὲ πόλις ἐπὶ πάσα βέβηκε. A very different account of the line B 811 is discussed by Schwyzer (1938).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Parry 1928:11f. on Σ 288 (πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Πριάμοιο πόλιν) μέροπες ἄνθρωποι with a *brevis in longo* is due to a combination of the formulas ... |<sup>3</sup> Πριάμοιο πόλιν|<sup>7</sup> ... (4x *Il.*) and ... |<sup>7</sup> μερόπων ἀνθρώπων # (7x *Il.*), reinforced by the existence of ... |<sup>14</sup> πόλ(ε)ις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων # (3x *Il.*); (with more examples).

<sup>8</sup> However, Wackernagel adds: "Kaum kann für die älteste Phase der epischen Sprache geradewegs noch sonantisches *r* vorausgesetzt werden."

<sup>9</sup> Cf. DMic I:70 s.v.: "Antr. masc." A variant might be attested in *a-na-*qo-ta** (cf. DMic I:63f. s.v.).

<sup>10</sup> Mühlestein did not claim, however, that these formulas were Mycenaean or pointed towards an Achaean phase of the epic diction. Au contraire, he stated "Der Weg zur homerischen Sprache geht ... nicht durchs Mykenische hindurch, sondern am Mykenischen vorbei" (Mühlestein 1958: 226, final note).

with synzesis of  $\circ\omega\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\circ$ , which forced them to introduce another short syllable in the 5<sup>th</sup> foot. This was done by changing  $*androk^{wh}ontāi$  to  $*andrehek^{wh}ontāi$  on the model of  $*argehik^{wh}ontās$  (ἀργειφόντης).

- (4) Ruijgh (1997:41) reconstructs a whole proto-Mycenaean hexameter line:

*Meriónās hatálantōs Enūaliōi anrk<sup>wh</sup>ontāi*

- (5) Similarly Latacz 2001:311-313; Willi 2003:224; de Lamberterie 2004:239f.

- (6) van Beek (2013) assumes the vocalization of  $*r$  to  $\alpha\rho/\rho\alpha$ ,  $\omicron\rho/\rho\omicron$  to be relatively recent, with  $*r$  being preserved as a phoneme in Mycenaean, while the vocalization is estimated to have happened in the 12<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century for Proto-Ionic (van Beek 2013: 166); "...  $*r$  was retained within Epic Greek for a considerable period of time after the split-up of Proto-Ionic, perhaps until one or two generations of poets before Homer" (p. 160)

- a. With respect to our verse, van Beek (2013:215) assumes that the "formula containing  $*Enūaliōi anrk^{wh}ontāi$  entered Ionic Epic in the early Dark Ages, and was retained in this form until Epic  $*r$  was eliminated, not long before Homer." and that "after the epenthesis had led to ἀνδροφόντη, some poet felt the necessity to take more drastic measures, and created Ἀνδρείφοντη on the model of Ἀργειφόντη."

- (7) West 2018:376: the underlying phrase is  $*Enūwaliōi anrq^{wh}ontāi$  (sic); "these words and phrases entered the epic language at a time when syllabic  $r$  still existed".

### 2.3 However, such a view has raised several objections:

- (1) Cf. Tichy 1981:54f.; Berg/Haug 2000:9f.; Haug 2002:63f.; Hackstein 2002:5ff.; Maslov 2011.
- (2) Projecting the whole verse back into pre-Mycenaean implies that the **dactylic hexameter** as such had been developed before Mycenaean times and had **remained unchanged** during 800 years of oral tradition prior to Homer.
- a. Regardless of the question about the origin of the dactylic hexameter, this is a costly (and unprovable) hypothesis, because the only evidence for it is the alleged resolution of metrical irregularities, which is a circular argument.
- (3) Even though the name Ἐνυάλιος is scanned Ἐνῦάλιος in all Homeric instances, there is consensus among the more cautious commentators that Ἐνῦάλιος actually reflects **metrical lengthening** of Ἐνῦάλιος (~~~~), so scanned in a lyric fragment (*Lyr. Adesp.* 108); cf. *LSJ* s.v. Ἐνυάλιος; Leukart 1994:53; de Lamberterie 2004:240.
- a. If Myc. *e-nwa-ri-jo* (a personal name) is a graphical variant of *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* (theonym),<sup>11</sup> this might also point to /enūwaliyos/ rather than /enūwaliyos/.
- (4) In this case, not only the hexameter, but also **the concept of metrical lengthening in this name** needs to be projected in pre-Mycenaean times, which makes the whole account rather conjectural.
- a. Another problematic point concerns the fact that dactylic verse-final formula would not have been coined in the dat. sg., but more plausibly in the nom. sg., but a corresponding  $*Enūwaliōs anrk^{wh}ontās$  does not easily fit a rigid hexameter.
- (5) But even if the hexameter were a pre-Mycenaean invention and the verse was forged when  $r$  was still syllabic, we would have to accept the idea that after the (probably pre-Mycenaean) vocalization of  $*r$  to  $ar/ra$ ,  $or/ro$ , **dozens of generations of singers accepted and passed on an egregiously unmetrical verse** over a period of approximately 800 years.

### 2.3 A recent origin?

- (1) For our verse, a **recent origin** is explicitly or implicitly assumed by Tichy (1981:40 with note 26);<sup>12</sup> Berg/Haug (2000:9f.); Haug (2002:63f.); Barnes (2011: note 2); Maslov (2011:378f.).
- a. Tichy (1981:40 note 26): "Daß Ἐνυάλιο- ἀνδρείφοντη- [...] eine Formel mykenischer oder sogar vorgriechischer Herkunft sei, geht aus der Art der Bezeugung nicht hervor."
- b. Haug (2002:64): "Il nous semble alors préférable de considérer ce vers comme très récent".
- (2) But such a view (at least in a rather radical interpretation) fails to recognize the **obvious formulaic nature** of the verse and it does not explain the metric monstrosity, either.

<sup>11</sup> DMic I:221 s.v. *e-nwa-ri-jo*, however, says "[d]ebe rechazarse su identidad con el teónimo" ('identity with the theonym needs to be rejected'). On *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* cf. García Ramón 2013:89.

<sup>12</sup> In a later publication, however, Tichy (2010:61f.) reconstructs an epic "*pentekaidekasyllable*" Μηριόνης τ' \\*ἀτάλας/ Ἐνυάλιω \\*ἀνδρόφονει/, with Ἐνυάλιω \\*ἀνδρόφονει corresponding to verse-final *Rudráya nřghné* (RV 4.3.6).

## 2.4 How to explain ἀνδρειφόντης?

- (1) All scholars (as far as I know) take ἀνδρειφόντης to be a remodeling of \*ἀνδροφόντης.
- (2) There is consensus (see above; add Latacz 1965:66 n. 4; Schmitt 1967:124; Risch 1974:32 n. 28) that the model for the reshaping of \*ἀνδροφόντης was the epithet ἀργειφόντης (30 × in Hom.+Hes., always at the line end).
  - a. Very explicitly, Tichy (1981:40), van Beek (2013:214) refer to the dat. found in B 103 ... |<sup>tr</sup> διακτόρω ἀργειφόντη as the template on which \*ἀνδροφόντης (or \**anrok<sup>wh</sup>ontāi*) was remodeled to ἀνδρειφόντης.
- (3) This verse-final formula, however, has a **different metrical structure**, with ἀργειφόντης occupying a **different metrical slot** than \*ἀνδροφόντης/ἀνδρειφόντης:
  - a. ... |<sup>tr</sup> διακτόρω || ἀργειφόντη  
di|<sup>4</sup>ak.to.ro|<sup>5</sup>ja.r.ge.i|<sup>6</sup>p<sup>h</sup>on.tēi
  - b. ... |<sup>tr</sup> Ἐνῶαλίω |<sup>9</sup> \*ἀνδροφόντης  
e|<sup>4</sup>nū.a.li|<sup>5</sup>iō.ia.ndro|<sup>6</sup>p<sup>h</sup>on.tēi
- (4) Since there is **no metrical overlap**, it is virtually excluded that a poet would have come up with a remodeling of \*ἀνδροφόντης to ἀνδρειφόντης based on ἀργειφόντης.<sup>13</sup>
- (5) And most importantly, this account (and all the others presented so far) leaves the **fundamental question unanswered**:
  - a. What was **so wrong** about ... Ἐνῶαλίω \*ἀνδροφόντης (with a **perspicuous first compound member** and a scansion licensed by and similar to ἀνδροτήτα, ἀβροτάξομεν, ἀβρότης) for the poet(s) to undertake a remodeling to an **obnoxiously unmetrical** ... Ἐνῶαλίω ἀνδρειφόντης (with a totally unparalleled scansion)?
  - b. In other words: a verse like ...  
Μηριόνης ἀτάλαντος Ἐνῶαλίω \*ἀνδροφόντης  
'mē.ri.o|<sup>2</sup>nēs.ta.ta|<sup>3</sup>lan.to.se|<sup>4</sup>nū.a.li|<sup>5</sup>iō.ia.ndro|<sup>6</sup>p<sup>h</sup>on.tēi  
... would have been no more or less suspicious than ...  
ὄν πότμον γοώσα λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἦβην  
'hon.pot|<sup>2</sup>mon.go.o|<sup>3</sup>iō.sa.li|<sup>4</sup>pō.sa.ndro|<sup>5</sup>tē.ta.kal|<sup>6</sup>i<sup>h</sup>ē.bēn  
... so why would there have been a need to abuse it?
- (6) I think, the answer can only be that ...
  - a. ... the verse **never actually contained** \*ἀνδροφόντης.
  - b. ... the 'Homer' **never actually sang** ... Ἐνῶαλίω ἀνδρειφόντης.
    - i. Such a verse is very unlikely to have been approved by our otherwise rather rigid poet.<sup>14</sup>
  - c. ... the origin of ἀνδρειφόντης lies in an error of the **written transmission**.
    - i. Only a scribe, unconcerned about metrics, could disfigure a certain form *x* to ἀνδρειφόντης in analogy to ἀργειφόντης.
  - d. **But what was this form *x*?**
- (7) The remodeling of a form *x* to ἀνδρειφόντης only makes sense if this *x* had not been \*ἀνδροφόντης but rather ...
  - a. ... something that was **even weirder** than the wrongfully produced ἀνδρειφόντης.
  - b. ... something that was **close enough** to the metrically inequivalent ἀργειφόντης for *x* to be remodeled after this ἀργειφόντης and not after other compounds in ἀνδρο- like the seemingly synonymous ἀνδροφόνος 'man-slaying' (16 × in the Iliad).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Tichy 1981:40 and 53 and 63 assumes a scenario that relies on her scansion of Ἐνῶαλίω ἀνδ-<sup>9</sup> as ... e|<sup>4</sup>nū.a.liō|<sup>5</sup>jan ..., which is impossible (see above).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Wackernagel 1916:172: "eine[r] in die Überlieferung gedrungene[n] Verderbnis" and "Textfehler". Also van Beek 2013:216 note 841: "... I am inclined to think that the replacement ἀνδρείφοντης could come into being only after crasis of long vowels had become tolerable – that is, after Homer".

<sup>15</sup> I believe that this reasoning makes the otherwise quite credible hypothesis rather implausible that Aeschylus, who *Th.* 572 calls Tydeus τὸν ἀνδροφόντην, τὸν πόλεως ταρακτορα 'murderer, maker of unrest in the city', still had a reading ἀνδροφόντης in his copy of the Iliad (cf. Wackernagel 1916:172, referring to Bechtel); ἀνδρο+φόντης could be easily created by Aeschylus himself with a deliberate 'epic flavor', while using the exact epithet that in the epics exclusively labels *Enyalios* would have been a questionable choice in the context of the play. In a similar fashion, Callimachus's δαμάτειρα (*fr.* 75 H.) does not imply that the author read this form in his Iliad at Ξ 259 for what is transmitted as δμήτειρα or μήτειρα, but rather that he knew both variants (cf. Hsch. μήτειρα: φρονίμη, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ <ὡς παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ> Latte) and that he willfully played with such allusions (cf. Rengakos 1993:82f.; Skempis 2010:213f. with note 11).

### 3 Μηριόνης ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυάλιω ἀνδριφόντη

In fact, it turns out that the **best candidate** for *x* is actually a form with a **first compound member in -ι-**, *viz.* ἀνδριφόντη (or \*ἀδριφόντη; see below).

#### 3.1 ἀνδριφόντη

(1) ἀνδριφόντη is attested in **several manuscripts and papyri**:

a. Allen:

- i. B 651 ἀνδρι- P<sup>104</sup> V<sup>e1</sup> V<sup>i2</sup> W<sup>5</sup>
- ii. H 166 ἀνδρι- C D E<sup>3</sup> ras. Ge Li O<sup>2</sup> (-τι) O<sup>6</sup> O<sup>7</sup> P<sup>3</sup> corr. P<sup>8</sup> P<sup>10</sup> T V<sup>3</sup> V<sup>5</sup> ss. V<sup>9</sup> V<sup>11</sup> V<sup>14</sup> V<sup>32</sup> V<sup>i1</sup> V<sup>i2</sup> V<sup>i5</sup> v. I. Eu.
- iii. Θ 264 ἀνδρι- B corr. Bm<sup>5</sup> uv. D E<sup>3</sup> O<sup>2</sup> (-τι) O<sup>5</sup> O<sup>6</sup> O<sup>7</sup> P<sup>4</sup> P<sup>10</sup> T V<sup>9</sup> V<sup>14</sup> V<sup>32</sup> ss. V<sup>i2</sup> V<sup>i5</sup>; ἀδρ. P<sup>17</sup>
- iv. P 259 ἀνδρι- B corr. C T V<sup>i2</sup> V<sup>i5</sup> W<sup>2</sup>

b. Ludwich:

- i. B 651 ἀνδρι- U<sup>x</sup>X, lm. R. (cf. Sittl 1888); ἀδρι- Monro.
- ii. H 166 ἀνδρι- SB<sup>2</sup>GHT<sup>1</sup>L<sup>1</sup>H<sup>1</sup>X, Eust.
- iii. Θ 264 ἀνδρι- SB<sup>2</sup>HT<sup>2</sup>X.
- iv. P 259 ἀνδρι- M<sup>1</sup>HTU<sup>d</sup>X.

(2) This variant has been duly acknowledged by Chantraine (1958:110); Latacz (1965); Tichy (1981:39 with note 23); van Beek (2013:215 note 837); but mostly ignored otherwise (also in West 1998-2000; van Thiel 1996).

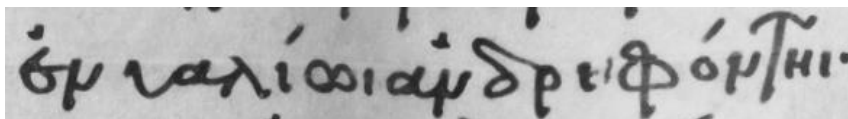
(3) The interpretation that this ἀνδριφόντη represents an **i(o)tazistic spelling** of ἀνδριφόντη *qua* ἀνδριφόντη (thus Tichy 1981:39) is unpromising.

a. First, we would expect an iotazistic spelling of a former -ει- as -ι- only in words that were part of the personal vernacular of the scribe or where different derivatives would encourage analogy (*e.g.* M 280 # νιφέμεν for νειφέμεν under the influence of νιφετός; cf. West 2001:30f.; Hackstein 2002:19).

i. The epithet ἀνδρ(ε)ιφόντη, however, exists only in the Iliad.

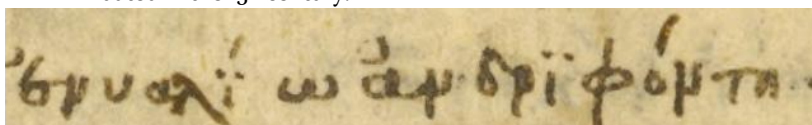
b. Second, we would expect an iotazistic spelling only in manuscripts that **exhibit iotazistic spellings in other words, too**.

i. A look into the manuscript Escorial Y 1.1 (293) (= E<sup>3</sup> Allen) from not later than 1050 (written by the same hand as Venetus B), reveals that this manuscript has ἀνδριφόντη (Θ 264; a second hand corrected it to ἀνδριφόντη; see below), but otherwise faithfully renders actual -ει- as -ει- (ligature ζῖ) and actual -εῖ- as -εῖ- (no ligature ζῖ).



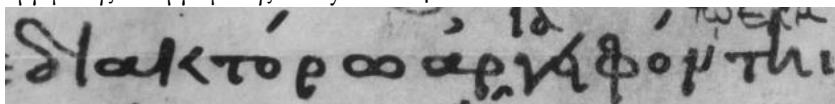
: Screenshot of Escorial Y 1.1 (293) page 103 recto (<http://www.homermultitext.org/hmt-image-archive/upsilon-1-1/E3-Multispectral/>; access 10/3/2019).

Similarly in Geneva, Bibliothèque publique, 44 (= Ge Allen; G Ludwich), a manuscript dated in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

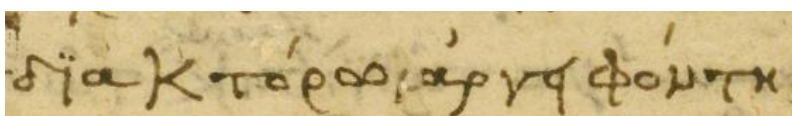


H 166: Screenshot of Geneva, Bibliothèque publique, 44, page 294 (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bge/gr0044/294/0/Sequence-116>; access 10/7/2019)

c. Crucially, however, the manuscripts and papyri that have a reading ἀνδριφόντη do **not** have a reading ἀργιφόντης for ἀργειφόντης in any of the 14 Iliadic attestations.



B 103: Screenshot of Escorial Y 1.1 (293) page 20 verso (<http://www.homermultitext.org/hmt-image-archive/upsilon-1-1/E3-Multispectral/>; access 10/3/2019).



B 103: Screenshot of Geneva, Bibliothèque publique, 44, page 81 (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/bge/gr0044/294/0/Sequence-116>; access 10/7/2019)

- i. Despite the alleged parallelism of the two epithets, **whatever led to the spelling ἀνδριφόντη did not lead to a spelling \*ἀργιφόντης.**
  - ii. It is more plausible that a certain manuscript tradition had ANΔPIΦONTHI (preserved in ἀνδριφόντη) but APTEIΦONTHΣ (preserved in ἀργειφόντης).
- (4) We also know that ἀνδριφόντη was a reading known to Eustathius and perhaps to the author(s) of the *Etymologicum Magnum*,<sup>16</sup> and it is found on a **payrus** from the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE (P<sup>104</sup> Allen).
- a. Eust. *ad H* 166: Τὸ δὲ ἀνδριφόντης διαφορεῖται, ὡς ἐν ἄλλοις ἐστὶ δῆλον.  
“The word ἀνδριφόντης has two spellings, as is evident from the other [passages].”
- (5) I think, the reading ἀνδριφόντη is the *forma* and *lectio difficilior*.
- (6) In my opinion, the best way to explain a transformation of Ἐνυαλίω ἀνδριφόντη to Ἐνυαλίω ἀνδρειφόντη within the **written** tradition is:
- a. Either a scribe just **emended** ἀνδριφόντη (with an unintelligible first compound member) to ἀνδρειφόντη because of their knowledge of ἀργειφόντης, interpreted as ‘**slayer of Argos**’ (whence ἀνδρειφόντης ‘**slayer of men**’).
  - b. Or, based on formulaic verse endings such as ... ἥ ἀργειφόντη # and ... ἥ ἀργιόδοντα # ‘with white teeth’ (I 439 etc.), that could be interpreted as representing a FCM ἀργι- (irrespective of its meaning), with two alloforms: ἀργει- before a consonant and ἀργι- before a vowel (or, alternatively, ἀργει- before a spondaic SCM and ἀργι- before an amphibrachic/bacchius SCM), they emended a semantically no longer understood ἀνδριφόντη to ἀνδρειφόντη to be in line with these rules.<sup>17</sup>
- (7) This led to the majority of manuscripts that have both ἀργειφόντης and ἀνδρειφόντη.
- (8) A **more conservative tradition** could then be seen in mss. like the E<sup>3</sup> or Ge (Allen) that (at least partly) have ἀργειφόντης but an unremodeled ἀνδριφόντη.

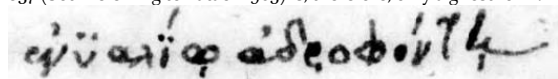
### 3.2 But what is ἀνδριφόντη?

- (1) ἀνδριφόντη still ought to scan as – ◡, and since it is clear that ἀνδριφόντη **cannot in any way continue a form with syllabic r** (qua \**anrk<sup>wh</sup>ontāi*) and would, thus, have never scanned as ◡ ◡ – –, we are virtually obliged to assume that ἀνδριφόντη continues an earlier, metrically entirely unobtrusive \*ἀδριφόντη.
- a. The scansion of verse-final \*ἀδριφόντη as ◡ ◡ – – (with *correptio Attica*) would be exactly parallel to Ἀφροδίτη ◡ ◡ – – (29 × in verse-final position in the *Iliad*).
- (2) Some scholars actually long ago proposed that the underlying form must have been \*ἀδριφόντη:
- c. Monro 1882:275: “... perhaps Ἐνυαλίω ἀνδρειφόντη should be Ἐνυαλίω ἀδριφόντη (◡ ◡ – –) : cp. ἀνδρεφόνος (Hdn. ap. Eustath. 183, 6).”
  - d. Leaf 1900 *ad B* 651: “But we ought to write “ἀδριφόντη” (or rather “ἀδροφόντη”), where “ἀδρι-” is a lighter form of “ἀνδρι-” ...”
  - e. Latacz 1965:66 with note 4: original text had \*ἀδριφόντη, which he claims to be an attested variant.<sup>18</sup>
- (3) This \*ἀδριφόντη, arrived at on internal grounds, was probably remade into ἀνδριφόντη in order to establish a (folk etymological?) connection with its alleged meaning ‘slayer of men’.
- (4) **But what is ἀδρι- in \*ἀδριφόντη?**
- a. Cf. Tichy 1981:39 note 23: “Ursprüngliches \*ἀδριφόντη ... müsste sprachlich unerklärt bleiben”

<sup>16</sup> *EM* (s.v.): Ἀνδρειφόντης, ὁ φονεύων τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνδρι δοτικῆς, καὶ τοῦ φένω τὸ φονεύω. ἀλλ’ ἐγράφη ἄν διὰ τοῦ ι. ἀλλὰ γράφεται τὸ δρει δίφθογγον, καὶ γίνεται παρὰ τὴν ἀνδρὸς γενουκῆν. “Ανδρειφόντης, the slayer of men. From the dative of ‘man’ and the verb ‘slay’. Might have been actually written with ι, but it is written [now] with a diphthong as δρει, and it has the meaning of a genitive of ‘man’.”

<sup>17</sup> It is interesting to note that there is actual evidence of the influence of one noun in ◡-φόντης on another, leading to both a metrical and morphological monstrosity: The reading ἀργειροφόντη in U<sup>m</sup> (Ludwich) at B 103 and ἀργειροφόντην in Y (Ludwich) at Ω 24 certainly shows influence from Βελλεροφόντης (6 × verse-final in the *Iliad*).

<sup>18</sup> The reading ἀδριφόντη that he assumes, following Allen, for the manuscript P<sup>17</sup> is based on a misreading of the (ambiguous) critical apparatus in Allen *ad* Θ 264 (“ἀνδρι- B [...] Vi<sup>3</sup>; ἀδρ. P<sup>17</sup>”). The ms. P<sup>17</sup> (13<sup>th</sup> cent.) has a reading ἀδροφόντη. The ἀδριφόντη cited by Tichy 1981:39; van Beek 2013:215 note 837 (both referring to Latacz 1965) is, therefore, only a ghost form.



Screenshot of Parisiensis suppl. graec. 497 page 50 recto (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/ltv1b11004866q/f22.item.zoom>; access 10/3/2019).

#### 4 \*ἄδρι-φόντη ‘the smasher of the rock’?

- (1) The first compound member \*ἄδρι- could, in theory, be a cognate of Ved. *ádri-* m. ‘stone, rock, mountain’ (RV+) < \**ḡ-dr-i-* ‘the unsplitable one’.
- (2) Incidentally, *ádri-* is used in the RV to refer the rock that encompasses the cows that were released by Indra (/Bṛhaspati).
  - a. *indrasyāṅgirasāṃ ceṣṭau vidat saramā tanayāya dhāsim |*  
*bṛhaspatir bhinad adriṃ vidad gāh sam usriyābhir vāvaśanta naraḥ ||* (RV 1.62.3)  
‘At the desire of Indra and the Aṅgirasas, Saramā found the wellspring for posterity. Bṛhaspati: he split **the rock**; he found the cows. The superior men bellowed together with the ruddy (cows).’<sup>19</sup>
- (3) In RV 6.73.1, the compound *adri-bhíd-* ‘splitting the rock’ is said of Bṛhaspati:
  - a. *yo adribhīt prathamajā ṛtāvā bṛhaspatir āṅgirasō haviṣmān |*  
*dvibarhajmā prāgharmasat pitā na ā rodasī vṛṣabho roravīti ||* (RV 6.73.1)  
‘He who is **splitter of the stone**, first born, possessed of truth—Bṛhaspati Aṅgirasa, possessing the oblation— (\*filling) the doubly exalted earth, sitting in front of the heated pot, our father the bull keeps bellowing to the two world-halves.’
  - b. In later lexicographical literature (*Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*), *adribhíd-* is an **epithet of Indra**.
- (4) Is it possible that Gk. \*ἄδρι-φόντης is the functional and etymological (semi-)equivalent of Ved. *adri-bhíd-* and therefore the Greek reflex of an inherited mythological motive of HERO + ROCK + SMASH?
- (5) The descendants of PIE \**√bʰeǵd* (Ved. *bhināti* ‘splits’, etc.) in Greek developed into a completely different semantic direction (φείδομαι ‘I spare (persons or things); I do not destroy’ (+ gen.)).
  - a. The substitution of the second compound member \**◌bʰíd-* ‘splitting’ by the well-established ◌-φόντης ‘slayer’ (as in [B]ελλεροφόντης ‘the Eel-slayer’, for which cf. Katz 1998) is trivial.<sup>20</sup>
- (6) Gk. \*ἄδρι-φόντης might be the continuation of an **archaic compound** embedded in inherited *Dichtersprache*, whose meaning had become obscure.
  - a. **Folk etymology**, then, led to its **reinterpretation** and (awkward) **remodeling** as ἀνδριφόντης >> ἀνδρειφόντης ‘slayer of men’.
    - i. A similar account for Hom. ἀνδροτήτα (see above) as reflecting a folk-etymologized \**amṛtāt-* ‘the fact of not dying’ was proposed by Barnes 2011.
    - ii. For [B]ελλεροφόντης (Z 155–220) as ‘the Eel-slayer’ and its PIE phraseological background cf. Katz 1998.
- (7) And if so, does that mean that Ἐνυάλιος ‘*Enyalios*’ (the only figure referred to as ἀνδρειφόντης in Homer) is a Greek avatar of Indra (/Bṛhaspati)?
  - a. It might only be a mirage that the second member of the apparent compound Ἐνυ-άλιος < \**Enu-walīyos* could be interpreted as a relational adjective derived from the cognate of Ved. *valá-* m. ‘enclosure’, the name of the demon conquered by Indra.
  - b. A formation like \**◌-mal-(t)io-* or \**◌-m̥l(hs)-(t)io-* ‘belonging to the Vala’ with a meaning ‘defeater of the Vala’ could be compared functionally to:
    - i. Latin victory titles with a relational suffix: *Africānus* (awarded to Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus for his defeat of Hannibal at the Battle of Zama in 202 BCE), *Dacicus* ‘defeater of the Dacians’ (Trajan), *Gothicus Maximus* ‘great defeater of the Goths’ (Claudius II), etc.
    - ii. More remotely, cf. *Cú Chulainn* (literally ‘Culann’s Hound’), name of the Old Irish hero born as *Sétanta* after he had slain Culann’s hound.
  - c. For other etymological proposals of *Enyalios*’s name cf. Yakubovich (*fthc.*).
- (8) A more cautious interpretation: the war-god *Enyalios* only secondarily (and perhaps coincidentally) adopted the **inherited ‘heroic’ epithet** \*ἄδρι-φόντης, the meaning of which was no longer understood.
- (9) **Conclusion:** in my opinion, our verse should be restored as:

Μηριόνης ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυάλιω \*ἄδριφόντη

<sup>19</sup> All RV translations are taken from Jamison/Brereton 2014.

<sup>20</sup> How this ◌-φόντης ‘slayer’ is to be analyzed morphologically, and whether it really means ‘slayer’ in ἀργειφόντης, is a different story. Cf. Leukart 1994:307 note 428; Katz 1998:325 note 25; Barnes 2011:8 note 25 for now.

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