

The presentation is as follows:

Underlined in quotations and translations are the forms on which the proposed translation differs from the standard one.

Textual variants are given after the quotation, if there are any.

Lines containing a reconstructed form are signalled by an asterisk.

Lattimore's translation is available online on the database Chicago Homer:

<http://homer.library.northwestern.edu>

R. Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer*, translated by R. L., introduction and notes by R. Martin, Chicago UP, 2011 (first edition 1951).

I am extremely grateful to Prof. Brent Vine (UCLA), who kindly helped me for the English version.

ILIAD 1 (A)**– 1, 158-160**

ἀλλὰ σοὶ ᾧ μέγ' ἀναιδὲς ἄμ' ἐσπόμεθ' ὄφρα σὺ χαίρης,
τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι Μενελάῳ σοὶ τε κυνώπα
πρὸς Τρώων· τῶν οὐ τι μετατρέπη οὐδ' ἀλεγίζεις·

Lattimore: « o great shamelessness, we followed, to do you favour, you with the dog's eyes, to win your honour and Menelaos' from the Trojans. You forget all this or else you care nothing. »

Proposed translation of l. 160: « Of us you do not worry or care at all. »

The use of οὐκ ἀλέγω, οὐκ ἀλεγίζω in the *Iliad* makes it clear that τῶν must refer to an animate, therefore be a masculine and not a neuter: it refers to Achaian warriors.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 206-207.

– 1, 389-390

τὴν μὲν γὰρ σὺν νηϊ̄ θοῆ̄ ἐλίκωπες Ἀχαιοὶ
ἔς Χρύσην πέμπουσιν, ἄγουσι δὲ δῶρα ἄνακτι

Lattimore: « For the girl the glancing-eyed Achaians are taking to Chryse, in a fast ship, also carrying to the king presents. »

Proposed translation of l. 390: « Achaians turners of oars send the maid to Chryse in a fast ship. »

The compound ἐλίκωπες, the meaning of which was already a matter of dispute for Greek scholars, is an artificial athematic variant *metri causa* of an older thematic ἐλίκωποι (attested in the Orphic Hymns). The latter must be analysed ἐλί-κωποι « turners of oars » (κώπη) and does not contain the word for « eye » (-ωψ, -ωπος). But the form was wrongly reanalysed ἐλίκ-ωπ-, and assimilated to the many compounds in -ωψ, -ωπος, hence the translation « glancing-eyed ». In this secondary meaning, it became the basis for the feminine ἐλικ-ῶπις, -ιδος (*Il.* 1, 98) « glancing-eyed », and then for the Hesiodic compound ἐλικοβλέφαρος.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 417-480.

ILIAD 2 (B)**– 2, 165 = 2, 181**

μηδὲ ἕα νῆας ἄλλα δ' ἐλκέμεν ἀμφιελίσσας

Lattimore: « nor let them drag down to the salt sea their oarswept vessels. »

Lattimore's translation is correct: ἀμφιέλισσα refers to the rotation of the oars, and not to the shape of the ship. More precise is Huddleston's translation « double-oared ».

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 442-445.

– 2, 181: cf. 2, 165

– 2, 654

ἐκ Ῥόδου ἐννέα νῆας ἄγεν Ῥοδίων ἀγερώχων

Lattimore: « (he) led from Rhodes nine ships with the proud men of Rhodes aboard them. »

Proposed translation: « (he) led from Rhodes nine ships with troop-gathering Rhodians aboard them. »

The adjective ἀγέρωχος always qualifies a people (except in *Od.* 11, 286). It does not mean « proud, arrogant » and has nothing to do with γέρας. The first element is the verb ἀγείρω « to gather », and the structure is ἀγέρ-ωχος « x-gathering ». The second element must be the name of a military unit. I suggested that it is identical with Myc. *o-ka*, which must be read *ῥοχα « ranks » (collective of ῥοχος). The original form would be *ἀγέρ-ορχος, and the transmitted ἀγέρωχος would result from a dissimilation of liquid consonants followed by a non-Ionic metrical lengthening necessary to preserve the original metrical value. The meaning « arrogant » is post-Homeric and due to popular etymology.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 481-530.

ILIAD 3 (Γ)

– 3, 36

ὧς αὐτίς καθ' ὄμιλον ἔδυσ Τρώων ἀγερώχων

Lattimore: « (he) lost himself again in the host of the haughty Trojans. »

Proposed translation: « (he) lost himself again in the host of troop-gathering Trojans. »

See *Il.* 2, 654.

– 3, 190

ἀλλ' οὐδ' οἷ τόσοι ἦσαν ὅσοι ἐλίκωπες Ἀχαιοί

Lattimore: « Yet even they were not so many as these glancing-eyed Achaians. »

Proposed translation: « Yet even they were not so many as Achaians turners of oars. »

See *Il.* 1, 389.

– 3, 234

νῦν δ' ἄλλους μὲν πάντας ὄρω ἐλίκωπας Ἀχαιούς

Lattimore: « And I see them all now, all the rest of the glancing-eyed Achaians. »

Proposed translation: « And I see them all now, all the rest of Achaians turners of oars. »

See *Il.* 1, 389.

ILIAD 5 (E)

– 5, 49-52

*υἶὸν δὲ Στροφίοιο Σκαμάνδριον αἶμονα θήρης

Ἄτρείδης Μενέλαος ἔλ' ἔγχεϊ ὄξυόεντι

ἔσθλὸν θηρητήρα·

*Modern editions have αἴμονα: the correct reading αἴμονα is preserved as a variant by the manuscript tradition.

Lattimore: « while Menelaos son of Atreus killed with the sharp spear, Strophios' son, a man of wisdom in the chase, Skamandrios, the fine huntsman of beasts. »

Proposed translation: « while Menelaos son of Atreus killed with his beech spear, Strophios' son, game-catching Skamandrios, the fine huntsman of beasts. »

The *hapax* αἴμονα / αἴμονα is an agent noun on the root of αἴνωμαι « to take », and means literally « taker ». The meaning « man of wisdom » was wrongly deduced by scholiasts from the context. The initial aspiration is not original.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 381-398.

– 5, 623

δεῖσε δ' ὅ γ' ἀμφίβασιν κρατερὴν Τρώων ἀγερώχων

Lattimore: « and he dreaded the strong circle made by the haughty Trojans »

Proposed translation: « and he dreaded the strong circle made by troop-gathering Trojans. »

See *Il.* 2, 654.

ILIAD 6 (Z)

– 6, 48 = 10, 379 = 11, 133 = *Od.* 21, 10

χαλκός τε χρυσός τε πολύκμητός τε σίδηρος

Lattimore: « bronze is there, and gold, and difficultly wrought iron »

Proposed translation: « bronze, and gold, and much-tiring iron »

Lattimore's translation tries to reconcile the original meaning of κάμνω « to become tired » with the usual interpretation of the compound that relates it to a transitive use of κάμνω « to produce with one's hands ». In fact, -κμητος in this compound is a metrical substitute for κάματος, which would yield an unmetrical form *πολυκάματος. It is a possessive compound meaning « which brings much fatigue ». The reinterpretation « well wrought » (*Od.* 4, 718) is secondary. See also *Il.* 11, 371.

Reference: C. Le Feuvre, « Contraintes métriques et innovation syntaxique en grec homérique : l'exemple de κάμνω et des composés en -κμητος », *Language and Meter*, ed. O. Hackstein, D. Gunkel, Leiden, Brill, 2018, 158-179.

– 6, 93-94 = 6, 274-275

καί οἱ ὑποσχέσθαι δυοκαίδεκα βοῦς ἐνὶ νηῶ
ἦνις ἠκέστας ἱερευσέμεν

Lattimore: « Let her promise to dedicate within the shrine twelve heifers, yearlings, never broken. »

Proposed translation: « Let her promise to dedicate within the shrine twelve heifers, yearlings, obeying the goad. »

ἠκεστός is a variant of ἀκεστός with metrical lengthening, it is the verbal adjective of *ἀκέω « to sting » (see *Il.* 13, 115), not a privative compound of κεντέω « to sting ». The transmitted accent is the result of the analysis of the word as a compound, which it is not, the form should be oxytone.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 276-280.

– 6, 219

Οἶνεὸς μὲν ζωστήρα δίδου φοίνικι φαεινόν

Lattimore: « Oineus gave his guest a war belt bright with the red dye. »

Proposed translation: « Oineus gave him a war belt bright with palm polish. »

See *Il.* 8, 116.

– 6, 308-309

ὄφρα τοι αὐτίκα νῦν δυοκαίδεκα βοῦς ἐνὶ νηῶ
ἦνις ἠκέστας ἱερεύσομεν

Lattimore: « so may we instantly dedicate within your shrine twelve heifers, yearlings, never broken. »

Proposed translation: « so may we instantly dedicate within your shrine twelve heifers, yearlings, obeying the goad. »

See *Il.* 6, 93-94.

ILIAD 7 (H)

– 7, 305

Αἴας δὲ ζωστήρα δίδου φοίνικι φαεινόν

Lattimore: « and Aias gave a war belt coloured shining with purple. »

Proposed translation: « and Aias gave a war belt bright with palm polish. »

See *Il.* 8, 116.

– 7, 343

μή ποτ' ἐπιβρίση πόλεμος Τρώων ἀγερώχων

Lattimore: « that we may not be crushed under the attack of these proud Trojans. »

Proposed translation: « that we may not be crushed under the attack of troop-gathering Trojans. »

See *Il.* 2, 654.

ILIAD 8 (Θ)

– 8, 116

Νέστωρ δ' ἐν χεῖρεσσι λάβ' ἠνία φοινικέοντα

Lattimore: « Nestor in his hands took up the [glittering] reins »

Proposed translation: « Nestor in his hands took up the well-polished reins »

NB: Lattimore translates the standard reading ἠνία σιγαλόεντα, but the reading ἠνία φοινικέοντα is probably older than σιγαλόεντα.

Φοινικέεις qualifies leather items, as does the formulaic phrase φοίνικι φαεινόν (*Il.* 6, 219 and 7, 305). Φοινικ- must refer to a kind of date syrup used as leather polish in Mycenaean times. In Cnossos, *po-ni-ki-ja* = φοινικια qualifies the box of chariots when finished, that is, polished, since the box was made of leather on a wooden structure. This technique became obsolete after Mycenaean times, and for Greeks of the archaic period φοινικέεις meant « red, crimson ».

Reference: Le Feuvre, *Hom. D.* 463-477.

– 8, 137

Νέστορα δ' ἐκ χειρῶν φύγον ἠνία φοινικέοντα

Lattimore: « And the [glittering] reins escaped out of the hands of Nestor »

Proposed translation: « And the well-polished reins escaped out of the hands of Nestor »

See *Il.* 8, 116.

– 8, 434-435 = *Od.* 4, 40-42

καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέδησαν ἐπ’ ἀμβροσίησι κάπησιν
ἄρματα δ’ ἔκλιναν πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα

Lattimore: « (they) tethered them at their mangers that were piled with ambrosia and leaned the chariot against the shining inward wall. »

Proposed translation: « (they) and tethered them at their divine mangers and leaned the gleaming chariot against the manger, in front. »

NB: the usual translation is still valid for *Od.* 22, 121.

The word ἐνώπια does not mean « (inner) wall », it is not a substantive but an adjective, qualifying the chariot, ἄρματα. It means « which is in front ». The line was misunderstood because the verb προσκλίνω with a tmesis was not recognised, leading to the reanalysis of πρὸς as a preposition, and consequently of ἐνώπια as a substantive headed by the preposition.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 129-143.

ILIAD* 9 (I)*– 9, 309-311**

χρῆ μὲν δὴ τὸν μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀποειπεῖν
ἢ περ δὴ φρονέω τε καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται,
ὥς μή μοι τρύζητε παρήμενοι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος

NB: Allen has for l. 310 Aristarchus’ reading φρονέω, better than κρᾶνέω preferred by other editors, and I follow him on that point.

Lattimore: « without consideration for you I must make my answer, the way I think, and the way it will be accomplished, that you may not come one after another, and sit by me, and speak softly. »

Proposed translation: « I must explain my word quietly, the way I think, and the way it will be accomplished, that you may not recriminate against me, sitting there each on your side. »

The adverb ἀπηλεγέως is derived from *ἀπηλεγής « away from sufferings » (belonging with ἄλλος), hence « calm, impassible ». It means « calmly, coldly », not « brutally », which is a secondary meaning resulting from a post-Homeric reinterpretation.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 231-242.

– 9, 466 = 23, 166

πολλὰ δὲ ἴφια μῆλα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς

Lattimore: « and fat sheep in their numbers, and shambling horn-curved cattle »

Proposed translation: « and fat sheep in their numbers, and oxen of the tight-turning feet »

The formula εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς is the original formula from which are derived the shortened formulas εἰλίποδας βοῦς and ἔλικας βοῦς (not the other way around). In this formula, ἔλικας can still be analysed as a substantive (ἡ ἔλιξ « twist »), it is from the functional point of view an Accusative of respect modifying εἰλίποδας (« turning feet in ἔλικας ») and has no direct syntactic relationship with βοῦς. The latter has only one epithet, εἰλίποδας. But the formula was misunderstood and the two modifiers in the Accusative plural, εἰλίποδας and ἔλικας, were thought to be syntactically on the same level, both being epithets of βοῦς. Ἐλιξ acquired thus a status of adjective, and was reused as such, in this same formula, within the Homeric corpus (ἔλικας βοῦς, ἔλικος βοός etc.).

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 445-477.

– 9, 502-507

καὶ γάρ τε λιταὶ εἴσι Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο
 χωλαί τε ῥυσαί τε παραβλῶπές τ' ὀφθαλμῶ,
 αἴ ῥά τε καὶ μετόπισθ' ἄτης ἀλέγουσι κιοῦσαι.
 ἦ δ' ἄτη σθεναρὴ τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, οὐνεκα πάσας
 πολλὸν ὑπεκπροθέει, φθάνει δέ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν
 βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπους·

Lattimore: « For there are also the spirits of Prayer, the daughters of great Zeus, and they are lame of their feet, and wrinkled, and cast their eyes sidelong, who toil on their way left far behind by the spirit of Ruin: but she, Ruin, is strong and sound on her feet, and therefore far outruns all Prayers, and wins into every country to force men astray. »

Lattimore's translation is correct. This line is the only one in the *Iliad* in which ἀλέγω is used without negation. The verb preserves here its original meaning « to suffer » (belonging to the group of ἄλγος) and does not mean « to care about », which is how Greeks understood it.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 225-231.

– 9, 538-542

ἦ δὲ χολωσαμένη δῖον γένος ἰοχέαιρα
 ὄρσεν ἐπὶ χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον ἀργιόδοντα
 ὃς κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρδεσκεν ἔθων Οἰνήος ἀλώην
 *πολλὰ δ' ὅ γε προτ' ἐλυμνὰ χαμαὶ βάλε δούρατα μακρὰ
 αὐτῆσιν ῥίζησι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄνθεσι μῆλων

*L. 541 is the following in the transmitted text:

πολλὰ δ' ὅ γε προθέλυμνα χαμαὶ βάλε δένδρεα μακρὰ

I retain here the reading δούρατα μακρὰ found in Maximus of Tyre.

Lattimore: « and in wrath at his whole mighty line the Lady of Arrows sent upon them the fierce wild boar with the shining teeth, who after the way of his kind did much evil to the orchards of Oineus. For he ripped up whole tall trees from the ground and scattered them headlong roots and all, even to the very flowers of the orchard. »

Proposed translation: « and in wrath at his whole mighty line the Lady of Arrows sent against the orchard a wild boar with the shining teeth, who after the way of his kind did much evil to the orchards of Oineus. For he threw down to the ground trees of tall trunk and scattered them headlong roots and all, even to the very flowers of the orchard. »

The word χλοῦνην is not the Accusative of a masculine χλοῦνης, modifying σὺν, but of a feminine χλοῦνη « greenery », which refers to cultivated plants devastated by the boar. It belongs with the group of χλόη. From the syntactic point of view, χλοῦνην is the complement of ἐπόρνυμι – with tmesis –, referring to the third participant of the process, the thing / person against which / whom something is sent. Originally the verb admitted both Dative and Accusative for the third participant, probably according to animacy, but language generalised the construction with a Dative for the active verb. Only this line preserves an Accusative because its syntax was no longer understood when this generalisation took place.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 63-95.

Προθέλυμος is a neocompound. The second element is an obsolete adjective *ἐλυμνός, known through its derivative ἐλύμναι « beams » (Hesychius), and attested in Mycenaean as *e-ru-mi-ni-ja*. This adjective refers to trees tall enough to provide beams, hence the proposed translation « of tall trunk ». The first element must be the elided preverb προτί of προτιβάλλω (*Il.* 5, 879). As syntax was no more understood, the line underwent a resegmentation and the preverb was linked to the following word, creating a neocompound. The aspirate -θ- is likely to be secondary.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 555-597.

– 9, 568-571

πολλά δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλοῖα
κικλήσκουσ' Ἄϊδην καὶ ἐπαινὴν Περσεφόνειαν
*πρόχῃν δόμεν θάνατον·

*Ll. 570-571 are transmitted as follows:

πρόχῃν [καθεζομένη, δεύοντο δὲ δάκρυσι κόλποι,
παιδί] δόμεν θάνατον·

Lattimore: « and many times beating with her hands on the earth abundant, she called on Hades and on honoured Persephone, lying at length along the ground, and the tears were wet on her bosom, to give death to her son. »

Proposed translation: « and many times beating with her hands on the earth abundant, she called on Hades and on honoured Persephone, to give death to her son. »

The adverb πρόχῃν means originally « razing to the ground ». It has an exact match in Sanscrit (compounds in *-kṣhnut-*, from *kṣhṇáuti* « to raze »). It is not related to γόνυ « knee » as usually thought. The word is preserved in Homer always with verbs meaning « to perish » (about a lineage or a people). Here it is found with the causative verb « to cause to perish », but the original hemistich is broken apart by an interpolation.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 283-303.

– 9, 683

νήας ἐϋσσέλμους ἄλλα δ' ἐλκέμεν ἀμφιελίσσας

Lattimore: « he will drag down his strong-benched, oarswept ships to the water. »

See *Il.* 2, 165.

ILIAD 10 (K)**– 10, 280-281**

[...] νῦν αὖτε μάλιστά με φίλαι, Ἀθήνη,
*δὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ νήας ἐϋκλήϊς ἀφικέσθαι

*L. 281 is transmitted as ἐπὶ νήας ἐϋκλείας ἀφικέσθαι

Lattimore: « now give me the best of your love, Athene, and grant that we come back in glory to the strong-benched vessels »

Proposed translation: « now again, more than ever, show your favour, Athene, and grant that I come back to our vessels with good rowlocks »

In Lattimore's translation ἐϋκλείας is translated twice, a first time as « in glory », in agreement with the way Greeks understood the line, and a second time as « strong-benched », which must be the older meaning, unknown to Greek scholarship.

The transmitted ἐϋκλείας is a rebuilt form (metrically irregular) from an older Acc.pl. ἐϋκλήϊς « with good rowlocks », epithet of νήας. This adjective is the vocalic variant of the better attested πολυκλήϊς « with many rowlocks », as ἐβύζυγος is the vocalic variant of πολύζυγος, also epithet of ships.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 403-415.

– 10, 379

χαλκός τε χρυσός τε πολύκμητός τε σίδηρος

Lattimore: « bronze is there, and gold, and difficultly wrought iron »

Proposed translation: « bronze, and gold, and much-tiring iron »

See *Il.* 6, 48

– **10, 430-431**

Μυσοί τ' ἀγέρωχοι || καὶ Φρύγες ἰππόμαχοι καὶ Μήονες ἵπποκορυσταί

Lattimore: « the Lykians and the proud Mysians with the Phrygians who fight from horses, and Maionians, lords of chariots. »

Proposed translation: « the Lykians and troop-gathering Mysians with the Phrygians who fight from horses, and Maionians with horsemane helmets. »

See *Il.* 2, 654.

ILLIAD 11 (A)

– **11, 133**

χαλκός τε χρυσός τε πολύκμητός τε σίδηρος

Lattimore: « bronze is there, and gold, and difficultly wrought iron »

Proposed translation: « bronze, and gold, and much-tiring iron »

See *Il.* 6, 48

– **11, 251**

στῆ δ' εὐράξ σὺν δουρὶ λαθὼν Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον

Lattimore : « He came from the side and unobserved at great Agamemnon »

Proposed translation: « He came behind him, cutting off his retreat, unnoticed by great Agamemnon »

The adverb εὐράξ must be a derivative from ἐέργω, εἶργω « to shut in », and applies to the manoeuvre through which one cuts off from the rear a warrior who goes forth, leaving the rank.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 171-188.

– **11, 371-372**

στήλη κεκλιμένος ἀνδροκμήτω ἐπὶ τύμβῳ || Ἴλου Δαρδανίδαο

Lattimore: « leaning against the column, work of men's hand, on the gravemound of Ilos, Dardanos' son »

Proposed translation: « leaning against the column, on the man-tiring gravemound of Ilos, Dardanos' son »

As πολύκμητος is an artificial form standing for unmetrical *πολυκάματος, so ἀνδρόκμητος stands for unmetrical *ἀνδροκάματος. The meaning is « causing men fatigue ». It was secondarily reinterpreted as « wrought by men », as πολύκμητος was reinterpreted as « much wrought », and referred to the transitive use of κάμνω « to produce with one's hands ». Here the original meaning fits well, but the reinterpreted one would also be possible.

See *Il.* 6, 48.

– **11, 388-390**

νῦν δέ μ' ἐπιγράψας ταρσὸν ποδὸς εὔχεται αὐτῶς.
οὐκ ἀλέγω, ὥς εἴ με γυνὴ βάλοι ἢ πάϊς ἄφρων·
κωφὸν γὰρ βέλος ἀνδρὸς ἀνάγκιδος οὐτιδανοῖο.

Lattimore: « Now you have scratched the flat of my foot, and even boast of this. I care no more than if a witless child or a woman had struck me; this is the blank weapon of a useless man, no fighter. »

Proposed translation: « Now you have scratched the flat of my foot, and even boast of this. I don't even feel it. Just as if a witless child or a woman had struck me; this is the blank weapon of a useless man, no fighter. »

This is the context in which οὐκ ἀλέγω « I don't suffer » (belonging to the group of ἄλγος) evolved into « I don't care ». This semantic evolution took place only when the verb was negated. Here, the original meaning can still be perceived, but the Greeks understood it « I don't care », as in other, more recent, occurrences.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 203-231.

ILIAD 12 (M)

– 12, 346-347 (= 359-360)

ὧδε γὰρ ἔβρισαν Λυκίων ἀγοί, οἱ τὸ πάρος περ
ζαχρηεῖς τελέθουσι κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας.

Lattimore: « such is the weight of the Lycian lords upon us, who even before now have shown as deadly men in the strong encounters »

Proposed translation: « thus were raging the Lycian captains, who previously proved most helpful in fierce battles »

The second element of the compound ζαχρηής is the *s*-stem χρῆος « need », hence « debt ». The compound means « much needed », hence « very helpful », « very useful ». The meaning is identical in M 359-360 and N 683-684. However, this non Ionic compound was eventually reinterpreted in this context as meaning « aggressive, violent », which ancient lexicographers and modern scholars sought to justify through a supposed etymological link with the group of ἔχραε « he attacked ». As a matter of fact, in the context of M 346-347, « violent » ou « aggressive » could fit since such a quality makes the warrior « helpful » in battle. The word was reused with this secondary meaning « violent » in E 525, as an epithet of winds (vulgata ζαχρειῶν ἀνέμων): this secondary use was favoured in hellenistic poetry and eventually obliterated the older meaning and the use as an epithet of warriors.

Reference: Le Feuvre, « Epic ζαχρηής: a reexamination », *Glotta* 93, 2017, 48-78.

– 12, 359-360

See *Il.* 12, 346-347.

ILIAD 13 (N)

– 13, 114-115

ἡμέας γ' οὐ πως ἔστι μεθιέμεναι πολέμοιο.
ἀλλ' ἀκεώμεθα θάσσον· ἀκεσταί τοι φρένες ἐσθλῶν.

Lattimore: « still there is no way for us now to hang back from the fighting. No, sooner let us heal it, for the hearts of great men can be healed. »

Proposed translation: « still there is no way for us now to hang back from the fighting. No, sooner let us spur each other, for the ardour of brave men can be spurred. »

The verb ἀκέομαι in this line is not the verb « to cure, to heal », but an homonymous verb meaning « to sting, to spur », lost in Greek because of the homonymy with ἀκέομαι « to cure ». The middle here has a reciprocal value. It was preserved in this line where it was ascribed the meaning of the homonym.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 255-282.

– 13, 174 = 15, 549

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Δαναῶν νέες ἤλυθον ἀμφιέλισσαι

Lattimore: « But when the oarswept ships of the Danaans came »

See *Il.* 2, 165.

– 13, 260-261

δούρατα δ' αἶ κ' ἐθέλησθα καὶ ἔν καὶ εἴκοσι δῆεις
ἔσταότ' ἐν κλισίῃ πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόοντα

Lattimore: « You will find one spear, and twenty spears, if you want them, standing against the shining inward wall in my shelter. »

Proposed translation: « You will find one spear, and twenty spears, if you want them, standing in front of you, shining, in my shelter. »

See *Il.* 8, 434-435. The word ἐνώπια does not mean « (inner) wall », instead, it is an adjective meaning « which is in front », qualifying δούρατα « spears ». In this line, the tmesis in προσίσταμαι was not recognised, leading to the reanalysis of πρὸς as a préposition, and consequently of ἐνώπια as a substantive headed by this preposition. Παμφανόοντα also qualifies δούρατα, not ἐνώπια.

Reference: Le Feuvre, *Hom. D.* 129-143.

– 13, 683-684

[...] ἔνθα μάλιστα
ζαχρηεῖς γίνοντο μάχη αὐτοῖ τε καὶ ἵπποι

Lattimore: « and there beyond other places dangerous was the onslaught of the Trojans and of their horses »

Proposed translation: « there especially they were most helpful in battle, they themselves and their chariots »]

See *Il.* 12, 346-347.

ILIAD 14 (Ξ)***ILIAD 15 (Ο)*****– 15, 185-186**

ὦ πόποι ἦ ῥ' ἀγαθός περ ἐὼν ὑπέροπλον ἔειπεν
εἴ μ' ὁμότιμον ἔόντα βῆ ἀέκοντα καθέξει

Lattimore: « No, no. Great though he is, this that he has said is too much, if he will force me against my will, me, who am his equal in rank. »

See *Il.* 17, 170.

– 15, 541

στῆ δ' εὐρᾶξ σὺν δουρὶ λαθῶν, βάλε δ' ὄμον ὄπισθεν

Lattimore: « and came from the side and unobserved with his spear, and from behind threw at his shoulder. »

Proposed translation: « and he stood behind him, cutting off his retreat, with his spear, unnoticed, and from behind threw at his shoulder. »

See *Il.* 11, 251.

– 15, 549 = 13, 174

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Δαναῶν νέες ἤλυθον ἀμφιέλισσαι

Lattimore: « but when the oarswept ships of the Danaans came »

See *Il.* 2, 165.

– 15, 621

*κύματά τε τροφίεντα, τά τε προσερεύγεται αὐτήν·

*The transmitted line has κύματά τε τροφόεντα.

Lattimore: « and against the waves that grow to bigness and burst up against it. »

Proposed translation: « and salt-bearing waves that roar against it. »

Τροφίεις is usually understood as meaning « big, swollen » (with the same semantic evolution as εὐτρεφής). However, its irregular morphology suggests that the word is a modernisation of an older *τροφίεις « possessed with τρόφις », a feminine substantive of the τρόπις type, which appears to mean « thickening, coagulation », and especially « cristallisation » when applied to salt (see τέτροφεν ἄλμη *Od.* 23, 237 « a salty pellicle had formed »). This *τρόφις is preserved, reanalysed as an adjective (erroneously), in *Il.* 11, 307 (τρόφι κῦμα), and as the first member of the compound τροφιῶδης (Hippocrates).

Reference: Le Feuvre, « Le type τρόπις, στρόφις, τρόφις et le problème de τρόφι κῦμα (*Il.* 11, 307) », *Nouveaux acquis sur la formation des noms en grec ancien*, éd. A. Blanc, D. Petit, Louvain, Peeters, 2016, p. 179-202.

ILIAD 16 (Π)

– 16, 569 = 17, 274

ᾧσαν δὲ πρότεροι Τρῶες ἐλίκωπας Ἀχαιούς

Lattimore: « First the Trojans shouldered back the glancing-eyed Achaians »

Proposed translation: « First the Trojans shouldered back Achaians turners of oars »

See *Il.* 1, 389.

– 16, 635

*ὡς τῶν ὄρνυτο δοῦπος ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυεδείης

*The line is transmitted with ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης

Lattimore: « such was the dull crashing that rose from earth of the wide ways, »

Proposed translation: « such was the dull crashing that rose from broad-seated earth »

– 16, 708

σῶ ὑπὸ δουρὶ πόλιν πέρθαι Τρώων ἀγερώχων

Lattimore: « that the city of the proud Trojans shall fall before your spear »

Proposed translation: « that the city of troop-gathering Trojans shall fall before your spear »

See *Il.* 2, 654.

ILIAD 17 (Ρ)

– 17, 170

Γλαῦκε τί ἢ δὲ σὺ τοῖος ἐὼν ὑπέροπλον ἔειπες;

Lattimore: « Glaukos, why did a man like you speak this word of annoyance? »

Proposed translation: « Glaukos, why did a man like you speak this excessive word? »

The second element of the compound *ὑπέροπλος* is not *ὄπλον* « weapon », but a feminine *ὄπλή* found in Greek with the derived meaning « hoof », the original meaning of which must be « extremity ».

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 363-377.

– 17, 274

ᾠσαν δὲ πρότεροι Τρῶες ἐλίκωπας Ἀχαιοῦς

Lattimore: « First the Trojans shouldered back the glancing-eyed Achaians »

Proposed translation: « First the Trojans shouldered back Achaians turners of oars »

See *Il.* 1, 389.

– 17, 361-363

*[...] τοὶ δ' ἀντηστῖνοι ἔπιπτον

νεκροὶ ὁμοῦ Τρώων καὶ ὑπερμενέων ἐπικούρων
καὶ Δαναῶν

*L. 361 is given by most manuscripts as [...] τοὶ δ' ἀγχιστῖνοι ἔπιπτον.

Lattimore: « the dead men dropped one after another from the ranks alike of Trojans and their mighty companions and Danaans also »

Proposed translation: « men were falling, facing each other, bodies of Trojans and their mighty companions and Danaans also »

The transmitted *ἀγχιστῖνοι* is a rebuilding after *ἄγχι* of an older *ἀγχηστῖνοι* transmitted by several sources (West 2001). This *ἀγχηστῖνοι* may itself result from an alteration of **ἀντηστῖνοι*, derivative of *ἀντηστις* (κατ' ἀντηστιν *Od.* 20, 387), and meaning « which is in front of, vis-à-vis ».

Reference: West, *Glotta* 77, 2001, 118-135; Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 198-200.

– 17, 612

πεζὸς γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα λιπὼν νέας ἀμφιελίσσας || ἦλυθε

Lattimore: « Now (he) at the first had come on foot, leaving the oarswept ships »

See *Il.* 2, 165.

ILIAD 18 (Σ)

– 18, 260

ἐλπόμενος νῆας αἰρησέμεν ἀμφιελίσσας

Lattimore: « and I hoped to capture the oarswept vessels. »

See *Il.* 2, 165.

ILIAD 19 (Τ)

– 19, 276

ὣς ἄρ' ἐφώνησεν, λῦσεν δ' ἀγορὴν αἰψηρήν

Lattimore: « So he spoke, and suddenly broke up the assembly. »

Proposed translation: « So he spoke, and he dismissed the morning assembly. »

Αἰψηρός means « early » and is a true epithet in this line, and not a predicative apposition equivalent to an adverb.

Reference: Le Feuvre, *Revue de Philologie* 81/2, 2007, 335-340.

ILIAD 20 (Υ)

– 20, 154-155

[...] ἀρχέμεναι δὲ δυσηλεγέος πολέμοιο || ὄκνεον ἀμφοτέρω
Lattimore: « reluctant on both sides to open the sorrowful attack. »

Lattimore's translation is correct. Δυσηλεγής is a compound of ἄλγος, which preserves the *e* grade of the old *s*-stem, whereas ἄλγος shows a secondary zero grade.

Reference: Le Feuvre, *Hom. D.* 203-254.

ILIAD 21 (Φ)

– 21, 448

Φοῖβε σὺ δ' εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς βουκολέεσκες

Lattimore: « but you, Phoibos, herded his shambling horn-curved cattle »

Proposed translation: « but you, Phoibos, herded his oxen of the tight-turning feet »

See *Il.* 9, 466.

– 21, 584

ἦματι τῷδε πόλιν πέρθαι Τρώων ἀγερώχων

Lattimore: « on this day to storm the city of the proud Trojans »

Proposed translation: « on this day to storm the city of troop-gathering Trojans »

See *Il.* 2, 654.

ILIAD 22 (Χ)

– 22, 256-257

[...] αἶ κεν ἐμοὶ Ζεὺς || δῶη καμμονίην, σὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀφέλωμαι

Lattimore: « if Zeus grants to me that I can wear you out, and take the life from you. »

Proposed translation: « if Zeus grants me praise, and if I take the life from you. »

Καμμονίη is not a derivative of *καταμονή, from καταμένω, as usually assumed, but the derivative of a *κάμμων, -ονος < **k̑ms-mon-*, corresponding to the Vedic neuter *śásman-* « praise » < **k̑ms-m̑*.

Reference: Le Feuvre, *Revue de Philologie* 82/2, 2008, 305-320.

– 22, 281

*ἀλλά τις ἀρτιεπὴς καὶ ἐπίπλοκος ἔπλεο μύθων

*The line is transmitted as follows by all sources: ἀλλά τις ἀρτιεπὴς καὶ ἐπὶ κλοπος ἔπλεο μύθων

Lattimore: « or rather you are someone clever in speech and spoke to swindle me »

Proposed translation: « or rather you are an artist of speech, a plaiter of words »

The transmitted form ἐπίκλοπος has nothing to do with κλέπτω and does not mean « thief » in Homer: only in later poets does it have the latter meaning. The original form is *ἐπίπλοκος (transmitted as a variant in *Od.* 21, 397), from ἐπιπλέκω « to plait », and the syntagm *ἐπίπλοκος μύθων in X 281 corresponds to the compound μυθόπλοκος « plaiter of words » of Sappho. It is a renewal of the old metaphor of weaving of words (Schmitt, DD 14; Watkins, Dragon 14).

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 307-338.

– 22, 327-329

ἀντικρὺ δ' ἀπαλοῖο δι' αὐχένος ἦλυθ' ἀκωκή·
 οὐδ' ἄρ' ἀπ' ἀσφάραγον μελίη τάμε χαλκοβάρεια,
 ὄφρα τί μιν προτιείποι ἀμειβόμενος ἐπέεσσιν

Lattimore: « and clean through the soft part of the neck the spearpoint was driven. Yet the ash spear heavy with bronze did not sever the windpipe, so that Hektor could still make exchange of words spoken. »

Proposed translation: « Yet the ash spear heavy with bronze did not cut entirely the throat »

The monstrous ἀσφάραγος is the result of a resegmentation. L. 328 results from the declension of a non attested Nominative formula *οὐδ' ἄρα πὰς φάρυγος « not all the throat », hence with erroneous segmentation *οὐδ' ἄρ' ἀπ' ἀσφάρυγος, remodelled into *οὐδ' ἄρ' ἀπ' ἀσφάρυγος and turned into the attested Accusative formula οὐδ' ἄρ' ἀπ' ἀσφάραγον. In the original formula, there was no ἀποτάμνω, but the simple τάμνω, and the preverb ἀπο-, which in this context is semantically odd, was created by the process of resegmentation.

Thematic *φάρυγος retrieved under the transmitted form matches Arm. *erbowc* < **b^hruġ-o-*, itself thematic. The pair thematic *φάρυγος / athematic φάρυξ (fem.) is prallel to φύλαξ / φύλακος, or στίχες (fem.) / στίχος (masc.), and must belong to the Achaeian layer of epic language.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 599-622.

ILIAD 23 (Ψ)

– 23, 30-31

πολλοὶ μὲν βόες ἀργοὶ ὀρέχθεον ἀμφὶ σιδήρῳ || σφαζόμενοι

Lattimore: « and many shining oxen were slaughtered with the stroke of the iron »

Proposed translation: « and many white oxen were lying all around, slaughtered by iron »

The *hapax* ὀρέχθεον must be an altered form of the Aeolic aorist of ὀρέγομαι (Attic ὠρέχθην, with passive form but non passive meaning). Already in Antiquity the verb was reinterpreted as meaning « to bellow », because of the phonetic similarity with ῥοχθέω.

Reference: Le Feuvre, *Revue de Philologie* 85/2, 2011, 267-294.

– 23, 166 = 9, 466

πολλὰ δὲ ἴφια μῆλα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς

Lattimore: « numbers of fat sheep and shambling horn-curved cattle »

Proposed translation: « and fat sheep in their numbers, and oxen of the tight-turning feet »

See *Il.* 9, 466.

– 23, 660-661

[...] ᾗ δέ κ' Ἀπόλλων
 δώη καμμονίην, γνώωσι δὲ πάντες Ἀχαιοί,
 ἡμίονον ταλαεργὸν ἄγων κλισίην δὲ νεέσθω

Lattimore: « He whom Apollo grants to outlast the other, and all the Achaians witness it, let him lead away the hard-working jenny to his own shelter. »

Proposed translation: « He to whom Apollo grants praise, and all the Achaians witness it, let him lead away the hard-working jenny to his own shelter. »

See *Il.* 22, 256-257.

ILIAD 24 (Ω)

– 24, 161-163

παῖδες μὲν πατέρ' ἀμφὶ καθήμενοι ἔνδοθεν αὐλῆς
δάκρυσιν εἶματ' ἔφουρον, δ' δ' ἐν μέσσοισι γεραιὸς
*ἔν τ' ὑπὰ φάει χλαίνῃ κεκαλυμμένος [...]

*L. 163 is transmitted as follows:

ἐντυπὰς ἐν χλαίνῃ κεκαλύμμενος [...], with a variant ἐντυπὰς ἢ χλαίνῃ κεκαλύμμενος in a scholion.

Lattimore: « The sons sitting around their father inside the courtyard made their clothes sodden with their tears, and among them the old man sat veiled, beaten into his mantle. »

Proposed translation: « The sons sitting around their father inside the courtyard made their clothes sodden with their tears, and among them the old man sat, his head hidden below his mantle. »

The adverb ἐντυπὰς (*hapax* in Homer) is probably a ghost-word resulting from a resegmentation of a line which had the Aeolic variant of preposition ὑπὰ (ὑπό), with [a] and psilosis. It was wrongly linked to the group of τύπτω.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 623-640.

– 24, 315-316

αὐτίκα δ' αἰετὸν ἦκε τελειότατον πετεηνῶν
μόρφνον θηρητῆρ' ὄν καὶ περκνὸν καλέουσιν

Lattimore: « Straightway he sent down the most lordly of birds, the eagle, the marauder, called as well the black eagle. »

Proposed translation: « Straightway he sent down the most lordly of birds, an eagle, the dark one, the raptor hunter, called as well the black eagle. »

Μόρφνος does not mean « black » ou « dark », meaning invented by scholiasts, but « raptor ». It is a derivative of μάρπτω « to grasp » with Achaeian or Aeolic zero grade.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 145-170.

– 24, 401-402

νῦν δ' ἦλθον πεδίον δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν· ἠῶθεν γὰρ
θήσονται περὶ ἄστῳ μάχην ἐλίκωπες Ἀχαιοί.

Lattimore: « But now I have come to the plain away from the ships, for at daybreak the glancing-eyed Achaians will do battle around the city. »

Proposed translation: « But now I have come to the plain away from the ships, for at daybreak Achaians turners of oars will do battle around the city. »

See *Il.* 1, 389.

– 24, 621-622

Ἦ καὶ ἀναΐξας δὲν ἄργυρον ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεὺς || σφάξ'.

Lattimore: « So spoke fleet Achilleus and sprang to his feet and slaughtered a gleaming sheep »

Proposed translation: « So spoke fleet Achilleus and sprang to his feet and slaughtered a white-coated sheep »

The adjective ἄργυρος is neither a $*-b^h o-$ derivative, nor a compound of root $*-b^h e h_2-$ « to shine » (in that case, we would expect the first member to be ἀργι-, not ἀργυ-), but a compound of ὀφή. It means « of white fabric » and qualifies clothes in its original use (cf. *Od.* 5, 230 and 10, 543). The use as an epithet of sheep results from a metonymical extension, from fabric to the material used to make cloth, that is, wool. The proposed translation « white-coated » aims at preserving the seme [TEXTILE], which tends to fade away, and which is completely lost in *Il.* 18, 50 where the adjective qualifies the cave of Nereids – in that case the usual translation « the shining white cave » is appropriate.

Reference: Le Feuvre, Hom. D. 11-13. Le Feuvre, *Revue de Philologie* 78/2, 2004, 257-263.