

HOMERIC ΑΝΔΡΟΤΗΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΒΗΝ

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Abstract: This paper points out some of the weaknesses of the traditional account of the Homeric phrase ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἥβην and suggests instead that the entire phrase is a relatively recent creation of the tradition on the model of an *ἀμ(β)ροτήτα καὶ ἥβην. This phrase in turn has a clear Avestan cognate *hauruuatātā amərətātā*.

The expression ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἥβην occurs twice in Homeric verse (*Il.* 16.857=22.363), occupying the metrical slot from the hepththemimeral caesura to verse-end; a related expression, ἀνδροτήτά τε καὶ μένος ἡύ, is found at *Il.* 24.6. These three passages are intimately related (see below, section I). Homeric scholars have struggled to explain the metrical anomaly whereby the first two syllables of the word ἀνδροτήτα fill the double short of the thesis of the third (24.6) or fourth (16.857=22.363) foot. Some ancient texts had the variant ἀδροτήτα, designed to heal the problem and therefore clearly secondary, as all editors have recognized. Modern Homerists have generally seen in this form a precious archaism of prosody, dating back to a time when syllabic *r* still scanned as a short vowel, much as it does in Vedic Sanskrit: **āṅrītāta*. This view seems to represent the *communis opinio*, at least among Anglophone scholars.¹ The consequences of adhering to it in this and related cases (see n.1) are rarely spelled out. They are far reaching. One version of this view requires that we posit the existence of the hexameter already some time before – possibly well before – 1500 BC, in much the same form in which it appears in Homer.² If this view of ἀνδροτήτα and its congeners were correct, the hexameter and along with it the kernel, at least, of the epic tradition would emerge as remarkably archaic and, what is more, remarkably static.

* tbarnes@fas.harvard.edu. Abbreviations of journals as in *L'année philologique* (plus *MSS* = *Münchener Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft*). As in all Homeric questions, it is possible to multiply bibliography indefinitely; as a rule I cite only books and articles which are indispensable and of direct relevance. A version of this paper was delivered at the 19th annual UCLA Indo-European Conference in Los Angeles in the fall of 2007; I thank those in attendance, particularly Calvert Watkins, Jaan Puhvel and Joshua Katz, for helpful comments offered on that occasion.

¹ To judge by, for example, R. Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary. 4: Books 13–16* (Cambridge 1992) 11. The other forms cited there for formulae with syllabic *r* (ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης, νύξ ἀβρότη, ἀβροτάξομεν, Ἐνυαλίω ἀνδρειφόντη) are explained below, following the rather different approach worked out by Eva Tichy after Nils Berg (see below), which has found many adherents in Germanophone territory.

² This is the view of C.J. Ruijgh and, after him, J. Latacz. Ruijgh has often argued (for example, in J.P. Crielaard (ed.), *Homeric Questions* (Amsterdam 1995) especially 85–88) that the verse Μηριόνης ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυαλίω ἀνδρειφόντη (*Il.* 7.166 etc.)

represents the survival of an entire line of Bronze Age poetry (viz. *Μηριόνᾱς ἠατάλαντος Ἐνυαλίω ἀνρῆφόντα); ‘on peut conclure’, he writes of this reconstruction, ‘que déjà à l’époque proto-mycénienne (XVI^e / XV^e s.), le vers de l’épopée héroïque était l’hexamètre dactylique et que sa structure détaillée est restée la même jusqu’à l’épopée homérique’. Latacz, for his part, follows this idea so dear to Ruijgh, suggesting (*Troy and Homer: Towards the Solution of an Old Mystery* (Oxford 2004) 262–63) that it may have been somehow associated with the Mycenaean conquest of Crete. In the same section he picks up an idea originally aired by O. Szemerényi (review of Chantraine *DÉLG III* (Λ–Π) *Gnomon* 49 (1977) 4), that Homeric Μηριόνης was the equivalent of the term *mariyanni* ‘young warrior, charioteer’ attested in Hurrian (not ‘Hittite’, as Latacz incorrectly states) and Akkado-Hurrian documents of the Bronze Age. That word played a role in the debates over the presence of ‘Arier’ in the Near East (for example, M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien* (Wiesbaden 1966); hyper-sceptical A. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier im vorderen Orient* (Heidelberg 1968); M. Mayrhofer, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient – Ein Mythos?* (Vienna 1974)); it is clearly a loan-word, with Hurrian nominal suffix *-nni*

Even a less extreme statement of this view runs into interesting problems. Dactylic formulae which admit of Mycenaean dating on the basis of archaeology show that the predecessor at least of the full-blown hexameter already contained sequences of two or more dactyls, comparable, for example, to the dactylic expansions of Aeolic lyric.³ But the forms we are interested in will have become unmetrical quite early. The realization of syllabic *r* as *Vr/rV* is pre-Mycenaean,⁴ as is the facultative epenthesis *-nr-* > *-ndr-*;⁵ not only that, the resolution of syllabic *r* is quite early within the relative chronology of Common Greek sound changes: it must precede, for example, the loss of final consonants,⁶ which have disappeared without any prosodic trace. The persistence of the metrical anomaly posed by an already Proto-Mycenaean **anərtāta* (u – ! – u) ~ **an^drətāta* (– ! u – u) over a period of about 700 years is truly remarkable. Whether the requisite social and historical conditions were in place to allow for such continuity is a separate question.⁷ In the microscopic case at hand, the sheer unlikelihood of the scenario which results from the customary explanation suggests that the whole question is in need of re-examination.

I. Some deaths

Our first task is to analyse the distribution of the expression ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἥβην, in order to determine its source within the epic tradition. The expression appears in the *versus iteratus* 16.857=22.363, at exactly the same point in the parallel narrations of the deaths of Patroclus and Hector. These are some of the most important scenes in the *Iliad*; the thorough-going parallelism they show is significant and surely not accidental. In book 16 Hector, after he has dealt Patroclus his death blow, addresses to his dying foe a malicious and insulting speech (16.830–42). To paraphrase: Patroclus was crazy to think he could take Troy, a city protected by Hector; now he is to pay for his stupidity with death and vultures will eat up his remains. Nor was Achilles of any help; indeed, he probably convinced Patroclus to try to kill Hector in battle while he himself remained shamefully at home and Patroclus was stupid enough to follow Achilles' command! Patroclus replies (16.843 τὸν δ' ὀλιγοδραπέων προσέφη, Πατρόκλεις ἱππεῦ) that Hector could scarcely claim responsibility for a death that is obviously the result of divine intervention; further, Hector would not live for much longer: his death at Achilles' hands was near (844–54).

(Akkadianized *-nmu*), from the Indo-Iranian dialect spoken by the Mitannian nobility, and corresponds to Vedic *mārya-*, Avestan *mairiia-*. So, sensibly, E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la langue hurrite* (Paris 1980) s.v. *mariyanni*. Since Mitanno-Hurrians reached the Mediterranean by about 1400 at the earliest, it might be suggested that this date provides an approximate *terminus post quem* for the appearance of a Mitanno-Hurrian word in some Greek dialect. If we accept the equivalence Μηριόνης : *mariyanni* as well as the suggested *terminus post quem*, then the line is probably not quite as old as is claimed, and would postdate the realization of syllabic *r* as *Vr/rV* (ca. 1500 at the latest; see below, nn.4, 6), thereby throwing Ruijgh's whole construction into doubt.

³ Examples (from Janko's judicious summary (n.1) 10) include φάσγανον / ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον (H.L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London 1950) 273) and σάκος ἦντε πύργον (Lorimer (n.3) 181–82).

⁴ For example, a-no-ḡo-ta /*Anorkthontās*/ (KN Ak 615, etc.). One occasionally reads in the older literature statements to the contrary, for example A. Heubeck, 'Syllabic *r* in Mycenaean Greek?', in M.S. Ruijgh

(ed.), *Acta Mycenaea II* (Salamanca 1972) 55–79. No one seriously believes this today. See A. Bartonek's manual (*Handbuch des mykenischen Griechisch* (Heidelberg 2003) 135) and the literature cited there.

⁵ For example, a-re-ka-sa-da-ra /*Aleksandrā*/ (MY V 659).

⁶ That *r* was resolved before the loss of final stops is shown by the form ὑπόδρα < **^hupo-dr^k* with the realization of *-r-* as *-ra-* normal within the word vs. absolute final *-r* > *-ar*, as, for example, ἤμαρ < **ām^r*.

⁷ It is worth noting in this connection that scholars like Wolfgang Kullmann, who has often (most forcefully, perhaps, in his review of the German original of Latacz's book (n.2); *Gnomon* 73 (2001) 657–63, at 663) denied the possibility of this kind of continuity, have not dealt satisfactorily with the strictly linguistic aspects of the question. It should also be noted, in passing, that that scholar's understanding of the evidence for the equation of Ἀχαιφοί with the *Ahhiyaia* of the Boğazköy archives is not entirely up to date. No major Hittite specialist now doubts the equation. To be sure, for Homerists the equation raises more questions than it provides answers.

This exchange matches that of book 22, where Achilles, after he has dealt Hector his death blow, addresses to him a speech in the same triumphantly malicious tone Hector had assumed. To paraphrase, again: ‘Hector, you thought that you would get away with killing Patroclus; you were crazy to think that I would not avenge him! And now I’ve killed you, and scavenging animals will eat up *your* corpse, while the Achaeans give Patroclus proper burial’ (22.331–36). Hector’s first reply (22.337 τὸν δ’ ὀλιγοδρανέων προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἴεκτωρ) is surprising: he asks that Achilles at least give back his body. Achilles refuses (345–54). All of this looks forward to the denouement of our *Iliad*: the ransom of book 24. It is Hector’s final reply (21.356–60) that forms the counterpart to that of Patroclus in 16.844–54: ‘I didn’t think I would be able to convince you. But you will regret killing me on the day that Paris and Apollo kill *you* by the Scaean gates’. This matches Patroclus’ prediction of Hector’s death. At this point in both narratives the hero dies. The passages are particularly close.

The deaths of Patroklos and Hektor

<p>†<i>Patroklos</i> 16.855–63: Ὡς ἄρα μιν εἰπόντα τέλος θανάτοιο κάλυψε· (855) ψυχὴ δ’ ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἄϊδοσδὲ βεβήκει ὄν πόντον γούωσα λιπούσ’ ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην. τὸν καὶ τεθνηῶτα προσηύδα φαίδιμος Ἴεκτωρ· Πατρόκλεις τί νύ μοι μαντεύεαι αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον; τίς δ’ οἶδ’ εἶ κ’ Ἀχιλλεύς Θετίδος πάϊς ἠϋκόμοιο (860) φθῆγῃ ἐμῶι ὑπὸ δουρὶ τυπεῖς ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι; Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας δόρυ χάλκεον ἐξ ὠτειλῆς εἶρυσεν λάξ προσβάς, τὸν δ’ ὑπτίον ὦσ’ ἀπὸ δουρός.</p>	<p>†<i>Hektor</i> 22.361–67: Ὡς ἄρα μιν εἰπόντα τέλος θανάτοιο κάλυψε, ψυχὴ δ’ ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἄϊδοσδὲ βεβήκει ὄν πόντον γούωσα λιπούσ’ ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην. τὸν καὶ τεθνηῶτα προσηύδα δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς· τέθναθι· κῆρα δ’ ἐγὼ τότε δέξομαι ὀππότε κεν δῆ (365) Ζεὺς ἐθέλῃ τελέσαι ἠδ’ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι. Ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἐκ νεκροῖο ἐρύσσατο χάλκεον ἔγχος...</p>
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What accounts for this observable parallelism? Such parallelism is in itself aesthetically and emotionally effective, in that these are the two deaths around which the *Iliad* narrative is built. There is however a third death, one which does not occur in the *Iliad* itself but is constantly foreshadowed there and is, so to speak, the death towards which the whole narrative is building: the death of Achilles himself. The observation that the logical culmination of the *Iliad* is the death of Achilles was made most forcefully by U. von Wilamowitz.⁸ Of course, for Wilamowitz the original *Iliad* did in fact so end. Today a modification of Wilamowitz’s view is available, namely that the poet of the *Iliad* knew of – indeed, probably himself sang – the death of Achilles in much the same way that that event was to appear in the later Cyclic *Aithiopsis*, and modelled the narrations of the deaths of both Hector and Patroclus upon it. This is an idea of the German school of neoanalysis; it is based on the simple observation that details of Patroclus’ death (the roles of Paris and Apollo in particular) which also appear in the Cyclic version of the death of

⁸ *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1920²), for example at 114, 324. The reaction against old style *Homeranalyse* had the unfortunate effect of throwing into oblivion the

many good individual insights of scholars of the highest calibre, insights easily compatible with oralist and recent neoanalytic scholarship. This is one.

Achilles are well-motivated in the latter and hardly at all in the former.⁹ Now, such a version surely contained the impressive repeated lines 16.856–57=22.362–63: for if two parallel scenes are modelled upon a third, and both contain the same climactic closing lines, there can be no doubt that they owe those lines to their model.

We can go further. The fight over the body of Patroclus which takes up much of book 17 corresponds to the fight over Achilles' corpse in the *Aithiopsis*. Now, the latter event is narrated by Agamemnon in the second νέκυια *Od.* 24.36–40, lines which correspond closely to what is narrated of Cebriones in the scene immediately *preceding* Patroclus' death in book 16.

<p><i>Od.</i> 24.36–40: ὄλβιε Πηλέος υἱέ, θεοῖσ' ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ, ὅς θάνες ἐν Τροίῃ ἐκάς Ἄργεος· ἀμφὶ δέ σ' ἄλλοι κτείνοντο Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν υἱές ἄριστοι, μαρνάμενοι περὶ σείο· σὺ δ' ἐν στροφάλιγγι κονίης κεῖσο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων.</p>	<p><i>Il.</i> 16.772–76: πολλὰ δὲ Κεβριόνην ἀμφ' ὄξεα δοῦρα πεπήγει ιοί τε πτερόεντες ἀπὸ νευρηφί θορόντες, πολλὰ δὲ χερμάδια μεγάλ' ἀσπίδας ἐστυφέλιξαν μαρναμένων ἀμφ' αὐτόν· ὃ δ' ἐν στροφάλιγγι κονίης κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων.</p>
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This indicates at the very least that the death of Achilles was in the *Iliad* poet's head as he composed the narrative of book 16. A modification of these lines appears at the opening of book 18 when news of Patroclus' death reaches Achilles, a passage which for independent reasons¹⁰ has been seen to reflect an epic version of Achilles' death (18.22–27).

Ὦς φάτο, τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα·
ἀμφοτέρησι δὲ χερσὶν ἐλών κόνιν αἰθαλόεσσαν
χεύατο κάκ κεφαλῆς, χαρίεν δ' ἦισχυνε πρόσωπον·
νεκταρέωι δὲ χιτῶνι μέλαιν' ἀμφίζανε τέφρη. (25)
**αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κονίησι μέγας μεγαλωστί ταυνοθεῖς
κεῖτο, φίλησι δὲ χερσὶ κόμην ἦισχυνε δαίζων.**

This distribution makes it likely that along with λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην, the unusual expression κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων appeared in a pre-Iliadic narration of the death of Achilles. It will have immediately preceded: 'the *body* lay stretched out in the dust, but his *soul* went off to Hades'.¹¹ An *exempli gratia* reconstruction:

⁹ For the vast literature on Homeric neoanalysis, see W. Kullmann, *Homerische Motive* (Stuttgart 1992) 116, n.67. This is not the place for a detailed justification of the premises and arguments upon which the neoanalytic framework is based. A recent attempt to discredit at least part of this framework (A. Kelly, 'Neoanalysis and the *Nestorbedrängnis*: a test case', *Hermes* 134 (2006) 1–25) has been countered well by E. Heitsch ('Neoanalytische Antikritik', *RhM* 151 (2008) 1–12). Kelly's article is thoughtful, but it is unclear to me what positive result it aims to achieve.

¹⁰ The lament of Thetis and the sea nymphs in particular strikes one as probably deriving from the

parallel scene following the death of Achilles.

¹¹ For the contrast cf. *Il.* 1.4–5 πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν ἱέρων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν with Suidas s.v. Αὐτὸς: ἐπὶ σώματος. διορίζουσι γὰρ τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς τὰ σώματα. Ὅμηρος· πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς· εἶτα, αὐτοὺς δ' ἐλώρια. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης· ὁ νοῦς μὲν ἔξω, αὐτὸς δ' ἔνδον ἀναβάδην ποιεῖ τραγωιδίαν (cf. s.v. ἀναβάδην). See further A. Bonifazi's discussion of this use of αὐτο- and other 'au-words' in E.A. Mackay (ed.), *Orality, Literacy, Memory in the Ancient Greek and Roman World* (Mnemosyne Supplement 298) (Leiden 2008).

*...ὃ δ' ἐν στροφάλιγγι κόνις
 κείτο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων·
 ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἴδίοσδὲ βεβήκει
 ὃν πότμον γούωσα λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην*

To summarize, phraseology reflecting an epic version of the death of Achilles is found in: (1) book 16, the death of Patroclus and the immediately preceding scene; (2) book 22, the death of Hector; (3) modified from the former two at the opening of book 24; and (4) at the opening of book 18. The expression which interests us, ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην, is therefore traceable to a single source within the epic tradition: the death of Achilles.

II. Formal problems

There are three respects in which the word ἀνδροτῆτα is unusual. First, the process of noun-derivation it appears to show is unparalleled in Greek, where derivatives in -τητ- (-τᾶτ-) are made exclusively to adjectives. Second, the transmitted accentuation has not been properly explained. The third problem – the one for which the word is notable – has to do with the already mentioned peculiarity of scansion and the related issue of the precise vocalic realization of the resolution of prehistoric syllabic *ɣ*. I go through each point in this order.

II.i. Derivational profile of adjective abstracts in '-tāt'

The derivational profile of the suffix -τητ- (-τᾶτ-) within Greek is simple: it is the productive way of making adjective abstracts to thematic and u-stem adjectives,¹² as the following exemplification makes clear.

(a) To thematic adjectives. Homeric examples include: δῆϊος 'hostile' → δηϊοτῆτ- 'hostility' (concretized, like 'hostilities'); φίλος 'dear, own' → φιλόττητ- 'sexual act' (formulaic φιλόττητι μιγείς and -εῖσα respectively); κακός → κακότητ-; νέος → νεότητ-; ποτός → ποτής (*ποτότης); Hom. ἰότητ- is unclear: either, with Leumann *Homerische Wörter*, it represents falsely segmented δη-ϊοτῆτ-, or, with Chantraine and others, it is the cognate of Ved. *iṣta-*, i.e. dissimilated **is[ʈ]otāt-* (and cf. Av. *uštāt-* < **ust[ot]āt-* : *ušta-* 'wished for'). Dialects: Cretan haplogized acc.sg. νεοτα 'assembly of younger men' Gortyn IC 4.162.8 (< *νε(φ)οτᾶτα full form seen in νεοτατευοντα; gen.sg. νεοτας Gortyn IC 4.162.9 ambiguous) and Cretan (Priansos, IC 1.24.2.9, etc.) and Messenian οικειοτας. (b) To u-stem adjectives: ταχύς, βρα-δύς → ταχυτῆτ-, βραδυτῆτ-.

There are no good examples anywhere of this formation made to adjectives of other shapes or of substantive to substantive derivation – except, of course, ἀνῆρ > ἀνδροτῆτ- itself. The effect the formation creates is thus as if one should in English create an abstract *'man-ness' on the basis of the noun 'man', rather than well-formed 'manliness', from the adjective 'manly'. There are two ways of approaching this problem, one synchronic, the other diachronic. Occasionally the noun ἀνῆρ is used predicatively in epic in a sense which approaches that of an adjective: ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι 'be men' ≈ *ἀνδρεῖοι ἔστε 'be courageous'. On the basis of such a usage it is conceivable that an ἀνδροτής could be built. Against this it is enough to point out that ἀνδροτής does not mean 'courage, bravery', but rather something like 'life-force, force virile, Manneskraft'. It is possible to look at the problem diachronically: in this light one might attempt to show that the formation is simply archaic. Such an argument would be difficult to sustain, however, as a survey of the other languages, where such derivational processes are attested but clearly secondary, shows.

¹² In this basic adjective-abstract forming function it replaces older formations: just as ταχυτής is secondary to τάχος, so is φιλότης next to φίλια. (Of course,

once a pair of contrasting adjective abstracts have come into being, the path is open for both to be specialized in different meanings.)

In Indo-Iranian the adjective-abstract forming *-tāt-* is well-attested and productive in Avestan¹³ (Av.), while in Vedic (Ved.) it is moribund and in the process of being replaced by *-tāti-* (itself not particularly common or productive). It shows up in much the same categories as Greek *-τᾶτ-* (a) to thematic adjectives: Av. *aməša-* ‘undying’ (< **aməhrta-* : Ved. *amṛh̥ta-*) → Av. *aməratātāt-* / *aməratāt-*; Av. *hauruuua-* ‘whole, complete’ (: Ved. *sárva-*) → *hauruuatāt-* / *hauruuāt-* (: Ved. *sarvátātā*); Av. *pauruuua-* ‘full’ (: Ved. *pūrvá-*) → *pauruuatāt-* (: cf. Ved. *pūrvátā*); Av. *fratəma-* ‘first’ → *fratəmatāt-*; **upara-* ‘above’ (in *uparō.kairiia-* : Ved. *uparā-*) → *uparatāt-* (: Ved. *uparātāt-*); Ved. *satya-* ‘real’ → *satyátātā*; Av. *ušta-* ‘wished for’ → *uštātāt-* (: Gk *ίότης?*); **hunarəta-* (: Ved. *sūnṛta-*) → O(ld) Av. *hunarətāt-* (hapl. from **hunarətātāt-*); (apparent Av. *rāšta-* (: OP. *rāsta*, L. *rectus*) → *arštāt-* ‘iustitia’ not here, see below, n.16);¹⁴ (b) to u-stems: *vaṅhu-* ‘good’ (: *vasú-*) → *vaṅhutāt-* (: *vasútātī-*); *pouru-* ‘many’ → *pourutāt-* ‘multitude’; (c) examples of non-adjectival derivational bases are clearly secondary. The only example of substantive → substantive derivation that is at all common in Vedic is *devátāt-* ‘service to the gods, group of worshippers’. But **deḷjuo-* was in origin an adjectival formation (as it remains in Latin *dīuus*, for example), and if *devátāt-* represents something old it might date back to a time when a **deḷjuo-* still had this reading. Young Avestan *daeuuō.tāt-* is of course precisely parallel but possibly an independent creation (it appears once, Yt. 13.90).¹⁵ The hapax *vṛkátāt-* RV 2.34.9ab *yó no maruto vṛkátātī mártiyo, ripúr dadhé vasavo rákṣatā riṣaḥ*, ‘Maruts, protect us from the damage inflicted by a deceitful man who has taken us with his wolf-like rapacity (*vṛkátāt-*)’, has been created as an oppositional counterpart (*deva-* : *devátāt-* :: *vṛka-* : *x*, → *vṛkátāt-*). Parallel creations are the artificial Old Avestan hapaxes *kauuitāt-* and *karapō.tāt-* Y.32.15a *anāiš ā vī.nənāsā yā karapōtāscā kəuuitāscā*, ‘Through these [acts] the collectivity of kauuis and karapans has perished’.¹⁶

The only other branch of IE languages in which this formation is found is Italic. The Latin development is similar to that of Greek, in that *-tāt-* becomes one of the productive adjective abstract formations. By one count¹⁷ between 93–96% of such forms are made to adjectives. Substantive to substantive derivation is common enough already in preclassical Latin (*uirgō* → *uirginitās* (Cato+), *autumnus* → *autumnitās* (Cato)). The origins of substantive to substantive derivation are easily traced from cases of substantivized adjectives. The Catonian *autumnitas* just cited is a perfect example: *autumnus* was originally an adjective, as we actually see, for example, in Cato’s own expression *post imbrem autumnum*; it was substantivized first as a n. *autumnum* and subsequently as m. *autumnus*.¹⁸ In this respect, Italic has gone in its own direction and does not add anything to the picture.

¹³ And in eastern Iranian generally. It is the basis of a productive adjective abstract formant in Khotanese (the Middle Iranian language of the kingdom of Khotan in Central Asia), for example *śśāra-* ‘good’ → *śśāra-tāti-* ‘well-being, goodness’. It survives to this day as Pashto *-tyā*, e.g. *roy-* ‘sick’ → *roytyā* ‘sickness’.

¹⁴ Ved. *Neubildungen* on this pattern include: *ariṣṭa-* → *ariṣṭātātī-* ‘intactness, state of being undamaged’ (semantically = *hauruuatāt-*), *grbhīta-* ‘seized’ → *grbhītātātī-* ‘state of being captive’.

¹⁵ (*Zaraḡuštrahe*) *yō vīspəm + daēuuō.tātəm vauuaēca aiiesniīqm auuahmīīqm* ‘who declared all “daeva-hood” not to be worshipped or praised’, a text which seems expressly to negate the sense of Vedic *devátāt-* ‘divine worship’.

¹⁶ Further examples to (c): (i) Artificial delocutives: *śam* → *śamtātī-*; **yauuōi* ‘forever, αiei’ (: first member of compounds *yauuaē-*) → *yauuaētāt-* ‘eternity’; **x^vōi* < **suai* ‘for oneself’ → *x^vaētāt-*; *auuōi* ‘woe, uae’ *auuaētāt-* ‘woe!-ness, Wehtum’. In this

category belongs Y(oung)Av. *arštāt-* ‘iustitia’ (: OP. *aršīā-* ‘id.’) which cannot be directly from the adjective *rāšta-* ‘rectus’, but rather from the adverb seen in OAv. *ərəš* ‘recte’. On the model of these artificial creations YAv. has the humorous *kahrkatāt-* V.18.15 ‘the word “chicken”’, as well as the technical *uštātāt-*² ‘passage beginning with the word *ušta-*’ and *šīiaoθnatāt-* ‘beginning with *š.*’. (ii) *uxšīiqstāt-* ‘waxing’, *nərəfsqstāt-* ‘waning’ and *iriθīiqstāt-* ‘mortality, the fact of dying’ (Y.19.10 *ni pairi iriθīiqstātāt haraite* ‘he guards himself against mortality’); the first two oppositional pairs, the second closely related semantically, all seemingly derived from participles (: Lat. *voluntās*, Oscan *herentat-* (independent creations, of course)).

¹⁷ C. von Paucker, ‘Materialien zur lateinischen Wörterbildungsgeschichte’ KZ 23 (1877) 138–88, at 157

¹⁸ *autumnus* itself probably reflects an adjective **auto-* ‘cold’ (< **h₂euto-*) seen also in the Avestan adjective *aota-* ‘cold’, said of winds.

Examination of the evidence above makes it quite clear that a putative ‘**h₂nr̥-tāt-*’,¹⁹ while not impossible, is not freely assumable for any stage in the prehistory of Greek.

II.ii. Accentuation

We saw above that Vedic consistently has barytone accent in these formations, regularly accenting the immediately preceding syllable – *devátāt-*, *vṛkátāt-*, *ariṣtátātī-*, *sarvátātā*, etc. – whatever the underlying accent of the adjectival base. (Occasionally the accent is copied from base to derivative: *dákṣa-* *dákṣatātī-*.) The same holds of Greek, with the exception (expressly stated by the grammarians (Herodian περὶ μονηροῦς λέξεως)) of the already mentioned ταχυτής, βραδυτής, δριοτής, ἀνδροτής. J. Wackernagel saw in this accentual peculiarity the Greek counterpart of a Vedic accentual phenomenon whereby short *i u r* lose their accent, throwing it one syllable to the right.²⁰ Wackernagel’s scenario has something to be said for it. Two facts conspire against it, however. For one, the single Vedic instance of this category in *-u-* is accented *vasútātī-*, which could of course simply be a copy of the accent of the derivational base, but in any case does not inspire any confidence that the phenomenon applied to this category. Secondly, it is not clear that a ‘**h₂nr̥-tāt-*’ ever existed in the first place (and to adduce this supposed accent shift to prove that it did is clearly circular). Some other principle must motivate the accentual peculiarity of these words. Finally, it is worth wondering why, if the form indeed goes back to a truly Aeolic ‘**anr̥tāt-*’ > *an^drotāt-*, there is no Aeolic barytonesis.

II.iii. Scansion?

The metrical problem posed by half line |^r λιποῦσ’ ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἦβην has been the object of much discussion. P. Chantraine seems to have thought that ἀνδροτήτα along with νύξ ἀβρότη (– u u –) were indeed metrical and explainable ‘par la débilite de la nasale en grec’ – not entirely satisfactory.²¹ A related problem is whether the preform was ‘**anr̥-tāt-*, in which case the o-vocalism is said to be ‘Aeolic’²² or ‘**an(d)r-o-tāt-*, with ‘compositional’ -o-, as found for example in the possessive adjectives in -ό-φεντ-. Wackernagel appears to be the first to have explicitly derived ἀνδροτής from ‘**anr̥-tāt-*; he never, however, formulated a clear expression of the main issue at hand, how it could be metrical.²³ The ‘standard view’, we have seen, builds on Wackernagel. Again, under this view, it is unclear how the forms are to be scanned in Homeric synchrony; it is simply said that once upon a time the second syllable contained short ‘**r̥*, and it is at that time that the formula was created. The weaknesses of this explanation have already been adumbrated (see above). On the other hand, since the highly archaic and the very new are often inextricably linked in Homeric synchrony, the seemingly late use of connective καὶ and, even worse, epic correption before *h-* (see below, n.31) are not arguments against a Mycenaean date for ἀνδροτήτα.

In 1981 Eva Tichy published an alternative explanation, building on Nils Berg’s recently published account of the origin of the hexameter.²⁴ It will be convenient to introduce first the ideas of Tichy which do not depend on Berg’s analysis. Tichy convincingly shows that one set of forms are unrelated to the phenomenon seen in ἀνδροτήτα, namely (1) ἀμφιβροτή- (– u u –) II. 11.32, 2.389, 12.402, 20.281 and ἀβρότη 14.78: the first is clearly a hypostasis of an expression ‘*ἀμφὶ βρότωι, which will have scanned regularly as a choriamb (here the word juncture is all important);

¹⁹ The further etymology of the suffix *-tāt-* is irrelevant for our purposes here; for the sake of simplicity I will refer to it in post-laryngeal terms as ‘*-tāt-*’ throughout.

²⁰ *Kleine Schriften* II (Göttingen 1951) 1116.

²¹ *Grammaire homérique* I (Paris 1958) 110.

²² Cf., for example, P. Wathelet, *Les traits éoliens dans la langue de l’épopée grecque* (Rome 1970) 169, n.91.

²³ Wackernagel (n.20) 1116 n.1. His remark (Wackernagel (n.20) 1170) ‘Kaum kann für die älteste Phase der epischen Sprache geradewegs noch sonantisches *r* vorausgesetzt werden’ is hard to reconcile.

²⁴ E. Tichy, ‘Hom. ἀνδροτήτα und die Vorgeschichte des daktylischen Hexameters’, *Glotta* 59 (1981) 28–67; N. Berg, ‘Parergon metricum: der Ursprung des griechischen Hexameters’, *MSS* 37 (1978) 11–36.

the second, found only once, is scanned on the model of the first. (2) She rightly sees that ἀνδρειφόντης does not hide an older *ἀνδρο^o/αφόντης < *anr^{uh}ontās, but is rather modelled directly upon ἀργειφόντης.²⁵ The real comparandum for ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἦβην is ἀ(μ)βροτάξομεν at *Il.* 10.65 αὔθι μένειν μή πως ἀ(μ)βροτάξομεν ἀλλήλοιιν. Tichy brilliantly shows (following a suggestion of Schwyzer) that the archaizing poet of the Doloneia has modified a phrase, *ἀμβρότωμεν ἑταίρων #, of the same metrical shape as ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἦβην. She hypothesizes the existence of a third example, *ἀμβροτήσια ἔργα #, which will have served as the basis for Hes. *Op.* 773 ἔξοχ' ἀεξιμένοιο βροτήσια ἔργα πένεσθαι and possibly have been parodically remade in the line *Od.* 11.246 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥα τέλεσσε θεὸς φιλοτήσια ἔργα (see pages 65–66 of her article for details). Now, for Tichy the metrical anomaly these forms show is to be explained not as a *prosodic* archaism but rather as a *metrical* archaism, reflecting an earlier stage of the hexameter. It is here that her account depends crucially on accepting that of Berg, for whom the hexameter was to be derived from the juncture of an Aeolic octosyllable (the glyconic) and its catalectic counterpart (the pherecratean). His thesis is based upon the observation of metrical anomalies specific to the first and fourth feet of the hexameter; under his reconstruction, it is precisely these feet which correspond to the metrically indifferent double syllables known since Gottfried Hermann as the Aeolic base.²⁶ The metrical sequence we find in Tichy's three examples (– u – u u – –) is of course that of the pherecratean. A weakness of Tichy's extension of the theory is that the passages on which it is based are so late; further, we are never told why it should be precisely these cases which preserve such a metrical archaism.²⁷ One would like to know more about the possible interrelations of the verses (attested and reconstructed) she adduces.

Of course, there is one obvious feature which distinguishes two of Tichy's examples from our ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἦβην: they contain the sequence *-m(b)rot-*. The significance of this has not been observed. In fact, it is in this shared feature that a solution to all of the independent problems posed by the form ἀνδροτήτα immediately presents itself. What if ἀνδροτήτα was simply modelled directly upon *ἀμβροτήτα, just as, for example, ἀνδρειφόντης was modelled upon ἀργειφόντης? The noun *ἀμβροτής is reconstructible internally on the evidence of Gk βροτήσιος (back-formed to an *ἀμβροτήσιος, itself derived from *ἀμβροτής; cf. φιλοτήσιος : φιλότης) and has as its exact counterpart Avestan *amərətāt-* (both haplologized).²⁸ I suggest that there is ultimately *one model and one model alone* for the unusual scansion encountered in these three instances. That model is precisely a formula *ἀμβροτήτα καὶ ἦβην.

III. Formal solutions

Many of the issues raised above in section II simply disappear under the assumption that ἀνδροτήτα rests directly on *ἀμβροτήτα.

III.i. Derivation

The formation of underlying *ἀμβροτήτα is utterly unremarkable: it belongs to the largest class, the type made to thematic adjectives. Its derivational base is attested in both Indo-Iranian and Greek and there is no reason to assume a restriction against *tāt-* formations to compound

²⁵ This development presupposes the reinterpretation of ἀργειφόντης as 'who killed (: θείνω, φόνος) Argus' – an indicium of its lateness. The original meaning of the epithet may have been 'who appears (: φαίνομαι) out in the open' (for (*) ἄργος in this sense, cf. ἐναργής). For a totally different suggestion, see C. Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon* (Oxford 1995) 382–90.

²⁶ This is not the place to discuss at any length the specifics and later refinements of Berg's theory, nor its

various problems. A useful summary is D. Haug and E. Welo, 'The proto-hexameter hypothesis: perspectives for further research', *SO* 76 (2001) 130–36.

²⁷ It is also in contradiction to Berg's own original statement of his thesis, according to which the realization of the base (o o) as double short (u u) ought to have been quite early: it represents, he writes (Berg (n.24) 28), the decisive step on the way to the hexameter.

²⁸ Cf. above. Of course, non-haplologized *amərətātāt-* is also found.

adjectives at any point in the proto-language or within the prehistory of either branch. In any case the compound adjective **h₂-mrto-* seems to have become somewhat removed from its simplex counterpart **mrto-*, which remains embedded in the *a verbo* of the root **mer-* ‘die’. This is evident from the R̥gveda, where *amṛta-* is attested well over 100 times, as against a mere four of *mṛtá-* (in opposition in all cases to *jīvá-*). A similar ratio obtains for Avestan (where, however, the frequent use of the title *aməša spənta-* distorts the picture somewhat).

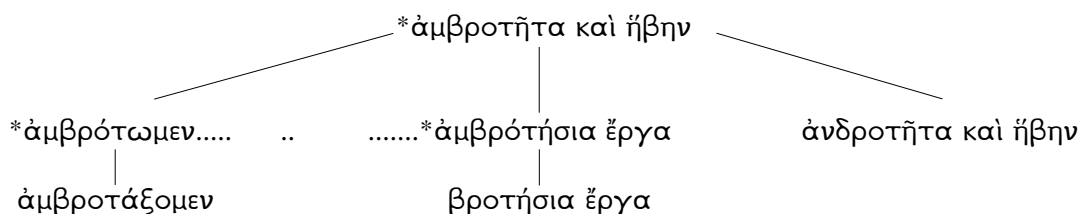
III.ii. Accentuation

The accentuation of an underlying **ἀμβροτήτα* can be explained as a result of haplogy. Assuming in the first instance that the accent behaved as it does in Vedic, we would start with an *ἀμ(β)ροτότᾱτ-*. What happened to the accent of such a form when the accented syllable was eliminated by haplogy? The parallel *ποτήτα* (< *πο(τό)τητα*) shows that an *ἀμ(β)ρο.τ[ότ]ᾱ.τα* would be realized as *ἀμ(β)ροτάτα* (and then by the *σωτήρα* rule automatically *ἀμ(β)ροτᾱτα*). *ἀνδροτήτα* has simply copied the accent.

Not only does Avestan share with Greek this haplogy: the Avestan accentuation is also the same. A haplogized **amṛt(át)āt-* could be expected to put the accent on one of the two adjacent syllables; as in Greek, the Avestan form goes back to an **amṛtát-* and not **amṛtāt-*, which would have given ***aməšāt-*.²⁹ Is this haplogy an individual development of the two languages or inherited? I think the latter is the case, and I think that the Avestan accentuation shows this to be so.

III.iii. A Mycenaeanism

Reducing all of the phenomena introduced in section II.iii to one *Vorbild* means that the problem of syllabic *r* and scansion can be reduced to the problem of *one word in one concrete formula*. To recapitulate in stemmatic form:



It is appropriate to recall at this point that we conjectured a *single source* within the epic tradition for the expression *ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἦβην*. The other expressions in the table are notable for their lateness within the tradition. This suggests a relatively recent time-frame for the entire derivational process recapitulated here. With all this in mind let us turn to the two issues at hand.

First, in an **ἀμβροτήτα* the realization of syllabic *r* as *ro* is unremarkable: *all* Greek reflexes of the adjective **mrto-* and its various derivatives show *o*-vocalism.³⁰ Obviously *o*-vocalism spread relatively early here; given the poetic character of these words, poetry of some kind was the likely medium for this spread. In principle, this body of poetry may have been either dialectally Aeolic or Mycenaean. We shall see later that the latter is the more likely option. Secondly, *scansion*. Was Tichy right to see in *ἀνδρο-* or (as I am suggesting) **ἀμβροτήτα καὶ ἦβην* an ‘Aeolic’ verse? Perhaps. But if **ἀμβροτήτα καὶ ἦβην* is the model for the other anomalous scansions, the problem becomes in effect the problem of how this one specific phrase made its way into the hexameter. That is to say, the problem of scansion remains, but it has been contained. A problem with Tichy’s approach to these scansions has always been the implausibility of a scenario whereby

²⁹ See the definitive treatment of K. Hoffmann, *Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik* III (Wiesbaden 1992) 837–57.

³⁰ And through a clear popular etymology it seems

to have spread even further to *μοῖρα* ‘fate’ < **mo^hriā* < **mr-iā* < **mr-ih₂-* ‘apportionment’ (: *μέρομαι*, *μόρος*, *μέρος*, etc.).

not a single example of the phenomenon goes back to a form that would *never* have scanned properly. It seems quite possible that our form did indeed enter the hexameter (or some predecessor thereof) as (for example) **amrītāta*, and that the subsequent change to **amrotāta* was simply learned as an acceptable licence, for reasons inaccessible to us now. For my purposes here, it will be enough if I can show that there is some respect in which **am(b)ro-* is ‘better’ scansion-wise than *andro-*. The difference is in the development of the epenthetic consonant, which happened considerably later in (-)mr- sequences. Evidence for a relatively late development of epenthesis in (-)mr- sequences contrasts with the complete absence of *any* instances of -nr- (where epenthesis was very early, as outlined above). So from Megara Hyblaea (ca. 550 BC) we have *IGASMG* 1².3 Σόμεροτιδα : τὸ ἡιατρὸδ : τὸ Μανδροκλέος : (which may actually attest both contrasting developments!); from Sybaris (mid-sixth century BC) *IGASMG* 4.2.1 Κλέοροτος; two Thessalians: from Pelasgiotis (early fifth century BC) *SEG* 24.405 Φιλομόροτοι τὸπίσσαμα and from Perrhaebia (ca. 500–450 BC) *SEG* 24.406 Μροχὸ Ἰηερ[ογ]ενέας; and, finally, one may compare the iambs from Delos (seventh to sixth century BC) *ID* 3 (= *SEG* 19.508) [ἀλ]κῆς ποιήσεν ἔριν ὀ[ρίνεσθαι θέλων] / [ἴν’ εὐπορόν οἱ κῦδος ἐμ] μροτοῖσιν ἦ[ι]. This may seem like a small amount of evidence, but it must be stressed that these inscriptions come from three totally different dialect areas (Italian colonies, Thessaly, Insular Ionic) and are among the earliest inscriptions from their respective areas. This chronological distribution suggests that the further back one goes, the more likely one is to encounter sequences without epenthesis, and hence that an **amrotǣta*, capable of being segmented (*ǣ.mrō.tǣt.ǣ*), was a real possibility for the archaic tradition preceding the fixation of the Homeric text. The eventual development of epenthesis will have been thus a development properly speaking of the earliest oral and/or written transmission of a relatively fixed text (and may have happened after *ἄμ(β)ροτήτα itself had been replaced by ἀνδροτήτα).

Let us take stock. I have argued for an expression *ἄμ(β)ροτήτα καὶ ἦβην as the model upon which the attested ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἦβην was coined, at a relatively recent date, by a poet aiming at an impressive line to close an important scene: the death of Achilles. Three of the problems associated with ἀνδροτήτα (its derivational morphology, accent, syllabic *r*) thereby vanish instantly, while a fourth (scansion) is seen in a new light. Can we say anything more about the origins of this expression? The lucky survival of a near exact cognate phrase in the Old Iranian Avesta allows us to fill in the earlier stages, as I shall now show.³¹

IV. *ἄμ(β)ροτήτα καὶ ἦβην, Avestan *hauruuatāt- aməratāt-*

There is a further compelling reason for believing that ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἦβην is directly modelled upon an older *ἄμ(β)ροτήτα καὶ ἦβην: not just the word equation with Avestan (*ἄμ(β)ροτήτ- = *aməratāt-*), but the identity of the *entire* Greek *ἄμ(β)ροτήτα formula with the dual dvandva in which its Avestan counterpart so commonly appears: *hauruuātā aməratātā*, literally translated ‘wholeness (and) not-dying’. Analysis of these terms and their traditional context will allow us to make a hypothesis regarding the deeper Greek prehistory of the phrase we have uncovered.

J. Narten has explicated the way in which the pair *hauruuatātā aməratātā* come to be included in the post-Gāthic group of seven *Aməša Spəntas*, where they are associated with plants and waters (for this, see Y.51.7, below).³² These developments represent later, secondary interpretations. It is to the Gāthās, the oldest body of Avestan literature, that we must look for an

³¹ The status of the connective καὶ in the proposed phrase *ἄμ(β)ροτήτα καὶ ἦβην is not completely clear, since we do not know precisely when the particle acquired this connective function. At least in our phrase it is only possible once epic correption becomes common – that is to say, fairly recently. It may have replaced ἰδέ, the

original phrase being then *ἄμ(β)ροτήτ’ ἰδέ ἦβην, with the initial h- of *hēbēn* given full consonantal value. Since there can be no certainty on this point, I continue for convenience to refer below to *ἄμ(β)ροτήτα καὶ ἦβην.

³² J. Narten, *Die Aməša Spəntas im Avesta* (Wiesbaden 1982).

understanding of these terms which is relevant to the Greek questions at hand.³³ Analysis of the passages in which they appear together shows that the dvandva represents a pair of related qualities which human beings (‘mortals’) may pray for. Since they are thought of as attainable by human beings, the pair thus does not refer to ‘immortality’ as the quality of being immortal (*aməša-*) in the same way that gods are, but rather to health and the fact of not dying, as a representative selection of examples shows.³⁴

(1) They are prayed for, envisioned as reward:

*dāidī mōi ya gəm tašō apascā uruuarāscā
aməratātā hauruuātā spəništā mainiū mazdā
təuuīšī utaiūiti manahā vohū səjhē*

Give to me, O you who created the cow and waters and plants, both *aməratāt-* and *hauruuāt-*, through (your) most fruitful³⁵ spirit, O wise one, and *təuuīšī-* and *utaiūiti-* [for this pair, see below], to announce through good thought (Y.51.7)

*aṭ frauuaxšiiā hiiat mōi mraoṭ spəntō.təmō
vacē srūidiiāi hiiat marətaēibiiō vahišəm
yōi mōi ahmāi səraošəm dən caiiascā
upā.jimən hauruuātā aməratātā
vaṅhēuš maniūuš šiiəoθanāiš mazdā ahurō.*

I shall proclaim (the word) which the most fruitful one said to me, a word which is best for mortals to hear. Whosoever shall lend to this (word) of mine their attention and a readiness to listen,³⁶ they shall reach *hauruuāt-* and *aməratāt-* through the deeds of good spirit, O wise lord (Y.45.5).

(2) The pair constitutes a fullness from which Ahura Mazda grants fertility:

*mazdā dadāt ahurō hauruuatō aməratātascā
būrōiš ā ašaxiiācā xvəpaiθiiāt xšaθrahiī sarō
vaṅhēuš vazduarē manahō yəhōi mainiū šiiəoθanāišcā uruuaθō*

Mindful of *hauruuāt-* and *aməratāt-*, the lord grants from his own strong communion³⁷ of order and command the fertility of good thought which is his ally through his spirit and deeds [probably hendiadys for ‘through the deeds of his (good) spirit’] (Y.31.21)

³³ This notoriously difficult body of texts, comprising Yasnas (abbrev. Y.) 28–54, has appeared in several different editions: H. Humbach, *Die Gathas des Zarathustra I–II* (Heidelberg 1959), revised and updated (in collaboration with J. Elfenbein and P.O. Skjaervø) as *The Gāthās of Zarathustra and the other Old Avestan Texts I–II* (Heidelberg 1991); S. Insler, *The Gāthās of Zarathustra* (Tehran 1975); J. Kellens and E. Pirart, *Les textes vieil-avestiques I–III* (Wiesbaden 1988–1991). Karl Friedrich Geldner’s edition of the whole Avesta remains fundamental (K.F. Geldner (ed.), *Avesta. The Sacred Books of the Parsis* (Stuttgart 1886–1896)). The best overview of the manuscript tradition and Geldner’s editorial practice is to be found in K. Hoffmann and J. Narten, *Der Sasanidische Archetypus* (Wiesbaden 1989) chapter 1 ‘Handschriften und Texttradierung’. See now too M.L. West, *The Hymns of Zoroaster* (London 2010),

which appeared too late to be incorporated into this article.

³⁴ The translations are mine, but have no pretensions to originality; major departures from Humbach’s interpretation (n.33) will be noted.

³⁵ *spənta-* and its derivatives usually translated ‘holy’ (vel sim.); the earliest meaning seems rather to have been ‘productive, fruchtbar’ (Indo-Iranian **čūanta-* < PIE **k₁-ento-* : κυεῖν). It is the constant epithet of the *aməša-spənta-* Armaiti (> Pahlavi Spandarmad), associated with the earth; cf. further Khotanese *šsandaā-* ‘earth’ < (transposed) **čūantakā*.

³⁶ This meaning of *sraoša-* suggested by P.O. Skjaervø (pers. comm.).

³⁷ For the meaning of the root noun *sar-*, see the discussion in J. Narten, *Der Yasna Haptanḡāiti* (Wiesbaden 1986) 301, n.48.

(3) Man may be led astray from *aməratāt-*, and it is parallel with ‘good living’:

tā dābənaotā mašim hujiiātōiš aməratātasā

Thus you (*daēuuas*) lead a man astray from good living (*hujiiāti-*) and *aməratāt-*... (Y.32.5a–b)

Several times the pair is in turn paired with the more concrete *utaiiūiti təuuīšī* (Y.34.11, 51.7, 45.10); with *utaiiūiti* alone (33.8), further (locatives) 45.7 *aməratāiti... utaiiūtā. təuuīšī-* f. probably means ‘strength, force’³⁸ and *utaiiūiti-* f. ‘connectedness of a woven object, corporeal solidity’.³⁹ As noted, *aməratāt-* is coordinated with *hujiiāti-* ‘good living’. By combining this distribution with the clear etymological meanings assignable to the terms, *hauruu(at)āt-* may be defined as ‘wholeness, the principle of health, not suffering illness, physical defect’, and *amərat(at)āt-* may be defined as the ‘principle of not dying an (untimely) death’. It is hard to imagine a match closer to the pair *ἀμ(β)ροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην, ‘the fact of not dying’ and ‘youthful vitality, physical maturity or wholeness’. ἥβην, to be sure, probably represents a relatively recent replacement of whatever once corresponded to *hauruuatāt-* (a **holuotāt-* for example, the meaning of which will have become confused once its derivational base, the adjective **holuo-* (> ὅλος), came to mean ‘entire’).⁴⁰ It is therefore impossible to restore an exact verbal and metrical structure. As for ἀμ(β)ροτῆτα = *aməratāt-*: since Greek nowhere else attests derivatives of *ambroto-* in a similar meaning (they always mean ‘immortal’), it is easy to see how our formula became incomprehensible at a certain point, and hence in need of further updating (*ἀμ(β)ροτῆτα → ἀνδροτῆτα).

The expression *ἀμ(β)ροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην = *hauruuātā aməratātā* is not isolated. Positive qualities such as these appear commonly in traditional prayers of other Indo-European societies, from India to Anatolia and Italy. In Indic, ‘wholeness’, ‘life’ and ‘lack of harm’ appear together in prayers: RV 3.54.11d *ād smābhyam ā suva sarvātātīm* ‘(Savitṛ-) produce for us wholeness [*sarvatāti-*]’; 10.37.14cd *savitā nah suvatu sarvatātīm, savitā nō rāsātām dīrghām āyuh* ‘let Savitṛ- produce wholeness for us; let Savitṛ- grant us a long lifetime!’; 10.59.5ab *āsunīte māno asmāsu dhāraya, jīvātave sū prā tirā na āyuh* ‘O Asunīti, hold fast our mind in us, convey our lifetime [*āyuh*] forth (through this near-death experience) to life [*jīvātu-*]’; and then again 10.60.7–11 (refrain) *evā dādihāra te māno, jīvātave nā mṛtyāve, aṭho ariṣṭātātaye* ‘So has he held fast your mind to life, and not to death, but to lack of harm’. In the same spirit are the Luwian prayers for the health and well-being of the ‘lord of the sacrifice’, where the characteristic Luwian abstract formation in *-ahit-* is the functional equivalent of Greek and Indo-Iranian *-tāt-*, for example KUB 35.43 vs. ii 38–40 *ḫu-u-i-du-ya-la-a-ḫi-ta-ti an-na-ru-um-ma-ḫi-ta-ti [a-ap-pa-ra-an-ta-ti a-]a-ra-a-ti ḫa-at-tu-la-ḫi-<ta>-ti ma-aš-ša-na-aš-ša-an-za-ti [ya-aš-ša-ra-ḫi-ta-ti] a-ar-ra-ja-ti uš-ša-a-ti* ‘with life [*ḫuidyalāhit-*], with strength [*annarummahit-*], for future time, with health [*hattulaḫit-*] from the gods, with goodness and with long years’. This list of good qualities matches the objects found within the kurša bag in the Hittite Telipinu myth KUB 33.12 iv 12–22⁴¹ *n=asta anda MU.KAM.ḪI.A GÍD.DA kitta...n=asta anda pishnatar tarḫuil[i-() kitta]... n=asta anda salḫittis mannittis* (note asyndeton bimembre here) ‘And within it long years have been placed... and within it manhood (and) victory have been placed... and within it (are) wholeness

³⁸ Derivative of the verbal root Av. *tauu-* ‘be strong’ (: Ved. *tavīti*) matching Ved. *taviṣī-* both < **teuh_x-is-ih₂-*, devī-stem to a n. **teuh_x-i-s-* (parallel to **teuh_x-os-* seen in Ved. *tavas-* ‘strength’, *tavás-* ‘strong’, cf. Ved. *rocis-* n. ‘brightness’: Av. *raocah-* n. ‘light’).

³⁹ Cf. Vedic *utá-* ‘woven’ and the verbal root *yu-* ‘connect’.

⁴⁰ For the earlier meaning within Greek itself, cf.

Hesych. ὀλοεῖται: ὑγιαίνει. Cognate adjectives in Albanian and Armenian, languages generally agreed to be particularly close to Greek, are also suggestive: Alb. *gjallë* ‘alive’ < **soluo-*, Arm. *olj* ‘healthy’ < **soljo-* (vel sim.).

⁴¹ See C. Watkins, ‘A distant Anatolian echo in Pindar: the origin of the aegis again’, *HSCP* 100 (2000) 2.

[*salhitti-*] (and) growth [*mannitti-*].⁴² In Italy, one recalls Cato's prayer to Mars de agricultura ca. 141 (*uti tu morbos uisos inuisosque uiduertatem uastitudinemque calamitates intemperiasque prohibessis defendas auerruncesque utique tu fruges frumenta uineta uirgultaque grandire beneque euenire siris pastores pecuaque salua seruassis duisque bonam salutem ualetudinemque mihi domo familiaeque nostrae*), for which the Iguvine tablets provide notable parallels, for example repeatedly on tablet 6 *di. grabouie. saluo. seritu.* [: Cato *salua seruassis*] *ocrer. fisier. totar. iouinar. nome. nerf. arsmo. ueiro. pequo. castruo. fri. salua. seritu.* 'O Grabovian Jupiter, keep whole the name of the Fisian mount and the Iguvine people, keep whole men and laws, humans and animals, fields and fruits.'

Let us return to the pair *ἀμ(β)ροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην, 'the fact of not dying' and 'youthful vitality, physical maturity or wholeness'. We wondered earlier where our unknown epic poet got this unusual phrase from. Now, the Avestan pair together with the further examples of liturgical phraseology listed in the preceding paragraph strongly suggest an answer: *from just such a traditional prayer*. One could imagine the following (prose) utterance: *μὴ λίποιμι ἀμ(β)ροτῆτα μηδὲ ἦβην. But it is much more likely to have been verse which preserved the Greek expression.⁴³ The equivalence *ἀμ(β)ροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην = *hauruuātā amərətātā* invites the hypothesis that a religious literature comparable to the archaic and highly conservative poetic traditions of India and Iran existed in second millennium Greece, transmitted by a sacerdotal élite – a sort of Mycenaean counterpart of the Vedas, which vanished along with that civilization. Only bits and pieces of it resurface in the newly shaped literary genres of the first millennium. The project of identifying such bits and pieces would likely have important implications for our understanding of the early development of epic.

Let me conclude with two illustrations of the importance of this particular example. Tichy quite convincingly showed how the *other* phrase involving ἀνδροτῆτα (*Il.* 24.6 ἀνδροτῆτά τε καὶ μένος ἦύ) could be created from within the resources of Homeric diction. Now, however, the equivalence *ἀμ(β)ροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην = *hauruuātā amərətātā* allows us to see the phrase ἀνδροτῆτά τε καὶ μένος ἦύ in a completely new light. Simply restoring the older form yields an *ἀμ(β)ροτῆτά τε καὶ μένος ἦύ. Can it be a coincidence that *this pairing also recurs in Avestan*, where the equivalent of μένος ἦύ, *vohu manah-*, is *also one of those abstract entities which end up in the Young Avestan class of aməša spəntas*?⁴⁴ The situation is then parallel to what M. Finkelberg has argued (though with the aim of denying its inherited status) *à propos* of κλέος ἄφθιτον: in both cases we have an expression *synchronically derivable* within epic diction, but nonetheless also quite clearly *inherited*.⁴⁵ A second vista our discovery opens up: as one looks forward to the rich literary developments of Archaic and Classical Greece, the existence of an expression *ἀμ(β)ροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην sheds unexpected light on a totally different subject. For it will not have escaped the attentive reader that it is precisely these two qualities which Heracles is said to attain after death: immortality – and Hebe.

⁴² *salhitti-* and *mannitti-* usually appear paired asyndetically, much like *hauruuatāt-* and *amərətātāt-*. Cf. further attestations in CHD s.vv. (for example, Telepinu myth, prayer to Ištar of Nineveh, etc.). They are likely to be borrowed from Luwian and equivalent to Hitt. *sallatar* and *mižatar*. If so, *salhitti-* is the etymological counterpart to *hauruuatāt-* / *sarvatātī-* and Latin *saluus* (et al.: see below in text).

⁴³ It is probably not coincidental that these expressions appear in analogous metrical contexts: in Greek, a pherecratean, in Avestan the heptasyllable closing the line in the first Gāthā. The former is the catalectic variant of the octosyllabic glyconic, in just the same way that the latter is the catalectic variant of the octosyllable which precedes it. In other words the Gathic combi-

nation 8 + 7 is precisely the analogue of the Greek glyconic + pher combination which appears both as a lyric combination and as the stichic verse known as the Eupolidean (and would correspond to Berg's protohexameter, on which I consider it prudent to suspend judgement). This metrical equivalence, combined with the evidence for this sort of prayer language just given, suggests that in the phrase we have in effect a fragment of Mycenaean liturgy. The relatively modern καὶ ἦβην may thus preserve the metre by replacing and hence obliterating whatever was inherited in the phrase.

⁴⁴ For example, (at random) Y.34.11 *aṭ tōi ubē hauruuāscā xvarəθāi. amərətāscā vaṇhəuš xšaθrā manahō.*

⁴⁵ 'More on κλέος ἄφθιτον', *CQ* 57 (2007) 341–50.