

**The Phraseological Story
of Gk. πολισσόε (Homeric Hymn 8.2)***

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Abstract: In this paper I propose that the epithet πολισσόε (Ares, in *Homeric Hymn* 8.2) has to be interpreted as ‘stirring up / rousing the city’. In the first three lines of the Homeric Hymn Ares is portrayed as a warrior god. Additionally, the epithets documented in the same section of the hymn have ancient phraseological *matrices*. In this regard, I argue that the Homeric epithet λαοσσόος (‘stirring up the armies’, Homer+) can be identified as the model for the late epithet πολισσόος*. At the same time, the Old Indic collocation *purāṃ cyautná-* ‘shaking of the strongholds’ (*Rigveda*) expresses the collocation [(to) put in motion – city] through the same lexemes as Greek πολισσόος*. However, Old Indic *purāṃ cyautná-* and Greek πολισσόε are likely to have originated independently. Nevertheless, the Vedic collocation [whirl(ing) / stir(ring up) – (of) the city] perfectly matches in Greek [πόλις_{acc.} – κινέω], which occurs in Euripides’ *Supplikes* (752).

Keywords: Greek phraseology, epithets, poetics, *Homeric Hymn* 8, Ares.

1. This paper concerns the epithet πολισσόος*, a *hapax eiremenon* attested in vocative in the second verse of the eighth *Homeric Hymn* (HH. 8). This poem is commonly considered an intruder in the collection of the *Homeric Hymns*¹ because it displays a variety of late features as for its style and content.² Like the

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¹ The notation πολισσόος* is used for the putative nominative of the form, as the epithet only occurs in vocative.

² For possible authors and an approximate date of its composition see Ruhnken 1749, followed by Hermann 1805, Gemoll 1886: 322-324, Humbert 1976, who classify the Hymn as an Orphic poem. Differently, West 1970 (with Matthiae 1800 and Cassola 1975: 297-299) ascribes the hymn to Proclus; Abel 1886 dates the hymn “in or after the age of Nonnus”. Gelzer 1987 proposes Prophyryus or one of his circle as a possible author of the hymn.

Orphic hymns and Proclus's ones, it is a ὕμνος κλητικός (cf. κλῦθι, v. 8) beginning with a long enumeration of divine epithets; moreover, it represents Ares both as an Olympian god and as a planetary god:

Ἄρες ὑπερμενέτα, βρισάρματε, χρυσεοπήληξ,
ὀβριμόθυμε, φέρασπι, **πολισσόε**, χαλκοκορυστά,
καρτερόχειρ, ἀμόγητε, δορισθενές, ἔρκος Ὀλύμπου,
Νίκης εὐπολέμοιο πάτερ, συναρωγὲ Θέμιστος,
ἀντιβίοισι τύραννε, δικαιοτάτων ἀγὲ φωτῶν,
ἠνορέης σκηπτοῦχε, πυραυγέα κύκλον ἐλίσσω
αἰθέρος ἑπταπόροις ἐνὶ τείρεσιν, ἔνθά σε πᾶλοι
ζαφλεγέες τριτάτης ὑπὲρ ἄντυγος αἰὲν ἔχουσιν·
κλῦθι, βροτῶν ἐπίκουρε, δοτήρ εὐθαρσέος ἦβης,
πρὸ καταστίλβων σέλας ὑψόθεν ἐς βιότητα
ἡμετέρην καὶ κάρτος ἀρήιον, ὧς κε δυναίμην
σεύασθαι κακότητα πικρὴν ἀπ' ἐμεῖο καρήνου
καὶ ψυχῆς ἀπατηλὸν ὑπογνάμψαι φρεσὶν ὀρμήν
θυμοῦ τ' αὖ μένος ὄξυ κατισχέμεν, ὅς μ' ἐρέθησιν
φυλόπιδος κρυερῆς ἐπιβαινέμεν· ἀλλὰ σὺ θάρσος
δόξ, μάκαρ, εἰρήνης τε μένειν ἐν ἀπήμοσι θεσμοῖς,
δυσμενέων προφυγόντα μόθον κῆράς τε βιαίους.

“Ares haughty in spirit, heavy on chariot, golden-helmeted; grim-hearted, shieldbearer, **city-savior**, bronze-armored; tough of arm, untiring, spear-strong, bulwark of Olympus; father of Victory in the good fight, ally of Law; oppressor of the rebellious, leader of the righteous; sceptred king of manliness, as you wheel your fiery circle among the seven coursing lights of the ether, where your flaming steeds ever keep you up on the third orbit: hearken, helper of mankind, giver of brave young manhood, and gleam down your kindly flare from on high into my life, and martial strength, so that I might chase bitter wickedness away from my head, deflect the soul-deceiving impulse in my thoughts, and restrain the sharp force of appetite that provokes me to embark on chill conflict. Blessed one, grant me courage to abide by the innocuous principles of peace, escaping battle with my enemies and the perils of violence”.
(West 2003)

As the reference to the entire text shows, the overall portrayal of Ares in HH. 8 apparently contrasts with the one we recover from texts of the Archaic and Classical Age, namely: that of a warlike, destructive god, who is always eager to fight.³ On the contrary, Ares figures here as a righteous god, cf. ‘ally of Law’ συναρωγὲ

³ E.g. *Il.* 5.890-891 ἔχθιστος δέ μοι ἐσσι θεῶν οἱ Ὀλύμπου ἔχουσιν· || αἰεὶ γάρ τοι ἔρις τε φίλη πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε. || μητρός τοι μένος ἐστὶν ἀσχετον οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν “(Zeus to Ares:) Most hateful to me are you of all gods who hold

Θέμιστος (v. 4), ‘leader of the righteous men’ δικαιοτάτων ἀγέ φωτῶν (v. 5), who can provide peace and protection to the mortals, cf. εἰρήνης τε μένειν ἐν ἀπήμοσι θεσμοῖς (v. 16). As a consequence, the *hapax eiremenon* πολισσόε (v. 2) is usually translated as ‘city-savior’ (West 2003) or ‘guarding a city or cities’ (LSJ s.v.), i.e., as reflecting a collocation τὴν πόλιν σώζων*.

In this paper, however, I make the case that the epithet should be interpreted as ‘stirring up the city’ or ‘rousing the city’, that is to say, as reflecting a phrase τὴν πόλιν σοῶν*. In this regard, I argue that the epithets attributed to Ares in the very opening of the poem rely upon ancient phraseological models: Ares is depicted as a warlike god, although the hymn progressively shifts the focus on him as a planetary god who bestows harmony and security to men. A structure of this description finds a perfect parallel in the *Orphic Hymn to Ares* (*Orph.* 65), which has been juxtaposed to HH. 8 since Ruhnken’s edition (1749). The hypothesis of interpreting πολισσόος* as ‘stirring up the city / cities’ is additionally corroborated by comparing the epithets occurring in HH. 8.1-3 with those of Procl. 7.3-4, in which Martin L. West identified a variety of similar stylistic traits as those of the spurious Homeric Hymn.

Finally, since πολισσόος* might be ultimately based on an ancient model, I would like to discuss a formal phraseological match evidenced in the Old Indic tradition, which is linguistically related to the Greek one. Indeed, in the *Rigveda*, the collocation [(to) put in motion – city] is expressed by means of the very same lexemes as Gk. πολισσόος*. Although the two phraseological structures constitute a perfect match, they are likely to have originated independently. In any case, the Vedic collocation [shak(ing) / stir(ring up) – (of) the city] finds a perfect semantic match in Gk. [πόλις_{acc.} – κινέω], documented in Euripides’s *Supplices*.

2. The opening of HH. 8 contains an accumulative set of epithets for the god Ares, among which πολισσόος*. Indeed, as emphasized by Gelzer (1987: 162), the author of the Eighth Homeric Hymn seems to be familiar with the Homeric philology.⁴ Some of the forms found in the poem are very ancient, others are not attested elsewhere, but might rely upon ancient phraseological *matrices*. Hereunder, I focus on the first three lines of the hymn. A short phraseological commentary will show how the author of HH. 8 engages in a rich dialogue with the Homeric philology and beyond:

Ἄρες ὑπερμενέτα¹, βρισάρματε², χρυσεοπήληξ³,
ὄβριμόθυμε⁴, φέρασπι⁵, **πολισσόε**, χαλκοκορυστά⁶,
καρτερόχειρ⁷, ἀμόγητε, δορισθενέξ⁸, ἔρκος Ὀλύμπου⁹

Olympus, for always strife is dear to you, and wars and fighting. You have the unbearable, overpowering spirit of your mother (Here)”.
⁴ See ἀμόγητε (v. 3), based on the adverb ἀμογητί (*Il.* 11.637, *hapax eiremenon*); τείρεσι (v. 7) with the same meaning of τέρας in *Il.* 18.485.

“Ares haughty in spirit, heavy on chariot, golden-helmed; grim-hearted, shieldbearer, *polissóos* (*city-savior*), bronze-armored; tough of arm, untiring, spear-strong, bulwark of Olympus”. (West 2003, with cursive and bold of mine)

1 ὑπερμενέτης* ‘haughty in spirit’ is probably remade on ὑπερμενής ‘whose μένος (spirit) is ὑπέρ (up)’ (Hom.), which is commonly attested as an epithet of Zeus (*Il.* 2.116+),⁵ the ‘kings’ (ὑπερμενέων βασιλῆων, *Il.* 8.236+),⁶ ‘men’ (ἄνδρες *Od.* 19.62) but also of warriors; take, for instance, *Il.* 17.362 ὑπερμενέων ἐπικούρων “of the allies of mighty spirit”⁷ and Pi. fr. 184 ὑπερμενές ... Αἴαν “Aias of mighty strength”.

2 βρισάρματος ‘heavy on chariot’ is an epithet of Ares, compare Hes. *Sc.* 441 βρισάρματος οὐλιος Ἄρης “chariot-weighting, dire Ares”.⁸ In addition, the compound can be put in connection with an Iliadic scene: Athena mounts on the same chariot as Diomedes, heading to the battlefield, and the vehicle creaks under the βριθοσύνη (‘weight, burden’), cf. *Il.* 5.838-840 μέγα δ’ ἔβραχε φήγινος ἄξων || βριθοσύνη· [...] λάζετο δὲ μάστιγα καὶ ἠνία Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη “loudly did the oaken axle creak beneath its burden [...] Then Pallas Athene grasped the whip and the reins”.

3 χρυσοπήληξ ‘golden-helmed’ is a variant of χρυσοπήληξ, which is said of Ares in Aeschyl. *Sept.* 105-106 Ἄρης, τὰν τεάν; || ὦ χρυσοπήληξ δαίμον, ἔπιδ’ ἐπιδε πόλιν “Ares, your very city, o god with the golden helm, look over it!”.

4 ὄβριμόθυμος ‘grim-hearted’, which describes Arges, one of the Cyclops, in Hesiod’s *Theogony* (140), is referred to Ares by Panyassis, cf. fr. 16.1 Matthews τλῆ δὲ καὶ ὄβριμόθυμος Ἄρης ὑπὸ πατρός ἀνάγκη “even Ares, of grim-heart endured under necessity of his father”. Furthermore, the simplex ὄβριμος ‘grim, heavy, strong, mighty’ is a common epithet of Ares in the hexametrical poetry, cf. e.g. *Il.* 5.845 μὴ μιν ἴδοι ὄβριμος Ἄρης “so that grim (/ mighty) Ares does not see him”.⁹

5 φεράσπις ‘shield-bearer’ is a compound which occurs twice in Aeschylus’s tragedies (*Pers.* 238 μηδαμῶς· ἔγχη σταδαῖα καὶ φεράσπιδες σαγαί “not at all; they use spears for close combat and carry shields for defence”; *Ag.* 694 φεράσπιδες κυναγοί “hunters carrying shields”)¹⁰ and may be based on a syntagm [φέρω – ἄσπις_{acc.}], applying to Hector in the hexametrical poetry, cf. *Il.* 11.61 Ἔκτωρ δ’ ἐν πρώτοισι φέρ’ ἀσπίδα πάντοσ’ ἔσσην “and Hector among the foremost carried his shield that was well balanced on every side”. In late antiquity the form was interpreted as ‘warlike’ or ‘armed’, cf.

Schol. in Aeschl. Ag. 694 φεράσπιδες· ὀπλισμένοι “*pheraspides*: armed”

⁵ *Il.* 2.350, 403, 7.315, 481, 8.470, 9.23, 11.727, 13.226, 14.69; Hes. *Th.* 534, *Sc.* 413, fr. 141.11, 150.16 MW.

⁶ *Od.* 13.205, 20.222.

⁷ In this connection, note also that Ares is invoked as βροτῶν ἐπίκουρε at v. 9.

⁸ Cf. also Pi. fr. 70b.26, where the epithet is referred to Thebes.

⁹ Cf. also *Il.* 13.444, 521, 15.112, 16.613, 17.529.

¹⁰ Cf. also Procl. *Hymn.* 7.3, *AP* 2.1.388 (Christodorus); 7.152.1.

Suida ρ 189 [...]	φέρασπις, ὁ πολεμικός	“ <i>pheráspis</i> , warlike”
Suida φ 203	Φέρασπις· ὁ πολεμικός [...] ¹¹	“ <i>pheráspis</i> : warlike”

6 χαλκοκορυστάς ‘bronze-armored (lit. bronze-helmed)’ mostly applies to Hector (*Il.* 5.699+) in the hexametrical poetry.¹² In this connection, it is remarkable that κορυθαίολος ‘moving the helmet quickly’, which usually applies to Hector as well (*Il.* 2.816+),¹³ once refers to the war-god, *Il.* 20.38 ἐς δὲ Τρῶας Ἄρης κορυθαίολος “to/for the Trojans Ares, who moves the helmet quickly”. Ares is often associated to ‘bronze’, this being identified as the material of weapons and armors, cf. the formula χάλκεος Ἄρης (*Il.* 5.704+)¹⁴ and his epithets χάλκασπις ‘having a shield of bronze’ (*Pi. I.* 7.25, *Eur. IA* 764), χαλκεόστερνος ‘having a chest of bronze’ (*Ba.* 5.34).

7 καρτερόχειρ ‘tough of arm’ first occurs in Bacchylides 1.141-142 καρτερόχειρ Ἀργεῖος “armstrong Argive”, and can be compared to a Pindaric collocation, cf. *Pi. P.* 11.18 χειρῶν ὕπο κρατερᾶν “under the powerful hands”, which refers to the *violent* hands of Clytemnestra.

8 δορισθενές ‘spear-strong’ first occurs in Aeschylus’s *Choephorae* close to Ares’ name, cf.

Aeschl. *Choe.* 160-163

ιώ, τίς **δορισθενής** εἶς ἄνηρ

ἀναλυτὴρ δόμων, Σκυθικά τ’ ἐν χεροῖν

ἐν ἔργῳ βέλη ἑπιπάλλων Ἄρεως

σχεδιά τ’ αὐτόκωπα νωμῶν ξίφῃ;

“Oh, if only there would come a man, **mighty with the spear**, to set the house free again, brandishing in his hands Scythian weapons **in the work of Ares** (i.e. **of war**) and wielding a sword, of one piece with its hilt, for close fighting!”.

At the same time, it must be stressed that Ares is called ‘spear-wielding’ (Gk. ἐγγέσπαλος) on more than one occasion, cf. *Il.* 15. 605 μαίνεται δ’ ὡς ὄτ’ Ἄρης ἐγγέσπαλος ἢ ὀλοὸν πῦρ “And he was raging like Ares, wielder of the spear, or as when destructive fire (rages, μαίνηται)”.¹⁵

¹¹ The lexicon also quotes *AP* 7.152.

¹² *Il.* 6.398, 13.720, 15.221, 458, 16.358, 654. The epithet describes Sarpedon in *Il.* 6.199, Memnon in *Hes. Th.* 984 and the Mirmidons’ army in *Pi. Pae.* 6.108 (= fr. 52f.108).

¹³ *Il.* 3.83, 324, 5.680, 689, 6.116, 263, 342, 359, 369, 440, 520, 7.158, 233, 263, 287, 8.160, 324, 377, 11.315, 12.230, 15.246, 504, 17.96, 122, 169, 188, 693, 18.21, 131, 284, 19.134, 20.430, 22.232, 249, 337, 355, 471.

¹⁴ *Il.* 5.859, 866, 7.146, 16.543; *Pi. O.* 10.15.

¹⁵ Simias fr. 14.1 Powell+.

9 ἔρκος Ὀλύμπου ‘bulwark of Olympus’ seems to be built on the formula ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν ‘bulwark of the Achaeans’ (*Il.* 3.229+), which commonly applies to Aias in the *Iliad*,¹⁶ that is to say, to one of the strongest warriors among the Achaeans.¹⁷

To sum up: the phraseological comparanda *ex Graeco ipso* confirm that the first three lines of the *Homeric Hymn to Ares* describe him as a warrior-god, similar to Athena and other valorous mortal warriors, such as Aias and Hector. He wears a complete set of weapons (πήληξ, ἄσπις, κόρυς, δόρυ) and weights on the (war-)chariot, with a mighty spirit, grim heart, and strong arms. Such a description matches a typical, traditional image of Ares, who figures as an extremely aggressive and dangerous deity from the epics onwards.

3. Let’s now turn to the form πολισσός*. Compounds with a second member °(σ)σός reflect a type κουροτρόφος ‘rearing children’ (Risch 1974²: 196-197), i.e., a compound type displaying a verbal second compound member which can correspond to a verbal name in -ος, -η. More specifically, compounds with the [X°(σ)σός] structure can be divided into two main groups, according to the origin and meaning of their second member,¹⁸ namely:

(i) With °(σ)σός as the reflex of σώζω ‘save, rescue’, i.e. ‘saving/rescuing X’ or ‘preserving X/keeping X safe’, namely βιοσσός ‘life-supporting, life-preserving’ (Nonn. *D.* 33.109+), βροτοσσός ‘men saving’ (Orph. *L.* 756), δύσσοος ‘hard to save, ruined’ (Theoc. 3.24+), εὔσοος ‘safe and well’ (Theoc. 24.8+), μελισσοσσός ‘guardian of the bees’ (*AP* 9.226), μηλοσσός ‘sheep protecting’ (*AP* 6.334), νηοσ(σ)ός ‘protecting the ships’ (A.R. 1.570+), ξε(ι)νοσσός ‘protecting the stranger’ (Nonn. *D.* 3.178), οἰκοσ(σ)ός ‘protecting the house’ (Max. 98), παλίνσοος ‘safe again’ (Nonn. *D.* 25.535), πυρίσ(σ)οος ‘plucked from burning (i.e. safe from burning)’ (Schol. *Lyc.* 178), ψυχοσσός ‘saving the soul’ (*AP* 9.197).

(ii) With °(σ)σός as the reflex of σέω ‘to set in motion’¹⁹ (Hom. aor. ἔσσεα, *Il.* 5.208) and σοέω* ‘id.’ (σόει, Ba. 16.90),²⁰ which can be traced back to PIE **k̑jeu-* ‘in Bewegung treten’ (García Ramón 1994:

¹⁶ Cf. *Il.* 6.5, 7.211, cf. also Pi. fr. *Pae.* 6.85 (= fr. 52f.85), which refers to Achilles and can thus be compared to *Il.* 1.283-284 λίσσομ’ Ἀχίλλῃ μεθέμεν χόλον, ὃς μέγα πᾶσιν || ἔρκος Ἀχαιοῖσιν πέλεται πολέμοιο κακοῖο “and I beg of you to let go your anger against Achilles, who is for all the Achaeans a mighty bulwark against evil war”.

¹⁷ On the other hand, the poetic image of the warrior as the ‘bulwark of the army/community’ has parallels in other Indo-European poetic traditions, such as in the Old Irish and the Old English ones, cf. *Cyvoesi Myrddin* 121 *Moryen mur trin* “Morien, bulwark of the battle”, *Beowulf*, 427-428 *biddan wille, / eodor Scyldinga* “I want to ask you (a favor), enclosure of the Scyldings” (cf. Campanile 1977: 120-121).

¹⁸ Both compounds of group (i) and (ii) display a non-etymological geminated -σ-, which has likely to have been introduced in the compounds so that they might comply with the metrical scheme of the Greek hexameter. On this second compound member cf. Frisk *GEW s.v.* σεύομαι, Chantraine *DELG s.v.* σεύω.

¹⁹ The present σεύω is a secondary formation based on the s-aorist ἔσσεα. Chantraine 1958-1963: i 158-159 interprets the diphthong as an ‘epic archaism’, cf. also Schwyzer 1939: 745.

²⁰ Hsch. σ 6345 L ἐσσοημένον· τεθορυβημένον. ὠρμημένον. From a formal point of view, Gk. σοέω ‘I set in motion’ matches Ved. *cyānáyati* ‘sets in motion, shakes’, Av. *šauuaieiti* ‘id.’.

71),²¹ cf. also Thess. διέξοα ‘exit’ (SCOT 1993.B30, see García Ramón 2001: 102-103), Ved. *cyav* (pres. subj. *cyavante* ‘they will move’), Av. *š(ii)auu-* (OAv. *šauuaite* ‘they undertake’), namely: βοοσσός ‘driving the ox wild’ (Call. fr. 46+), δορυσσός ‘brandishing the spear’ (Hes. *Sc.* 54+), ιπποσός ‘riding the horse’ (Pi. *P.* 2.65+), κεμαδοσσός ‘chasing deer’ (Nonn. *D.* 5.230+), κυνοσσός ‘cheering on hounds’ (Nonn. *D.* 1.233), λαοσσός ‘rousing the armies’ (*Il.* 17.398+), νεκυσσός ‘rousing the dead to life’ (Nonn. *D.* 44.204), τεκνοσσός ‘driving forth his sons’ (Nonn. *D.* 3.322), χελυοσσός ‘stirring the lyre’ (Theon *Sm.* p. 139 H).²²

As the provided data show, compounds of group (i) are not attested before the Hellenistic period, whereas some compounds of group (ii), such as δορυσσός ‘brandishing the spear’ and λαοσσός ‘rousing the armies’, first occur in the traditional hexametrical poetry. A closer look at these very contexts could actually be an asset to clear up the meaning of πολισσός*: significantly, λαοσσός refers to Athene (Αθηναίη λαοσσός, *Il.* 13.128, *Od.* 22.210), Eris (Ἐρις κρατερὴ λαοσσός, *Il.* 20.48), and, once, to Ares, cf.

Il. 17.398-399

ἄγριος· οὐδέ κ’ Ἄρης λαοσσός οὐδέ κ’ Ἀθήνη
τόν γε ἰδοῦσ’ ὀνόσαιτ’(ο)

“Wild (battle arose, Gk. μῶλος ὀρώρει), nor could even **Ares, rouser of armies**, nor Athene (at sight of that strife), would have blamed it”.

This element speaks in favor of the interpretation of πολισσός as ‘stir- ring up the city’, which could be ultimately based on that of λαοσσός ‘rouser of armies, rousing the armies’. In several Homeric passages, the war-god ‘urges’ warriors to the battle for both attack and defense. In this regard, I would like to bring out two parallels from the *Iliad*, cf.

Il. 5.461-465

Τρωὰς δὲ στίχας οὖλος Ἄρης ὄτρυνε μετελθόν
εἰδόμενος Ἀκάμαντι θοῶ ἠγήτορι Θρηκῶν [...]
ἐς τί ἔτι κτείνεσθαι ἐάσετε λαὸν Ἀχαιοῖς;

“And destructive **Ares** entered the Trojans’ ranks and **urged them on**, in the like- ness of swift Acamas, leader of the Thracians [...] how long will you continue to allow your army to be slain by the Achaeans?”.

²¹ Differently LIV² s.v. **kijem-* ‘sich in Bewegung setzen’.

²² Additionally, δημοσσός could mean both, cf. δημοσσός· τὸν δῆμον σώζων. ἢ ὁ δημοδίωκτος (Hsch. δ 871 L).

In this passage, the war-god enters the Trojan ranks in order to urge the army to resist to Diomedes's assaults. In order to do that, he takes the shape of the Thracian leader (ἡγήτορι Θρηκῶν), named 'Un-tiring' (Ἀκάμας), an onomastic detail which is vaguely reminiscent of Ἄρες ... ἀμόγητε ... ἀγὲ φωτῶν 'Ares ... unwearied ... leader of men ...' (HH. 8.1-5). Another passage from the fifth book of the *Iliad* can offer a complementary example, cf.

Il. 5.563-564

βῆ δὲ διὰ προμάχων κεκορυθμένος αἴθοπι χαλκῷ σείων ἐγγείην· τοῦ δ'
ὄτρυνεν μένος Ἄρης

“(Menelaos dear to Ares ἀρηίφιλος) strode through the foremost fighters, armored in ruddy bronze and brandishing his spear; and **Ares roused his force**”.

Here Ares pushes Menelaos to attack the Trojans, by awakening his internal energy (ὄτρυνεν μένος). The reference to Menelaos's μένος might recall Ἄρες ὑπερμένετα (HH. 8.1); at the same time, the Achaean warrior wears a bronze armor and brandishes the spear like Ares in HH. 8.2-3 (χαλκοκορυστά ... δορισθενές). We shall conclude again: the portrayal of Ares in the first verses of HH. 8 is the one of a strong warrior, who, like the Homeric Ares, rouses the army for aggression (: attack) as well as for protection (: defense).

4. Before turning to the analysis of a possible phraseological comparandum for πολιτισσός*, another fact should be taken into account, namely: the structural and stylistic features that HH. 8 and two allegedly contemporary hymns (*Orphica*, Proclus's hymns) have in common.

The Orphic Hymn to Ares (*Orph.* 65) may provide a striking comparandum for both style and content of the Homeric Hymn:

Ἄρρηκτ', ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε δαῖμον,
 ὄπλοχαρής, ἀδάμαστε, βροτοκτόνε, τειχεσιπλήτα,
 Ἄρες ἄναξ, ὀπλόδουπε, φόνους πεπαλαγμένος αἰεὶ,
 αἵματι ἀνδροφόνωι χαίρων, πολεμόκλονε, φρικτέ,
 ὃς ποθέεις ξίφεσίν τε καὶ ἔγχεσι δῆριν ἄμουσον·
 στήσον ἔριν λυσσῶσαν, ἄνες πόνον ἀλγεσίθυμον,
 εἰς δὲ πόθον νεῦσον Κύπριδος κόμους τε Λυαίου
 ἀλλάξας ἀλκὴν ὄπλων εἰς ἔργα τὰ Διοῦς,
 εἰρήνην ποθέων κουροτρόφον, ὀλβιοδῶτιν.

“Unbreakable, mighty-hearted, greatly strong, valiant god, delighting in weapons, untamable, killer of mortals, stormer of city-walls, lord Ares, rattling in armor, always defiled with the slaughter of war, rejoicing in man-slaying blood and raising the clamor of combat, horrifying one, you who lust for the obscene carnage of swords and spears: halt the raging strife! Cease the travail grieving our hearts! Rather, yield to the peaceful yearnings of Aphrodite and the revels of Dionysus. Exchange your fury and weapons for the gentle works of Deo. Conceive a desire for peacefulness which will cultivate the young and grant them blessedness”.

The *Kunstsprache* characterizing the opening of the hymn is comparable to that of HH. 8: some of the compounds are firstly documented in the Homeric poems, others are based on ancient phraseological models. Take, for instance, the pair βροτοκτόνε τειχεσιπλήτα (v. 2), which may be compared to Hom. βροτολογιῆ μαιφόνε τειχεσιπλήτα “you bane of mortals, you blood-stained stormer of walls” (*Il.* 5.31, 455). The epithet τειχεσιπλήτα is an Homeric form, whereas βροτοκτόνε is a more recent form, with a similar meaning to βροτολογιῆ. Additionally, *Orph.* 65 strikingly allows us to recover a transition from ‘Ares, the warrior-god’ to ‘Ares, the protector of men’: The hymn opens with a portrayal of Ares as an aggressive deity (vv. 1-4), but then invokes him for peace. In particular, the expression of v. 9, εἰρήνην ποθέων κουροτρόφον, ὀλβιοδῶτιν “conceive a desire for peacefulness which will cultivate the young and grant them blessedness”, is reminiscent of HH. 8.16, δός, μάκαρ, εἰρήνης τε μένειν ἐν ἀπήμοσι θεσμοῖς “grant me (courage, Gk. θάρσος) to abide by the innocuous principles of peace”.

Another stylistic comparison will turn out to be very enlightening in connection with the possible meaning of πολισσόος*. As properly pointed out by Martin L. West (1970: 301), both the accumulative stylistic feature and the single epithets occurring in HH. 8.1-3 are traits the *Homeric Hymn to Ares* has in common with Proclus’s hymn to Athena, cf.

Procl. 7.3-4

ἄρσενόθυμε, φέρασπι, μεγασθενές, ὀβριμοπάτρη,
Παλλάς, Τριτογένεια, δορυσσόε, χρυσεοπήληξ

“Male-hearted, shield-bearing, great in strength, of mighty father, Pallas, Tritogeneia, wielding the spear, of golden helmet”.

Several full and partial matches with HH. 8 can be identified: φέρασπι and χρυσεοπήληξ occur in both poems; ὀβριμόθυμε (HH. 8.2) parallels both ἄρσενόθυμε and ὀβριμοπάτρη (Procl. 7.3); δορισθενές (HH. 8.3) parallels both μεγασθενές (Procl. 7.3) and δορυσσόε; in turn, δορυσσόε parallels πολισσόε (HH. 8.3). Furthermore, all epithets referring to Athena with the exception of ἄρσενόθυμος, which first occurs in Nonnus (34.352), can be defined as *conventional*, since they all typically apply to this goddess as well as to

warriors from very ancient sources (Homer, Hesiod) onwards.²³ In this regard, the occurrence of *δορυσσόε* in Procl. 7.4 shall be highlighted: *δορυσσόος* is first attested in the Greek hexametrical poetry where it refers to Amphitryon, cf. Hes. *Sc.* 54 *ἀντὰρ Ἴφικλῆα δορυσσόω Ἀμφιτρώωνι* “but (to) Iphicles overpowered (Gk. ὑποδμηθεῖσα) by spear-rousing Amphitryon”.²⁴ Nevertheless, as I have already pointed out, in the *Iliad* Athena is *λαοσσόος* ‘rousing the armies’.

This stylistic comparison might suggest that *δορυσσόε* (Athena) in Proclus 7.3 and *πολισσόε* (Ares) in HH. 8 took the place that belonged to ‘rousing the armies’ (*λαοσσόε**) in very ancient poetic contexts. In other words, the author of HH. 8 applied *πολισσόος** (‘rousing the city’?) to Ares, who, in the epic poetry, is called *λαοσσόος* (‘rousing the armies’) in the same way as Proclus applied *δορυσσόος* (‘rousing the spear’) to Athena, who, in the epic poetry, is called *λαοσσόος* (‘rousing the armies’).

5. The phraseological evidence provided above suggests that an epithet *πολισσόος** ‘stirring up the city’ might ultimately have been modeled on an ancient form *λαοσσόος* ‘rousing the armies’. In this regard, a remarkable phraseological match shall be underlined. In Old Indic the collocation [put in motion – community] is expressed by means of terms (verbs or nouns) related to the root *cyav* ‘to move’, a well known cognate of Gk. *οσσός* (cf. §3). More precisely, *λαοσσόος* partially matches the collocation [*cyav*_{verb} – *people/men*_{acc.}], which takes on a twofold shape in the *Rigveda*, namely: [*cyav* – *jána*_{acc.}] ‘id.’, [(*prá*-)*cyav* – *kṛṣṭí*-_{acc.}] ‘to rouse the folk’, cf.

RV 1.37.12ab

máruto yád dha vo bálam

jánāṁ acucyavītana

“O Maruts, since you have the strength, **you have stirred up the peoples**”. (Jamison-Brereton 2014)

RV 7.19.1ab

yás tigmásyṅgo vṛṣabhó ná bhīmá

ékaḥ kṛṣṭís cyváyati prá víśvāḥ

“Who, like a fearsome sharp-horned bull, alone **rouses forth all the communities**”. (Jamison-Brereton 2014)

Similarly, the verbal root *cyav* underlies the noun *cyautná-*, which matches OAv. *šiiaoθana-*, YAv. *šiiaoθna-* ‘action, undertaking’ (cf. Costa 1987), may reflect a thematic derivative from the weak stem of a

²³ *μεγασθενής* (Hes. fr. 26 MW+), *ὄβριμοπάτρη* (*Il.* 5.747+), *Παλλάς* (*Il.* 1.200+), *Τριτογένεια* (*Il.* 4.515), *δορυσσόε* (Hes. *Sc.* 54+). On *φεράσπις* and *χρυσ(ε)οπήληξ* see above.

²⁴ = Hes. fr. 195.54 MW.

heteroclite **cyu-tar-/-tan-* with a secondary full (OAv. *šiiəθana-*, YAv. *šiiəθna-*) and lengthened (Ved. *cyautná-*) grade.²⁵ This form came to mean ‘rousing, stirring’,²⁶ when connected with an accusative ‘men’, cf.

RV 10.50.4cd

bhúvo nṛ̥ṣ̥ cyautnó víśvasmin bháre

jyéṣṭhas ca mántro víśvacarṣaṇe

“You will become **the stirring of men** in every contest and the supreme mantra, o you who are common to all domains”. (Jamison-Brereton 2014)

However, in RV 6.18.8 *cyautná-* might mean ‘shaking’ (< *‘putting in motion’). Significantly, here, *cyautná-* pairs with a genitive plural *purám* (from *púr-* ‘stronghold, fortress’), a close linguistic congener of Gk. πόλις ‘city’.²⁷

RV 6.18.8

sá yó ná muhé ná mīthū jáno bhūt

sumántunāmā cúmurim dhúniṃ ca

vṛ̥ṇák píprum śámbaraṃ śúṣṇam índrah

purám cyautnáya śayáthāya nú cit

“He, the man who is not to be confused and is not wrong, bearing a name that is good to think upon. Cumuri and Dhuni did Indra wring out, and Pipru, Śambara, and Śuṣṇa—to **shake their strongholds** and for (them) to lie there even now”. (Jamison-Brereton 2014)

The Vedic collocation *purám cyautná-* ‘shaking of the strongholds’ strikingly matches *πολισσόος** from a merely formal point of view. Indeed, the lexemes of both the Gk. compound members are etymologically related to those of the Old Indic collocation. However, this match cannot be automatically considered as a piece of the poetic inheritance the Greek and the Indic sub-branch retained. Beside the semantic differences between the two phraseological structures, which can be explained in terms of parallel semantic developments, both collocations could be explained as independent creations. The fact that *πολισσόος** is

²⁵ See Rau 2007 for parallel cases of secondary full-grade in substantivized terms.

²⁶ Grassmann-Kozianka 1996 s.v. ‘anregend’, ‘Erschütterung’, ‘kräftige Tat’.

²⁷ Frisk *GEW* s.v. πόλις and Schwyzer (1939: 344) propose a connection between Vedic *púr-*, Greek πόλις and Lithuanian *pilis*. According to Strunk 1969 πόλις (and Ved. *púr-*) might be derived from **p̥h₁(-i-*). According to Beekes (*EDG* s.v.), both πόλις and Ved. *púr-* should be traced back to **tpol-*.

probably a late linguistic creation speaks in favor of this hypothesis. Greek and Vedic, however, allow to reconstruct a proto-collocation [**k̑ieṷ-* ‘to put in motion’ – ‘people’], in which ‘people’ came to be expressed by means of several synonyms. It is possible that [**k̑ieṷ-* (to put in motion) – **p̑h₁-* (city)] represents a variant of this proto-collocation.

6. A better *comparandum* for Vedic [*purām cyautná-*] can be identified in [πόλις_{acc.} – κινέω]. The collocation expresses ‘to shake the city’ in classical Greek and is connected to the tumult of war in Euripides, cf.

Eur. *Suppl.* 752

ἐπεὶ παραγμὸς πόλιν ἐκίνησεν δορός

“While the tumult of war (lit. of the spear) **shook the city**”.²⁸

From a formal point of view Gk. κινέω reflects **ki-neu-*: the verb is etymologically related to Ved. *cyav*, but it is differently shaped, cf. **ki-eṷ-* (: *cyav*) vs. **ki-neṷ-* (κινέω). However, from a semantic point of view, the two verbs are identical. As highlighted by García Ramón (1993: 134-139), Gk. κινέω expresses the semantic notion of *a movement which is without direction*, i.e. ‘to put in motion, to shake’, just as *cyav* in Vedic and *cieō* in Latin. A variety of common collocations speaks in favor of a semantic overlap,²⁹ but here I will mainly focus on few common matches between Greek and Vedic, namely: (a) [put in motion – *naturalia* (sky, clouds, earth)]: *Il.* 16.298 κινήση πυκινήν νεφέλην στεροπηγερῆτα Ζεὺς “Zeus, that gathers the lightning(s), moved a dense cloud away”, RV 5.53.6b *diváh kósam ácyavavuh* “they have stirred the bucket of heaven” (Jamison-Brereton 2014), Verg. *Aen.* 4.122 *et tonitru caelum omne ciebo* “and with a thunder I will shake the whole sky”; (b) [put in motion – unmovable]: Hdt. 6.134 κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων “or in order to move something of the unmovable”, RV 1.85.4b *pracyāváyanto ácyutā cid ójasā* “stirring forth even the unstirrable by their power” (Jamison-Brereton 2014); (c) [put in motion – X (man/god)]: *Od.* 15.44-45 ὁ Νεστορίδην [...] λαῖξ ποδὶ κινήσας “he moved the son of Nestor with a foot”, RV 10.17.3a *pūṣā tvā itás cyāvayatu prá* “Let Pūṣan stir you forth from here” (Jamison-Brereton 2014), Verg. *Aen.* 6.165 *ciere uiros*. The Euripidean collocation πόλιν ἐκίνησεν (*Suppl.* 752) can thus be added to the dossier of the phraseological matches Ved. *cyav* and Gk. κινέω have in common.

7. To sum up: the *hapax eiremenon* πολισσόος* (HH. 8.2) may be explained as ‘stirring up/rousing the city’ as the internal Greek evidence makes clear: the description of Ares in the first lines of the spurious eighth *Homeric Hymn* probably relies upon an archaic model just as that of Athena in Proclus’s *Hymn* 7.3-4 does. Both gods are called λαοσσόος ‘rousing the armies’ in archaic and classical sources and

²⁸ Cf. also Pla. *Rep.* 545d.3, 5, 546a.1.

²⁹ For the complete dossier see García Ramón 1993: 136-137.

are described as *δορυσσόος* (Athena, in Proclus) and *πολισσόος** (HH. 8.2) in later poetic texts. The ambivalent image of Ares, the strong warrior and provider of peace, parallels the one preserved in *Orph.* 65. Moreover, the invocation of the war-god as the helper of mortals does not really contrast with the idea of the deity ‘who stirs up cities/warriors’: the god incites warriors to fight against their enemies and protect their own strongholds.

The creation of *πολισσόος** ‘stirring up the city’, probably remade on Hom. *λαοσσόος* ‘rousing the armies’, could parallel that of its Old Indic perfect match [*purám cyautná-*] ‘shaking (: putting in motion) of the strongholds’, which exists beside [*nṛ̥ñ – cyautná-*] ‘stirring up men’, [*cyav – jána-acc.*] ‘id.’, [*(prá-)cyav – kṛ̥ṣṭí-acc.*] ‘rouse the folk’. Finally, Ved. [*purám cyautná-*] matches Gk. *πόλιν κινέω* (Eur. *Suppl.* 752) from an etymological and a semantic point of view.

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