

# Ἀχαιοί, Ἀργεῖοι, Δαναοί: Revisiting the system of denomination of the Greeks in the Homeric epics\*

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This paper studies the issue of the denomination of the Greeks in the Homeric epics. The assumption that the names Achaioi, Danaoi, and Argeioi are used interchangeably throughout the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and that they stand as undifferentiated terms meaning the population of Greece in general needs to be put to the test. As early as 1858, Gladstone had already discussed this topic. However, recent archaeological and epigraphical finds along with new narratological approaches to the Homeric epics bring the issue back again. Miller discusses, though briefly, the use of the three names in their context examining the case of Achilles and concluding that the early epic tradition was aware of the technical distinction between these terms.<sup>1</sup> My aim is to examine the system of the denomination of the Greeks within the epic's plot from a contextual point of view and call into question the general assumption of a haphazard use of the three terms in the Homeric epics. After a brief examination of the historical background of these terms, I intend to discuss the use of the three names within the Homeric text taking into account the systematic statistical data and the function of these terms in relation to the poetics of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. I cite here only the related to the discussion diagrams of my detailed and systematic recording of the three ethnic names in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* regarding the context, the epithets, the formulas, and the speeches of

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<sup>1</sup> Miller 2014:109–115.

heroes. However, the examining of this statistical analysis could provide further information and shed more light on this topic.

## **The historical background**

Even though these names pertain to certain ethnicities of common origin and language, their use by an epic tradition dealing with the Trojan War needs to be further explored. It is highly likely that, at least to our knowledge, there was no collective name for all the Greeks for centuries after Homer. Consequently, despite their historicity and their realistic background, the appearance and the systematic use of these names in the Homeric epics must have been conditioned by the epic tradition. To this end, statistics concerning occurrence and distribution of the three names for the Greeks must be the basis for exploring the contextualization of collective identity, which is partly, within the universe of epic diction, audience-determined. Therefore, and given the importance of the Homeric language, the study of the epithets, verbs, unique expressions and formulas related to these terms may outline the function of these “ethnic” names. Taking into consideration the historical, archaeological and epigraphic sources, this research project aims to illuminate the way in which the Homeric epics employ a certain name for a group of people. Given that the poet applies these three names to ethnic groups, either historical or fictional, namely constructed to serve the needs of the epic poems, a brief examination of the historical background is needed to shed more light on the way that they are contextually adapted to the poems. Firstly, the poet uses these names mostly as collective terms to denote the Greek warriors at Troy or the inhabitants of a specific city, or region of the Greek world, which means that these particular groups comprise people with common characteristics, usually origin and language. Latacz points out that there had been no collective general term for the Greeks for centuries and probably “none had ever existed, except in bardic poetry”

and finds no rational motive for inventing the names Achaioi, Danaoi, and Argeioi at this particular moment in this particular poem, seeking therefore the answer in historical reality.<sup>2</sup> According to Snodgrass, the Homeric poems, which are definitely valuable for our knowledge of eighth-century Greece, undoubtedly preserve memories of an earlier age, even though the Homeric world does not represent the world of Dark Age Greece.<sup>3</sup> The large ethnic groups known by Homer's time are the Ionians, the Aeolians, and the Dorians mainly distinguished by dialectic criteria, since at this period there is no collective name for the population of the Greek world. The Homeric epics are our earliest testimony for these names and, since no Linear B tablets preserve any of these names (although names of poleis are attested), these terms could be an epic invention, which can probably be explained as a part of the emergence of the Greek ethnicity and the upcoming formation of ethnic identity in the eighth century BCE. Nevertheless, the definition of ethnicity in this early period is rather precarious and it has to be noted that the very term *ethnos* in the Homeric epics does not clearly refer to a group of people with similar ethnic features, but it is applied generally to any collective group (from a group of people: ἔθνος ἐταίρων, *Iliad* VII 115, Λυκίων μέγα ἔθνος, *Iliad* XII 330, to a swarm of bees: ἔθνεα εἶσι μελισσάων, *Iliad* II 87 and even a fleet of ships: ἔθνεα πολλὰ νεῶν, *Iliad* II 91). Within this "ethnogenesis process" terms as *Panhellênes* and *Panachaioi* were created possibly to describe the Greek-speaking population of the Hellenic world. The context of the *Iliad*, in which the Greek ethnic groups were participating in a war against Troy, was the ideal literary background for the formation of a common ethnic identity. Thus, the ethnic groups derived from different ancestors and classified in the same *ethnos* could be the first step to the establishment of the

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<sup>2</sup> Latacz 2004:121.

<sup>3</sup> Snodgrass 1971:392–393.

Greek identity, which actually took place long afterwards in the fifth century BCE. This ethnogenesis explains the necessity to create a collective name for the Greeks as the enemies of the Trojans, though it still remains obscure why the poet decided to invent three separate terms in order to describe a group of people with common features. It may be questioned whether the answer lies in the past or not.

McInerney suggests that in epic the Greek ethnic identity emerges mostly as a combination of tribal and local identities, along with specific regional ethnic groups, although at the beginning this identity does not constitute a coherent pattern, and mentions that the three names are related to Thessalian toponyms reflecting the origins of the Homeric heroic world in that region.<sup>4</sup> This could explain the fact that there is not only a single term for the Greek contingents as the poet draws from the past and embeds different regional identities. These ethnonyms could trace back to the Late Bronze Age as relics of a much earlier heroic period, which the poet adapted to his imaginary heroic world. Gladstone<sup>5</sup> has already discussed the topic of the ethnonyms in the Homeric epics, whether Homer had in mind any distinction between these names or uses them as mutually interchangeable terms.

Back to 1924 Forrer identified for the first time the Homeric Achaioi with the inhabitants of Ahhiyawa mentioned in the Hittite tablets.<sup>6</sup> The identification of the Homeric Achaioi with the Ahhiyawans of the Hittite texts and the exact location of the kingdom of Ahhiyawa in the Greek world or in Anatolia remains a controversial issue. Many scholars, in an attempt to argue in favor of the historicity of the Homeric poems, associate the Ahhiyawans with Mycenaean Greeks, the city of

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<sup>4</sup> McInerney 2011:265–267.

<sup>5</sup> Gladstone 1858:348.

<sup>6</sup> Muhly 1974:129–145. For the bibliography and the history of the Ahhiyawa hypothesis see also Bachvarova 2016:24. For a linguistic approach see Finkelberg 1988:127–134.

Wilusa with Ilium, and even specific Homeric heroes with people mentioned in the inscriptions (for example Alexandros/Paris with Alaksandu). Recent studies may elucidate the Ahhiyawa hypothesis due to the new archaeological finds and the decipherment of the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. Generally it is agreed that Ahhiyawa is indeed Achaea in mainland Greece and that the Luwian toponym Hiyawa evokes the settlement of the Achaeans in the area.<sup>7</sup> Bachvarova<sup>8</sup> suggests that in the West Anatolian coast already in the Late Bronze Age local legendary stories based on a mythical ancestral Anatolian or Mycenaean past were being used in a process of the establishment of local identities. These stories, according to Bachvarova, may have survived in the social collective memory until the re-settlement of the coast (1050 BCE) by Greek-speakers. She finds more important the fact that the men of Ahhiyawa were closely connected with the Anatolian coast and the Hittites and that the ancestors of the Iron Age Greeks were interacting with Anatolians in the Late Bronze Age. In fact, the Achaeans in the Homeric epics may have different meanings. They may denote a tribe in Thessaly, the Greek army in Troy, and the inhabitants of Ithaca or other places in the Greek world. As for their homeland, the poet uses the term Ἀχαιΐδα γαῖα ascribing to it a general meaning, which corresponds to the homeland of all the Greeks (ὦ πόποι ἦ μέγα πένθος Ἀχαιΐδα γαῖαν ἰκάνει, *Iliad* I 254, VII124; Ἄργος ἐς ἰππόβοτον καὶ Ἀχαιΐδα καλλιγύναικα, *Iliad* III 75, III258; λαὸν ἀγείροντες κατ' Ἀχαιΐδα πουλυβότειραν, *Iliad* XI 770; οὐ γάρ πω σχεδὸν ἦλθον Ἀχαιΐδος οὐδέ πω ἀμῆς | γῆς ἐπέβην, *Odyssey* xi 166, xi 481; τήν περ τηλοῦ φασὶν Ἀχαιΐδος ἔμμεναι αἴης, *Odyssey* xiii 249; ὤλεσε τηλοῦ νόστον Ἀχαιΐδος, ὤλετο δ' αὐτός, *Odyssey* xxiii 68). In the *Odyssey* the poet makes clear what he means with the above expression by naming the regions, which

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<sup>7</sup> Miller 2014:13 and 13–17 for evidence of Greek-Anatolian contacts.

<sup>8</sup> Bachvarova 2016:268, 273.

belong to this Achaean land (οἴη νῦν οὐκ ἔστι γυνή κατ' Ἀχαιΐδα γαῖαν, | οὔτε Πύλου  
ἱερῆς οὔτ' Ἄργεος οὔτε Μυκίης | [οὔτ' αὐτῆς Ἰθάκης οὔτ' ἠπείροιο μελαίνης,  
*Odyssey* xxi.107–109). Besides the above general meaning, the poet uses also the  
expression Ἄργος Ἀχαιϊκόν (*Iliad*, IX 141, IX 283, XIX 115, *Odyssey* iii 251), which  
could denote the whole of Greece (note that Agamemnon is referred at a later time,  
as a lord of Argos) or sometimes a specific Greek region.<sup>9</sup>

The name Argeioi, derived from Argos, is the only term in the Homeric epics  
that refers to a specific toponym, i.e. the city of Argos or the wider region of the  
Argive plain. However, there are many different areas corresponding to the name  
Argos in the Homeric epics. Thus, Argos, as Page<sup>10</sup> states, may denote the city of  
Argos, the region of Argos that is the Argive plain as the homeland of Agamemnon,  
and finally southern Greece and especially Peloponnese as the place from which the  
Greek warriors came from. Page points out that later on the name Argos acquired a  
wider meaning and became a name for the whole of Greece due to the importance of  
the district of Argos as the kingdom of Agamemnon. But in the *Iliad*, in the  
Catalogue of Ships, Diomedes is the king of the broader region of Argos (*Iliad* II 559–  
567), while Agamemnon is the king of Mycenae. According to Drews,<sup>11</sup> the meaning  
of Argos in the Catalogue reveals the evolution of this term, since the composer of  
the Catalogue does not use the names Argeioi and Argos with their Panhellenic  
connotations as the homeland of all the Greek heroes. In his elaborate description of  
the Greek contingents in the Catalogue the poet starts with Boeotia and continues  
with a geographically arranged presentation of the Greek cities and regions with

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<sup>9</sup> Drews 1979:128–129.

<sup>10</sup> Page 1976:164.

<sup>11</sup> Drews 1979:116–117. See also Kirk 1985:166 ff.

two deviations, firstly the leap from western Greece to the eastern Aegean and secondly from eastern Aegean to Thessaly. Sammons interprets the placement of Thessaly near the end of the Catalogue as a poet's intentional decision and as a "sensitivity to the dramatic needs of the *Iliadic* context" given the significance of this area to the poem.<sup>12</sup> The Pelasgic Argos<sup>13</sup> (νῦν αὖ τοὺς ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον, | οἳ τ' Ἄλον οἳ τ' Ἀλόπην οἳ τε Τρηχῖνα νέμοντο, | οἳ τ' εἶχον Φθίην ἠδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα, | Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί, *Iliad* II 681–684) corresponds to the entire area from the Spercheus river to the Peneus and from the sea to the Pindus range and probably reflects poems earlier than the Catalogue celebrating the expedition of Pelasgic Argos against Troy. The Pelasgoi were considered to be the prehistoric inhabitants of Greece and the poet also mentions them as inhabitants of Crete (Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες δῖοί τε Πελασγοί, *Odyssey* ix 177) and Asia Minor (Ἴππόθοος δ' ἄγε φῦλα Πελασγῶν ἐγχεσιμῶρων | τῶν οἳ Λάρισαν ἐριβώλακα ναιετάασκο, *Odyssey* ii 840–841; πρὸς μὲν ἄλός Κᾶρες καὶ Παίονες ἀγκυλότοξοι | καὶ Λέλεγες καὶ Καύκωνες δῖοί τε Πελασγοί, *Odyssey* x 429). Drews suggests that it is the Pelasgic Argos and not the city of Argos, of which the Homeric term Argeioi is derived.<sup>14</sup> Later, when Mycenaean Greeks incorporated their ancestors in the Trojan War, Argos became synonymous with the homeland of the Mycenaean and finally started to signify Greece of the heroic age, having now lost all of its Thessalian connotations.<sup>15</sup> But, mostly, as Drews suggests, the *Iliadic* Argos must be taken as a term for the 'heroic Greece', the place of origin of the

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<sup>12</sup> Sammons 2010:137–138.

<sup>13</sup> Kirk 1985:228–229.

<sup>14</sup> Drews 1979:125.

<sup>15</sup> Drews 1979:119–120.

warriors who participated in the Trojan War. Sammons rejects the theory that the Catalogue's geographical aspect was older than the *Iliad* and that it constituted a map of Mycenaean Greece. Instead, he argues that the Catalogue's geography reflects a later perspective of Greece, which encompasses places of mythological significance giving thus an archaic allure to the poem or omit other places to avoid anachronism. According to Sammons, the only historical period of the Catalogue is the imaginary heroic age.<sup>16</sup> In the unique expression Ἔργος Ἀχαιϊκὸν (*Iliad* IX 141), when Agamemnon lists the gifts for Achilles and refers to their future return (ἰκοίμεθ') in their homeland, Argos probably signifies the whole of Greece. Likewise, in the *Odyssey* the expression Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἔργος is attested two times (ἄνδρος, τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἔργος, i 344; εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις τραφῆναι ἄν' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἔργος, xv 80) with the meaning 'throughout the whole of Greece' and probably reinforces the idea that Odysseus was known in every part of the Greek world.<sup>17</sup>

Danaoi, the most puzzling term of the three, does not correlate with any specific city or region in the Greek world, as Achaioi does with Achaia Phthiotis or Argeioi with Argos. The term has never adjectival use, but it occurs only as a noun in the plural and it refers always to the Greeks in general. In fact there is no homeland for the Danaans in the Homeric epics. However, a monumental hieroglyphic inscription of c. 1390–1352 BCE found in the Egyptian Thebes mentions the word Danaja or Tanaja (*tnjw*) along with Kafta (*kftw*) as a region of political significance for Egypt. Under the names of these regions are listed a number of cities probably starting

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<sup>16</sup> Sammons 2010:139–140.

<sup>17</sup> Heubeck et al. (1988:119) comment that Aristarchus rejected the line, because of this particular meaning of Ἑλλάς and Ἔργος is un-Homeric. They also note that in Hesiod (*Op.* 653) the term Ἑλλάς corresponds to Greece.



with the capital. Thus, for Kafta the names listed correspond to historically known Cretan poleis, as Knossos, Phaistos, Kydonia, and Lyktos and under the region of Danaja are inscribed the cities of Mycenae, Thebes (later Thebais, the land of Thebans), Messene, Nauplion, Kythera, Elis, and Amyclai. Latacz<sup>18</sup> suggests that for Egypt the land of Danaja includes Peloponnese and Boeotia with its capital Thebes. Based on these epigraphic and archaeological finds Latacz suggests that the origin place of the Homeric Danaoi is this Danajan Empire in the plain of Argos. Bachvarova<sup>19</sup> argues that the Egyptian term Tanaya, which is applied to parts of mainland Greece is clearly associated with the Homeric Danaoi, but we should distinguish the Adana/Adaniya in Cilicia from T/Dan- region in Greece, even though the terms Adana and Danuna could be also connected with the ethnonym Danaoi. Finally, based on the similarities between the terms Danuna/Danaoi and Adana, she notes the connection between the Ahhiyawans in Greece or west Anatolia and the Ahhiyawans in Cilicia, and thus explains the movements of the mythical king Danaos with the Argive origin (as a descendant of Io) from Egypt to Argos. The legend of Danaos supports the interconnections among Greece, Egypt, and Anatolia (note that Cilix, Phoenix, and Kadmos,<sup>20</sup> the brothers of Europa—who was Io's descendant—were settled in Cilicia and Phoenicia and Boeotia respectively) and

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<sup>18</sup> Latacz 2004:129–133 and 140–141 (where Latacz concludes that Thebes around 1200 BCE ruled along with Boeotia the island of Euboea, since the Euboean cities Amarynthos and Karystos are mentioned in the Linear B tablets from the palace archive of Thebes discovered in the 1990s.)

<sup>19</sup> Bachvarova 2016:317. For relevant bibliography:317n78.

<sup>20</sup> The poet is aware of the legendary founder of Thebes (τὸν δὲ ἴδεν Κάδμου θυγάτηρ, καλλίσφυρος Ἴνώ, *Iliad* V 333) and mentions Kadmeioi as the inhabitants of Thebes (ἄγγελος ἐς Θήβας πολέας μετὰ Καδμείωνας, *Iliad* V 804).

links Greece with the eastern Mediterranean underlining the relationship between Greeks on the Greek mainland and in diaspora.<sup>21</sup>

## **The terms in the Homeric epics**

Having discussed the historical background and perspective of the terms Achaioi, Argeioi, and Danaoi, let us now explore their literary aspect as used in the Homeric epics (figure 1 and 2).

The poet uses these names as alternative collective terms for all the Greeks along with other regional ethnic labels, which are related to the notions of descent, origin, and shared history. It would be expected that a single ethnic term it would be sufficient to label the Greek contingents, however the poet applies to the Greeks three separate names. The detailed recording of these names in regard to the context, namely the use of the epithets ascribed to each term, the formulas and similes related to the three names, the classification of all the speakers (poet, god, name of the hero, man or woman), who address the specific term and in what particular context, helps to form a more complete idea of which is the role of each term and their interconnection. (figures 3–7). Although it is not always easy to discern their different use and function within the text and sometimes overlap each other, it seems that Achaioi, Danaoi, and Argeioi are not identical terms and the poet sometimes intentionally applies them to different group of peoples in different context in order to produce meaning. The discussion of specific paradigms may elucidate this obscure and unexpected use of three names for the same ethnic group.

In the *Iliad* the Greeks are presented as a coherent group of warriors with common language, who share a heroic past and show their heroic virtue following a

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<sup>21</sup> Bachvarova 2016:318.

code of decision making and acting according to specific heroic deeds. We could say that their ethnic territory consists of the camp and ships, a “makeshift city”<sup>22</sup> on the Trojan shore, fortified by a wall and protected by the sea, which remains throughout the *Iliad* a passage to their homeland. When the Trojans attack to burn the ships of the Achaeans, the whole operation is presented as besiege of a walled city. Moreover, this formation imitates a city in the Greek homeland with its king, hierarchy, assembly, rules that should be followed, punishments, even a duplicate of the life in the time of peace with women, feasts, and athletic contests, even though these are not but a fake copy of their life in the homeland, since the women are slaves, symposia are taking place in the break of the war and athletic contests are organized to honor dead warriors. Thus, the Greek warriors, who constitute the population of this carefully constructed city, need a collective ethnic name. Nevertheless, poet’s decision to use three different ethnic names for the Greek warriors, whom tried to present as a consistent group, remains puzzling. Their local ethnic origin still exists, but it is far away back to the homeland. In the Trojan shore they all are Achaeans, Danaans, and Argives.

Interestingly, there is not a similar ethnic name to encompass all the enemies, even though all the non-Greek fighting allies of the Trojans (Lycians, Dardanians, Pelasgians, Thracians, Ciconians, Paionians, Paflagonians, Phrygians, Mysians) are represented by the term ἐπίκουροι, with the meaning “fighters alongside.” Lavelle suggests that the term in the *Iliad* does not denote the mercenaries, since the poet ascribes to the epithet possible positive value, as he uses it often to describe the favorably treated Lycians.<sup>23</sup> In the *Iliad* sometimes Trojans and Dardanians appear to be synonymous terms, and the Trojans are referred to as the descendants of

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<sup>22</sup> Mackie 1996:2.

<sup>23</sup> Lavelle 1997:229–233.

Dardanus, but Trojans and Dardanians are also listed consecutively a number of times in the *Iliad*, implying that they are separately identifiable.<sup>24</sup> Dardanoi are attested along with the Trojans in formulaic expressions (Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Δάρδανοι ἀγχιμαχηταὶ, *Iliad* VIII 183; Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι ἠδ' ἐπικούροι, *Iliad* VIII 497), as a different ethnic group, the inhabitants of Dardania, and they have their own leader, Aeneas. Subsequently, the use of these two ethnic names for the Trojans is not similar with the use of the three ethnic names of the Greeks, which have more collective meaning.

In the Catalogue of Ships the poet gives to the Greek leaders and their contingents an ethnic regional name corresponding to their poleis or broader region, but when he turns to the war they are all called with the same collective ethnic names, which at first glance seem to be used haphazardly. The poet refers to the specific origin of the heroes only when he tries to create a heroic identity by presenting their family lineage and place of origin in order to place them firmly among the heroes. This deliberate differentiation between Greeks and Trojans probably is a sign of a more coherent way in which the poet deals with ethnicity and identity issues and it could also be taken as an early attempt to create a common ethnic identity by encompassing local identities of his time along with relics of a heroic past. The problem, however, is if the poet purposely distinguishes these identities and contextually adjusts them.

At this point we may ask about the features that constitute the ethnic identity in the Homeric epics. Place of origin, language, and ancestral genealogy are probably some of them. The formulaic phrase used in the *Odyssey* (τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆς, *Odyssey* i 170, x 325, xiv 187, xv 264, xix 105, xxiv 298), when someone has to declare his personal and accordingly ethnic identity, includes

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<sup>24</sup> Bryce 2006:135–136.

information for his name, his family (particularly his father) in order to link someone with his ancestors, and his polis for the purpose of determining his tribal and ethnic characteristics.

The ethnic identity sometimes is defined through the description of the identity of the other, the opponent, that is, for the *Iliad*, the Trojans. Does the poet have an intention to construct ideologically “Greekness, in terms of common blood, language, religion, and mores”<sup>25</sup> and in contrast with the ‘otherness’? Mackie argues that the Greeks and the Trojans of the *Iliad* do not resemble the fifth-century opposition of Greek to barbarian, but suggests that we should not reject any idea of ethnic difference in the *Iliad*. Mackie focuses on the different use of “language” by Trojans, since they cannot function as an articulated group and accomplish social order (*kosmos*), partly because of their ethnic variety and their different languages. Moreover, this dissimilarity is only the external characteristic of two different cultures, the Trojan praise culture with its private and poetic speech, which focuses especially on *oikos* and the Greek blame culture with public and political speech, in which the city is predominant. Consequently, the Trojan culture is characterized by a language and a style of presenting their self-identity, which is unfamiliar to the Achaeans.<sup>26</sup> But which are the elements that constitute the ethnic identity of the Greeks, who the poet insists on presenting as a coherent group, despite their different dialect, city of origin, and kings? They definitely speak the same language and worship the same gods, but Trojans also have the same Olympian gods and, despite their different languages, understand each other by poetic convention; however, the poet seems to have in mind that language is a criterion of alteration. The motif of differently speaking allies of the Trojans occurs in the *Iliad* (πολλοὶ γὰρ

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<sup>25</sup> Cartledge 1993:3.

<sup>26</sup> Mackie 1996:9–13, 21, 140.

κατὰ ἄστῳ μέγα Πριάμου ἐπίκουροι, | ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα πολυσπερέων  
ἀνθρώπων, II 803–804; οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἦεν ὁμός θρόος οὐδ' ἴα γῆρυς, | ἀλλὰ γλῶσσα  
μέμικτο, πολύκλητοι δ' ἔσαν ἄνδρες, IV 437–438). Possibly, the poet emphasizes this  
language differentiation of the Trojans by using three different terms (θρόος, γῆρυς,  
γλῶσσα<sup>27</sup>) to describe probably differences on language and dialect, or simply to  
emphasize this heterogeneity of the Trojans in compare with the Greeks.<sup>28</sup> Also, in  
the catalogue of the Trojan contingents, which follows the Catalogue of Ships, the  
Trojan allies are distinguished by their tribal names and among them Κάρεις are  
presented as βαρβαρόφωνοι (Νάστης αὖ Καρῶν ἠγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων, *Iliad* II 867),  
that is to say speakers of a non-Greek language. This is the only occurrence of this  
word in the Homeric epics and, according to Kirk, it is quite surprising, for Miletos  
was inhabited by Greek speakers since the end of the Bronze Age and the reference  
to non-Greek-speaking Carians must be 'deliberately archaizing'.<sup>29</sup> Subsequently, in  
the *Iliad* the Trojans are the significant other in order to create the common identity  
of the Greeks.

With regard to otherness, if Trojans are the others in the *Iliad*, who plays the  
role of the other in the *Odyssey*, where Trojans are not present all the time?  
Goddesses (Calypso, Circe), animals (Laestrygonians, Cyclopes), and humans  
(Phaeacians) constitute the world of the others in the *Odyssey*. Thus, according to  
Dougherty,<sup>30</sup> creating a collective identity in the ethnographic imaginary world of

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<sup>27</sup> The word γλῶσσα occurs in the *Iliad* with the meaning of spoken language (οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν  
γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν, *Iliad* II 489) and it is distinguished from φωνή (see for instance: 'ἐκ δ'  
ὀνομακλήδην Δαναῶν ὀνόμαζες ἀρίστους, | πάντων Ἀργείων φωνὴν ἴσκουσ' ἀλόχοισιν, *Odyssey* iv  
279, where Helen imitates the voice of the Achaeans' women).

<sup>28</sup> Kirk 1985:380.

<sup>29</sup> Kirk 1985:260–263.

<sup>30</sup> Dougherty 2001:711.

the *Odyssey* offers an understanding of “what it means to be Greek by means of accounts of far-off worlds, both temporal and spatial” and of what we could call “ethnographic imagination” of the early Archaic period. But in the *Odyssey*, the poet explores the otherness in terms of non-human, since the others are not ethnically differentiated but rather uncivilized (like Cyclopes),<sup>31</sup> divine and magicians (like Helios and Circe), or shadows of the dead in the Underworld. Odysseus’ I-narrative is a poetic choice to depict the total otherness of the old world of fairy tales far away from the heroic age.<sup>32</sup>

Given the purposive differentiation between Trojans and Greeks, which could be partly related to “ethnic” criteria, we can observe separate functions of the three ethnic names. Firstly, in the *Odyssey*, the Greeks are related to the past as the Greek warriors of the Trojan War, but they are also the population of the Greek world now that the war is over. In the ‘peaceful’ world of *Odyssey* the Danaoi and Argeioi signify the besiegers of Troy, while Achaioi are not only the warriors of the past but also the inhabitants of various Greek places, as if it were a general name for the Greeks. As Pucci points out, the Danaans are never acting characters in the *Odyssey* and the term Danaoi is the name of the people of a distant past.<sup>33</sup>

Hence, Achaioi is the more general term and signifies both the Greek population and the Greek warriors at Troy. The Achaean warriors are present in the world of *Odyssey* through the narrative of the heroes and usually they are described as in the *Iliadic* context (for example: εἶος ἐνὶ Τροίῃ πολεμίζομεν υἷες Ἀχαιῶν, *Odyssey* iii 315; πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Τροίης ἐπιβήμεναι υἷας Ἀχαιῶν, *Odyssey* xiv 229; ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ, Πηλῆος υἱέ,

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<sup>31</sup> For the other in Odysseus’ story of the Cyclopes see Pucci 1998:113–130.

<sup>32</sup> Pucci 1998:142.

<sup>33</sup> Pucci 1998:172.

μέγα φέρτατ' Ἀχαιῶν, *Odyssey* xi 478). However, the inhabitants of Ithaca are called by their regional name Ἰθακήσιοι, but they are also named Achaiοι (ἀλλ' ἦ τοι βασιλῆς Ἀχαιῶν εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλοι | πολλοὶ ἐν ἀμφιάλω Ἰθάκῃ, νέοι ἠδὲ παλαιοί, | τῶν κέν τις τόδ' ἔχρισιν, ἐπεὶ θάνε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, i 394; Ἀστερίς, οὐ μεγάλη, λιμένες δ' ἔνι ναύλοχοι αὐτῇ | ἀμφίδυμοι τῇ τόν γε μένον λοχῶντες Ἀχαιοί, iv 846–847; οἷη ἀπαγγείλας τῶν δ' ἄλλων μή τις Ἀχαιῶν | πευθέσθω· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ κακὰ μηχανόωνται, xvi 133–134; ὦ φίλοι, ἦ μέγα ἔργον ἀνὴρ ὅδε μήσατ' Ἀχαιούς, xxiv 426; ὡς φάτο δάκρυ χέων, οἴκτος δ' ἔλε πάντας Ἀχαιούς, xxiv 438.) The poet names also Achaiοι the inhabitants of other Greek regions as Argos (ἔμφυλον· πολλοὶ δὲ κασίγνητοὶ τε ἔται τε | Ἄργος ἀν' ἰππόβοτον, μέγα δὲ κρατέουσιν Ἀχαιῶν, xv 274), Iason Argos<sup>34</sup> (κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρων Πηνελόπεια, | εἰ πάντες σε ἴδοιεν ἀν' Ἴασον Ἄργος Ἀχαιοί, xviii 245–246), Zakynthos, the neighboring island of Ithaca (ἐκ δὲ Ζακύνθου ἕασιν ἑείκοσι κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν, xvi 250), and Crete (ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί, | ἐν δ' Ἐτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες | Δωριέες τε τριχᾶϊκες δῖοί τε Πελασγοί, xix 175–177). In the last paradigm, Odysseus in his speech to Penelope describes his supposed place of origin, Crete, as a society of mixed languages and *ethnê*. The first *ethnos* is the Achaeans meaning probably the Mycenaeans, who were dominating the central part of the island under the leadership of Idomeneus. In this case, language is taken as a criterion of ethnic identity, which seems to distinguish Achaeans from other ethnic groups.

Consequently, in the *Odyssey* the term Achaiοι is the unmarked,<sup>35</sup> more general term and it is used to denote not only the warriors at the Trojan War, but also the

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<sup>34</sup> For the hapax Iason Argos, deriving possibly from the legendary King Iasos, the son of Io, which probably corresponds to the Peloponnese and the Ionian Argos, see Russo et al. 1992:64.

<sup>35</sup> For the linguistic terminology of marked and unmarked words and speech see Martin 1989:x, 29–30.



population of specific Greek regions, as it is applied not only to the *Iliadic* past but also to the present of the *Odyssey*. (figure 8)

In the *Odyssey* Achaeoi, Danaoi, and Argeioi are the epic heroes of the Trojan War, who keep appearing in the narration of the past as paradigms of a heroic world. However, this heroic past is not completely disengaged from the peaceful Odyssean world, since they—dead or alive—are the fathers of sons, like Telemachus, and they are responsible for the lineage of *genos* and accordingly of *ethnos*. Pucci underlines that Odysseus is a survivor of his generation and a link between two ages.<sup>36</sup> Telemachus is frustrated because his father never came back nor died in the battlefield and so he did not gain the heroic *kleos*, which would give his son the necessary power to rule his own kingdom. *Kleos* is the link, which connects the heroic world of war with the world of peace and allows the second generation to continue the family and the communal story. Nevertheless, in the final book of the *Odyssey*, before the final fighting scene, the order is re-established, since Odysseus calls Telemachus not to shame the paternal *genos* (μή τι κατασχύνειν πατέρων γένος, xxiv 508) and Telemachus (οὐ τι κατασχύνοντα τεὸν γένος, ὡς ἀγορεύεις, xxiv 512) assures his father that he will follow his advice. Finally, his grandfather Laertes expresses his satisfaction for the braveness of his descendants (τίς νύ μοι ἡμέρη ἦδε, θεοὶ φίλοι; ἦ μάλα χαίρω | υἱός θ' υἱωνός τ' ἀρετῆς πέρι δῆριν ἔχουσι, xxiv 514–515).

When Phemius sings in the palace of Odysseus the return of the Achaeans (*Odyssey* i 326), Penelope asks him to stop the painful song (ᾠοιδῆς | λυγρῆς, *Odyssey* i 341–342) and speaks of her husband's fame (ἄνδρός, τοῦ κλέος εὐρὺ καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος, *Odyssey* i 344). Telemachus advises his mother to let Phemius sing this

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<sup>36</sup> Pucci 1998:171.

particular song,<sup>37</sup> but he does not speak anymore for the Achaeans, but for the cruel fate of the Danaans (τούτω δ' οὐ νέμεσις Δαναῶν κακὸν οἶτον ἀεῖδειν, *Odyssey* i 350). Similarly, in the eighth book of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus compliments Demodocus for singing appropriately the Achaeans' fate at Troy (λίην γὰρ κατὰ κόσμον Ἀχαιῶν οἶτον ἀεῖδεις, *Odyssey* viii 489), but later on Alcinoos asks Odysseus the reason he cries when listening the fate of the Danaans (Ἀργείων Δαναῶν ἦδ' Ἰλίου οἶτον ἀκούων, *Odyssey* viii 578). In this verse the poet uses a *hapax* in which Argeioi and Danaoi are closely connected as one term. We could say that Odysseus speaks for Achaeans because he is one of them, a former warrior, and he still tries to return to his homeland as the story is not ended for him. But for Alcinoos these heroes belong to the past and they are part of story and songs, so they are the legendary Danaans. In fact the *Odyssey* conjoins Argeioi and Danaoi, attributes to them the role of the warriors of a heroic past and, finally, incorporates them in the stories about the Trojan War as part of the narration, of the speeches of heroes, and of songs.

### **Formulas: noun-epithet and formulaic expressions (figure 9)**

Our investigation could not overlook the significance of the formulaic diction of the Homeric epics. The concept of the formula in the Homeric epics remains problematic and accordingly quantities and statistics of the formulaic percentage should be treated with caution. From Parry's definition of the formula as 'an expression regularly used, under the same metrical conditions, to express an essential idea' to more flexible and elaborated theories including metrical position, generative formulas, adaptability in context, diachronic perspectives of forming the hexameter, key words followed by explanatory words, and intonation units, the

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<sup>37</sup> De Jong (2001:38) suggests that Telemachus' statement that the audience prefer the 'newest song' has metanarrative relevance and that new song is the *Odyssey*, which presents a newer *nostos* story than that of Phemius.

description of the formula becomes an intriguing issue.<sup>38</sup> Bakker suggests, instead of Parry's more structural context-independent definition of formula, a more functional approach and distinguishes two types of formulas, those whose meaning is distinct of its form and those whose meaning and form are closely connected.<sup>39</sup> According to Bakker, the description of formulas as "group of words used under the same metrical conditions" can be redefined, since meter is not a principal and determining element of structure and the poet often adjusts words and phrases to pattern of the hexameter. Additionally, scholars tend to believe that the use of the formulaic language is clearly greater than Parry and Lord had imagined. Finkelberg draws attention to the difficulties for identifying non-formulaic or categorizing unique expressions for which it is not certain if they are underrepresented formulas or actually non-formulaic.<sup>40</sup> Finkelberg suggests to 'count as formulaic any expression that occurs at least twice in Homer or any unique expression that presents a modification of a recognizable formulaic pattern' and also proposes comparing expressions with the accepted formulaic patterns in order to determine if it is formulaic or not. Given all the above, a thorough examination of the use of Achaioi, Danaoi, and Argeioi in terms of formulaic analysis is beyond the scope of this paper, but we should keep in mind that a detailed study would shed more light on this topic. In our discussion we focus mainly on the two basic types of formula, the noun-epithet formula and the repetitions of expressions and phrases in order to investigate the similarities and dissimilarities among the three terms.

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<sup>38</sup> See Russo (2011:296–298) for a brief presentation of theories regarding the Homeric formula.

<sup>39</sup> Bakker 1988:153–159.

<sup>40</sup> Finkelberg 1989:179–187, and especially 180–181.

The first visible result of the statistical data shows a stable and similar way of using ethnic names. As the frequency of the terms in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* reveals, Achaiοi is definitely the predominant term no matter who the speaker is. The ethnic names are often combined with specific epithets usually in the noun-epithet type of Homeric formula. Interestingly, the term Argeioi is almost never accompanied by epithets.<sup>41</sup> Only two times in the *Iliad* the poet attributes to Argeioi the epithet χαλκοχίτωνες, a common epithet for the Achaeans. Once, when Agammon admires the dark embattled phalanxes of the Ajaxes and names them leaders of the Argives (Αἴαντ' Ἀργείων ἡγήτορε χαλκοχιτώνων, *Iliad* IV 285). Secondly, the same formulaic verse is repeated by the herald Thootes (*Iliad* XII 354), who was sent by Menestheus with a message to Ajaxes.

Additionally, the rare epithet ἰόμωροι appears only two times in the Homeric epics (Ἀργεῖοι ἰόμωροι ἐλεγχέες οὗ νυ σέβεσθε, *Iliad* IV.242; Ἀργεῖοι ἰόμωροι ἀπειλάων ἀκόρητοι, *Iliad* XIV.479) as an exclusive epithet of the Argives. In the Homeric Scholia we read for the meaning of the epithet in IV.242: 'ἰόμωροι δε νῦν ἀπὸ μέρους οἱ ἀπλῶς πολεμισταί, κυρίως δέ οἱ περὶ βέλη μεμορημένοι, | ὅ ἐστι κακοπαθοῦντες, ἐκ τοῦ μόρος, ὃ δηλοῖ τὴν κακοπάθειαν'<sup>42</sup> and XIV.479 'ἰόμωροι δέ, ἦτοι τοξόται, βαρβαρικῶς ὄνειδίζονται οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τῷ Ἀκάμαντι, ὡς εἶπερ οὐκ ἦσαν τοιοῦτοι καὶ παρὰ Τρωσίν. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν, ὡς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ, ἰόμωροι οἱ μόρον ἐμποιοῦντες ἐν ἰοῖς, ἐκτάσει τοῦ ο εἰς ω, ἢ περὶ ἰοὺς μεμορημένοι καὶ κακοπαθῶς ἔχοντες, ἢ ὄξεις ἰοὺς κεκτημένοι—μόρον γάρ, φασί, παρὰ Κυπρίοις τὸ ὄξύ—, ἢ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ μυ, ἵνα εἶεν ἰόωροι οἱ τῶν ἰῶν ὄραν, ἦτοι φροντίδα, ἔχοντες. Ἀπειλάων δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀκόρητοι οὐ μόνον οἱ ἀλαζόνες ἐν τῷ ἀπειλεῖσθαι δεινά, ἀλλὰ

<sup>41</sup> Page (1976:282) finds surprising the deficiency of the Argeioi in epithets.

<sup>42</sup> Van der Valk 1971: Δ 242. See also Erbse 1969: Δ 242, ἐπονείδιστον δὲ τὸ μόνον τοξεύειν (b T).

καί οἱ καυχῆται'.<sup>43</sup> Both occurrences are examples of the 'blame-culture', in which the Greek heroes "constantly contend for excellence by insulting one another and competing for the title 'best of the Achaeans'."<sup>44</sup> Kirk maintains that the epithets are clearly abusive but their exact meaning is debatable. He parallels ἰόμωροι with ἐγγεσίμωροι, if the first word is ἰός (=arrow), although he comments that ἐγγεσίμωροι is laudatory and ἰό- has a short iota. He proposes the meaning 'glorying in voice' (ἰό- from ἰά or ἰή meaning 'voice' and -μωροι with the possible meaning 'glorying in').<sup>45</sup> Agamemnon in his blaming speech provokes his comrades with insulting words characterizing them as miserable, coward, and infamous in order to exhort them to fight.

Interestingly, the formulaic expression αἰδῶς Ἀργεῖοι, used to motivate the warriors, belongs to a similar context relative to the heroic blame (for example: *Iliad* V.787, VIII.228, XIII.95, XV.502; note that the same exhortation is used for the Lycians too, XVI.422). The Trojan Acamas uses the same expression, Ἀργεῖοι ἰόμωροι, but as a real insult against the enemy calling them not only coward and miserable but also boasters, full of futile threats and reminding them that death is their common fate and giving, thus, negative connotations to an expression usually coupled with the word μάχη to indicate the greed for war, the braveness (e.g. *Iliad* XII.335 for Ajaxes, XIII.639 for Trojans, XX.2 for Achilles). So, these blaming epithets underline the role of the Argives as warriors and their close relation to the heroic deeds of the *Iliadic* world.

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<sup>43</sup> Van der Valk 1979: Ξ 479.

<sup>44</sup> Mackie 1996:137.

<sup>45</sup> Kirk 1985:356.

Moreover, the very few epithets of the Danaans in the *Iliad* emphasize their warlike character. Gladstone<sup>46</sup> suggests that the appellation Danaoi never means the Greek nation in general, but it always refers to the Greek armament or soldiery and in the *Odyssey* the Danaans are always the brave warriors of the Trojan War. This use is corroborated by the military epithets of the Danaoi. The most common, exclusively used for the Danaans, epithet is *ταχύπωλοι* (only once Achilles addresses to the Myrmidons in a similar way: Μυρμιδόνες ταχύπωλοι ἔμοι ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι, *Iliad* XXIII 6), in the expression Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων placed at the end of the verse for metric reasons (once in nominative in the *Iliad* VIII.161). Danaoi are portrayed as *ταχύπωλοι* mostly by Trojans (Hector, Hecuba, and Priam: 10 times), whereas only once by Menelaus and three times by the poet. Ilion, also, is characterized as *εὔπωλον* (*Iliad* V 551, 16.576, *Odyssey* ii 18, xi 169, xiv 71) and *ἰππόδαμοι* is a common epithet for the Trojans and particularly for Hector (noticeably in his last appearance at the last verse of the *Iliad*).

Danaoi are also characterized with the honorific epithet *αἰχμηταί* by Athena (*Iliad* VIII 33), by Hera (*Iliad* VIII 464), and by the poet (*Iliad* XII 419). In the *Odyssey* the same epithet is ascribed to the Danaans by Agamemnon (xxiv 81) and Odysseus (xi 559), when referring to the Danaans as the warriors at Troy. At this point, we should mention a prominent paradigm of the way that heroes use the ethnic names in their speeches in the context of the ‘language of polarization’, which takes the ethnic contrast to an illogical extreme.<sup>47</sup> Miller in his discussion on *Iliad* I 87–91 remarks that Agamemnon is presented by Achilles, the best of the Achaeans, as a Danaan, who boasts to be the best of the Achaeans (σμπάντων Δαναῶν, οὐδ’ ἦν Ἄγαμέμνονα εἶπης, | ὃς νῦν πολλὸν ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν εὔχεται εἶναι, *Iliad* I 90–91). As

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<sup>46</sup> Gladstone 1858:355–358 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Miller 2014:109–114 for the conflict between Agamemnon and Achilles regarding the ethnic names.

the poem unfolds, Achilles again addresses Agamemnon in a very insulting way calling him a ‘king over nothings’ (δημοβόρος βασιλεὺς ἐπεὶ οὐτιδανοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις, *Iliad* I 231), which Miller assumes evokes the word Danaan and Agamemnon is the king of the Dan-Nothings. Nestor (*Iliad* I 258) will call them both Danaans in an effort to correct Achilles’ abuse to Agamemnon.

*Αἰχμηταί* is a proper feature for the Homeric warriors who are experts in close-fighting with spears.<sup>48</sup> Danaoi are also referred to as ἀσπισταί (ῥηξάμενος Δαναῶν πυκινὰς στήχας ἀσπιστάων, *Iliad* XIII 680), an epithet usually referred to the Trojans and Lycians, and as θεράποντες Ἴαριος (*Iliad* VII 382, XIX 78) and φιλοπτόλεμοι (*Iliad* XX 351 by Achilles). The excellence of the Danaans is also expressed with the epithet ἵφθιμος, which characterizes many heroes in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (ἵφθιμων Δαναῶν, ἴν’ ὑπέρτερον εὐχὸς ἄρησθε, *Iliad* XI 290) and it is also attributed to women. Moreover, in the war context of the *Iliad* Danaoi are also ἥρωες gaining their heroic identity in the battlefield as the repeated formulaic verse ὦ φίλοι ἥρωες Δαναοὶ θεράποντες Ἴαριος reveals (*Iliad* II 110, VI 67, VII 382, XIX 78). Hence, Danaoi are the close-fighting brave warriors in the *Iliadic* context.

In the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus experiences once again the wrath of Poseidon, wishes, in his soliloquy, he had died in a very specific way, namely protecting the dead body of Achilles, as the μάκαρες Danaoi died in the battlefield (τρὶς μάκαρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις, οἳ τότε ὄλοντο, *Odyssey* v 306) and, thus, gained their immortal fame, the Homeric *kleos*. *Kleos* for Odysseus (τῶ κ’ ἔλαχον κτερέων, καὶ μευ κλέος

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<sup>48</sup> Simonides in his short account of the Trojan War ascribes to the Danaans the *hapax* ἀγέμαχοι, which must probably be read as ἀγχέμαχοι (τοὶ δὲ πόλι]ν πέρσαντες αἰοίδιμον [οἴκαδ’ ἵ]κοντο | ἔξοχοι ἠρ]ῶων ἀγέμαχοι Δαναοί[ , fr. 11.13–4 W). The epithet ἀγχέμαχοι is referred also to the Myrmidons (*Iliad* XVI 272, XVI 248, XVII 165) and Rawles (2008:459–466) suggests that the Simonidean passage has an “Achillean flavor” taking into account the phrase ἔξοχοι ἠρ]ῶων, which is associated with Achilles.

ἦγον Ἀχαιοί , *Odyssey* v 311) ‘is not visible but audible’,<sup>49</sup> as it presupposes a heroic death and burial, but it is something that had to be heard, transmitted, recycled, and spread beyond space and time. By the time of transmission and narration heroes are already dead and they could be compared to the gods, for whom the term μάκαρες is a consistent characteristic. The question arises then, whether Odysseus has *kleos* in the *Odyssey*? “In the *Iliad*, *kleos* is gained primarily on the basis of martial feats, while in the *Odyssey* the range is broadened to encompass not only martial feats, but also adventurous trips, marital loyalty, hospitality, wiliness, beauty, athletic prowess, and song. *Kleos* is typically preserved by grave mounds and heroic song.”<sup>50</sup> Nagy’s answer to the former question is that Odysseus, who generously calls in the *Iliad* Achilles and Ajax the best of the Achaeans, will gain in the *Odyssey* his own title as the most heroic Achaean.<sup>51</sup> The mortal Homeric hero who attains his heroic identity after his glorious death obtaining a ‘semi divine status’ reflects, according to van Wees, an early tomb cult, which started to spread at the end of the eighth century and formed the conception of the epic heroes.<sup>52</sup> Thus, this tag comes for the Danaoi in the context of *Odyssey*, where the Trojan War, the field of their glory, is already part of the epic narration and the epic songs. Danaoi keep the role of the warriors and they are the epic heroes.

If the names Danaoi and Argeioi have warlike connotations, the name Achaioi acquires a more general meaning. The term Achaioi is used to denominate the Greeks at the beginning and at the end of the *Iliad*. In the first book the poet

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<sup>49</sup> Pucci 1998:210.

<sup>50</sup> De Jong 2001:228.

<sup>51</sup> Nagy 1999:2.13.

<sup>52</sup> Van Wees 2002:107.



presents the central theme, which is the personified cursed wrath of Achilles, cause of much pain for the Achaioi (οὐλομένην, ἣ μυρὶ Ἄχαιοις ἄλγε' ἔθηκε, *Iliad* I 2). The name Achaioi should be situated within the semantic field of Homeric *akhos* (loss of comrades and of *timê*)<sup>53</sup> of which *algos* is just a formulaic complement. The Achaeans, at least within the Homeric poetic language, are etymologically derived from *akhos* and, therefore, Nagy connects *akhos* and *mênis* with the Achaeans, as “the *akhos* of Achilles leads to the *mênis* of Achilles leads to the *akhos* of the Achaeans.”<sup>54</sup> Hence, the term Achaioi, from the very beginning of the poem is connected with the main topic and the central hero of the *Iliad*. Accordingly, Achilles, the only human who inflicts ἄλγεα<sup>55</sup> upon humans, will later ascribe to himself the title of the best of the Achaeans. Moreover, in the penultimate scene of the *Iliad*, before Hector’s funeral, the poet clearly indicates that the Trojans had earned just a twelve days break given as present by Achilles (δείσῃτ' Ἀργείων πυκινὸν λόχον· ἧ γὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς | πέμπων μ' ὧδ' ἐπέτελλε μελαινάων ἀπὸ νηῶν | μὴ πρὶν πημανέειν πρὶν δωδεκάτη μόλῃ ἠώς, *Iliad* XXIV 779–781). Immediately after a brief description of Hector’s funeral and burial (*Iliad* XXIV 782–799) the poet comes back to the reality of the war, where the Greeks, named again as Achaioi, have the principal role of the attackers (μὴ πρὶν ἐφορμηθεῖεν ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί, *Iliad* XXIV 800). Hence, the Achaeans as a ‘quasi-generic term’<sup>56</sup> open the epic poem as the people devastated by Achilles’ anger and close it as epic warriors, accompanied by their typical warlike epithet ἐϋκνήμιδες. The ethnos of the Achaeans who suffers

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<sup>53</sup> Cook 2003:165–167.

<sup>54</sup> Nagy 1994:7n23, 7–8 and 1999:5.1–8.

<sup>55</sup> Redfield 1979:101.

<sup>56</sup> Miller 2014:107.

and the Achaean army who fights against Troy and wins represent the two faces of the war.

The Achaeans in the Homeric epics get also warlike epithets focusing on parts of their armor, especially the garters and the tunic, which are made of bronze (*χαλκοχίτωνες* and *χαλκοκνήμιδες*) or simply referred to as wearing fine leggings (*ἐϋκνήμιδες*), which distinguish them from the Trojans.<sup>57</sup> Also, they get other martial epithets as *ἀρηΐφιλοι*, *ἀρηΐοι*, and *φιλοπτόλεμοι* like the Danaans, but they are the only who are described as *κάρη κομόωντες* and *ἐλίκωπες*. The epithet *ἐλίκωπες* occurs six times in the *Iliad* (I 389, III 190, III 234, XVI 569, XVII 274, XXIV 402) regarding the Achaeans. The epithet is explained as ‘black or dark-eyed’, ‘with rolling eyes’, ‘swiveling’<sup>58</sup> and probably it does not have any ethnic connotations, but it signifies only an external characteristic denoting beauty or, according to Kirk, dignity.<sup>59</sup> Similarly, the formulaic expression *κάρη κομόωντες* focuses also in an external characteristic, but this time with possible ethnic connotations, for the hair are used as diacritic mark of ethnic groups; Abantes are described as *ὄπιθεν κομόωντες* in the Catalogue of Ships (*τῷ δ’ ἄμ’ Ἄβαντες ἔποντο θοοὶ ὄπιθεν κομόωντες*, *Iliad* II 542) and Thracians also have a distinctive hair-style slightly different of the Achaean one (*Θρηϊκῆς ἀκρόκομοι δολίχ’ ἔγχεα χερσὶν ἔχοντες*, *Iliad* IV 533).<sup>60</sup> Nagy considers the long hair as a custom of the pre-adult Greek males and he finds the ancient aetiology for the change of this practice in the post-heroic age

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<sup>57</sup> See Page (1976:245–248), for the epithets regarding armor from a historical perspective.

<sup>58</sup> Kirk 1985:63 and Page 244–245.

<sup>59</sup> Chryseis also gets this epithet once in the first book of the *Iliad* (*πρὶν γ’ ἀπὸ πατρὶ φίλω δόμεναι ἐλικώπιδα κούρην*, *Iliad* I.98), when Calchas says to Achilles that they should propitiate Apollo by setting free Chryses’ daughter.

<sup>60</sup> Kirk 1985:271–272 and 204–205: for epithets regarding long hair as distinguished mark of ethnic groups.

in Philostratus (*Heroicus* 51.13).<sup>61</sup> The poet does not ascribe similar epithets to the Argives or the Danaans, probably because he is intended to lay emphasis on these ethnic characteristics of the Achaeans, as they are the more general term which encompasses the Greeks as an *ethnos* or groups of *ethnê*, keeping for the Argives and the Danaans the role of the warriors. It should be noted that in the *Odyssey* too Argeioi and Danaoi are the warriors of the Trojan War, while Achaioi get also the role of the population of certain Greek regions.

Along with the epithet-noun formulas other formulaic repetitions, phrases or shorter expressions, are related to the names of the Greek warriors in the Homeric epics. Only the Achaeans are named κούρητες in the formulaic expression κούρητες Ἀχαιῶν (κρινάμενος κούρητας ἀριστῆας Παναχαιῶν, *Iliad* XIX.193; ἦρχ', ἅμα δ' ἄλλοι δῶρα φέρον κούρητες Ἀχαιῶν, *Iliad* XIX.248), which is quite distinct from the expressions κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν and υἷες Ἀχαιῶν<sup>62</sup>. The word κοῦροι is used to denote the young warriors and υἷες could be related to the deeds of the epic hero to continue the paternal glory, while κούρητες has tribal or ritual connotations.<sup>63</sup> It is interesting that the Κουρηῆτες are mentioned by Phoenix in the ninth book of the *Iliad*, in the story of Meleager, as a tribe of earlier generation of Achaean warriors. It is well known that Phoenix's tale of the Kalydonian hero in this embedded narrative functions as a comparison between Achilles and Meleager and there is an essential analogy of the Homeric theme between the story of Achilles and the story of

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<sup>61</sup> Nagy 2015:5. The language of Homeric poetry insists on equating the identity of the hero with the body of the hero, even if this body belongs to a hero who is already dead. See also comparison of Achilles cutting his hair along while the Achaeans are lamenting.

<sup>62</sup> There are not similar expressions for the Argives or the Danaans. Other ethnic groups are sometimes referred to as κοῦροι (for example: κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων, *Iliad* II 551; κοῦροι Βοιωτῶν, *Iliad* II 510).

<sup>63</sup> Lavelle 1997:229–230 and 229n3.

Meleager, which reflects the poetics of the *Iliad*. Burgess points out that the Kalydonian boar hunt is ‘a pan-Hellenic heroic enterprise’, which can be compared with the Trojan War of which Achaioi are the protagonists.<sup>64</sup>

These broader connotations of Achaioi are corroborated by the term Panachaioi, an extended synonymous of Achaioi, which has no parallel for the other two ethnic names. Panachaioi is the un-marked, more generally applicable term and Argeioi and Danaoi are probably subsets with specific meaning and function. The earliest occurrence of this term is in the Homeric epics probably as a poetic invention. The term Panachaioi occurs three times in the *Odyssey* in an extended formulaic repetition (τῶ κέν οἱ τύμβον μὲν ἐποίησαν Παναχαιοί | ἠδέ κε καὶ ᾧ παιδὶ μέγα κλέος ἦρατ’ ὀπίσσω, *Odyssey* i 239, xiv 369, xxiv 32). Panachaioi are responsible for the construction of the hypothetical tomb of Odysseus to ensure the hero’s honor and leave his κλέος as heritage to his son, Telemachus. Once again Achaioi are entrusted with the duty of the establishment and continuity of the most important characteristic of the heroic identity, which is not only the personal private glory, but it also passes to the next generations through the communal stories and poems. Telemachus in his speech to Athena, who is disguised as Menes, expresses his fear that his father did not gain the heroic *kleos* and remained ἄιστος and ἄπυστος (*Odyssey* i 242), since Achaioi were not able to prepare for him the funeral, and build the proper tomb, which will remind those to come of his glory. As a result, Telemachus has lost his valuable paternal heritage, the *kleos* of Odysseus, which he would have gained through his father heroic death in the battlefield. Once again Eumaeus repeats the same verses to Odysseus himself, when he meets him disguised as an old man, former warrior at Troy. Finally, in the Underworld (*Odyssey*, xxiv 32–33) Achilles conveys to Agamemnon his pity for his inglorious death far away from

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<sup>64</sup> Burgess 2017:54.

Troy. In the three above occurrences the term Panachaioi appears in a similar context. Telemachus, Eumaeus, and Achilles describe the ideal burial of a warrior in the battlefield as inseparable element of his heroism and his tomb as tangible proof of his *kleos* at the war. This imaginary description of the never-constructed tomb and the subsequent *kleos* is associated with the *ethnos*, emphatically named as Panachaioi. Hence, the poet with this broader term denotes the unity and the continuity of the Greek *ethnos*, which comprises not only the warriors, who were supposed to be buried in the tomb, but also the warriors presented here as fathers, and their sons as their successors and inheritors of the patrimonial glory. Accordingly, Panachaioi are linked with the heroic identity and the transmission of the ancestral *kleos* from one generation to the other.

In the *Iliad* the term Panachaioi is attested nine times, of which eight are in the formulaic expression at the end of the verse ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν (ἀριστῆες in the nominative: *Iliad* II 404, VII 73, VII 159, VII 327, VII 385, X 1, XXIII 236 or in the accusative ἀριστῆας XIX 193) with the epithet in the type ἀριστεύς instead of ἄριστος. The formulaic expression occurs also in the *Ilias Parva*<sup>65</sup> (Ἐκτορος, ἦν τε οἱ αὐτῶι ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν, fr. 21.7).<sup>66</sup> Again these passages indicate a close connection of Panachaioi with the heroic deeds and the *aristeia* of the best of the Achaeans, the best of their kind, ‘either bravest or best in warfare or some other physical activity’.<sup>67</sup> Finally, in the ninth occurrence (αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ δῶρα, σὺ δ’ ἄλλους περ Παναχαιούς | τειρομένους ἐλέαιρε κατὰ στρατόν, οἷ σε θεὸν ὦς | τίσοις· ἧ γάρ κέ σφι μάλα μέγα κῦδος ἄροιο, *Iliad* IX 301–303) Odysseus presents his

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<sup>65</sup> Bernabé 1987:80–81, fr. 21.7.

<sup>66</sup> See also *FGrH* 21c 4.

<sup>67</sup> Donlan 1969:268–270.

argument for Achilles' returning to the battle and tries to convince him to select the 'social obligation' instead of his 'personal integrity'.<sup>68</sup> This time Panachaioi are linked with *kudos*,<sup>69</sup> the immediate and visible glory resulting from divine bestowal. The poet links the Panachaioi in the *Iliad*, where the warriors are about to gain their glory by fighting, with *kudos*, while in the *Odyssey*, where the war is over and *kudos* must have been already gained, associates them with *kleos*, the commemoration of their glory through the speeches of the heroes and the epic songs. Warriors who prove their heroism in the battlefield gain their eternal glory, their *kleos*, namely reputation and fame.

Similarly, Panhellênes, another collective term, appears only once (ἐγγεῖη δ' ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς, *Iliad* II.530), where the poet describes the skill of Ajax Oileus with the spear. Aristarchus had athetized the verses 529–530, because of the misapplication of Πανέλληνας, since the term is *hapax* and Hellênes is a tribal name referring to Achilles' contingent. Eustathius accepts an earlier interpretation of the expression Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς as an equivalent to Θεσσαλούς καὶ Ἀργείους.<sup>70</sup> Kirk argues that this extended term is a late, even post-Homeric development, and that probably is due to a rhapsode.<sup>71</sup> The term Panhellênes, either Homeric or not, is derived from the name Hellênes, which also is a *hapax* in the Homeric epics (Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί, *Iliad* II 684) and it specifies the inhabitants of Phthia, who followed Achilles to Troy, and not the Greeks in general (note also the close association of the Achaeans with Hellas and

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<sup>68</sup> Hainsworth 1993:99.

<sup>69</sup> For a definition of *kudos* see Martin 2011:315–317. Also for *kudos* in comparison with *kleos*, see Pucci 1998:208–214.

<sup>70</sup> For the Scholia of Aristarch and Eustathius see Van Thiel 2014:235–236.

<sup>71</sup> Kirk 1985:202.

Phthia in *Iliad* IX.395, πολλὰ Ἀχαιῖδες εἰσὶν ἄν' Ἑλλάδα τε Φθίην τε). The connection of the Myrmidons with the Hellênes can be explained as use of the tribal names of the regions of Phthia and Hellas, the homeland of Achilles. However, the name Achaioi, which follows immediately after, is unexpected, because is a term that the poet uses with a more general meaning. Kirk points out that “the addition of καὶ Ἀχαιοί is surprising” and that “it may be based on misunderstanding of the above mentioned expression Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιούς.<sup>72</sup> However, the earliest certain attestation of the term Panhellênes with the meaning ‘all-Greeks’ is in Hesiod (οὐ γάρ οἱ ἥελιος δείκνυ νομὸν ὄρμηθῆναι, | ἄλλ' ἐπὶ κυανέων ἀνδρῶν δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε | στρωφᾶται, βράδιον δὲ Πανελλήνεσσι φαίνει, *Op.* 528), while in Homer its meaning remains unclear.

The three ethnic names occur usually in the plural as nouns. However, Argeioi and Achaioi have sometimes a secondary adjectival function, while the term Danaoi is the only of the three terms that it is always used as a noun. The epithet Ἀργεῖη is ascribed to Hera only in the *Iliad* (for example, *Iliad* IV 8, V 908) and it is also a typical epithet for Helen, who is never referred to as Achaiis (see for instance: *Iliad* II 161, XI 323, *Odyssey* iv184, iv 296).<sup>73</sup> The term Achaios has also an adjectival use in the singular in the expression Ἀχαιὸς ἀνήρ (*Iliad* III 167, III 226). Lastly, the term Ἀχαιῖς is used as an epithet in combination with γαῖαν (for example: *Iliad* I 154, VII 124, XXI 107), while the term Ἀχαιῖδες corresponds to the Achaeen women, the women of Greece, in a formulaic insulting phrase addressed to the Achaeans (ὦ πέπρονες κάκ' ἐλέγχε' Ἀχαιῖδες οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί, *Iliad* II 235; ὦ μοι ἀπειλητῆρες Ἀχαιῖδες οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί, *Iliad* VII 96).

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<sup>72</sup> Kirk 1985:229.

<sup>73</sup> For Ἀργεῖη Ἑλένη see Gladstone 1858:353–355; Tsagalis (2009) 39–47.

Although the abovementioned terms keep their general meaning within the Homeric poems, they function differently in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. *Odyssey* is a world in motion, Odysseus travels to the boundaries of the human and non-human world and he offers a way of living and surviving through adversities, while *Iliad* is in a way a static world, since none goes beyond any boundaries; heroes are moving in a delimited space from their ships to the Trojan walls and they do not offer a model for living but rather a way of dying. While Odysseus fights for his family, his people, and his property, the *Iliadic* heroes fight for a proper funeral and for their glorious tomb to prove their *kudos* and ensure their eternal *kleos*. Even the ships in the *Iliad* are not travelling, they are anchored and no matter how many times are presented as about to sail, they actually never do it in the *Iliad*. Consequently, in the *Iliad* Achaioi, Argeioi, and Danaoi are active mostly in the battlefield, fighting for their *kleos* and characterized with proper epithets, features of their heroic identity. In the *Odyssey*, even though we are in a sufficient distance from the Trojan War, this war is the cause of the existence of the *Odyssey* itself and its consequences are present in the poem in many various levels starting from the warriors who are trying to return in their homes families, property, and kingdoms to the kingship contenders and usurpers of the throne (in the case of Aegisthus and the suitors). Thus, Odysseus is far from Troy, but Troy is always following him and the speeches and songs of the bards in the *Odyssey* bring back the war to our memory as it must not be forgotten. The language of the *Odyssey*, when it comes to war, evokes the language of the *Iliad* and the references to the name of the Greek warriors are used in the same, often formulaic, style. Subsequently, Achaioi are described with their warlike epithets, as χαλκοχίτωνες (*Odyssey* i 286, iv 496), δῖοι (iii 116), ἐυκνήμιδες (iii 149, xi 509), ἥρωες (xxiv 68), μεγάθυμοι (xxiv 57). Also, the poet uses formulaic expressions when referring to the Achaean warriors, who are named as in the *Iliad*,



υῖες or κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν (placed usually at the end of the verse for metrical reasons; eleven times in the *Odyssey*, for example: πρὶν μὲν γὰρ Τροίης ἐπιβήμεναι υῖας Ἀχαιῶν, xiv 229; ἦος ἐνὶ Τροίῃ πολεμίζομεν υῖες Ἀχαιῶν, xv 153; κτείνοντο Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν υῖες ἄριστοι, xxiv 38; ἴσχεσθ', Ἀργεῖοι, μὴ φεύγετε, κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν, xxiv 54; εἰ ἤδη ὁ μιν αὐτίς ἀρήϊοι υῖες Ἀχαιῶν, xxiii 220). Furthermore, central heroes, as Achilles, Nestor, and Odysseus are named by the poet in a way that recalls their glorious past. So, Odysseus names the spirit of Achilles as the best of the Achaeans (ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ Πηληϊός υἱέ, μέγα φέρτατ' Ἀχαιῶν, xi 478) in the Underworld as if he were in the battlefield (compare Patroclus' address in the *Iliad* XVI 21 and, again, Odysseus' address at XIX 216), for Achilles still carries his glory and *kleos* after his death. In a similar way, Nestor and Odysseus are called μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν (*Odyssey* iii 302, xii 184) as in the *Iliad* (Agamemnon for Odysseus, IX 673; Nestor for Odysseus, X 544; Agamemnon for Nestor, X 87). Nestor is called once in the *Odyssey* guardian of the Achaeans (Νέστωρ αὖ τὸτ' ἐφίτξε Γερήνιος, οὐρός Ἀχαιῶν, iii 411), which is a frequent address in the *Iliad* (*Iliad* VIII 80, XI 840, XV 370, XV 659). It is to be noticed that the name Achaios occurs in the singular only two times, when Priam asks Helen for the identity of the Greek warriors he sees over the Trojan wall, firstly for Agamemnon (ὥς μοι καὶ τόνδ' ἄνδρα πελώριον ἐξονομήνης | ὅς τις ὄδ' ἐστὶν Ἀχαιὸς ἀνὴρ ἠὺς τε μέγας τε, *Iliad* III 167–168) and secondly for Ajax (τίς τὰρ ὄδ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιὸς ἀνὴρ ἠὺς τε μέγας τε | ἕξοχος Ἀργείων κεφαλὴν τε καὶ εὐρέας ὦμους, *Iliad* III 226–227).<sup>74</sup> The label Ἀχαιὸς ἀνὴρ used by the Trojan king is appropriate for both

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<sup>74</sup> The expression is also attested in Pindar, *Nemean* 7.64 and the question arises, who is the Achaean man who will not blame Pindar if he is near? The poet says that he lives Ἰονίας ὑπὲρ ἀλὸς οἰκέων and Glenn Most (1985:315–321) interprets the phrase as 'dwelling above the Ionian Sea' referring to an Achaean who lives on the hills overlooking the Ionian Sea and specifically to 'any Molossian for whom the donor of Neoptolemus was so important that he could be regarded, or could regard himself, as an Achaean' and probably means 'anyone from the land where Neoptolemus lived after the Trojan War (Ephyra on Epirus, 37–38)'.

the heroes, who both are representatives of the Achaeans after Achilles, Agamemnon as he is the ruler of all the Greeks and asserts the title of the best of the Achaeans from Achilles and Ajax as he surpasses everyone else in strength and he is far the best after Achilles. In this last example Ajax is an Achaïos, which probably shows that this term is the primary identifier and simultaneously he is the ruler of the Argives, which could possibly denote a regional subset.

When Antinoos threatens Telemachus because of his mother's ploy and orders him to carry the message in Penelope (ἴν' εἰδῶσι δὲ πάντες Ἀχαιοί, *Odyssey* ii.112) he refers to the suitors as the sons of the Achaeans (εἰ δ' ἔτ' ἀνιήσει γε πολὺν χρόνον υἷας Ἀχαιῶν, *Odyssey* ii.115), an address which is repeated by Eurymachus (οὐ γὰρ πρὶν παύσεσθαι δίομαι υἷας Ἀχαιῶν, *Odyssey* ii.198). Also, the population of Ithaca and of neighboring islands (ἐκ δὲ Ζακύνθου ἔασιν ἑείκοσι κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν, *Odyssey* xvi.250) is called Achaïoi. The name Danaoi occurs 13 times in the *Odyssey* (i.350, iv.278, iv.725, iv.815, v.306, viii.82, viii.578, xi.470, xi.526, xi.551, xi.559, xxiv.18, xxiv.46) and it is always related to the Greek warriors at Troy. Once they are characterized as αἰχμηταί (αἵτιος, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς Δαναῶν στρατὸν αἰχμητῶν, *Odyssey* xi.559), which is a common epithet of them in the *Iliad* and Odysseus in his narration to Alcinoos refers to the Danaoi with a typical *Iliadic* formula (ἔνθ' ἄλλοι Δαναῶν ἠγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες, *Odyssey* xi.526). Among these occurrences the expression Ἀργείων Δαναῶν (Ἀργείων Δαναῶν ἠδ' Ἰλίου οἴτον ἀκούων, *Odyssey* viii 578) is extremely interesting, as it is unique in the Homeric epics, not because of the coexistence of the names Argeioi and Danaoi in the same verse, which is not unfamiliar, but for the reason that the name Argeioi has an adjectival use. Heubeck comments the uniqueness of this expression and suggests that in the *Iliad* the combination would probably be impossible, since the three terms Ἀργεῖοι, Ἀχαιοί, Δαναοί are treated as nouns and points out that the poet of the *Odyssey* does not have *Iliadic* diction at the surface of

his mind: if he had, he would not need to create an anomalous phrase'.<sup>75</sup> Alcinoos' in his speech asks Odysseus the reason that makes him cry, when Demodocus sings the fate of the Argive Danaans. Odysseus himself had asked Demodocus to sing Ἀχαιῶν οἴτον (*Odyssey* viii 489), maybe because he wanted to hear the heroic achievements of the Achaeans, but the song reminds him actually of the sad fate of the Danaans. The word οἴτος is mainly connected with the Danaans (see for example: *Iliad* III 147, VIII 34, VIII 465 and *Odyssey* i 350) and in this particular expression the poet emphatically conjoins the two ethnic names to signify initially the heroic past of the warriors and then their subsequent sad fate. Thus, in the *Odyssey* the world of war is dissociated from the world of peace as the revealed by the distinctive use of ethnic names.

In the *Odyssey* the term Argeioi is never followed by an epithet except once (χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητῶν, xxiv 81), when Agamemnon elaborately describes the death and the burial of Achilles, immediately after Achilles has reminded him his own inglorious death. "The poet's intention here is to provide a particularly vivid contrast between the ὄλβος of Achilles, described at length by Agamemnon, and the tragic end of the career of Agamemnon, which has been well known to his audience, and which therefore needs only to be briefly indicated by Achilles."<sup>76</sup> Here, at the end of *Odyssey* it is actually revealed who is the best of the Achaeans, title which was asserted by the two heroes in the *Iliad*. In Achilles' funeral scene the toponyms and ethnonyms are important in a quasi-epitome of the *Iliad* and the Trojan War. Agamemnon starts with Achilles, the central hero of the *Iliad* and continues by setting the toponyms and the ethnonyms of the *Iliad*: Troy and Argos (XXIV 37), and Trojans and Achaeans (XXI 38). Argos here probably refers

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<sup>75</sup> Heubeck et al. 1988:384.

<sup>76</sup> Russo et al. 1992:362.

generally to the Greece as the homeland of the Greeks.<sup>77</sup> Danaoi are presented mourning and cutting off their hair in a funerary ritual (XXIV 46) evoking the *κάρη κομόωντες* Achaeans. Nestor’s call to Argeioi to remain in their positions is no longer an exhortation for fighting as the *αἰδῶς Ἀργεῖοι*, but simply a fatherly advice to the sons of the Achaeans not to be afraid of Thetis. The crying Argeioi (XXIV 61–62) become *ἥρωες Achaioi* (XXIV 68–69) as soon as they stand armed around the pyre. These brave warriors armed with spears and “filled with unusual inner strength” construct the enormous impressive tomb for Achilles (*ἀμφ’ αὐτοῖσι δ’ ἔπειτα μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα τύμβον | χεύαμεν Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατὸς αἰχμητῶν*, XXIV 80–81) and accordingly establish his immortal *kleos*. Notice the epithet *ἱερὸς*, which is hapax in connection with *στρατὸς* and although it has lost some of its original, religious meaning, still carries religious connotations.<sup>78</sup>

The name Argeioi occurs thirty times in the *Odyssey* usually to describe the Greek warriors at the Trojan War. Penelope addresses to Eurymachus (*ὄτε Ἴλιον εἰσανέβαινον | Ἀργεῖοι, μετὰ τοῖσι δ’ ἐμὸς πόσις ἦεν Ὀδυσσεύς*, xviii 253) and later uses the same verse, when she refers to the Trojan War (xix 126) speaking to her husband, whom she has not yet recognized. Also, heroes that had participated in the Trojan War, as Nestor, Odysseus, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Helen, or people that have heard the labors of the Achaeans, such as Telemachus, Alcinoos, the seer Alitherses are refer to the Argeioi as the besiegers of Troy. Only once, when Nestor narrates to Telemachus the feast that Orestes offers to the Argeioi after he had killed his mother and Aegisthus, the name acquires the meaning of the local people, of the inhabitants of Mycenae and Argos (*ἦ τοι ὁ τὸν κτεῖνας δαίνυ τάφον Ἀργείοισιν*, *Odyssey* iii 309).

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<sup>77</sup> Russo et al. 1992:364.

<sup>78</sup> Russo et al. 1992:369.

## Conclusions

To sum up, this more contextual and functional analysis of the denomination of the Greeks in the Homeric epics enhances our understanding of the way that ethnic names are used in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, even though cannot provide all the answers to all the problems that have emerged. The names Achaioi, Argeioi, and Danaoi certainly have a historical and/or mythological background of which the poet is fully or partly aware. Their place of origin, their legendary ancestors, and their wars, travels, poleis, and settlements not only within the borders of the Greek world but also out of them, in Anatolia and eastern Mediterranean, have survived as communal memory and probably many elements within the poems are preserved as relics of this history and myths.

These memories partly explain why the poet uses three separate terms as ethnic collective names for the Greeks in an early period of identity construction, in which the existence of different local identities and legendary ancestors are combined with the emerging ethnogenesis process. Nevertheless, the poet could avoid this confusion by applying one collective name to the Greeks, but the use of different ethnic names seems to be a deliberate decision. Sometimes the poet ascribes different meaning to each term in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as the statistical data and the above contextual analysis has already shown. Achaioi is statistically the predominant term in the Homeric epics and seems to be the most general unmarked term as it corresponds to many different categories, for example the warriors in the Trojan War and the inhabitants of specific regions of the Greek world. Argeioi and Danaoi symbolize mostly the warriors of Troy and in the *Odyssey* are linked with the heroic past of the Odyssean heroes. Even though sometimes these terms are mutually interchangeable, as they cannot be distinguished from one another, I hope to have shown that the poet often intends to apply them in a distinctive manner in

particular contexts to produce meaning and that the criterion of their differentiation is not mainly their ethnic determined characteristics, for he probably does not have in his mind a coherent perception of the historical background. Many times in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* the epic poet ascribes to every ethnic group different qualities, which are contextually determined, in order to draw attention and produce meaning. Even though sometimes each term overlaps the other, they are not always used haphazardly, but they have a functional role in the poems, sometimes distinct in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In this textual world carefully constructed by the epic poet these names are associated with certain characteristics of the heroic world and, finally, shed light on a character, a fact, or an action. This conclusion reassesses the significance of the three names, but of course more remain to be explored in the light of contextual and metrical analysis.

### Figures 1–9

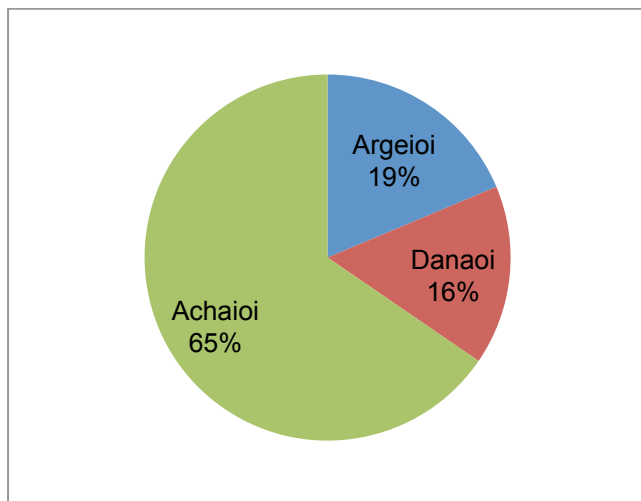


Figure 1. Frequency of ethnic names in reference to the Greeks in the *Iliad*.

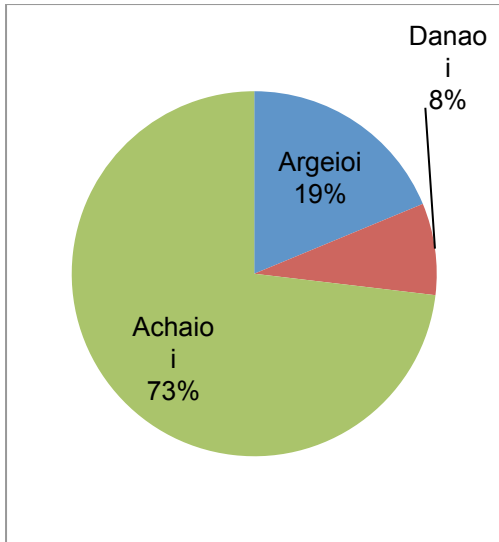


Figure 2. Frequency of ethnic names in reference to the Greeks in the *Odyssey*.

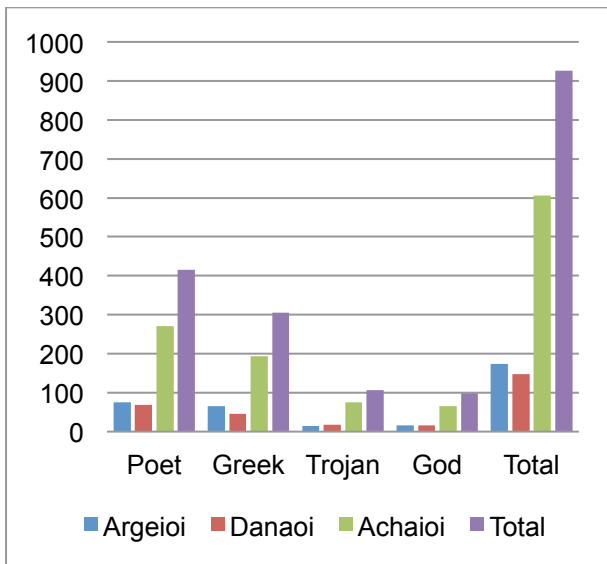


Figure 3. Times each speaker class refers to the Greeks and by what ethnic name in the *Iliad*.

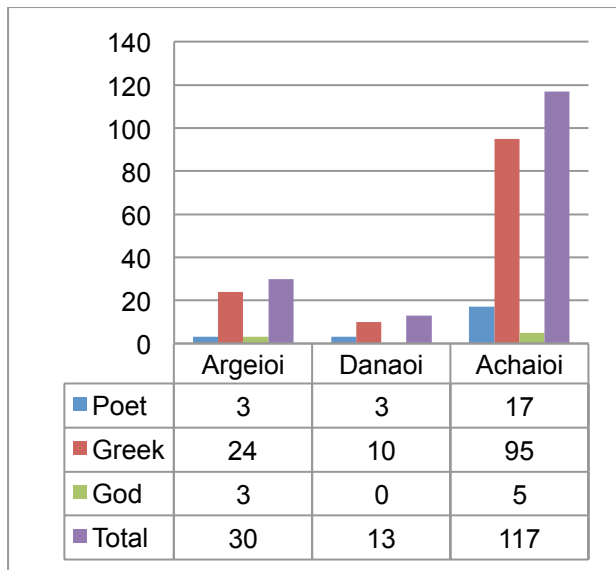


Figure 4. Frequency of ethnic names in references to the Greeks in the *Odyssey*.

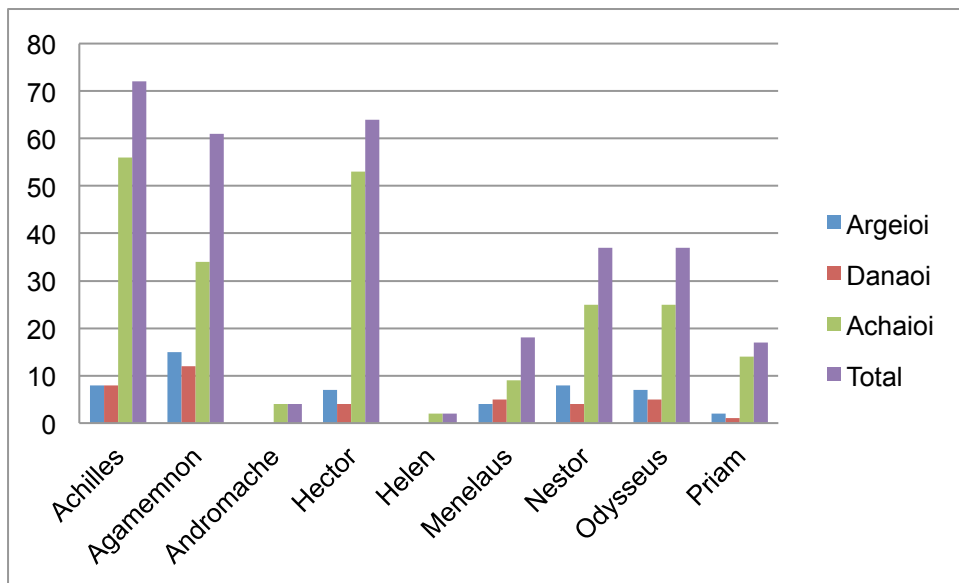


Figure 5. By what ethnic name the *Iliadic* heroes call the Greeks.



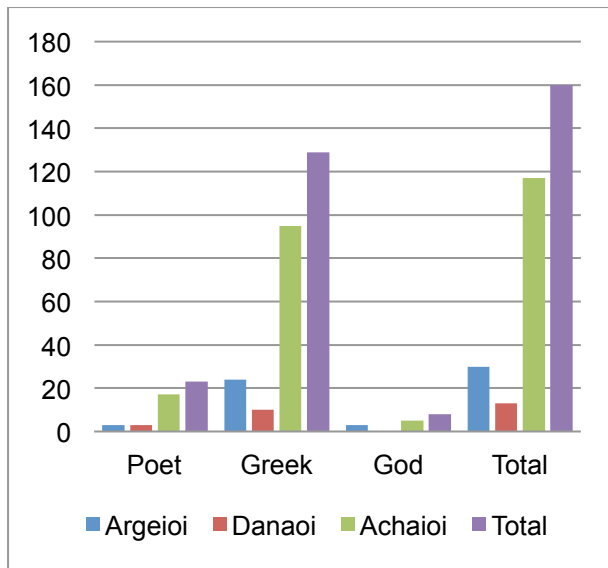


Figure 6. Times each speaker class refers to the Greeks and by what ethnic name in the *Odyssey*.

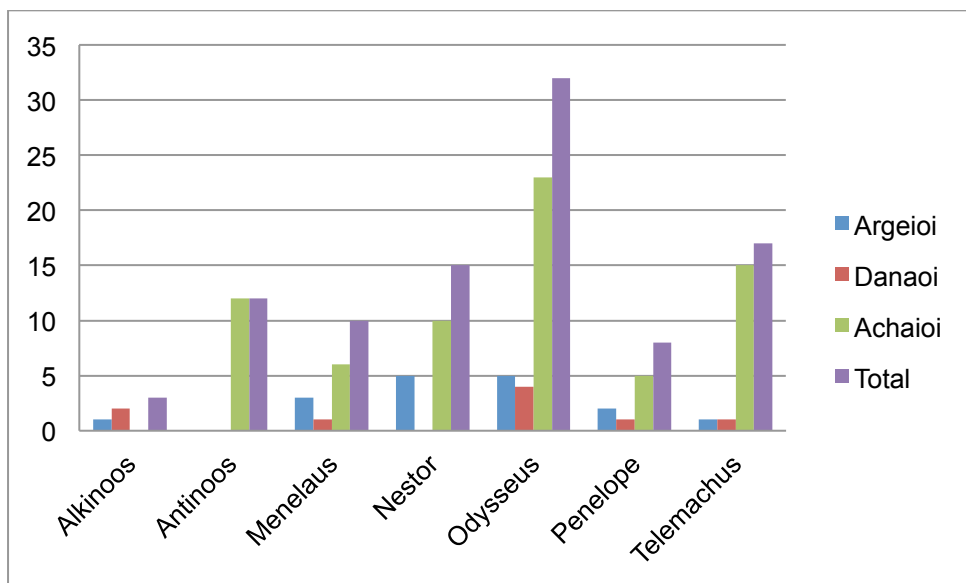


Figure 7. By what ethnic name the Odyssean heroes call the Greeks.

ETHNIC NAMES In the <i>Odyssey</i>	warriors	inhabitants of Ithaca	inhabitants of Pylos	inhabitants of Argos	inhabitants of Crete
Danaoi	13	0	0	0	0
Argeioi	14	0	0	0	0
Achaioi	60	53	1	2	1

Figure 8. Meaning of the ethnic names in the *Odyssey*.

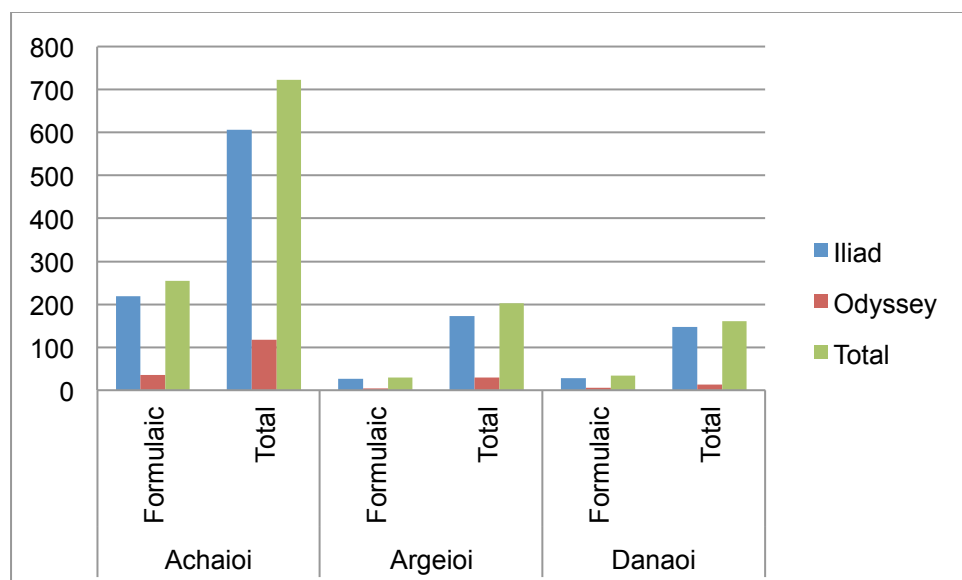


Figure 9. Formulaic expressions (noun-epithet and repetition formulas) applied to the Achaeans, Argives, and Danaans in the Homeric epics.

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