Weak at the Knees: Two Iliadic Formulae

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THE NOW WIDELY ACCEPTED proof by Milman Parry[1] and his pupil Albert Lord[2] of the oral nature of the original production and subsequent evolution of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* brought as one of its consequences a new focus on Homer's use of formulae, those set phrases he, like other epic poets, employs in typical situations or to describe characters, actions, objects, and so on.[3] Not only do they lend a majestic, epic tone to the narrative, but they are also extremely useful to the rhapsode as 'chunks' or building blocks which, with occasional variations, he can slot into the hexameter at certain points—usually at the end of the verse—so as not to have to invent every verse *ab nihilo,* rather as we use clichés and stock phrases in our daily speech and writing. Formulae can be significant, lending nuances or shedding light on events, but tend to be somewhat routine; for example, Hektor is always "flashing-helmeted" whatever he happens to be doing. Sometimes they are ironic or even inappropriate, as when an anonymous Akhaian soldier refers to Thersites' θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ, "his bold, manly spirit," at 2.276, precisely when he is sobbing his heart out after being beaten by Odysseus, or when the poet slips into the dual when referring to two heralds plus three ambassadors on their way to Akhilleus' hut at 9.182–198.

The meanings of formulae can be obscure; for example, ἔπεα

[1] *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry* (Oxford 1971).

[2] A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1960).

[3] See especially J. B. Hainsworth, *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (Oxford 1968).

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πτερόεντα, "winged words": what exactly does that mean, and why are some words winged while others in similar contexts are not?[4] Ambiguity may arise: the phrase which translates as "fall on the ships" can mean either "attack the ships" or "fall dead at the ships." Semantics is at the best of times a slippery matter, and can be expected to be even more so in a work like the *Iliad*, which has evolved, to borrow Nagy's terminology,[5] both diachronically—over a lengthy period of time—and synchronically, which means that at any given time during that evolution there would be different rhapsodes in different parts of the Greek world using different dialects, all producing and transmitting texts according to their own powers of memory, creative ability, and personal agendas. A pair of formulae which present serious problems in this respect are the subject of this article: γούνατ' ἔλυσε(ν) and λῦσε δὲ γυῖα. Both literally mean "loosen (somebody's) knees/legs," but, while the majority of scholars from the Alexandrians in the second century BCE down to, for example, Kirk[6] and Janko[7] in our days, maintain that it means "kill" in every instance, others such as Schadewaldt,[8] Saunders,[9] and González,[10] disagree, and affirm that the victim is not always killed. As the matter is not without its importance, especially in the case of a well-known crux in Book 13, it seems opportune to undertake a study of these two formulae in order to try to reach some acceptable solution.

[4] See F. Létoublon, "*Epea Pteroenta* ('Winged Words')," *Oral Tradition* 14 (1999) 321–335; S. Reece, "Homer's Winged and Wingless Words," *CP* 104 (2009) 261–278.

[5] G. Nagy, *Homer's Text and Language* (Urbana/Chicago 2004).

[6] G. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* I (Cambridge 1985) 387, on 4.467–469.

[7] R. Janko *The Iliad: A Commentary* IV (Cambridge 1994) 98, on 13.402–423, and 99–100, on 13.419–423.

[8] W. Schadewaldt, *Iliasstudien* (Leipzig 1938) 103 n.1.

[9] K. B Saunders, in W.-H. Friedrich, *Wounding and Death in the Iliad* (London 2003) 133.

[10] J. M. González *The Epic Rhapsode and his Craft* (Washington 2013) 25–27.

The method chosen to carry out this study has been to collate and analyse all the examples I could find in the *Iliad*, as I consider it more useful to see, whenever possible, what Homer (whoever he/they was/were) has to say on the matter than to indulge in speculation or argument, however cogent or insightful that may be.[11] I have limited the study to the *Iliad* because the *Odyssey,* apart from dealing with rather different subject matter, seems to me to have a totally different ethos and 'feel' to its sister epic; it also, inevitably, contains few examples of our two formulae. Once I had what I believe to be the complete list of both formulae, in their base forms and variations, I proceeded to classify them as objectively as possible into three categories, depending on the kinds of wounds, comparable cases, and any available textual clues or other evidence I could find. In this way I was able to divide the instances into:

D = the victims apparently died more or less instantly
U = unconfirmed or unproven whether the victims died or not
ND = the victims clearly did not die—or at least not yet

The results, with totals, are set out in in what follows. Appendices A and B list the instances per formula in order of appearance, with explanatory comments. Appendix C shows the total spread of all instances book by book. Appendix D addresses a crucial case.

Form A, γούνατ' ἔλυσε(ν): out of 11 instances,

D	11.579, 17.349, 24.498	= 3
U	("many") 5.176/16.425, 13.360, 15.291	= 4
ND	13.412, 21.114, 21.425, 22.335	= 4

Form B, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα: out of 19 instances,

D	4.469, 6.27, 7.12, 11.240, 11.260, 15.435, 16.312, 16.341, 16.465, 17.524	=10
U	7.16, 15.581, 16.400	= 3

[11] Text: D. B. Munro and T. W. Allen, *Homeri Opera* I–II (Oxford 1920). To find examples I have used G. L. Prendergast *A Complete Concordance to the Iliad of Homer*, rev. B. Marzullo (Darmstadt 1962), supplemented by my own research and a contribution from the anonymous referee. I should be grateful to readers to be advised of further examples.

ND 7.6, 13.85, 16.805, 18.31, 21.406, 23.726 = 6

In conclusion, out of a total of 30:

D = 13 (43.3%)
U = 7 (23.3%)
ND = 10 (33.3%)

On the basis of this information, it is clearly not possible to maintain the notion that the two formulae must always mean "kill." Notice, by the way, that *Il.* 13.412, which has been the bone of contention, can now be classed as a Non-Dead (more on this below).

What are the implications of this finding? The following would appear to be the most relevant:

(1) A general meaning of both formulae would appear to be "put out of action" or, in a competitive society like the one Homer portrays, "overcome," with effective outcomes ranging on a continuum from "kill" through "wound" to simply "weaken." The natural, literal interpretation of both formulae, if we encountered them for the first time with no clear context, would be "weaken/topple/disable," probably not "kill," but face-value is of course not a reliable criterion in semantics. During the long evolution of the *Iliad*, one or both of the two formulae may have started out with their multiple meanings, acquired more on the way, or fluctuated over the centuries.

(2) Kirk (n.1: 387) calls Form B a "probably long established" formula. It would be interesting to know if, on being used for the first time in the Later Helladic or Dark Age, it and Form A were part of everyday speech, or were specially invented for the epic. However, it is unlikely we will ever find out.

(3) For the poet these formulae constituted a convenient way of putting characters out of action, signalling to the audience that these warriors would take no further part in the story, without bothering too much about what had actually happened to the victims. And naturally they are both great fillers, especially for the verse-ends.

(4) They are not used for the minor injuries of major warriors in the poem: perhaps the residual undertone of a fatal end would have distracted the first-time listeners from the main

thrust of the poem, or been laughed at as being impossible, since everybody knew that Agamemnon, Odysseus, and such heroes could not die at Troy. On the other hand, Formula B is used to bring in the deaths of Patroklos and Hektor (and possibly Lykaon) which had already been diligently foreshadowed by the poet.

(5) The results of this study may serve to remove the 'sanitised' vision of the battlefield that we sometimes get, peopled only by the hale and hearty, and the uncomplaining dead. The true picture, which Homer may have experienced himself, is rather more gruesome, with the living manoeuvring around the bodies and gory bits of the dead, the painfully dying, and the walking wounded.

(6) To return briefly to the previous classification of formulae in (1), the two formulae can hardly be called significant, but fall in general into the 'routine' category. Perhaps their use to talk of the god Ares as a victim, but one who obviously cannot die, and to employ their battlefield terminology to refer to domestic swooning in the case of Aphrodite and Akhilleus' maids might be said to border on the inappropriate.[12]

(7) A similar case is that of πρηνής, used in different forms to describe somone falling "face down." Graziosi and Haubold state that "falling face down is equivalent to dying."[13] However, in four of seventeen instances (2.414, 6.43, 23.25, 24.11) the subject is clearly not dead—unless symbolically so—while at least four others (6.307, 11.179, 16.310, 16.379) need to be classified as Unconfirmed. Like our two formulae, it should not be taken as a definitive typification of events but rather as a detail added, like many small or large touches and devices, to

[12] See A. Parry, "The Language of Achilles," *TAPA* 87 (1956) 1–7, for Homer's difficulty in dealing with non-battle subjects

[13] B. Graziosi and J. Haubold, *Homer: Iliad Book VI* (Cambridge 2010) 165, on 6.307. It seems to me that Theano is imagining Diomedes as, rather than being killed, falling in a pathetic and humiliating way, rather as Aias son of Oileus does in the foot-race (23.773 ff.). Otherwise the broken spear is unnecessary and/or incongruous.

lend variety to the multiple battle encounters.

(8) The final conclusion must be that we have to be aware that lexical items in Homer may cover different and often wider semantic fields than we first thought, and can admit ambiguity. We must therefore check meanings in every case, and as objectively as possible.

On further analysis of the data, the following features appear:

(1) Putting "many" out of action appears only in the U instances in Form A, and in the active voice. The nearest thing in Form B is the troops tiring at 7.6 and 13.85 and the maids swooning at 18.31, all in the passive. Metrical necessity does not appear to justify this difference in voice.

(2) The passive is relatively more frequent in B (8 out of 19 or 42%: 7.6, 7.12, 7.16, 13.85, 15.435, 16.341, 16.805, 18.31) than in A (2 out of 11 or 18%: 21.114, 21.425 in practically identical verses). Again, one wonders whether the passive was more or less prevalent at different stages in the development of the poem.

(3) In the two examples of the passive in A, the neuter plural γούνατα is followed, as one would expect in 'correct' Greek, by a singular verb. On the contrary, in the passive examples in B γυῖα always governs a plural verb. Some of these cases in B may be due to metrical constraints, but we can suspect that the difference between the two groups indicates a difference in date of composition or author for these instances.

(4) As can be seen in Appendix C, there is a visible cluster of instances in Books 15, 16, and 17, and a large presence in 11, 13, and 21. On the other hand, in other battlefield books, e.g. 8, 12, 14, and 20, there are no attestations at all. In all these books there is a lot of other 'business'—speeches, gods' interventions, and so on (but that is also the case in Book 11 with Nestor's rambling tale); be that as it may, in Book 8 there are only 2 engagements with named victims (apart from the ones Teukros shoots with his bow), in 12 there are 7, in 14 there are 10, with 13 in Book 20 (all by Akhilleus); one would expect some of these to be marked by our two formulae. Also, there is a slight paradox here: Books 16, 17, and 21 form part of the

Akhilleus strand of the story, but without his presence on the battlefield. Why do our formulae appear so often in those books, but not in 20 where he is so dominant?

(5) Throughout the poem knees and legs are seen as a source and manifestation of strength, speed, and vitality (e.g. Akhilleus sprinting across the plain in Book 22); the gods endow them with new strength when heroes are cast down. But they can be overcome or weakened (e.g. 7.272 or 21.52/270) or invaded by fear, trembling, or tiredness at various points in the poem.

Finally, a word on 13.423, the subject of discussion throughout the ages, since, if it was believed that Hypsenor was killed by Deiphobos at verse 412, how could he be groaning heavily eleven verses later? But as we have seen, he was not necessarily killed, so he could quite well be groaning later from what would have been a very painful wound. The majority of manuscripts carry the reading στενάχοντα., which makes Hypsenor the one who groans. The Alexandrians, believing firmly that Form B had killed him off at 13.412, could not accept this. Consequently they converted the bearers into the groaners: Zenodotos changed the word to the plural στενάχοντες; Aristarkhos,[14] who may have "found textual evidence inaccessible to us,"[15] called the original reading ridiculous and changed it to the dual στενάχοντε.

This exegetical disquisition probably tells us more about the Alexandrians than it does about Homer and our two formulae. They clearly believed there was one 'right' uniform text of the poem, and were striving to recover it by eliminating all the dross it had accumulated over the centuries (Aristarkhos actually believed it had been written originally by an Athenian[16] —a strange concept to us).

Exactly why they clung so tenaciously to one equally uniform meaning of our target formulae is not so clear. Perhaps current

[14] Schol. *Il.* 13.423 (III 484 Erbse).

[15] Nagy, *Homer's Text* 114.

[16] *Vit.Hom.* 2.2.

usage in their days influenced them, or they just accepted received knowledge without question.

However, *Il.* 13.423 shows us that all three readings are acceptable, and the choice of one or the other depends on the personal choice of each editor or scholar from among a set of perfectly valid but mutually exclusive criteria: contextual or plot constraints, weight of attestations, morphology, syntax, elegance, the existence of a remote Ur-text, and so on. The other solution is to adopt Lord and Nagy's multiform model[17] which accepts all known readings except, one imagines. the really 'impossible' ones (which again have to be defined).

APPENDIX A: γούνατ' ἔλυσε(ν)

5.176 Diomedes / 16.425 Patroklos
Τρῶας, ἐπεὶ πολλῶν τε καὶ ἐσθλῶν γούνατ' ἔλυσεν U
11.579 Eurypylos kills and strips one Apisaon
ἦπαρ ὑπὸ πραπίδων, εἶθαρ δ' ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἔλυσεν· D
13.360 war reducing the ranks
ἄρρηκτόν τ' ἄλυτόν τε, τὸ πολλῶν γούνατ' ἔλυσεν. U
13.412 Deiphobos hits Hypsenor, later carried off groaning
ἦπαρ ὑπὸ πραπίδων, εἶθαρ δ' ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἔλυσε. ND
15.291 Hektor
Ἕκτορ', ὃ δὴ πολλῶν Δαναῶν ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἔλυσεν, U
17.349 Lykomedes hits another Apisaon with the same verse:
at 357 he is described as being dead
ἦπαρ ὑπὸ πραπίδων, εἶθαρ δ' ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἔλυσεν· D
21.114 Lykaon giving up hope
ὣς φάτο, τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ ND
21.425 Athene pushing Aphrodite down
ἤλασε· τῆς δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ. ND
22.335 Akhilleus to still-living Hektor
ὅς τοι γούνατ' ἔλυσα· ND
24.498 Priam's dead sons
τῶν μὲν πολλῶν θοῦρος Ἄρης ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἔλυσεν· D

[17] A. B. Lord, *The Singer Resumes the Tale* (Ithaca 1995) : Nagy, *Homer's Text and Language*.

Appendix B: λῦσε δὲ γυῖα

4.468–470 Elephenor, wounded in lungs by Agenor
πλευρά, τά οἱ κύψαντι παρ᾽ ἀσπίδος ἐξεφαάνθη,
οὔτησε ξυστῷ χαλκήρεϊ, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα.
ὣς τὸν μὲν λίπε θυμός, ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ δ᾽ ἔργον ἐτύχθη D

6.27–28 Euryalos kills and strips Aisepos and Pedasos
καὶ μὲν τῶν ὑπέλυσε μένος καὶ φαίδιμα γυῖα
Μηκιστηϊάδης καὶ ἀπ᾽ ὤμων τεύχε᾽ ἐσύλα. D

7.6 Tiredness; rowers simile
πόντον ἐλαύνοντες, καμάτῳ δ᾽ ὑπὸ γυῖα λέλυνται, ND

7.11–12 Eioneus: dead; neck; ἑλέτην (8) means "kill"
Ἕκτωρ δ᾽ Ἠϊονῆα βάλ᾽ ἔγχεϊ ὀξυόεντι
αὐχέν᾽ ὑπὸ στεφάνης εὐχάλκου, λύντο δὲ γυῖα. D

7.16 Iphinos hit in the shoulder by Glaukos
ὦμον· ὃ δ᾽ ἐξ ἵππων χαμάδις πέσε, λύντο δὲ γυῖα. U

11.240–241 Iphidamas: dead; 'bronze sleep'
τὸν δ᾽ ἄορι πλῆξ᾽ αὐχένα, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα.
ὣς ὃ μὲν αὖθι πεσὼν κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον D

11.259–261 Koon: dead—beheaded!
τὸν δ᾽ ἕλκοντ᾽ ἀν᾽ ὅμιλον ὑπ᾽ ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης
οὔτησε ξυστῷ χαλκήρεϊ, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα·
τοῖο δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Ἰφιδάμαντι κάρη ἀπέκοψε παραστάς. D

13.85 tired Akhaians resting by the ships
τῶν ῥ᾽ ἅμα τ᾽ ἀργαλέῳ καμάτῳ φίλα γυῖα λέλυντο, ND

15.435 Aias' companion Lykophron hit in the head; κατέκτα᾽ (432) and ἀπέκτατο (437) confirm the killing
νηὸς ἄπο πρυμνῆς χαμάδις πέσε, λύντο δὲ γυῖα. D

15.578–581 Antilokhos hits the much-killed Melanippos with an arrow, and "darkness hid his eyes" = apparently the victim dies in most of its uses, although a similar phrase is used for Hektor at 11.356 and 14.437–438 when he is recovering from blows; fawn simile
δούπησεν δὲ πεσών, τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψεν.
Ἀντίλοχος δ᾽ ἐπόρουσε κύων ὥς, ὅς τ᾽ ἐπὶ νεβρῷ
βλημένῳ ἀΐξῃ, τόν τ᾽ ἐξ εὐνῆφι θορόντα
θηρητὴρ ἐτύχησε βαλών, ὑπέλυσε δὲ γυῖα· U

16.311–312 Menelaos vs Trojan Thoas; ἕλεν (306) means "kill"(?)
ἀτὰρ Μενέλαος ἀρήϊος οὖτα Θόαντα
στέρνον γυμνωθέντα παρ᾽ ἀσπίδα, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα. D

16.341 Peneleos nearly beheads Lykon
παρηέρθη δὲ κάρη, ὑπέλυντο δὲ γυῖα. D
16.400 Pronoos, spear to chest
στέρνον γυμνωθέντα παρ᾽ ἀσπίδα, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα· U
16.465 Patroklos hits Sarpedon's *therapon* Thrasymelon
τὸν βάλε νείαιραν κατὰ γαστέρα, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα. D
16.805 Patroklos hit by Apollo
λύθεν δ᾽ ὑπὸ φαίδιμα γυῖα ND
17.524 Trojan Aretos; verb in imperfect for slow death?
νηδυίοισι μάλ᾽ ὀξὺ κραδαινόμενον λύε γυῖα. D
18.31 Akhilleus' maids
λύθεν δ᾽ ὑπὸ γυῖα ἑκάστης. ND
21.406 Ares hit with stone
τῷ βάλε θοῦρον Ἄρηα κατ᾽ αὐχένα, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα. ND
23.726 Odysseus trips Aias in wrestling
κόψ᾽ ὄπιθεν κώληπα τυχών, ὑπέλυσε δὲ γυῖα ND

Appendix C: Instances per book

A = γούνατ᾽ ἔλυσε(ν) B = λῦσε δὲ γυῖα

Book	D	U	ND
1			
2			
3			
4	A 4.469		
5		A 5.176	
6	B 6.27		
7	B 7.12	B 7.16	B 7.6
8			
9			
10			
11	A 11.579 B 11.240 B 11.260		
12			
13		A 13.360	A 13.412 B 13.85
14			
15	B 15.435	A 15.291 B 15.581	

16	B 16.312 B 16.341 B 16.465	A 16.425 B 16.400	B 16.805
17	A 17.349 B 17.524		
18			B 18.31
19			
20			
21			A 21.114 A 21.425 B 21.406
22			A 22.335
23			B 23.726
24	A 24.498		

APPENDIX D Issues related to 13.423

The Hypsenor episode, 13.402–423:

Δηΐφοβος δὲ μάλα σχεδὸν ἦλυθεν Ἰδομενῆος
Ἀσίου ἀχνύμενος, καὶ ἀκόντισε δουρὶ φαεινῷ.
ἀλλ᾽ ὃ μὲν ἄντα ἰδὼν ἠλεύατο χάλκεον ἔγχος
Ἰδομενεύς· κρύφθη γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἀσπίδι πάντοσ᾽ ἐΐσῃ,
τὴν ἄρ᾽ ὅ γε ῥινοῖσι βοῶν καὶ νώροπι χαλκῷ
δινωτὴν φορέεσκε, δύω κανόνεσσ᾽ ἀραρυῖαν·
τῇ ὕπο πᾶς ἐάλη, τὸ δ᾽ ὑπέρπτατο χάλκεον ἔγχος,
καρφαλέον δέ οἱ ἀσπὶς ἐπιθρέξαντος ἄϋσεν
ἔγχεος· οὐδ᾽ ἄλιόν ῥα βαρείης χειρὸς ἀφῆκεν,
ἀλλ᾽ ἔβαλ᾽ Ἱππασίδην Ὑψήνορα ποιμένα λαῶν
ἦπαρ ὑπὸ πραπίδων, εἶθαρ δ᾽ ὑπὸ γούνατ᾽ ἔλυσε.
Δηΐφοβος δ᾽ ἔκπαγλον ἐπεύξατο μακρὸν ἀΰσας·
οὐ μὰν αὖτ᾽ ἄτιτος κεῖτ᾽ Ἄσιος, ἀλλά ἕ φημι
εἰς Ἀΐδός περ ἰόντα πυλάρταο κρατεροῖο
γηθήσειν κατὰ θυμόν, ἐπεί ῥά οἱ ὤπασα πομπόν.
ὣς ἔφατ᾽, Ἀργείοισι δ᾽ ἄχος γένετ᾽ εὐξαμένοιο,
Ἀντιλόχῳ δὲ μάλιστα δαΐφρονι θυμὸν ὄρινεν·
ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἀχνύμενός περ ἑοῦ ἀμέλησεν ἑταίρου,
ἀλλὰ θέων περίβη καί οἱ σάκος ἀμφεκάλυψε.
τὸν μὲν ἔπειθ᾽ ὑποδύντε δύω ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι
Μηκιστεὺς Ἐχίοιο πάϊς καὶ δῖος Ἀλάστωρ,
νῆας ἔπι γλαφυρὰς φερέτην βαρέα στενάχοντα.

- When Teukros is carried off groaning at 8.331–334, the lines = 13.420–423, so one of them could well be an interpolation; but which? And 14.432 for Hektor carried off groaning is very similar to 13.423, only he is, naturally, carried off towards the town.
- Another, more distinguished Hypsenor is killed by by Eurypylos at 5.76–83.
- Deiphobos and Idomeneus assume that Hypsenor is dead, but this may well be another case of Homeric dramatic irony, or misdirection,[18] as when Pandaros thinks he has killed Diomedes at 5.188 ff.
- The only heroes removed dead by human agents, both far more essential to the plot than Hypsenor, are: Patroklos, finally carried off at 18.231–233, and Hektor, dragged off at 22.395–404.
- Harpalion (13.650–658) is accompanied by his weeping father—but apparently not dead, if ἀνέσαντες means they got him to his feet. Anyway, the wound (bladder hit by an arrow through the buttock) would not be expected to cause immediate death. Could there have been some cross-contamination here?
- The two Apisaons (11.578 and 17.349) receive the same wounds as Hypsenor, in the same verse, and die, as does Tros, stabbed in the liver by Akhilleus at 20.469–470. Death in these cases would be inevitable, but not necessarily immediate.

To sum up the Hypsenor affair:

(1) If the word στενάχοντα is a scribal error, or if Homer has, consciously or not, superimposed a type-scene on the narrative where it does not fit, then Hypsenor is dead and should not be groaning.

(2) Otherwise he is still (just) alive and, given the character of his wound, very likely to be groaning. He would certainly have more reason to groan than his bearers.

(3) Either way, the conclusions set out above as regards the two formulae examined here still stand; Hypsenor is simply the most controversial and hence the most interesting instance.

(4) It is for the individual reader to decide whether it is more effective—i.e. more pathetic[19]—to have Hypsenor or his bearers groaning.

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[18] See J. V. Morrison, *Homeric Misdirection* (Ann Arbor) 1992.

[19] See J. Griffin *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford 1983), especially ch. 4.