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A STUDY OF THE CONNOTATIONS AND MEANINGS OF THE GREEK
WORD *ἦθος* AND ITS COGNATES IN THE WORKS OF HOMER, HESIOD
AND SELECTED LYRIC POETS

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My Fenwick Scholar Project is a study of the wide range of meaning of the Greek word *φίλος* (philos) and its cognates in the works of Homer, Hesiod, and the lyric poets. My object is to trace the development of the meaning of the word from the time of Homer to the time of the lyric poets (from approximately the middle of the eight century B.C. to near the end of the sixth century B.C.). I am also interested in trying to find a comprehensive concept that would include all the various meanings and connotations of *φίλος*.

First of all, there is the most commonly known meaning: as an adjective, "dear, beloved," etc. and as a substantive, "a friend, a loved one." In Book 18 of the *Iliad*, Achilles describes Hector as "*φίλῳ κεφαλῇ δλοτῆρα*" ("the destroyer of a beloved person") (line 114), referring to the death of Patroclus. There is also an active meaning of *φίλος*, "loving, friendly." When Agamemnon is trying to persuade Achilles to return to battle, he offers that he take one of his daughters' hand in marriage: "*φίλῳ ἀνέεινεν ἀγέσθαι πρὸς οἶκον Πηλεΐδης*," ("let him take her back without gifts, as one who loves him, to the house of Peleus"), (*Iliad*, Book 9, lines 146-7). Also there is another use common in Greek

prose: $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\nu$ (philon) as a predicate adjective, meaning "it is agreeable, pleasant," etc.

One use of $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ that is not present in Greek prose, but which in in Homer and other poetry, is as a possessive adjective. When Achilles hears of the death of Patroclus in Book 18 of the Iliad, he tears at his face in grief " $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma\iota\chi\epsilon\rho\sigma\acute{\iota}$ " ("with his hands") (line 27). In Book 1 of the Odyssey, Athena, in disguise, promises to return to accept the gift from Telemachus, " $\acute{\omicron}\tau\tau\iota\kappa\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\nu\tilde{\eta}\tau\omicron\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\gamma\eta$ " ("whatever your heart bids you to give me") (line 316).

The verb $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\omega$ (phileō) not only means "to like" or "to love", but also has another meaning in connection with the guest-host relationship. The guest-host relationship, or guest-friendship $\xi\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ($\xi\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$), was a sacred obligation in ancient Greece, particularly at the time of Homer, protected by Zeus $\xi\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ ($\xi\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$). It was particularly useful since there were no public lodging places for travellers and no other guarantees of a foreigners' rights except for the force a host had at his disposal to insure his guest's protection. If a man, even a complete stranger, came to one's house, one was expected to bathe him, feed him, give him new clothes if necessary and a gift, and do everything necessary to help him on his way to his

destination. Only after a guest's immediate needs were attended to (bathing, feeding, etc.), was it customary even to ask the guest's name, destination, and business. This created for the guest an equal obligation to do the same for his host, should their roles be switched. Guest-friends were even used in times of war as allies. It was a violation of guest-friendship that started the Trojan War. Paris was a guest of ^MNeleus when he took Helen back to Troy. ^GKlaucus and Diomedes agree not to fight each other after they realize their ancestors were guest-friends.

In the Odyssey, guest-friendship is even more important; the suitors' perversion of this relationship makes their deaths by violence necessary. They eat, drink, and live at the expense of another for years without attempting any reciprocity. Telemachus first meets Athena (disguised as an old guest-friend of his father's) when she appears at his door, and he immediately apologizes for her needs as a guest being neglected. Odysseus appeals to guest-friendship in a vain attempt to have Polyphemus, the Cyclops, desist from eating his comrades. It is only by the aid of this relationship that he returns to Ithaca and ultimately to his home. Aeolus, the king of the Winds, would have gotten him home, if Odysseus' own comrades hadn't been so greedy

and suspicious. The goddess Calypso took care of him for a long time before he went to Phaeacia. The Phaeacians attend to his needs and return him to Ithaca, and Eumaeus, his swineherd, informs him of the suitors' outrages upon his property and attends to his needs until he is ready to shed his disguise and kill the suitors. Telemachus, on his quest for his father, is received according to the principles of guest-friendship by Menelaus and Nestor.

In Book 6 of the Iliad, a man is described, who "πάντας γὰρ φιλόσκεν δδω' ἐπὶ οἰκίᾳ ναίων, " ("for he, living at the edge of the road, was hospitable to everyone,") (line 15). Calypso, in Book 5 of the Odyssey, says of Odysseus, "τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ φίδεον τε καὶ ἔτρεφον, ἵδ' ἔφασκον θέσιν ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήραον ἦματα πάντα, " ("I was hospitable to him and I fed him, and I promised to make him immortal and ageless forever,") (lines 135-6). In Book 8 of the Odyssey, Odysseus says of Laodamas, "ζεῖνος γάρ μοι ὅδ' ἐστὶ· τίς ἂν φιλέοντι μάχοιτο ;" ("for he is my host; who would fight with a man being hospitable?") (line 203).

φιλότης (philotēs) not only means "love, friendship, affection, sex," but also is used in conditions where feelings of obligation and reciprocity are present (i.e. not just between a guest and his host, but also between allies, friends, parents, and children, men and

gods, slaves and masters - any situation where αἶδώς (aēdōs) ("honor, shame, respect, reverence") is present.) φιλότης is even ~~more~~ possible between enemies. When Hector proposes that Menelaus and Paris fight for Helen in Book 3 of the Iliad, ^{he} ~~is~~ also asks that "οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φιλότητα καὶ ὅρκῳ πιστὰ τάχυνεν" ("We others swear out an agreement and trustworthy oaths) (line 94). In Book 7 of the Iliad, someone proposes to Hector and Ajax, who are fighting in single combat, about night-fall, that "αὐτ' ἐν φιλότητι διέτχαιεν ἀρθρήσαντες" ("they part united by an agreement) (line 302).

Of course, "agreement" does not do full justice to φιλότης, nor does "friendship." My project involves searching for a suitable concept to encompass all these uses. Émile Benveniste, in his book, Vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes (Volume I), devotes a chapter to examining some of the so-called "possessive" uses of φίλος in the context of the guest-host relationship or according to the usage of φιλότης. When Achilles tears at his face in grief for Patroclus "φίλοι χειροί," it could be conjectured that the grief for a φίλος ("a dear one" or "one attached by the φιλότης relationship") is attached to the hands. When Agamemnon

bids "φίλῃν ἀνάεινον ἔγχεσθαι πρὸς οἶκον Πηλεΐδης",
the daughter cannot only be viewed as "loving" or "dear"
to her future husband, but also as a means of reciprocity
and agreement (φιλότης) between Achilles and Agamemnon.
Also, when one raises "φίλας χεῖρας" ("his hands") to
the gods, as, for example, in Book 7, line 130 of the
Iliad, it could also be pointed out that there is a
φιλότης relationship between the man and the god^s. The
use of φίλα δῶρα in Book 8 of the Odyssey (line 545) is
also clearly used in a sense of the guest-host relation-
ship. Alceus is recalling the duties of a host. The
gifts are not only "his", but they are also "hospitality"
gifts.¹ Athena, in Book 3 of the Odyssey (line 357),
calls ~~Nestor~~ ^{Nestor} "γῆρον φίλε" ("dear old man.") Since she,
disguised as Mentes, an old guest-friend of Odysseus,
has been received by Nestor along with Telemachus accor-
ding to the principles of guest-friendship, φίλε has ~~the~~
these connotations also. There is the same context on
line 184 when Nestor calls Telemachus, a guest, "φίλε τέκνον",
("dear child.") Again, there is the same context in
Book 4 when Menelaus receives Telemachus and Pisistratus
as guests and calls them, "Τέκνα φίλ'", ("dear children,")
(line 78).

As Benveniste says on page 352, "Il faudrait
de longs chapitres pour énumérer et analyser avec le

¹Émile Benveniste, Vocabulaire des institutions
indo-européennes, (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1969), I,
Pages 347-51.

soin désirable tous les exemples de ce *φίλος* dit «possessif.»

("Long chapters would be necessary to enumerate and analyze with the care to be desired all the examples of this

so-called 'possessive' *φίλος* "). Further^{on} he points out,

"Cette vérification était nécessaire pour dévoiler une erreur séculaire, aussi vieille probablement que l'exégèse

homérique, et que les générations se sont transmise. Le

problème de *φίλος* est à reprendre entièrement. Il faudra

partir des emplois et des contextes qui révèlent dans

ce terme un réseau complexe d'associations, les unes

avec les institutions d'hospitalité, les autres avec

les usages du foyer, d'autres encore avec les comportements

affectifs, pour entendre pleinement les transpositions

métaphoriques auxquelles il a pu se prêter. Toute cette

richesse conceptuelle a été ensevelie et échappe aux

regards depuis qu'on réduit *φίλος* ou à une notion vague

d'amitié ou à une notion fausse d'adjectif possessif."

("This verification was necessary to uncover an error

that has stood for centuries, probably as old as Homeric exegesis, and which the generations have handed down.

The problem of *φίλος* should be entirely renewed. It will

be necessary to start from the uses and contexts which

reveal in this term a complex system of association,

some with the institutions of hospitality, others with

the usages of the homestead, still others with the emotions

of affections, to understand fully the metaphorical changes to which it could have ^{lent} ~~but~~ itself. All this conceptual richness has been buried and escapes attention, since *φίλος* has been reduced to a vague idea of friendship or to a false idea of a possessive adjective.") ²

φίλος is probably most commonly used with nouns denoting familial relationship or comradeship: (*υἱός* (*huios*) or *παῖς* (*paes*) meaning "son", *ἄλοχος* (*alochos*) meaning "wife", *τέκος* (*tekos*) or *τέκνον* (*teknon*) meaning "child", *μήτηρ* (*mētēr*) meaning "mother", *πατήρ* (*patēr*) meaning "father", *πόσις* (*posis*) meaning "husband", *κασίγνητος* (*kasignātos*) meaning "brother", *ἑταῖρος* (*hetaeros*) meaning "companion," etc.) The meaning of *φίλος* when modifying these nouns can certainly be either active or passive; in other words, it can mean either "dear" or "beloved" or "loving" or "friendly". Considering that *φιλότης* is also used in conditions where feelings of reciprocity are present, one could also say that *φίλος* has connotations of this relationship when used with nouns denoting familial relationship or comradeship. There is certainly reciprocity and obligation between relatives and friends (although much more emotional in nature than the uses of *ἐλέος* in Book 3, line 94 of the *Iliad* and Book 7, line 302, where enemies part in *φιλότης*); usually one can

² *Ibid.*, pgs. 352-3.

assume they are "loving" (the active meaning) or "dear" (the passive meaning) to one another or that they love or like each other.

Yet, there is still another possible meaning of *φίλος* in these instances. *φίλος* is frequently used as a possessive adjective ("My", "your", "his", "her", or "their"), so when there is no other possessive adjective nor a pronoun used as a possessive (the genitive and dative cases are used in this manner - "ἐμοί" or "μοί" or "ἐν" or "ἐν", for instance, can all mean "my") modifying these nouns denoting familial relationship or comradeship, the meaning of *φίλος* can also be possessive in nature. *φίλη μήτηρ* can be translated as just "his (or "my" or "your", etc., depending on the context) mother" or "his loving mother" or "his beloved mother," with the further possibility of considering *φίλος* as connoting *φιλότης* between "his mother" and "himself."

Another important use of *φίλος* to be considered is as an adjective modifying an inanimate noun or a part of the body. Usually it has just been translated as a possessive, or else one can conjecture, as did Benveniste, that the *φιλότης* relationship has been attached to these nouns, as in Book 7, line 130 of the Iliad. Considering the transfer of this feeling from the whole

person to a part of his body (metonymy), one can also translate *φίλον ἤτορ* (*ātor*) or *κῆρ* (*kār*) in the same manner. Instead of just meaning "his heart," ^{one can also translate these expressions as} "or" "his ^{his loving heart} beloved heart," where "heart" is used by metonymy for the person himself. Also there may again be reciprocity of feeling, so these expressions can also be translated as "a heart connected by the *φιλότης* relationship."

In Book 19 of the Odyssey, Penelope is telling Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, her problems and says, "ἔλκ' Ὀδυσσεύα ποθέουσα φίλον καταθήκομαι ἤτορ," ("but longing for Odysseus, I melt away my heart,") (line 136).

φίλον could easily be translated as "dear" or "loving", since it is a wife talking about her husband. And likewise there is a *φιλότης* relationship between the two, so

φίλον has that connotation. In Book 4 of the Odyssey, ^{line 804} Athena sends to Penelope an image of her sister, who asks her why she is "*φίλον τετιγμένην ἤτορ*;" ("sorrowing in your heart.") Again since it is a sister speaking, to her sibling, *φίλον* can be translated as "dear" or "loving" or "connected by the *φιλότης* relationship," grammatically describing the heart, but, by metonymy, speaking of the person herself and her feelings.

A further connotation appears in Book 7 on lines 309-10 of the Odyssey. Alcinous is reassuring Odysseus as to the lack of suspicion in his mind,

"Ζεῖν, οὐ μοι τοιοῦτον ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλον κῆρ | μαγίδις
κεχολῶσθαι." ("Guest-friend (or "stranger"), the
hospitable heart in my breast is not such as to be
angry in vain.") Perhaps φίλον could be translated as
a possessive "mine", but the presence of ^{μοι} ~~μοι~~ ("to me")
makes that use redundant. It could even be translated
as "loving" or "dear", but the most plausible connota-
tion in this context is ^{cf} a guest-friendship. Alcinous,
the king of the Phaeacians, is Odysseus' host, and, from
the meaning of φιλέω "to entertain" or "to be a host,"
φίλον has the meaning "hospitable." Again, by metonymy,
Alcinous' hospitality is transferred to his heart.
In Book 1, line 310 of the Odyssey, Telemachus refers
to Athena's heart (she is disguised as an old guest-
friend of his father's and has been received by Telemachus
according to the principles of guest-friendship) as
φίλον. Again, there is the same context and connotation.

There are many more instances of φίλον ἤτορ or κῆρ
being used with connotations of φιλότιμος. In Book 4, line
270 of the Odyssey, Menelaus recalls Odysseus'
restraining of the Greek heroes in the Trojan Horse,
"οἷον Ὀδυσσεὺς παλασίφρονος ἔσκε φίλον κῆρ" ("such was the dear
heart of patient Odysseus."). φίλον cannot be translated
as a possessive since Ὀδυσσεὺς is already being used in
that manner. Yet certainly, there is a connotation of

φίλους, since Menelaus and Odysseus were fellow-warriors. In the Iliad, in Book 5, line 250, Athena, Diomedes' charioteer, advises him to retreat, "μή πως φίλον ἴσθ' ὀλέσσης," ("lest you should, by some means, lose your life (literally: "heart").") Again, since Athena and Diomedes are fellow-warriors, there is certainly a connotation of φίλος, as well as the possessive meaning "your" and the active and passive meanings of "loving" and "beloved." In Book 10, line 107, Nestor calls Achilles' heart φίλον, again with the same connotation.

This same use of metonymy is present in several other expressions. In Book 18 of the Odyssey, Amphinomus proposes to the other suitors that they leave Odysseus (who is disguised as a beggar) alone, "τοῦ γὰρ φίλον ἵκετο δῶμα," ("for he has come to his (Telemachus') hospitable home,") (line 421). Telemachus' act of guest-friendship is transferred to his house. This is why Amphinomus proposes leaving Odysseus alone, because he recognizes that Odysseus is under the protection of Telemachus' guest-friendship. It is not simply "his" home or a "kindly" home, but one affording guest-friendship and its resulting obligations of food, shelter, clothing, and, most important here, protection.

A very common phrase in both the Iliad and the

"Odyssey" is "φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν" ("to their fatherland"). φίλῃν can also be translated as "dear," but again, by metonymy, there is a connotation of φιλότης. One's fatherland is where one's φίλοι are, one's "dear" or "loving ones" or "one's connected by φιλότης." By transferring the φιλότης between oneself and one's relatives and comrades to one's fatherland, φίλῃν can express a connotation of φιλότης.

In Book 22 of the Iliad, Achilles has been considering besieging Troy, but, remembering his unburied comrade, he asks himself, "ἔλλα τί ἤ μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο;" ^{θυμός} ("But why did my spirit discuss these things with myself?") (line 385). φίλος could be said to have a connotation of φιλότης by attaching the φιλότης between Patroclus and Achilles to the ^{soul} ~~heart~~ (θυμός). The phrase "ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισι" ("in his (her's, your's, etc.) breast") is used several times in the Iliad and the Odyssey. In Book 4 of the Iliad, Agamemnon apologizes to Odysseus for reproaching him for not being in the vanguard of the army, saying, "οἶδα γάρ, ὥς τοι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν ἔπειθ' ἔγνωε σῆδε." ("For I know that the mind in your breast knows favorable counsels,") (lines 360-1). The φιλότης between Agamemnon and Odysseus is attached to the ^(line 178) breast. In Book 8 of the Odyssey, ^(line 178) Odysseus, while at an athletic exhibition in Phaeacia, responds to Euryalus:

charge that he is not an athlete, using this phrase. Since he is a guest of the Phaeagians, the use of *φίλος* here expresses by metonymy his status as a guest-friend. The hospitality he is the recipient of is attached to his breast.

Despite all the examples of *φίλος* used in this manner, there are still several where *φίλος* can only be considered possessive and other connotations cannot be easily found. After Diomedes has wounded Aphrodite, "ἣ δ' ἐς δίφφον ἐβαινεν ἀκηχεμένη φίλον ἦτορ" ("she climbed into the chariot, grieving in her heart,") (Book 5 of the Iliad, line 364.) There is clearly no context of love, friendship (guest or otherwise), or *φιλότης* here. Later on in the Iliad (Book 21 line 114), Lycaon has begged Achilles for mercy, and "τοῦ δ' αὖτοῦ λυτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ," ("his knees and his heart were relaxed.") Again, there are no connotations of love, friendship, or *φιλότης*. In the Odyssey, Odysseus has just reached Phaeacia and is lying on the beach, "εἰ γὰρ ἐξέχρητο φίλον ἦτορ" ("for his heart was overcome by the sea,") (Book 5 line 454). "His heart" is used by metonymy for "he", but there are again no connotations of love, friendship, or *φιλότης*. In Book 20 of the Iliad, Polydorus, the youngest son of Priam, "φίλον ἔλεσε θυγόν," ("lost his life") (line 412) at the hands of Achilles. *φίλος*

only used as a possessive here.

Another common use of φίλος is as a predicate adjective, meaning "it is agreeable, pleasant," etc. However, there is another connotation sometimes. In Book 4 of the Iliad, Agamemnon reproaches Diomedes for not being at the front of the army as it is going out to battle, by pointing out that "οὐ γὰρ Τυδεί γ' ἔδε φίλον

πιτωκαζόμεν ἦεν", ("It was not agreeable

for Tydeus to cower in this way,") (line 372). It

will be recalled that φιλότις exists in any situation

where αἰδώς (aidōs) ("honor, shame, respect, reverence") is present.

is at stake; his φιλότις with Agamemnon and his other

fellow-warriors dictates that he not be cowardly in

battle. Agamemnon points out to Diomedes what his father's

code of honor dictated. Therefore, a better translation

of φίλον in this line would be "honorable." Agamemnon

expects Diomedes to abide by this same code of honor.

Tydeus considered his φιλότις with his fellow-warriors

of paramount importance; likewise his son is expected

to do the same.

In Book 16 of the Iliad, Patroclus says to the two Ajaces, "Αἶαντε, νῦν σφῶν ἀμύνεσθαι φίλον ἔσται",

("Ajaces, now let it be agreeable for you both to

fight,") (line 556). Patroclus is reminding the Ajaces

of the φιλότις that exists between them and the rest

ere is a
se where
Diomedes
honor

of the army, which makes it mandatory for them to fight, or else they risk being dishonored. A better translation of this line with the connotation of *φιδότης* would be, "Ajaces, now may it be honorable (or "a part of your *φιδότης* with the rest of the army") for you to fight."

In Book 14 of the Odyssey, Odysseus, in his disguise as a beggar, makes up a story of his life. He says he became a warrior, because "*ἔργον δέ μοι οὐ φίλον ἔσκεν*," ("work was not agreeable to me," (line 222). In other words, it would violate[†] his sense of *αἰδώς* to perform ordinary work, and so he chooses to be a warrior. Other work than fighting would disrupt his feeling of *φιδότης*, which he shared presumably with his noble contemporaries.

There are some examples of *φίλος* used as a predicate adjective with the connotation of guest-friendship. In Book 6 of the Odyssey, Nausicaa reminds her handmaidens, who, frightened at the sight of Odysseus cast ashore, start to flee, of the obligations involved in guest-friendship. In addition to providing food, clothing, and shelter, "*δοῖς δ' ἑλπίη τε φίλην τε*," ("a small gift is pleasing," (line 208). A better translation of *φίλη* would be "fitting according to the principles of guest-friendship."

Likewise in Book 9, Odysseus has brought a

very potent ^wine to the cave of Polyphemus, and he points out to the Phaeacians that "τότ' ἂν οὐ τοὶ ἀποσκέομαι φίλον δὲν," ("at that time it would indeed not have been agreeable to abstain,") (line 211), speaking of the time when a priest of Apollo's gave it to him. Odysseus was not unmindful of his obligations as a guest. Since there is a context of guest-friendship, φίλον would probably be best translated as "polite."

The use of φίλον as a predicate adjective must be considered with the immortals, since it is rather common. In Book 13 of the Odyssey, Zeus tells Poseidon to punish those who do not honor him, referring to the Phaeacians, "καὶ τοὶ φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ," ("even as it is pleasing to your soul,") (line 145). In the ^bbook, The World of Odysseus, M.I. Finley says, "Like any hero, Poseidon was concerned solely with honor and prowess."³ So φίλον can be translated in the same context and with the same connotation as it is with fellow-warriors. It would probably be best translated as "most in accordance with φιλότιμος." In Book 7 of the Iliad, Apollo points out the desire of Athena and Hera to destroy Troy, "ἐπεὶ ὡς φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ/ἔχιν ἀθανάτοισι," ("since it was pleasing thus to the mind of your goddesses,") (lines 31-2). The

³ M.I. Finley, The World of Odysseus, (New York: The Viking Press, 1965), pg. 144.

honor of both Athena and Hera was contingent upon the destruction of Troy. It will be recalled that it was their loss in a beauty contest judged by Paris that started the Trojan War. To recover their honor, their feeling of *φιλότης* with the other gods and goddesses, necessitates that this slight be avenged. *φίλον* could also be translated here, as above, "most in accordance with *φιλότης*."

In addition to these impersonal constructions with *φίλος*, there are personal uses of *φίλος* as a predicate adjective. Hecuba is lamenting her son's death in Book 24 of the Iliad and says, "*ἦ μὲν μοι ζῶός περ ἐὼν φίλος ἦσθα θεοῖσιν,*" ("certainly being alive, you were dear to the gods,") (line 749). Probably there was reciprocity of feeling, i.e. Hector also loved the gods, ~~too~~, so *φίλος* has connotations of *φιλότης*, too.

There is a construction like this with a connotation of guest-friendship. In Book 8 in the Odyssey, Athena makes Odysseus more admirable in form and appearance, "*ὥς μιν Φαίηκεσσι φίλος πάντεσσι γένοιτο,*" ("that to all the Phaeacians he might be dear,") (line 21). Since it is very important that Odysseus be received according to guest-friendship, there must be a connotation of guest-friendship here. *φίλος* could be translated

here as "acceptable as a guest-friend."

φίλα is used in an adverbial sense frequently, particularly in the phrase "*φίλα φρονέων*." In Book 6 of the Odyssey, Nausicaa tells Odysseus that he will get home again, "*εἴ κέν τοι κείνη γε φίλα φρονέη*" ("if indeed she (Nausicaa's mother) is kindly disposed in her soul,") (line 313). Since there is a context of guest-friendship, *φίλα* can also mean "in a guest-friendship fashion." Odysseus is a stranger, and it is only by means of guest-friendship that he will get ^hhome again. In Book 7, there occurs a use of the adverbial sense with perhaps a connotation of *φιλότης* between men and gods. Athena pours a mist over Odysseus to protect him on his way to Alcinous's palace "*φίλα φρονέουσ'*" ("being kindly disposed") (line 15). Perhaps, since there is *φιλότης* between men and gods, and since Odysseus and Athena are particularly devoted to each other, one could translate this phrase as "being mindful of the *φιλότης* between them."

As a substantive *φίλος* means much more than "friend." In Book 5 of the Iliad, Agamemnon urges on the Greeks, "*ὦ φίλοι, ἀνέρες ἔστε καὶ ἀλκιμον ἦτορ ἔλασθε, ἅλλήλους τ' αἰδέσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς ὀσφύνας*," ("Oh, friends, be men and assume a stout heart and respect (or "feel shame before") each other through the fierce

battles,") (lines 529-30). Agamemnon is urging each man to consider his αἶψα, his φίλος with his fellow-warriors. His standing with the rest of the army will be damaged, if an individual is cowardly in battle or flees. Therefore, φίλος certainly has a connotation of φίλος. In Book 24, Priam comes to the tent of Achilles to ransom back his son's body. He prays, "ὅς μ' ἐς Ἀχιλλῆος φίλον ἐλθεῖν ἡδ' ἐλευσέμεν" ("grant that I come acceptable and pitied to the tent of Achilles") (line 309).

φίλον probably can not be translated as "friend", but perhaps as "as a guest-friend." Priam is, in a sense, a guest-friend of Achilles', since Achilles treats him as one, giving him food, drink, and shelter for the night. In Book 6 of the Iliad, there is a man who "φίλος δ' ἦν ἀνθρώποισιν", ("who was friendly (or "dear") to men") (line 14). φίλος can be translated quite simply here as "guest-friend," since the context is of a man who lives by the side of a road and entertains all who stop at his house. In Book 11, Patroclus is on his way back from Nestor's tent, and he sees the wounded Eurypylos. He takes pity on him and says, "ὣς ἄρ' ἐμέλλετε τῇδε φίλων καὶ πατρίδος αἵης/ἔσθιν ἐν Τροίῃ ταχέας κύνας ἀργεῖ δαμῆν," ("you were destined then, far away from your friends and native land, to satiate thus the dogs at Troy with your white

fat,") (lines 817-8). *φίλοι* can mean many things here besides "friends" - "dear ones," "loving ones," "ones connected by *φιλότης*," which would include relatives and perhaps even guest-friends.

"And then there is the word 'to love'. That is how we render *φιλεῖν*, but the question remains open as to what emotional quality, what overtones, the Greek verb really possessed."⁴ One other meaning has been discussed so far, that of guest-friendship. *φιλεῖν* can mean "to entertain," "to treat according to the principles of guest-friendship." Perhaps a meaning corresponding to the connotation of *φιλότης* can be found. In Book 15 of the Odyssey, an ancestor of Theoclymenus, a fugitive, is described, "ὃν περὶ κῆρ' εἴλει Ζεὺς τ' αἰγίοχος καὶ Ἀπόλλων παντοίην φιλότητ' , " ("whom aegis-bearing Zeus and Apollo loved in their heart with every kind of friendship,") (lines 245-6). *φιλότης* is used in this quote and can mean just "friendship". However, there must have been some ^{reciprocity} ~~mutuality~~ of feeling between Zeus and Apollo and this ancestor of Theoclymenus. Of prime importance to the gods was that sacrifices were made to them; for this, they "loved" mortals. *φιλότης* did occur between gods and men; it basically was an agreement that men would sacrifice to the gods and the gods would take good care of them. Here *φιλότης* can

⁴ Ibid., pg. 136.

have that idea of ^{reciprocity} ~~new priority~~ and obligation that existed between fellow-warriors, parents and children, etc.

It seems reasonable to extend this connotation of

φιλότης to *φίλει*, a cognate. Perhaps "respected" would be a good meaning for *φίλει* in this context.

φιλότης also means "sex," and there are examples of *φίλει* with a sexual connotation. In Book 18 of the Odyssey, a maid servant of Odysseus' is mentioned: "ἀλλ' ἴ' γ' Εὐρυμάχῃ μισγέσκειτο καὶ φιλέεσκεν," ("but she joined in sex with Eury~~m~~achus and loved him,") (line 235). In Book 8 of the Odyssey, Demod^{ος}~~ος~~, a bard, is singing a song to the Phaeacians of the time when Hephaest~~ος~~us trapped his wife ~~A~~phrodite and ~~A~~res in bed together. He complains to the other gods, "φιλέει δ' αἰδέσθων Ἄφροδιτα," ("and she makes love with destroying Ares,") (line 309).

It is necessary now to examine Achille^{ος}'s relationship with Brise^{ως}~~ως~~'s, who, being taken from him by Agamemnon, caused the hero to stay away from the battle until his friend Patroc~~ος~~us was killed. In Book 9 of the Iliad, he complains to the embassy sent by Agamemnon, to make amends, "ἦ μοῦνοι φιλέουσ' ἀλόχους μερόπων ἀνθρώπων / Ἀτρεΐδαι;" ("Do the sons of Atreus alone, of men endowed with speech, love their wives?") (lines 340-1). ἀλόχος really means

"bed-mate," and there were no ordinary words at this time with the specific meanings of "husband" and "wife." Achilles is speaking of a slave-woman, whom he captured in battle. Later he regrets that she was ever a cause of dissension between himself and Agamemnon (Book 19 lines 56-60). It seems that his love for Briseis was pretty much physical. At any rate, it was surpassed by his love for his companion Patroclus, "Neither in the relationship between Odysseus and Penelope nor in any other relationship between man and mate in the Homeric poems was there the depth and intensity, the quality of feeling-on the part of the male - that marked the attachment between father and son on the one hand, and between male and male companion on the other."⁵ The members of the embassy consider Achilles' refusal to make amends with Agamemnon and to receive his gifts an act of incredible pride and stubbornness. Ajax, in Book 9, says to Odysseus, "οὐδὲ μετατρέπεται φιλόητος εἰσέειναι τῆς", ("nor does he have any regard for the friendship of his companions,") (lines 630-1). The φιλόητος between warriors was of higher priority than their feelings for women, although Achilles probably laments more the damaging of his pride than the loss of Briseis. Yet, the death of Patroclus makes him readily forget both. The loss of Briseis is slight compared to

⁵ Ibid., p. 137.

the loss of Patroclus¹. His love for the latter is far greater. Finley feels that Homer reveals "that women were held to be naturally inferior and therefore limited in their function to the production of offspring and the performance of house hold duties, and that the meaningful social relationships and the strong personal attachments were sought and found among men."⁶

Turning to the works of Hesiod, there is little of note, *φιλότης* meaning "sex" is used frequently, along with the adjectival use of *φίλος* and the strictly emotional sense of *φίλειν*; however in the Theogony there is one instance of *φιλότης* that is interesting from the concept of obligation and reciprocity that is found in Homer. Zeus and the other Olympian gods have released Cottus, Briareus, and Gyges, the hundred-armed monsters, from their imprisonment beneath the earth. Zeus, in trying to persuade them to help him in his war against Cronos, his father, and the Titans for control of the Universe, asks that they fight with him, "*μνησθήμενοι φιλότητος ἐνέος*," ("remembering kind friendship,") (line 651). *φιλότητος* could also be the general feeling of obligation and reciprocity that existed among the gods themselves; i.e. there must have been *αἶδώς* in their dealings with each other, just as there was among mortal fellow-warriors, relatives, etc.

They were prospective warriors and had to think of their *aídeus*, but, more important than that, they had a debt to repay. Zeus clearly intends that they consider themselves under obligation for being freed from imprisonment. Here *φιλότητος* takes on a specific connotation of obligation. The hundred-armed monsters must reciprocate and fight for Zeus as a means of paying back his kindness in releasing them from their imprisonment.

In Works and Days, Hesiod is advising a friend of his named Perses. In line 342, he advises him to "*τὸν φιλέοντ' ἐπὶ δαίτῃ καλεῖν*," ("call the one being friendly to a feast"). Perhaps *φιλέοντ'* refers to guest-friendship, and Hesiod is telling his friend to be sure and reciprocate acts of guest-friendship. In line 353, he advises him to "*τὸν φιλέοντα φιλεῖν*," ("be friends with the friendly,"). Again, there could be the same connotation of guest-friendship - "entertain (or "be the host for") the one being a guest friend (to you)."

Turning to the lyric poets, there is an occurrence of the word *φιλία* in one of Sappho's fragments (number 92). This word does not appear in the works of Homer or Hesiod. The fragment is probably part of a letter written to Charaxus, her brother, about

his affair with a courtesan, "... ἢ / πολυμέραν φιλίαν
 μέμειζαι / καὶ καλὸν δοκεῖσθαι τὸ δαμόσιον," ("with whom you have
 joined in random sex, which considers beautiful the
 public affair.") In Fragment 120, Sappho says to a
 handsome man, "ἑσταθι, κέντα <ἔμμε > φίλον > φίλος," ("Stand
 up, and, face to face, make me a lover, dear one.")
 Here, φίλος is used strictly in a sexual sense, which,
 as a substantive, does not appear in Homer's or Hesiod's
 works.

Plato has preserved a fragment (number 23) of
 Solon's in his work Lysis: "Ὀλβιος ἔσται παῖδες τε φίλοι καὶ
 κύνες ἵπποι / καὶ κύνες ἀγρεύται καὶ ξένος
 ἀλλοδαπός," ("Fortunate is the man for whom children,
 whole-hooved horses, hunting dogs, and a guest-friend
 in foreign parts are dear.") He reasons that people
 are not lovers of horses unless the horses love them
 in turn (likewise with quails, dogs, wisdom, etc.), or,
 he goes on, do they love without the objects of their
 love being friends (φίλοι), proving Solon wrong? Plato
 uses for "love" and "lover" φίλος and its cognates. He
 is trying to point out the obscurity of the meaning of
 φίλος and its cognates. He resolves this dilemma
 by considering the loved object a friend whether it
 loves, hates, or is disinterested or incapable of
 loving. In other words, the reciprocity of feeling that

is so common in the use of φίλος in Homer is not necessary. It is enough for love that one party loves and the other is loved.

Theognis has definite qualifications and limitations for φίλοι ; he even makes distinctions among them. Lines 101-2 reveal his aristocratic prejudice: "Μηδεὶς δ' ἀνθρώπων πείσῃ κακὸν ἄνδρα φίλῃσσι,
κυρὸν τί δ' ἔστ' ὄϊλος δειλὸς ἀνὴρ φίλος ὤν

;" ("May no one persuade you to befriend an evil man, Cyrnus; what advantage is a friend who is ignoble?"). Cyrnus is a young man whom Theognis advises in many of these poems. The κακοί (κακοί) were those who were not καλοὶ κάγαθοί or the nobility. The word κακός does mean "bad, evil, cowardly," but it probably took on these meanings from the disdain of them (the κακοί) by the nobility. κακὸν ἄνδρα would probably be better translated as "a man of the lower class." In another quote, he seems to give a reason for this disdain - their greed for private gain as rulers of the city. The κακοί ruin the city, "εὖτ' ἂν τοῖσι κακοῖσι φίλ' ἀνθρώποι ταῦτα γένηται," ("when these things (i.e. greed, for private gain) become dear to the base-born,") (line 49).

Theognis also speaks of the townsmen, ἀστοί (αστοί), who evidently are to be considered in the same class with

the *κακοί*, or who perhaps are the *κακοί*. The nobility of Theognis' time were large land-holders, so the *κακοί* would be those who were not large land-holders - tenant farmers and artisans, who lived in the city. He advises the son of Polypaús to befriend the townsmen only out of need and not to trust them in serious affairs, "*Μηδένα τῶνδε φίλον ποιεῖς*,
... ἄλλα δόκει μὲν πᾶσιν ἀπὸ γλώσσης φίλος εἶναι," ("Make no one of these (the townsmen) your friend,but make it seem to all that you are a friend from your tongue,") (lines 61-3).

Again, Theognis says, "*Μήποτέ τοι κακὸν ἄνδρα φίλον ποιεῖσθαι ἐπαγγέλῃς*," ("Never make the base-born man a dear comrade,") (line 113.). When you make one mistake in your dealings with the *κακοί*, "*τῶν πρόσθεν πάντων ἐκκέχυται φιλότης*," ("the friendship from everything before is poured out,") (line 110).

Yet some of his statements seem hardly reconcilable, even almost contradictory. In line 1080, he says, "*οὐδέ μὲν αἰνέσω δειδὸν ἔοντα φίλον*," ("I will not praise a friend that is wretched (or "ignoble"),") yet he complains about the fickleness of his friends: "*τῶν δὲ φίλων εἰ μὲν τις ὅρα μέ τι δειδὸν ἔχοντα*," ("if someone of my friends sees me in somewhat wretched condition,") (line 857), he ignores him.

How can Theognis expect his φίλοι to help him when he is δειδός, when he will not praise nor consider an advantage (line 102) a δειδός? Another quote with this same contradictory quality is lines 325-7.

"Εἴ τις ἀμαρτυλήσῃ φίλων ἐπὶ παντὶ καὶ ὤνῳ,
οὐ ποτ' ἂν ἀλλήλοισ ἀρεθμοῖσιν οὐδέ φίλοι

εἶεν

," ("If

someone always gets angry at the mistakes of friends, they will never be united and friends with each other.")

How can they be φίλοι in the first place?

It is also very strange how Theognis differentiates among his φίλοι. He advises Cyrnus, "Πρῆξιν μὲν φίλοισιν ἔλυσ ἀνακοινέο πάσι," ("Don't share your business wholly with all your friends,") (line 73). He tells him that few of his φίλοι can be trusted. Later he asks, "Ζεὺς μοι τῶν τε φίλων δοῖν τίσιν οἱ' με φιλεῖσιν," ("May Zeus give me the power to repay those of my friends who love me,") (line 337). It seems that just as there are φίλοι whom he cannot trust, there are φίλοι who do not like him. Perhaps φιλεῖσιν has a guest-friendship connotation here; it could mean "entertain," but, at any rate, φίλος has lost the connotation of reciprocity and obligation that it had in Homer's works.

Moreover Theognis seems to have a great deal

of trouble with his φίλοι. He complains on two occasions (line 575 and line 813) of being betrayed by his φίλοι. Above was mentioned the fickleness of Theognis' friends (line 857). In line 697, he says, "Εὖ μὲν ἔχοντας ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ φίλοι," ("When I am faring well, I have many friends,") adding that when he isn't there are few loyal people. He tells Cynrus, "Μὴ μ' ἄεκοντα λίην κεντῶν ἐπ' ἄμαζαν ἔλανε / εἰς φιλότητα (βίη, Κύρνε, προσελκόμενος" ("Don't drive me, goading me exceedingly, when I am not willing, under the yoke, Cynrus, by drawing me into friendship.") (lines 371-2). Again, it is apparent that φίλος and its cognates have no connotations of reciprocity and obligation. Where in Homer is there an unwilling partner in a φιλική relationship? Even in a guest-friend relationship Theognis is very pessimistic. "Μή ποτε φεύγοντ' ἄνδρα ἐπὶ ἐλπίδι, Κύρνε, φιλικός," ("Never be a guest-host to a man in exile with a hope for the future, Cynrus,") (line 333). He realizes that the man will change his mind when he gets home.

Theognis also uses φίλος and its cognates several times in a sexual sense. He says of a female lover, "ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὸν παρόντα φιδεῖ," ("but she always loves the one who is present,") (line 1368). He tells a boy that he doesn't want him to drive him

to despair, "μηδὲ με σὴ φιλότης δύναιτο Περσεφόνης / οἴκηται
 προφέροντα ." ("nor that my love for you should
 carry me away to the house of Persephone;") (lines
 1296-7). A boy is compared to a horse who has lost
 its rider and lets anyone ride it who feeds it, "ὥς
 δ' αὖτις καὶ παῖς τὸν παρόντα φιλῇ," ("and so in like
 manner a boy loves him who is present,") (line 1270).
 He says of pederasty, "Χρὴ γὰρ τοι περὶ παῖδα
 πονοῦμενον εἰς φιλότητα ὥσπερ κληματίνην χεῖρα πυρὶ
 προσάγειν ," ("It is necessary that one distressed over
 a boy for love act as if he is putting his hand in
 a fire of vine twigs,") (lines 1359-60).

Anacreon also has an example of *φίλος* in
 a sexual sense. In Fragment 78, he says to a boy,
 ".....ἀλλὰ πρόπινε / ρεδινούς, ἔ φίλε, κρυούς ," ("but
 rather, oh beloved, pledge me your slender thighs."). These
 examples of the use of *φίλος* in certain lyric poets
 show the development of *φίλος* and its cognates after
 Homer. Of course, it retained the same meanings and
 connotations, with the possible exception of the *φιλότης*
 relationship. As an adjective, *φίλος* was still used
 as a possessive and still meant "dear" or "loving."
 There were still connotations of guest-friendship and
 sex, the latter particularly noticeable in the adjectival
 and substantive uses of *φίλος* . As for the connotation

of *φιλότης* as a relationship involving reciprocity and agreement, *φίλος* seems to have pretty much lost this idea in Theognis. The other poets, Alcman, Alcaeus, Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, and Simonides, do not show any new developments in the use of *φίλος*, although there are several new compounds formed from *φίλος* and of fairly straightforward meaning: *φιλόφίλος* - fond of standing at the wings of a choir, *φίλοψυχον* - to be cowardly (lit: to love life), *φιλόκωμος* - fond of finding fault, in addition to several others found in Sappho, Solon, Theognis, and Anacreon.

Throughout this study of the meanings and connotations of *φίλος* and its cognates, an attempt has been made to point out the different connotations and meanings possible in the context of the use of the word. There are ideas of possession, friendship, guest-friendship, *φιλότης* or reciprocity, and sex. To connect these ideas in one simple definition would be difficult, if not impossible, but there are certain concepts that contain some of these ideas. Since *φιλότης* involves the ideas of reciprocity and obligation, guest-friendship can be considered a *φιλότης* relationship. Guest-friends are obligated to each other for food, clothing, shelter, and even military aid, just as there are obligations between parents and children, allies, slaves, and masters,

etc., although perhaps these latter obligations are less formal.

The connection of friendship or love and possession is a more psychological one. C.S. Lewis in his book The Four Loves quotes Kipling, "If England was what England seems 'ow quick we'd drop 'er. But she ain't!" Continuing, he himself points out, "Love never spoke that way. It is like loving your children only 'if they're good,' your wife only while she keeps her looks, your husband only so long as he is famous and successful."⁷ The very idea of possession in certain relationships presumably involves love. This idea of love for one's own is extended to others. "How can I love my home without coming to realize that other men, no less rightly, love theirs?"⁸ So, depending on the context, *φίλη μήτηρ* can mean "my mother" or "my dear mother," because one loves one's mother because she is one's - other reasons are really secondary - or "his mother" or "his dear mother", because one can only love one's own mother with the realization that others love theirs. This same extension to others can be applied to *φίλον ἄνθρωπον* or *κῆρ* and *φίλος οὐχός*, as well as relatives and friends. One's heart or one's life is as dear to one as others' are to them.

So, at least for Homer, the meanings of *φίλος* and

⁷C.S. Lewis, The Four Loves, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1960), pg. 46.

⁸Ibid., pg. 42.

its cognates can be grouped under the connection of possession with love and friendship, the idea of guest-friendship as a reciprocal arrangement or *φιλότης* , and sex and erotic love. Most of these meanings remain in the works of Hesiod and the lyric poets, except for that of *φιλότης* in Theogonis, for whom friendship is not the same as for Homer. True friendship is difficult to find and even more difficult to keep, so he must content himself with "friendships" of convenience, always using discretion and never fully reciprocating.

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