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**FOR THE FUNCTION OF TWO TERMS αγγελο~ AND θυρυx**

**DENOTING A MESSENGER IN HOMERIC EPICS**

In Homeric epics, the institution of messengers holds a peculiar place in the system of important relations. In the ancient world as well as in modern life, a messenger’s service was a communication means which enabled one party to deliver a message to the other through a messenger. Remarkably, the phenomenon has diversified functions in Homeric epics while messengers’ functions, missions, statuses and their roles in the society are quite differentiated. In *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the system of relationships extends vertically as well as horizontally i.e. operates among gods as well as among humans. It should be noted that at either level, diplomatic mission is carried out by the individuals specially commissioned to act so, while those not in charge of the duties, sometimes, undertake the mission under certain circumstances. The poet chiefly uses two terms αγγελο~ and θυρυx to refer to a messenger. A large number of lexical formatives related to the notion of ambassadorial functions is derived from these roots. From the modern perspective, it is, naturally, hard to determine the precise meaning of any lexeme. The paper attempts to trace at least approximate semantics of the mentioned terms related to the performance of ambassadorial duties. The word αγγελο~ denotes "a messenger", "an ambassador", "an envoy". So far, the precise etymology of the root is unknown. Chantraine and Frisk\(^1\) believe αγγελο~ has Oriental origin and offer their own versions. They link its origin to the term αγγαρο~ and consider it a borrowing from one of the Oriental languages, Iranian in particular, which the majority of scholars finds convincing.\(^2\) According to Frisk, αγγαρο~ comes from the Persian source or at least has the Babylonian origin. He links the

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term to "argu", which means "a mediator". The word ἄγγελος referred to a mounted herald who was in charge of delivering royal messages to Persia (Hdt. 8,98; Xenop. Theopomp. Hist.). Later, from the 5th century B.C., Greek literature mentions the term and corresponding compounds and derivatives. However, we do not come across ἄγγελος in Homeric epics.

It is interesting to identify the following: what sense does Homeric ἄγγελος convey? who is the person in charge of the corresponding function? how is the meaning of the word understood and used in the epics?

First of all, the term is used to refer to the persons who have the function of a messenger and generally determines their functional essence. So-called "official ambassadors" at the level of gods are Iris and Hermes. They are under Zeus’ direct protection and accomplish their duties under his service. Homeric epics strictly observe hierarchy and define the power balance among gods. All what happens in the poems is closely linked to the fulfillment of Zeus’ will from the very start. Unlike other gods, Zeus never takes part in wars nor carries out any functions except for giving orders and supervising. His function is to maintain order and justice on the earth. Correspondingly, he does not undertake ambassadorial functions either.

In Iliad, Iris most frequently appears in the role of Zeus’ messenger: "The messenger of Zeus am I" (II. 24, 173). Iris is Zeus’ messenger (and not only Zeus’). Her function is to deliver orders and messages. However, Homeric poems imply ambassadorial commitments as well. Iris is charged not only with delivering information but also with executing the god’s decision and persuading the other party regarding the issue. When Zeus sees that Achaeans with the help of Poseidon force Trojans to retreat, he immediately calls Iris and Apollo through Hera. Zeus orders them to stop Poseidon so as to enable Hector to get prepared for next struggles (II. 15, 157-218). Remarkably, apart from delivering Zeus’ order to Poseidon, Iris advises him to obey Zeus’ will as the Cronid is superior to all in might. It is interesting to find out whether Iris is concerned with Poseidon’s lot in case Zeus bursts in rage, or whether her duties include precise execution of the supreme god’s will. We believe Iris’ function is to persuade the other side as her mission is specifically result-oriented. The passage implies the Homeric principle: Every conflict that starts upon the supreme will ends upon his will as well. Poseidon appreciates and,

6 ἄγγελος: Dio, ἄγγελος ἐν εἰμί (II. 24, 173).
7 Goredzian R., Abwandlungsformen der traditionellen Struktur des Mythos in der griechischen und römischen Heldendichtung, Lekt. 206.
correspondingly, follows Iris’ advice: "It is a fine thing when a messenger knows what is fitting" (Il, 15, 207). Iris, a kindly advisor, frequently appears in the poem. She addresses the army or people, warns them against a pending danger and gives helpful advice to heroes on her own initiative i.e. her function extends at the level of mortals as well. Homer makes obvious attempts to present to the fullest degree possible his own interpretation of relations between gods and mortals. In most cases, gods get in touch with humans through messengers. Zeus sends Iris to Ilion to see Priam. The messenger delivers to the king the Cronid’s message to offer Achilles a gift, which would compel the hero to let him take Hector’s corpse: "Zeus’ messenger addressed Priam in a hardly audible (low) voice, and [Priam’s] body started trembling" (Il, 24. 169-170). Iliad abounds in the passages when the term Αγγελος (Zeus’ messenger) refers to Iris. However, in the poem, the goddess-messenger fulfills the function on her own initiative. When she wished to inform Helen on the cessation of the war and tell her only Paris and Menelaus were to meet in single combat, Iris appeared before her under the guise of Laodice, Priam’s daughter: "Iris the messenger appeared before fair-haired Helen" (Il, 3, 121).

Homerinc epics also mention some of the compounds derived from the term Αγγελος: ΜεταΑγγελος, ΦευδαΑγγελος, Ευα Αγγελον. The compound ΜεταΑγγελος, is always used to refer to Iris. Although the root of Αγγελος is preceded with the prefix metα the sense of the compound noun is not changed. Homer twice (23, 199, 15, 144) uses the term to refer to Iris in Iliad. "When she heard his prayers, the messenger rushed away with the wind" (Il, 23, 199).

Remarkably enough, the compound ΜεταΑγγελος is not mentioned by any other author after Homer. The compound noun ΦευδαΑγγελος means "a false messenger". Iliad mentions the term only once. "Away with you, swift Iris, to lord Poseidon and tell him all, be not a false messenger" (Il., 15, 158-159). Homer does not use the term to refer to Iris. To our belief, the poet intends to underline in general the existence of bearers of false information in the period. Later authors use

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8 Εξαλωκά τοι μη νημαται, ο(ν) ιομελος αισιμα ειδη& (Il. 15, 207).
9 στην προοδρομον Διον Αγγελον, ηδη προσθες η τυχον ηθηκα μετατραγανομεν το ον δε το ρομο ελλατε γυια (Il. 24. 169-170).
10 Ις δ βεοτειο Ποσειδονι ανατιμετα ιομελο μη μην αγγειον (Il. 3, 121).
11 Ebeling H., Lexikon Homericum, I Aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1885, 1076.
12 αι τε εμαυσα μετα Αγγελο α η η ιομελο α ελαιο恪 (Il. 23, 199).
13 βασκ ιιπι, Ιρα η και, Ποσειδωνι αγακτι παμτα η α(ν)ιομελο (Il. 15, 158-159).
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the verb _eudaggelew_ derived from the noun. The verb means "to be a false messenger or a false angel". However, Homer does not mention the verb.

*Odyssey* mentions a derived compound _euggevion_ (euggevion devmoi eftw Od. 14, 152). wftw, which denotes a thank-offering given to a messenger for good-tidings. The term has this very sense in the Homeric epic. In Attic dialect, the term was always used in plural14 – _euggevia_, which gradually altered its meaning and it came to denote "good news", "delightful news" – the compound acquires a significant place in the Christian literature. The Christian Holy Scripture (the Gospel, the Acts of Apostles, the Epistles and the Revelation) are called _euggevia_.

In Homeric texts, another so-to-say "official envoy" is Hermes. If *Iliad* chiefly mentions Iris as Zeus' messenger, in *Odyssey* the duty is accomplished by Hermes and correspondingly, as the bearer of the function, Hermes is referred to as _aggelo~:_ "Hermes, you are my messenger after all"15 (Od. 5, 29).

Zeus sends Hermes as his "official envoy" to nymph Calypso. He is to inform the nymph about Zeus' will to let Odysseus leave the Island so that the hero could return home. Hermes' words clearly express his status and duty before Zeus. He says he pays Calypso a visit upon Zeus' will and talks generally about gods' pantheon, accentuating, however, Zeus' superiority. The passage once again emphasizes the power balance among the immortals; no one can change the Cronid's word. Both mortals and the immortals have to obey Zeus' will. Through emphasizing hierarchy among gods, Hermes attempts to persuade the nymph that Zeus' will must be executed so as to successfully accomplish his result-oriented mission. Although Calypso is not much delighted with Zeus' decision, she has to obey the will of the Supreme. Hermes, who is charged with mediation between the two immortals is referred to as _aggelo~_. Like that of Iris, Hermes' function as of a messenger extends at the level of mortals as well. Zeus sent Hermes as an envoy to Aegisthus. Hermes warned him not to murder Agamemnon as his heir would revenge (Od. 1. 35-43).

By the time described in Homeric epics, Greeks believed gods interfered with mortals' lives. They used to inform humans of their will either through a messenger or a divine sign. However, sometimes the warning was so explicit that there was no need to explain it.16 One of the divine signs is a dream

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15 Jerome: su; gavr au	e tav t j alla per aggelo~ epsi: (Od. 5, 29).
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( \text{Oneiro~}), which Zeus sends to a hero. Agamemnon sees a sinister dream sent by Zeus, where a messenger disguised as Nestor gives him advice to send Achaecans to the battle-field. He states he is Zeus’ messenger (\text{Dio~ dev t\text{o}i \text{a}ggelo~ eijmi II. 2, 26) and is executing his will. The Cronid, who takes care of Agamemnon in the heaven as well, promises to help him take Troy. At the same time, Ossa the messenger called the army for resuming the struggle. In Homeric epics, the duties of Zeus’ messenger is fulfilled by Ossa as well (\text{Ossa Dio~ a}ggelo~ II. 2, 93; \text{Ossa ek Dio~ Od. 24, 413). She is an abstract goddess in the mythology represented as a traveling sound. She only spreads words among the army men and inspires them to fight. \text{Ossa} itself, in Attic \text{a}tt\text{a h} means "a voice", "a word", "noise". Interestingly, Zeus’ messenger appears in Homeric texts as an abstract creature and delivers Zeus’ messages to people only with her voice. In certain cases, the duties of Zeus’ messengers are fulfilled by other gods as well. Upon Zeus’ directions, Thetis goes to Achilles and informs him of the Cronid’s will to accept Priam’s offering in return for Hector’s body. It is very important that Zeus sends his mother in the capacity of his messenger (\text{Dio~ a}ggelo~) to the son of Peleus as well although the duty could have been accomplished by Zeus’ "official messengers". In our opinion, Homer accentuates selection of a person to perform the duty as a guarantee for the successful outcome of the mission. The function of Zeus’ messenger (\text{Dio~ a}ggelo~) is performed solely by gods; only immortals have the privilege to act so; only they are capable of fulfilling Zeus’ mission. Thetis is not Zeus’ "official messenger", neither does the mission specify her functional essence; however, being immortal she can become Zeus’ messenger and enjoy the envoy’s status. To our belief, this is why Homer refers to her as to \text{a}ggelo~ in that episode. In \text{Iliad}, the duties of a messenger are performed by Athena as well. This happens when Athena takes the responsibility to deliver some information: "Athena the messenger came"\textsuperscript{17} (\text{II. 11, 714). Through messenger Helios (\text{a}ggelo~ \text{Hlio~}, \text{Od. 8, 270) Hephaestus learns about Aphrodite’s affair with Ares. The function of Apollo’s messenger is performed by chorus who is also called \text{a}ggelo~ ("The swift messenger of Apollo, \text{Od. 15, 526).}\textsuperscript{18}

Interestingly, in several cases, the word \text{a}ggelo~ is used in the sense of a messenger in general and implies a mortal bearer of news. "But the devoted messenger did not come to inform"\textsuperscript{19} (\text{II. 22, 438). The passage refers to Andromache being informed about Hector’s death.

\textsuperscript{17} \text{Akth a}ggelo~ \text{Hlio~ (II. 11, 714).}
\textsuperscript{18} \text{Kunr}, \text{Apoklno~ ta}gu~ \text{a}ggelo~ (\text{Od. 15, 526).}
\textsuperscript{19} \text{oujgaw o}\text{ti~ e}\text{thvumo~ a}ggelo~ \text{ejw}n h\text{ggile (II. 22, 438).}
Bearers of news are also called kh`rux. The word kh`rux means "a herald". There are several different opinions on the etymology of the term. The majority of scholars identify the root of the word as kår. Boisacq linked the etymology of the term kh`rux to the verb karkaivrw ("buzz", "done"). According to him, the verb was composed as a result of the intensive reduplication of the root kår, which is of onomatopoeic (sound-imitating) origin. In Sanskrit, car-kar-ti means "to mention through praise". According to Frisk, the Sanskrit word kār(v) ("a singer", "a poet") is identical to the Greek karkaivrw. Chantraine also related the origin of the term kh`rux to the Sanskrit kārvand assumed – k- could be expressive in the word. The word karuke appears in Mycenaean (PY Fn 187, Un 219), while Dorian and Aeolian have kh`rux. Scientific analysis reveals the Indo-European origin of the mentioned term itself.

It is interesting to trace how Homer understood and applied the term and what place the individuals with corresponding function held in the society. Heralds were gentle mortals who served kings or nobles. This honorary position was directly protected by Zeus. Heralds enjoyed high reputation in the society. Their chief accessory is was scepter, which made them distinguished from ordinary folk. It also served as the sign of their royal dignity, authority and high reputation. In past, a scepter was used to indicate social status and position. The scepter of a messenger is often called the scepter of peace as well. The bearers of the scepter, as the judges of the assemblies and protectors of justice, called for public peace and gave them right to express their opinions only by pointing at them with the scepter or presenting them "this royal accessory". Later, in Athens the messengers of legal officers had the same functions, and afterwards the mission was committed to "Boule and the messengers of people" (khv`rux t th`~ boul h`~ kai tou`d`hmou), which points to the gradual extension of the sphere of their service.

Detailed analysis of Homeric poems enables to single out the functions mortal messengers were in charge of. They were to spread information, call people for a public meeting or a struggle, maintain order when cases were discussed in agora, be at king’s service and take part in the offering ritual.

The primary duty of a herald is to deliver or spread information. Heralds as bearers of news in general frequently appear in the poems. "The herald was sent to Odysseus’ palace to tell the news to sensible Penelope"\textsuperscript{27} (\textit{Od.} 16, 328-329).

Mortal heralds, in fact, have the function of mediators between the king and people. They are charged with the mission by the king himself and that is why their enjoy high reputation in the society. The heralds spread information on the start of a war and invite people to assemblies. In these cases, they are authorized to make public the will and order of the Master. "At once called Agamemnon the loud-voiced heralds, so that they inform the long-haired Achaeans about the struggle"\textsuperscript{28} (\textit{II.} 2, 442-444).

After Zeus sent the sinister dream to Agamemnon, the king, immediately upon waking up, ordered heralds to gather the Achaean army. The heralds fulfilled the order at a short notice. They never reveal the cause for the assembly at the King’s palace as it is not their duty. Agamemnon himself says it when addressing the gathered army. It happens after the nine shouting heralds (\textit{ejne\=w khrue\=e~ bo\=ownte~}) pacify the excited army. Along with spreading information, heralds have other social functions as well. They are charged with keeping order during case discussions at the assemblies or in agora. Achilles’ shield made by Hephaestus bears the following scene: two men argue about the compensation money for a murder. One of them claims to have completely covered the amount while the other denies the fact. The people around are spilt into two. Remarkably, the process is supervised by heralds. They pacify the exited parties i.e. maintain order in agora and at the same time present their scepter to either of the parties to give them opportunity for self-defense or for making a statement. Homeric poems normally do not name the executers of the above mentioned duties and presents them as king’s heralds in general. In one of the episodes in \textit{Iliad} (2, 280), Athena, in the shape of a herald calls people for peace. In this case, the goddess acts as a herald for the mortal king on her own initiative. Apollo undertakes the same function. He addresses Eneas with the words of compassion disguised as Periphas, a former herald (\textit{II.} 17, 324). The term \textit{khrux} is also applied to Hermes who executes the mission of Zeus’ herald. Hermes is the protector of heroes and the guide of souls. Homer applies to him the following epithets: \textit{pompo\=w} ("a guide", "a guard", \textit{II.} 24, 153, 182, 437, 416) or \textit{o\=b\=oi\=pov~} ("a companion", "a guide", \textit{II.} 24, 375; \textit{Od.} 11, 626), which convey the exact content of the mentioned duties.

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{27} \textit{aujta;r khvuka proes\=an domon eij~ Ẑdushô~, aggel\=i\=bm ej\=e\=u\=nta peri\=ô\=roni P\=hnelope\=u}(\textit{Od.} 16, 328-329).
\textsuperscript{28} \textit{aujika khrue\=s\=i liguf qoggo\=isi ke\=vezuse khrue\=sin pokemo\=w de ka\=w\=h komownta\=} \textit{Â\=caiou\=v}: (\textit{II.} 2, 442-444).
\end{footnotesize}
Apart from "common" heralds who are in charge of spreading information, *Iliad* and *Odyssey* also mention "official" heralds. Like the supreme god, the king never does any duty, including ambassadorial one, but for giving orders and supervision.

*Odyssey* frequently mentions Medon, a herald of Penelope’s suitors. Although not an "official herald" of the Queen of Ithaca, he chiefly informs her of all on his own will. In fact, it was his devoted service that rescued him from Odysseus’ rage on his return home. Medon overheard the suitors talk, who intended to set an ambush to murder Telemachus on his way to find something out about Odysseus. He immediately rushed to the palace to tell Penelope about the suitors’ evil intention. "Medon the herald informed [Penelope] on the agreement between them [the suitors] in the palace court"\(^{29}\) (*Od. 4, 676-677*).

Medon informs the queen and leaves the palace. In fact, he only gives the information, while advice was offered by devoted Euryclea. Medon is called kh`rux. Correspondingly, Medon’s duty as of kh`rux is only to deliver information. The functions of the immortal messengers (άγγελοί) are different. They frequently appear as kind advisors, whose advice is considered even by gods. A herald’s speech, in terms of its length, is often short and informative, while the function of an immortal messenger surpasses the limits of a mere informer. The latter is charged with a special mission by Zeus and correspondingly, his / her speech reflects his / her duties. The immortal messenger applies both logics and emotional impact to reach the aim and execute Zeus’ will on the earth, while mortal heralds do not have the mission to persuade. They hardly ever express their own position, try to keep neutral, but are always on the guard of the king’s interests as the devoted servants of the state. So, there is quite a difference between the functional implications of heralds called kh`rux and "Zeus’ messengers" (Διός αγγέλοις), which is another proof of the differentiated presentation of messengers’ diversified functions and inner hierarchy in Homeric poems.

It is interesting to consider such characters as Talthybius, Eurybates and Idaeus – king’s "official" heralds in Homeric poems. According to Herodotus, Talthybius is considered protector of heralds in the Greek mythology. Even a temple was erected in Sparta in his honour.\(^{30}\) His descendents are called Talthybiades (Ταλκυβιαδαι).\(^{31}\) They succeed to the position of an ambassa-

\[^{29}\text{kh`rux gav oijebipe M eawn, of epeumeto bou l a`-}
\hspace{1cm} aulh` ekto~ ewn: oijd jehdoqi mhtin ufainon. (Od. 4, 676-677).\]

\[^{30}\text{Мифы народов мира, Энциклопедия, т.2, Москва, 2001, 491.}\]

\[^{31}\text{Friedrich Lübkers Reallexikon des Klassischen Altertums, J.Gefüchen und E.Ziebarth, Berlin 1914, 1010.}\]
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dor and regard Talthybius as their ancestor. Eurybates is Odysseus’ private herald who also executes Agamemnon’s will in the Trojan War. He is not good-looking but is highly appreciated owing to his reason. Eurybates serves Priam, king of Troy.

The heralds have special functions in Homeric epics; they execute king’s orders and participate in the offering rituals. At the same time, they are kings’ companions in the situations of paramount importance. Although they hold honorary position and enjoy high reputation in the society, neither of them is sent to the other party with the intention to persuade. In Song I, Iliad, Agamemnon sends Talthybius and Eurybates to Achilles for Briseis. The king is self-confident and is certain the hero will obey his will. The heralds are not charged with the mission to persuade; they only are to execute Agamemnon’s will while the persuasive mission is carried by well-known individuals who in fact act as envoys in critical situations. Remarkably, Odysseus, Phoenix and Aias are delegated to Achilles in the capacity of "official envoys". Homer calls them klhtoiv ("the shosen") (Il. IX, 165). Each of the three selected has his own particular function. Therefore, each of them conducts negotiations in a different direction. The delegation was accompanied with two heralds – Eurybates and Odius, who are called kh`rux. The following question requires proper consideration: What place do they hold among the delegates and what are their functions in the mission? The heralds do not participate in talks with Achilles but have other duties. Their function is demonstrated at a special ritual performed by particular individuals. It is the so-called "purification" ritual performed before initiating any work. It is Eurybates and Odius who perform the ritual while being called kh`rux. Although the term a[ggel0-chiefly refers to immortal messengers of the supreme god, the poet calls Talthybius, Eurybates and Idaeus, who in fact are heralds, "the messengers of gods and men" (Il. 1, 334; 7, 274). We should bear in mind that these heralds never accomplish their duties at the level of the immortals. Homer distinguishes heralds according to their responsibilities and missions. Among the mortal heralds mentioned in the poem Talthybius, Eurybates and Idaeus have specific functions and enjoy special respect, which is testified by the fact that Homer refers to them with the term a[ggel0 as well. So, as early as Homeric times, we may conclude that the terms a[ggel0 and kh`rux had their respective senses and functional implications directly related to the duties of ambassadors, and in particular, of messengers. The poem distinctly differentiates the

33 caivete, khvuke~, Dio a[ggeloi hpe; kai; a[drwh, —
(I welcome you, heralds, messengers of gods and men) (Il. 1, 334).
functions of messengers expressed through using different terms. Homer chiefly uses the term αγέλο- to refer to the messengers who directly serve Zeus and execute his will, which determines their functional essence. Another important point to mention is that Zeus’ messengers are the immortals only and the accomplishment of the mission is their privilege. Their functions extend at the level of gods as well as men. Along with information delivery, their duties also include persuasion. As concerns mortal heralds, they are merely bearers of news and are never delegated with the purpose of persuasion. Their responsibilities never extend at the level of the immortals. They directly serve the king. Unlike immortal messengers, along with disseminating information, they are charged with other functions as well – they maintain order in agora when cases are discussed and participate in offering rituals. The two terms to denote messengers have different implications to quite a remarkable degree. However, the common mission that unites them and makes them synonymous is that of delivering or spreading information. It is their primary duty at both levels – of men and gods.

It should be noted that in the course of time, the semantics of the term αγέλο- altered. Already in the antiquity it was enriched with additional senses while in Christianity it acquired a special meaning. Since the term denoted a bearer of news at the level of gods already in the antiquity, and was used by Homer to refer to Zeus’ messengers (Διο- αγέλο-), we may presume that the word with such a meaning came to denote "the Lord’s messenger". An angel is an ethereal, unbounded mediator between God and humans. The New Testament makes its significant role for the human world even more conspicuous and precise. It frequently mentions αγέλο- κυρίου (God’s messenger, the angel of the Lord), who declares God’s will on the earth.