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Maria Broggiato

A Scented Dress: *Il.* 14. 172 and *P.Tebt.* 697 (*Od.* 5. 232ab)

This contribution will discuss a well-known Homeric problem, the unique word $\&\delta\alpha\nu\tilde{\phi}$ that occurs in the description of Hera's dressing in the *lliad* (14. 172). This famous scene contains a detailed account of the goddess' preparations for her meeting with Zeus on Mount Ida (14. 170-186): Hera anoints her body with oil, combs her braids, fastens her dress with golden pins, puts on a belt with tassels and earrings; lastly, she dons a cloth headdress (κρήδεμνον) and ties her sandals to her feet. She then seeks out Aphrodite, to ask her for the enchanted band she will need to seduce Zeus (187 ff.)¹.

1.

This dressing scene is one of a series of type-scenes of female cleansing, dressing and adornment in the epics and follows a traditional pattern found in other parallel passages from Homer and archaic epic poetry². The importance of the occasion, as usual in Homer, explains the length and the richness of details we find in our passage, as compared with similar scenes in Greek hexameter epic. Its closest parallels are *Odyssey* 8. 364-366 (Aphrodite, who has been surprised with Ares by Hephaestus, flees to Paphos, and is washed and dressed by the Charites)³, and the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite (5. 61-63): here the goddess' attendants wash and dress her before her meeting with Anchises⁴. Similar scenes recur in the *Cypria* (fr. 4 Bernabé), where the Charites and the Horai dip ($\check{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\psi\alpha\nu$) Aphrodite's dress in spring flowers, so that she wears

on scenes of allurement and seduction in particular Forsyth 1979, pp. 107-120. See also Brillet-Dubois 2011, p. 109 f. (on the parallel scene in Hom. *Hymn Ven.* 61-63).

 3 Od. 8. 364-366: ἔνθα δέ μιν Χάριτες λοῦσαν καὶ χρῖσαν ἐλαίω, / ἀμβρότω, οἶα θεοὺς ἐπενήνοθεν αἰὲν ἐόντας, / ἀμφὶ δὲ εἵματα ἕσσαν ἐπήρατα, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι. Compare also Od. 18. 192-194, where Athena makes Penelope more attractive with the immortal oil used by Aphrodite.

All quotations from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* will be from M. L. West's editions (1998-2000 and 2017). Readings of the text of the Homeric hymns are taken from Allen-Halliday-Sikes 1936.
W. Arend already connected the pattern found in these scenes to the arming of a warrior (1933, p. 97 f.); many of them are found in a context of seduction. On type-scenes of dressing and adornment see especially Janko 1992, p. 173 ff.; Edwards 1992, p. 312 f., with earlier bibliography;

⁴ See the text of this passage below, at the end of this paragraph. These lines of the hymn describe the dressing of Aphrodite using traditional material also found in *Iliad* 14 and in *Odyssey* 8: a summary of the recent discussion on the relationship between these scenes is in Brillet-Dubois 2011, p. 109 f.

scented clothes $(\tau \epsilon \theta \nu \omega \mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu \alpha \ \epsilon \H{i} \mu \alpha \tau \alpha)^5$, and in the sixth Homeric hymn (II. 5-14), where the Horai dress Aphrodite just emerged from the sea and introduce her to the other gods. Lastly, some elements of these scenes appear in the dressing of Pandora in Hesiod (Op. 73-76 and Theog. 573-584). Simpler versions of the sequence are found in passages describing female dressing only (clothes, belt, headdress): see in the Odyssey the dressing of Calypso (5. 230-232) and of Circe (10. 543-545); on this shorter sequence see my discussion below (§ 3).

This is the relevant passage at the beginning of the scene of Hera's dressing in the *Iliad* (14. 170-174):

ὰμβοοσίη μὲν ποῶτον ἀπὸ χοοὸς ἱμερόεντος λύματα πάντα κάθηρεν, ἀλείψατο δὲ λίπ' ἐλαίφ ὰμβοσίφ ἑδανῷ, τό ῥά οἱ τεθυωμένον ἦεντοῦ καὶ †κινυμένοιο Διὸς κατὰ χαλκοβατὲς δῶ ἔμπης ἐς γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἵκετ' ἀϋτμή⁶.

The problematic word ἑδανῷ occurs at line 172, when Hera covers her body with oil (ἀλείψατο δὲ λίπ᾽ ἐλαίῳ / ἀμβοοσίῳ ἑδανῷ, τό ῥά οἱ τεθυωμένον ῆεν, ll. 171 f.). This hapax is actually a variant in the text, albeit a very strongly attested one: it appears in virtually all the medieval tradition, two papyri, the lexicon of Apollonius Sophista and Herodian⁷. The alternative reading, ἑανῷ, is only sparsely attested: two papyri, a quotation in Heraclitus' Homeric Allegories (39. 4), a quotation in Athenaeus (15. 37 = 15. 688 d-e), and an entry in Hesychius (ε 28 Latte), who explains it as "sweet-smelling, or fine garment" 8.

Interestingly, however, the same line 172, with the alternative reading $\hat{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\tilde{\phi}$, appears in all manuscripts of the dressing scene in the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite (5. 60-63):

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ἔνθ΄ ἥ γ΄ εἰσελθοῦσα θύρας ἐπέθηκε φαεινάς. (= \emph{Il}. 14. 169) ἔνθα δέ μιν Χάριτες λοῦσαν καὶ χρῖσαν ἐλαί\wp (= \emph{Od}. 8. 364) ἀμβρότ\wp, οἶα θεοὺς ἐπενήνοθεν αἰὲν ἐόντας, (= \emph{Od}. 8. 365) ἀμβροσί\wp έαν\wp (mss.: ἑδαν\wp Clarke), τό ῥά οἱ τεθυ\wpμένον ἦεν\wp. (= \emph{Il}. 14. 172)
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⁷ See M. L. West's apparatus on the line in his edition of the *Iliad* and West 2001b, p. 122; the papyri are Bibl. Brit. Add. MS. 17210 (sixth cent. AD) and P. Mert. 1.3 (third cent. AD).

** See P. Bibl. Brit. inv. 732 (P. Lit. Lond. 22, first cent. AD); P. Morgan (fourth cent. AD); Hesych. ε 28 Latte: ἐανῷ· εὐώδει, ἢ λεπτῷ ἱματίῳ (Il. 3. 419). Another entry in Hesychius offers a similar explanation for ἐδανός (Hesych. ε 398 Latte: ἐδανόν· εὐῶδες. ἡδύ. λιτόν).

 9 Modern editors normally consider $\dot{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\bar{\phi}$ in this line a corruption (even if it is the reading found in all medieval manuscripts of the hymn), and print $\dot{\epsilon}\delta\alpha\nu\bar{\phi}$ instead, a conjecture first pro-

⁵ On this fragment see the recent discussion in Verzina 2015.

⁶ «First from her adorable body washed away all stains / with ambrosia, and next anointed herself with ambrosial / sweet olive oil, which stood there in its fragrance beside her, /and from which, stirred in the house of Zeus by the golden pavement, / a fragrance was shaken forever forth, on earth and in heaven» (transl. Lattimore).

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2.

First of all, we should try to understand the significance of the two alternative readings in $\mathit{Iliad}\ 14$, $\&\delta\alpha\nu\tilde{\phi}$ and $\&\alpha\nu\tilde{\phi}$. The $\mathit{Iliad}\ passage$ with the reading $\&\delta\alpha\nu\tilde{\phi}$ was understood in antiquity (as is by most modern scholars) to contain a reference to the oil Hera uses to perfume her body, so that both $\&\alpha\mu\beta\varrho\sigma\sigma(\omega)$ and $\&\delta\alpha\nu\tilde{\phi}$ are runover adjectives referring to $\&\lambda\alpha(\omega)$ in the preceding line. But what is the exact meaning of $\&\delta\alpha\nu\dot{\phi}$? The word was variously explained in antiquity: some connected it with $\dag\delta\nu\zeta$, "sweet" and with $\dag\delta\omega$ (see the Homeric lexicon of Apollonius Sophista p. 62. 21 Bekker and Herodian in the scholia on Il . 14. 172 b Erbse), while others explained it as "fragrant" (see schol. ex. ad Il . 14. 172 b Erbse, schol. D on 14. 172 van Thiel)\(^{10}\). The term $\&\delta\alpha\nu\dot{\phi}\zeta$ reappears in the Hellenistic age, in Nicander's $\mathit{Alexipharmaca}$ (ll. 162 and 181), where its meaning is not clear\(^{11}\). Some years ago, the explanation "sweet" was revived by Charles de Lamberterie, who argued that recent developments in comparative linguistics can support the ancient association of our word with $\dag\delta\nu\zeta$ (1999, pp. 153-166).

M. L. West, who dismisses the ancient interpretations as mere guesses, offers an overview of the modern discussion on the word and suggests himself a different meaning, that is "bridal, suitable for the wedding day", deriving the word from the root seen in ἔεδνα / ἕδνα; this meaning would match the context of our passage in book 14, with the description of Hera's seduction of Zeus¹². As for the alternative reading, ἑἄνός with a short α is a well-attested noun in Homer, meaning "dress" (see (\mathbf{F})έννυμι); it is used for example in *Iliad* 21. 507 (ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ἄο᾽ ἀμβοόσιος ἑανὸς τοέμε, said of the dress of Artemis). In Homer we find also ἑᾶνός -ή -όν, with a long α , an adjective, meaning "fine, thin"; the metre and the sense of our passage, however, rule out the possibility that this word could have been used here¹³.

The reading $\dot{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\tilde{\omega}$ "dress" is generally confined to the critical apparatus by editors of the *Iliad*, who prefer the unique $\dot{\epsilon}\delta\alpha\nu\tilde{\omega}$ as the *lectio difficilior* here;

posed by Samuel Clarke in the eighteenth century. See Allen-Halliday-Sikes 1936 and the discussion in Faulkner 2008, pp. 146-148; also West 2001b, p. 122.

 $^{^{10}}$ See also the other testimonies collected by Erbse in the apparatus to the scholia on *Iliad* 14. 172 (vol. III, p. 597 f.). Alexandrian scholars marked the line with a critical sign, the *diple*, and discussed our passage as a testimony on Homeric language and the difference between the heroes' and the contemporary world; they argued that Homer did not have a single word for "perfume" (μύρον in later Greek) and used the expression $\tau \epsilon \theta \nu \omega \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \alpha \nu$ "scented oil" instead (schol. A on *Il*. 14. 172 c¹ and c² Erbse, going back to the work of Aristonicus on the critical signs used by Aristarchus). See Schmidt 1976, p. 214 f.; Nünlist 2012, p. 212; Schironi 2018, p. 280.

¹¹ The context in Nicander connects it with wine: the scholia on these lines explain it as "sweet" or as the name of a type of vine. See the discussion in Gow 1951, p. 100 f., who believes this must be a different word altogether.

¹² See West 2001b, p. 122 f.

¹³ See West 2001b, p. 122. The adjective ἑανός is used in the *Iliad* to qualify textiles but also the tin beaten out thin to make greaves; it is found in *Il*. 5. 734, 8. 385, 18. 352, 23. 254 (fabric); *Il*. 18. 613 (tin).

also, the meaning "dress" would not easily satisfy the sense of our passage: what has a dress to do with perfumed oil? In 1976, however, André Hurst published an article where he defended the correctness of $\hat{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\tilde{\omega}$ "dress" both in the hymn to Aphrodite and in *Iliad* 14, proposing a completely new interpretation of both passages. Hurst observes that the usage of oiling clothes and garments with perfumed oil is clearly attested in Linear B tablets found in Pylos: the epics here, as in other cases, maintain trace of a forgotten Mycenaean usage that has not been understood in later times. Moreover, the fragment of the Cypria describing the dressing of Aphrodite (fr. 4 Bernabé) is a further testimony of this practice: Aphrodite's clothes are dipped ($\xi \beta \alpha \psi \alpha v$, line 2) in spring flowers, so that her dress is scented ($\tau \epsilon \theta \nu \omega \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \alpha \epsilon \ddot{\iota} \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$, line 7)¹⁴.

Hurst's hypothesis has been taken up and furtherly substantiated by Richard Janko in his commentary on our *Iliad* passage (1992, p. 174 f.), where he translates line 172 = Hom. Hymn Ven. 63 as (oil) "for her immortal dress (ἀμβροσίω ἑαν $\tilde{\omega}$), which was scented". He points out that the phrase αμβρόσιος (\mathbf{F}) $\mathbf{\hat{E}}$ ανός appears twice in the *Iliad*¹⁵, and that the Mycenaean habit of treating clothes with oil to make them shiny and supple can explain phrases such as ἑανῷ ἀργῆτι φαεινῷ (Il. 3. 419) or χιτῶνας / ... στίλβοντας ἐλαίῳ (Il. 18. 595 f., cf. Od. 7. 107: καιρουσσέων δ' όθονέων ἀπολείβεται ύγρὸν ἔλαιον). Janko further suggests that the word used in line 172 is actually an otherwise unattested neuter ἑἄνόν, cognate with the Sanskrit neuter vásanam, "dress" ($\xi \tilde{\alpha} v \acute{o} \varsigma$ in the nominative masculine is found only in Il. 21. 507). This would explain the neuter pronoun the second hemistich, τό ῥά οἱ τεθυωμένον $\tilde{\eta}$ εv , "which was scented". Furthermore, Janko points out another clue in this direction, the participle τεθυωμένον, which must have described clothing originally: it recurs only twice more, always in connection with garments, in the Homeric hymn to Apollo (ἄμβροτα εἵματ' ἔχων τεθυωμένα, l. 184) and in fr. 4. 7 of the *Cypria* (τεθυωμένα εἵματα ἔστο); also, the adjective θυώδης/ θυωδήεις is a standard epithet of fabric and clothes in archaic epic poetry 16 .

Most importantly, the striking image of Hera's dress moving as she walks and filling with its scent heaven and earth alike would certainly describe more vividly the strength of the fragrance, compared to the oddness of the traditional reading of the line, where the scent of the oil "moved" in the house of Zeus fills earth and sky, conjuring up, in Janko's words, the bizarre picture of the gods who appear to be stirring vats of oil on Mount Olympus.

338 (ἀμβροσίου διὰ πέπλου).

¹⁴ Hurst 1976, pp. 23-25. This is his translation of *Il*. 14. 170 ff. (p. 25): «Avec de l'ambroisie, tout d'abord, elle (Héra) se purifia / de toute souillure et s'oignit d'huile; / c'est pour son voile divin que cette huile était parfumée.»

15 In the acc. at 178 and in the nominative at 21. 507. See also 3. 385 (νεκταφέου έανοῦ) and 5.

¹⁶ See Od. 5. 264, 21. 52, Hymn Dem. 231, 277, Hymn Merc. 237, cited by Janko 1992, p. 175. On the Homeric practice of oiling clothes see also Verzina 2015, pp. 37-40.

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Ianko concludes that $\dot{\epsilon}$ δαν $\tilde{\omega}$ is better explained as a scribal error for $\dot{\epsilon}$ αν $\tilde{\omega}$ and that the version with $\delta \delta \alpha v \tilde{\omega}$ must have already been the standard text in Alexandria; Athenaeus, who quotes our line with $\dot{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\tilde{\omega}$ (15. 688d-e), is probably reporting a pre-Alexandrian text, which also offers the variant χρόα λευκόν for λ ίπ' ἐλαίω at the end of line 171¹⁷. It is interesting to note that this understanding of line 172 obviates the need for West's crux in the next line (l. 173 f.: τοῦ καὶ †κινυμένοιο Διὸς κατὰ χαλκοβατὲς δῶ / ἔμπης ἐς γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἵκετ' ἀϋτμή): κινυμένοιο is problematic if it refers to the oil, while it would be entirely appropriate if it were used to describe the moving dress of the goddess, whose scent spreads through heaven and earth¹⁸.

This attractive reading of our section of *Iliad* 14 has not found favour with scholars, who have raised a series of objections in defence of the traditionally accepted text of the line, arguing that ἑἄνός (or -óv) in this line would not be an improvement on $\delta \delta \alpha \nu \delta \zeta$ for a number of reasons: the neuter $\delta \delta \alpha \nu \delta \zeta$ introduces another unique word into the text; the translation "for her immortal dress" of the true dative is doubtful in view of Greek usage; the line thus understood would fit awkwardly in the section, as the proper dressing of the goddess takes place only a few lines below, at 178-186; furthermore, the appearance of έἄνός a few lines below (l. 178: ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀμβρόσιον έανὸν $\xi \sigma \alpha \theta$ ') could easily explain the corruption of an original $\xi \delta \alpha v \tilde{\omega}$ in line 172. As for the sense, the most natural interpretation of the line would be to link the adjective $\dot{\alpha}$ μβοοσίω at the beginning of the line with $\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha$ ίω at the end of 171 (as in *Iliad* 23. 186 f., ὁοδόεντι δὲ χρῖεν ἐλαίω / ἀμβροσίω), and to consider $ξδαν\tilde{φ}$ another adjective qualifying ξλαιον. This is a very strong argument, in view of the fact that this construction, with two runover adjectives qualifying a noun in the preceding line, is very common in the epics. Finally, as far as the corresponding line in the hymn to Aphrodite is concerned, the presence of the reading $\dot{\epsilon}\alpha v\tilde{\omega}$ in all medieval manuscripts has been justified with the much narrower foundation of the tradition of the Homeric hymns compared to the *Iliad*¹⁹.

3.

So far, I have tried to lay out as clearly as possible the problem and the reasons in favour of the two contrasting readings of our line in *Iliad* 14. At this point I would like to add a small piece of evidence to the debate. The dressing scene of Calypso in *Odyssey* 5, offering a simplified version of the usual

p. 231; Olson 2012, p. 173; Krieter-Spiro 2015 = 2018, on *Il.* 14. 172.

 $^{^{17}}$ Janko 1992, p. 175. A discussion of possible solutions to this difficulty is in Krieter-Spiro 2015 = 2018, on $\it Il.$ 14. 173. West proposes to refer the participle to Hera "as she moved about in Zeus' house", conjecturing τοῦ καὶ κίνυμένης Ζηνὸς κατὰ ... δῶ: see his app. ad loc. and West 2001a, p. 227.

19 See Ballabriga 1997, p. 121 f.; West 2001b, p. 122; Faulkner 2008, p. 147 f.; Richardson 2010,

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sequence, appears in a longer format in an early papyrus (*P.Tebt.* 697); I would suggest that the plus-verses found in the papyrus can offer some useful elements for our discussion.

This is the passage in question (5. 228 ff.) with the additional lines added as 232a and 232b in bold type (the text of the mss. and of the papyrus is taken from West's edition of the *Odyssey*):

ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ὁοδοδάκτυλος Ἡώς, αὐτίχ' ὁ μὲν χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε ἕννυτ' Ὀδυσσεύς, αὐτὴ δ' ἀργύφεον φᾶρος μέγα ἕννυτο νύμφη, λεπτὸν καὶ χαρίεν, περὶ δὲ ζώνην βάλετ' ἰξυῖ καλήν χουσείην, κεφαλή δ' ἐπέθηκε καλύπτοην. κρ[ηδέ]μνωι δ' ἐφύπερθε καλύ[ψατο δῖα θεάων κα[λ]ῷι νηγα[τέωι], τό ῥά οἱ τεθυ[ωμένον ἦεν. καὶ τότ' Όδυσσῆι μεγαλήτορι μήδετο πομπήν²⁰.

232a = Il. 14. 184 232b = Il, 14, 185 + 172

In *Odyssey* 5. 228 ff. we find Odysseus and Calypso dressing at sunrise to prepare for Odysseus' departure from the island. The dressing of Calypso in lines 230-232 follows the pattern of similar type-scenes found in the epics, but contains only three elements, robe, belt, and headdress ($\kappa\alpha\lambda\dot{\nu}\pi\tau\rho\eta$). The two plus-verses add a fourth element, the κρήδεμνον, and its description: it was beautiful, new, and scented. The editors of the Odyssey do not introduce the two additional lines in the text²¹; at most, they mention them in the critical apparatus, and with good reason, since κρήδεμνον in Homer is a synonym of καλύπτοη, "wimple"²² and thus the addition in fact repeats the content of line 232. These two lines combine material found elsewhere in the poems, as is common in additional lines; in fact, both are found in the description of the dressing of Hera in *Iliad* 14: line 232a corresponds to *Il.* 14. 184 and line 232b to the first hemistich of line 185 plus the second of 172. The text offered by the papyrus is an example of the well-known fact that passages containing a summary of a typical scene described elsewhere normally attract plus-verses, while it is usual for unique passages to remain free of them²³.

Of course, it is not my intention here to discuss or defend the authenticity of these two lines. I would rather point out that 232b contains a further exam-

²⁰ «But when the young Dawn showed again with her rosy fingers, / Odysseus wrapped himself in an outer cloak and a tunic, / while she, the nymph, mantled herself in a gleaming white robe / fine-woven and delightful, and around her waist she fastened / a handsome belt of gold, and on her head was a wimple. / She set about planning the journey for great-hearted Odysseus.» (transl. Lattimore).

²¹ See for example West 2017 and Von der Mühll 1962. Some scholars have defended the authenticity of the lines: see Zumbo 1994, pp. 99-102; D'Ippolito 1977, p. 158 f.; di Luzio 1969, pp.

²² See e.g. S. West 1967, p. 214 f.; Janko 1992, p. 178.
²³ See S. West 1967, p. 12 f. (with other examples from 'wild' papyri).

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ple of the formula τό ὁά οἱ τεθυωμένον ἦεν used to describe a garment; also, the phrase occurs in a context very close to that of *Iliad* 14, the description of the dressing of a goddess.

To conclude, all these considerations cannot offer a completely satisfying solution to all the problems raised by the passage in *Iliad* 14. However, the two plus-verses in the dressing-scene in *Odyssey* 5 are a further attestation of a tra-was used in contexts mentioning a fabric or a garment, as in all the surviving occurrences of the expression in hexameter poetry (line 172 in book 14, if we accept the reading $\delta \delta \alpha v \tilde{\omega}$, would be the only exception). This cannot assure us that $\hat{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\tilde{\omega}$ is after all the correct reading in *Iliad* 14 and in the hymn to Aphrodite²⁴. In any case, however, the additional lines in the papyrus might be a further reason to give serious consideration to the possibility that this reading is not merely a corruption or a *lectio facilior* born out of the misunderstanding of the hapax $\delta \delta \alpha v \tilde{\omega}$. We should at least consider the line with $\delta \alpha v \tilde{\omega}$ a version of the text born from a tradition of performance that was widely spread in antiquity and that associated the formula $\tau \circ \dot{\phi} \dot{\alpha} \circ \dot{\tau} \epsilon \theta \nu \omega \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \circ \dot{\eta} \dot{\epsilon} \nu$ with fabric and clothing. If we accept this alternative reading in book 14, it would certainly add to the overall meaning of the passage, enhancing the detailed description of the toilette of the goddess with the splendid image of her scented garment filling with its fragrance the earth and the sky²⁵.

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¹ ²⁵ I would like to thank the editorial committee and the anonymous referee for useful comments and suggestions.

 $^{^{24}}$ We should also consider the fact that the first half of Od. 5. 232b does contain two adjectives in enjambement: this could point in the opposite direction (that is, $\kappa\alpha[\lambda]$ $\tilde{\omega}$ ι νηγα[τέωι] would parallel the reading ἀμβορσί ω έδαν $\tilde{\omega}$ in Il. 14. 172).

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Abstract: The meaning of the Homeric hapax $\&\delta\alpha\nu\bar{\phi}$ in the description of Hera's dressing in the *lliad* (14. 172) was already discussed in antiquity. Modern scholars have suggested that $\&\delta\alpha\nu\bar{\phi}$ could be actually a corruption of an original $\&\alpha\nu\bar{\phi}$, "dress". The paper argues that a possible argument in favour of this view is the parallel description of the dressing of Calypso in book 5 of the *Odyssey* (228 ff.), a passage that occurs, in an interestingly expanded form, in a Tebtunis papyrus of the second century BC.