

The spatial use of ἀνά and κατά with the accusative in Homer

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1. Introduction

The prepositions ἀνά and κατά form a curious pair. When used as verbal prefixes, they usually act as antonyms to each other, one expressing upwards motion, the other downwards motion.¹ Nor do their constructions with the genitive and dative resemble each other. In Homer, κατά with the genitive (“down from, down upon”) is quite common, but ἀνά is found just three times governing this case (“onto”); furthermore, it only occurs in the *Odyssey*, and only has νηός as its object.² The dative, in turn, while not a very common construction with ἀνά (9× in Homer), is not found once with κατά.³ With the accusative, however, the picture is rather different. An example like (1) would suggest at first glance that, also in this construction, ἀνά and κατά form a contrasting pair:

- (1) *Il.* 16.349-50 τὸ (= αἶμα) δ' ἀνά στόμα καὶ κατὰ ῥίνας | πρῆσε
“and he spurted blood up through his mouth and
down his nostrils”

But this passage is in fact atypical. Examples of κατά^{+A} which clearly describe downward motion are much less common than

¹ See e.g. Chantraine (1963: 90, 112).

² For a listing of all examples of κατά^{+G} in Homer, see Ebeling (1885: 664-5); for examples of ἀνά^{+G}, see Chantraine (1963: 90-1).

³ For ἀνά^{+D} in Homer, see Ebeling (1885: 113). To his nine examples may be added *Od.* 5.156, if ἄμ (Ar.) is read instead of ἐν (codd.).

those where the sense of the preposition comes closer to “in” or “through(out)”:⁴

- (2) *Il.* 1.229-30 ἦ πολὺ λώϊόν ἐστι κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν
 δῶρ' ἀποαιρεῖσθαι ὅς τις σέθεν ἀντίον εἶπη
 “Yes, it’s much better – throughout the broad
 camp⁵ of the Achaeans – to deprive anyone who
 speaks against you of his prizes.”

Additionally, ἀνά^{+A} can occur in what appear to be equivalent phrases:

- (3) *Il.* 1.10 νοῦσον ἀνά στρατὸν ὦρσε κακὴν
 “he stirred up a foul plague throughout the camp”

Given that the use of ἀνά in (3) is not so different from that of κατά in (2), the question this paper will address is whether there is indeed any distinction between these two prepositions when they mean “in” or “throughout,” or whether they may be used interchangeably as is metrically convenient.

2. Earlier accounts of ἀνά^{+A} and κατά^{+A}

The first major debate about these two prepositions took place in 1831. In his dissertation on ἀνά and κατά in Homer, Spitzner remarked on the frequent similarity between the use of these two prepositions with the accusative: both could refer to movements

⁴ A rough check of all the examples of κατά^{+A} in eight books each of the *Iliad* (1, 3, 6, 9, 16, 18, 22, 24) and *Odyssey* (6, 9-12, 21-3) shows that there are only nine examples where κατά is likely to denote downward motion (*Il.* 6.133, 6.136, 16.349, 22.146, *Od.* 6.102, 6.103, 11.539, 11.639, 12.204), but about 120 examples of other spatial uses, generally “in” or “through(out).”

⁵ The true sense of στρατός is probably closest to “encamped army” (cf. Chantraine 1999: 1061-2). I translate it “camp” rather than “army” because, in the prepositional phrases considered in this article, it is the role of the στρατός as a location rather than as a social or political institution that comes to the fore: note, for instance, the collocation with εὐρύς.

that went “*ultra citroque*” and “*deorsum et sursum*,” and the chief differences were that ἀνά^{+A} was more restricted in scope, being poetic in register and less common generally than κατά^{+A} (1831: 11-13, 28-9). In a reply later that year, Hermann took issue with this position. In particular, he disagreed with Spitzner’s interpretation of ἀνά, arguing that ἀνά always showed a regular motion in one direction:

“Qui ἀνά ἄστῳ eunt, recta tendere per urbem dicuntur; qui κατά ἄστῳ, *ultra citroque*. Mendicus ἀνά ἄστῳ mendicans ordine ad singulas aedes accedit, κατά ἄστῳ autem hic illic vagus alias adit fores, alias praeterit. Morbus ἀνά στρατὸν grassans corripit primos, tum deinceps contagio proximos semper afficit: sed κατά στρατὸν qui cursitant, huc illuc feruntur” (1834: 41)

Although discussion of the actual Homeric examples of these uses will be reserved for later in the paper, it is worth noting here one faulty line of argument in Hermann’s reply. In large part, he bases his distinction on some underlying etymological assumptions about the prepositions. Because ἀνά is cognate with German *an*, it is meant always to denote contiguity of location or of movement, hence regular movement in a straight line (*ibid.* 36). As for κατά, Hermann uses its underlying meaning of motion “*ab summo ad imum*” to explain that it comes to indicate movement “*huc illuc*” or, if marking location, “*locum incertum ac mutabilem*” (*ibid.* 45). His reasoning is not sound: if κατά has as its original meaning motion from top to bottom, surely it would be just as likely to mean movement in a straight line as ἀνά. Conversely, if the sense of κατά could develop from downward motion to random motion, then surely a similar change could take place with ἀνά.

It would no doubt be pedantic to elevate these two studies out of the footnotes were it not for two factors. First, they show clearly the primary tension at work in this question: do these two prepositions function more or less identically, or is there some difference between them? Second, there has been so little scholarly discussion of this problem that Hermann’s example of

the beggar has recently been cited as an authoritative comment on the subject.⁶ Indeed, most of the works that might have been expected to treat this issue have been silent on it; usually their descriptions of the functions of the two prepositions tacitly indicate that there often seems to be no significant difference between them.⁷ However, a recent monograph by Silvia Luraghi (2003) does look anew at the possible difference between ἀνά and κατά in passages such as (2) and (3). In doing so, she uses two terms, trajector and landmark, as parameters for describing the functions of the two prepositions.⁸ Essentially, the trajector is the entity whose location or movement is described in a

⁶ Ebeling quotes the example in his entry for ἀνά (1885: 114); Luraghi in turn attributes it to Ebeling in her monograph on Greek prepositions (2003: 191).

⁷ Kühner-Gerth only remarks that κατά is preferred to ἀνά in local expressions where upward or downward motion is not specified (1898: 477-8). This observation in turn neatly coincides with Schwyzer-Debrunner's view that, originally, κατά will have meant something more like "following" or "with the flow of," and so would not have been as strongly opposed to ἀνά (1950: 474). Because the sense of downward motion expressed by κατά would then be a secondary development, κατά would be the natural preposition to use when the motion described lacked a vertical component. Of the four spatial meanings Chantraine assigns to ἀνά^{+A}, the second ("à travers"), third ("avec des pluriels ou des collectifs désignant un rassemblement de personnes"), and fourth (with θυμός) correspond closely to the second ("à travers, vers, dans"), fourth ("avec un complément au pluriel désignant des personnes"), and fifth (with θυμός and φρήν) usages he lists for κατά^A, and he does not single out any distinguishing features with regard to these meanings (1963: 91, 114-15). In his book on prepositions in Homer, Horrocks likewise notes that ἀνά^{+A} and κατά^{+A} can lose their component of vertical movement, but does not differentiate between the two prepositions once this loss has taken place (1981: 257-60).

⁸ These terms were introduced by Langacker, with the cautionary note that, although "the term trajector suggests motion ... this schematic description is applicable to both static and dynamic relations" (1987: 217). He uses the terms more broadly than Luraghi, in reference not only to prepositions but also to verbs; in a syntagm such as "X equals Y," X can be considered a trajector, Y a landmark (*ibid.* 231). Luraghi's narrower use is paralleled in Tyler-Evans (2003: 12).

prepositional phrase, while the landmark – in traditional terms, the object of the preposition – is the reference point for that description. In the sentence, “Agamemnon went throughout the camp,” Agamemnon is the trajector, and the camp is the landmark.

Now, Luraghi states that, with a multiplex landmark, ἀνά^A “indicates that the trajector performs an exhaustive motion, by which it touches all points of the landmark,” i.e. “throughout” (2003: 190):

- (4) *Il.* 10.66 πολλαὶ γὰρ ἀνὰ στρατόν εἰσι κέλευθοι
 “for there are many paths throughout the camp”

This is to be contrasted with κατά, which denotes that “only some of the points of the landmark are touched randomly” (*ibid.* 191). At this point, Luraghi cites Hermann’s example of the beggar. The two examples she then contrasts are (5) and (6):

- (5) *Il.* 5.528 Ἀτρεΐδης δ’ ἀν’ ὄμιλον ἐφοῖτα πολλὰ κελεύων
 “Agamemnon went throughout the crowd,
 exhorting his men repeatedly”
- (6) *Il.* 13.332 κεκλόμενοι καθ’ ὄμιλον ἐπ’ αὐτῷ πάντες ἔβησαν
 “they shouted to each other through the crowd
 and all rushed at him”

In (5), then, Agamemnon is supposedly exhorting his men systematically, rank by rank, whereas in (6) the Trojans are shouting at each other helter-skelter.

Consider now constructions with a uniplex trajector and landmark, where Luraghi spots a different, if related, contrast. While ἀνά, it is argued, “profiles a relation of precise individuation of the trajector at a certain spot on the area of the landmark,” with κατά, the trajector is more vaguely “located somewhere in the area occupied by the landmark” (*ibid.* 203). Again, to cite Luraghi’s examples, we may contrast passages (7) and (8) with (9):

- (7) *Il.* 13.239 ὡς εἰπὼν ὁ μὲν αὖτις ἔβη θεὸς ἄμ πόνον ἀνδρῶν
“thus Poseidon spoke and went again, a god, into
the struggle of men”
- (8) *Il.* 5.824 γινώσκω γὰρ Ἄρηα μάχην ἀνά κοιρανέοντα
“for I recognize Ares, lording it over the battle”
- (9) *Il.* 11.108 τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ μαζοῖο κατὰ στήθος βάλε δουρί
“he struck him with a spear in the chest above the
nipple”

This, then, is the most recent attempt to differentiate between the usage of these two prepositions.

3. Difficulties

There are, however, some difficulties with these suggestions. First, in examples (7) to (9), where the landmark and trajector are uniplex, it does not seem likely that *κατά* indicates a non-precise motion, and *ἀνά* a precise one. Indeed, Luraghi’s own example with *κατά* is actually quite precise: the further detail provided by the prepositional phrase *ὑπὲρ μαζοῖο* suggests that the poet intended to portray the wound rather carefully. Nor is this passage exceptional. The phrase *κατὰ στήθος* occurs, in total, in eight descriptions of wounds in Homer; in four of those passages, an additional, more specific location is given.⁹ Now *ἀνά* is never used with *στήθος* in this way, so no direct comparison possible, but the examples Luraghi gives to show that *ἀνά* indicates precise spots, passages (7) and (8), do not in

⁹ In addition to (9), cf. *Il.* 12.204 κόψε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στήθος παρὰ δειρήν (“for [the snake] struck [the eagle] that held him in the chest by the neck”), *Il.* 13.586-7 Πριαμίδης μὲν ἔπειτα κατὰ στήθος βάλεν ἰῶ | θώρηκος γύαλον (“then Priam’s son struck him in the chest with an arrow in the front part of the breastplate”), *Il.* 17.605-6 Ἐκτορα δ’ Ἴδομενεὺς ... | βεβλήκει θώρηκα κατὰ στήθος παρὰ μαζόν (“Idomeneus struck Hector in the breastplate in the chest next to the nipple”).

fact seem particularly precise. Here we have gods, Ares and Poseidon, who are entering into, or lording it over, the battle, presumably a rather extensive and non-specific landmark. These surely do not represent a more “precise individuation of the trajector at a certain spot on the area of the landmark” than is the case with the four examples with *κατά στήθος*. Indeed, *ἀνά*, in this sense, is generally found with landmarks that are quite broad, nouns such as *στρατόν*, *ὄμιλον*, and *δῆμον*. Instead, in these phrases of wounding, it seems better to attribute the difference between the two prepositions to that between upward and downward motion: the exclusive use of *κατά* can be explained if we bear in mind that projectiles would normally have taken a downward path as they entered the body.¹⁰

As for the contrast between *ἀνά* and *κατά* with multiplex landmarks, is it really the case that *ἀνά* indicates exhaustive or systematic movement, but *κατά* non-exhaustive or random movement? This dichotomy is certainly consistent with Luraghi’s interpretation of the contrast between examples (5) and (6), with Agamemnon addressing each one of his companions in turn in (5), but random shouts of battle in (6). But this interpretation is itself problematic. First of all, the verb in passage (5) is *φοιτᾶν*: it does not actually suggest a regular procession. Though its etymology is uncertain,¹¹ passages (10) and (11) show that it collocates with expressions that are quite consistent with the standard translation, “wander”:

¹⁰ While the wound in *Il.* 12.204 (see previous note) most likely involves an upward motion, it seems reasonable that the use of *κατά* in such a context could have spread from the more common downward entry of projectiles into the body.

¹¹ Frisk (1970: 1034) and Chantraine (1999: 1221) do little more than refer to Brugmann (1911: 288 n. 1), who tentatively suggests that it is a compound of *ἰτάω*; *LIV* does not include *φοιτάω*.

- (10) *Il.* 2.779 φοίτων ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κατὰ στρατὸν οὐδὲ μάχοντο
 “they wandered here and there throughout the
 camp and did not fight”
- (11) *Il.* 24.532-3 καὶ ἐ κακῇ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χθόνα διὰν ἐλαύνει,
 φοιτᾷ δ’ οὔτε θεοῖσι τετιμμένος οὔτε βροτοῖσιν
 “and horrible ox-hunger drives him over the fine
 earth, and he wanders, honored neither by gods
 nor by men”

There are other passages, too, in which *ἀνά* does not show exhaustive motion:

- (12) *Il.* 15.657 οὐδὲ κέδασθεν ἀνά στρατόν
 “nor did they scatter throughout the camp”
- (13) *Il.* 10.141 τίφθ’ οὔτω κατὰ νῆας ἀνά στρατὸν οἶοι ἀλάσθε ...;
 “Why do you wander thus, alone, through the
 ships and the camp?”

In (12), the idea of scattering present in *κέδασθεν* and, in (13), that of wandering in *ἀλάσθε* are not consistent with the idea that *ἀνά στρατόν* should indicate a systematic procession through the camp. Furthermore, in (13), there is an additional phrase with *κατά*; accordingly, if the distinction between the two prepositions really does have to do with random versus systematic movement, we would have to picture – rather curiously – a random movement through the ships coupled with a systematic one through the camp.

Furthermore, *κατά* can occur in expressions where there *are* contextual indications that a regular, exhaustive movement is being described. In (14), for instance, the use of the adverb *ἐξείης* suggests a fairly systematic movement, filling up the all the seats and chairs in Odysseus’ home:

- (14) *Od.* 1.144-5 οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα
 ἐξείης ἔζοντο κατὰ κλισμούς τε θρόνους τε
 “they then sat down in rows on the seats and
 chairs” (1.145 = 3.389, 24.385)

One might object that, here, *κατά* has too much of a sense of downward motion for *ἀνά* to have been a possible substitute. Even if that is the case, however, it is still an example of *κατά* used to indicate a relatively exhaustive movement. Consider also (15):

- (15) *Il.* 11.730 *δόρπον ἔπειθ' ἑλόμεσθα κατά στρατόν ἐν τελέεσσι*
 “then we had our supper throughout the camp, at
 our posts” (cf. 7.380,¹² 18.298)

Here the phrase *κατά στρατόν* is combined with *ἐν τελέεσσι*, “at our posts.” Again, this phrase hints at a more systematic action than that which takes place *ἀνά στρατόν* in (12) or (13). Finally, in (16), an action that takes place *κατά στρατόν* is also described as happening *πάντη*, “everywhere”:

- (16) *Il.* 5.495 *πάλλων δ' ὀξέα δοῦρα κατά στρατόν ὤχετο πάντη*
 “and, brandishing his sharp spears, he went
 everywhere, throughout the camp”
 (= 6.104, 11.212)

This further suggests that *κατά* need not indicate a hit-or-miss activity.

4. Homeric evidence: *ἀνά* vs *κατά στρατόν*, *ὄμιλον*, *δῆμον*, *θυμόν*

At this point, it would be ideal if I could propose an alternative semantic or syntactic explanation of the difference between *ἀνά* and *κατά* in such passages. But a survey of all the instances of *ἀνά* and *κατά στρατόν*, *ὄμιλον*, *δῆμον*, and *θυμόν* in Homer in search of such a difference only serves to show just how similar *ἀνά* and *κατά* can be.¹³ Of course, it is as a rule more difficult to

¹² This line is omitted in some manuscripts; see note 31.

¹³ I chose these four landmarks because they are all common objects of *ἀνά* and *κατά* in the required sense; because of the particularly frequent occurrence of *κατά θυμόν*, I have only included examples from the first twelve

prove a negative than a positive, but the following two points argue in favor of this particular negative: first, the two most promising sources of explanations – theories based either on the underlying semantic difference between the two prepositions or on the syntactic factors that often distinguish between prepositional usages – do not yield any positive answers; second, there exist pairs of phrases (henceforth “sub-minimal pairs”), one with ἀνά, one with κατά, which describe nearly identical events and thus show how insignificant any difference between the prepositions would have to be. The following pages will consider phrases with each of these four landmarks in turn.

(i) ἀνά and κατά στρατόν. The most obvious starting-place to look for a difference between these two prepositions would be to posit that, in the phrases with ἀνά, there is some element of motion that is upward, or against the flow, and in those with κατά, some motion that is downward, or with the flow. In the context of the στρατοί at Troy, perhaps motion of the Trojans down from Ilium is distinguished from that of the Greeks up from their ships? To judge from the examples, it doesn't appear so: κατά στρατόν can be used equally well either of the Trojans' activities in their army or of the Greeks' in theirs.¹⁴ A further problem with attempting a solution along these lines is that both prepositions can be used to describe the same event, as in examples (13) or (17):¹⁵

books each of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In total, there are 124 prepositional phrases under consideration; see the tables in the Appendix.

¹⁴ Compare *Il.* 5.495, 6.104, 11.212 (Hector goes through the Trojan ranks, spurring them on to fight) with 13.357 (Poseidon does the same for the Greeks).

¹⁵ In passage (13), one could perhaps argue that the two prepositions are used somewhat like English “to go up and down the ranks” in the sense “to go everywhere throughout the ranks.” But such an interpretation will not work for (17), in which Talthybius and Machaon presumably go as directly as possible to help the wounded Menelaus.

- (17) *Il.* 4.209 βὰν δ' ἰέναι καθ' ὄμιλον ἀνά στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν
 “they went on their way through the crowd,
 through the broad camp of the Achaeans”

It seems unlikely that the motion described here could be with the flow of the ὄμιλος but against that of the στρατόν. Nor is it the case that basic syntactic factors appear to have promoted the use of one over the other. Similar verbs can appear with both prepositions: ὄχετο occurs with both prepositions, as do forms from the root ὀρ- and from ἰέναι. Nor do the subjects of those verbs differ according to the prepositions used: with both prepositions, there are singular and plural subjects, as well as both animate and inanimate subjects. Finally, as a subminimal pair, consider:

- (18) *Il.* 4.436 ὡς Τρώων ἀλαλητὸς ἀνά στρατὸν εὐρὺν ὀρώρει
 “thus the shouting of the Trojans had arisen
 throughout the broad camp”
- (19) *Il.* 11.657-8 οὐδέ τι οἶδε | πένθεος, ὅσον ὄρωρε κατὰ στρατόν
 “nor does he know anything of how great a grief
 has arisen throughout the camp”

There is, however, another type of difference that can be detected between ἀνά and κατὰ στρατόν: the metrical environments in which the two prepositions are found. Whereas ἀνά στρατόν can occur starting at the third syllable of either the first, second, or third foot, κατὰ στρατόν only ever occurs starting at the third syllable of the third foot. It is also relevant to examine what happens when either preposition could fit the metre. With this particular phrase, this only occurs when the word before the preposition could take the movable-nu and ἀνά would scan, or it could omit the nu and κατὰ would scan. In five passages where this is the case, it is always κατὰ στρατόν that is chosen. These facts together suggest that both formulaic and metrical factors may have played a significant role in determining whether ἀνά or κατὰ was used: formulaic, because the poet of the *Iliad* only thought to use κατὰ στρατόν at one particular point of the line;

metrical, because the poet used *κατά* whenever he had a choice, and only used *ἀνά* when *κατά* wouldn't scan.

(ii) *ἀν'* and *καθ' ὄμιλον*. Here, again, the usual semantic and syntactic factors that might be expected to distinguish between the two prepositions do not in fact seem to have played a role.¹⁶ Examples (20) and (21), for instance, both from *Iliad* 11, show the two prepositions used in nearly identical contexts:

(20) *Il.* 11.324 τῷ δ' ἀν' ὄμιλον ἰόντε κυδοίμεον, ὡς ὅτε κάπρῳ
 “and the two of them [Diomedes and Odysseus]
 made havoc as they went through the crowd, as
 when two boars...”

(21) *Il.* 11.469 ἀλλ' ἴομεν καθ' ὄμιλον· ἀλεξέμεναι γὰρ ἄμεινον
 “but let us [Menelaus and Ajax] go through the
 crowd; for it is better to save [Odysseus]...”

Both times the verb is a form of *ιέναι*, and both times the subject is a pair of Greeks, diving into the same battle. The only major difference between the two passages, it seems, is the metrical context.

It would be nice, then, if a general rule could be formulated, as for *ἀνά* and *κατά στρατόν*, that would state the particular points in the line at which one or the other preposition was used. But while it is true that, the three times that the phrase starts in the fifth foot, only *καθ' ὄμιλον* is used, there is still plenty of overlap when the phrase begins in the second or the fourth foot. Also problematic, here it is not the case that *καθ' ὄμιλον* is

¹⁶ For instance, *ἀν' ὄμιλον* is used both of Greeks (*Il.* 11.324) and of Trojans (12.49); both *ἀνά* (e.g. 11.324, 12.49) and *κατά* (e.g. 4.209, 4.445, 11.469) are used with simple verbs of motion. At first glance, it might seem significant that the only example of *ἀν' ὄμιλον* that lacks clear movement (17.365) also has *καθ'* as a variant reading. But there are enough examples of *ἀνά* describing a stationary event with other landmarks (e.g. *Il.* 10.66 with *στρατόν*, *Od.* 3.215 with *δῆμον*) that it does not seem wise to argue here that *καθ' ὄμιλον* was actively preferred when the verb did not explicitly depict movement.

always preferred if either preposition would scan. On the one hand, because the hexameter was flexible in which syllables it allowed to scan long under the ictus,¹⁷ ἀνά could probably have been used in all seventeen passages where κατά is found; these phrases would then be evidence that *ceteris paribus* κατά was preferred to ἀνά, as was the case when στρατόν was the landmark. On the other, there are still five passages where ἀν' ὄμιλον is used that κατά would have scanned. Perhaps this numerical predominance of κατά is significant, and, though not exclusively favored over ἀνά, it nevertheless was the preferred option; however, one cannot rule out the possibility of free variation between the two prepositions here. Still, the idea that the poetic nature of the text played a role in selecting one preposition over the other should not be rejected, for the prepositions cluster together in what might be called a sub-formulaic way. In six pairs, the same preposition is used when the phrase occurs with the same verb at the same point in the line.¹⁸

(iii) ἀνά and κατά δῆμον. If we turn to a third landmark that occurs frequently with these two prepositions, δῆμον, once again no semantic or syntactic distinction can be detected,¹⁹ but there is further confirmation that meter and formula play some role in determining which preposition is used. There are six examples of ἀνά δῆμον, and twenty of κατά δῆμον, all twenty-six from the *Odyssey*. Of the passages where the two prepositions are metrically interchangeable, twenty times (probably²⁰) κατά is used, but only once is ἀνά found – and in this passage, 19.273, the use of ἀνά could have been motivated by its use in line 73

¹⁷ See the note on p. 90 in the Appendix.

¹⁸ ἀν' ὄμιλον: *Il.* 3.449 and 5.528; 7.183 and 186; καθ' ὄμιλον: *Il.* 4.445 and 516; 5.334 and 17.462; 11.460 and 13.332; 13.498 and 560.

¹⁹ Compare *Od.* 4.530 with 4.666 or 19.73 with 17.227 and 18.363.

²⁰ See the note on pp. 91-92 in the Appendix.

with a similar verb at the same point of the line.²¹ Furthermore, of the nine times that the phrase begins in the fifth foot, it is always κατά that is found. In broad terms, then, this distribution is similar to that seen for ἀνά and κατά στρατόν.

(iv) ἀνά and κατά θυμόν. One final landmark to consider is θυμός. It differs from the previous landmarks discussed in that the physical space delimited by the landmark is less clear, insofar as it lies on the borderline between being a concrete designation of breath and an abstract term for the mind or spirit.²² Nevertheless, both because it occurs in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (unlike the previous landmarks) and because of the sheer number of examples where it is used with ἀνά and, even more so, with κατά, it is useful to include it here. In fact, however different the semantics of θυμός are from those of στρατός and the like, its behavior in these prepositional phrases is quite similar. If anything, the resemblance between constructions with ἀνά and κατά is even more pronounced here. All four verbs ἀνά θυμόν is used with (φρονέω (3×), ὀρμαίνω (3×), θαμβέω (2×), οἶομαι (1×)²³) also construe with κατά θυμόν. Good subminimal pairs include (22) and (23), and (24) and (25):²⁴

²¹ Duentzer and Kirchoff have athetized 19.273-86 (see von der Mühl's Teubner), as has Dawe (1993: 701-2); if they are correct in so doing, then the anomaly created by the use of ἀνά in 19.273 is completely removed.

²² Studies of the meaning of θυμός include Onians (1951: 44-61), Roeder (1981: 104-5), Bremmer (1983: 53-6), Jahn (1987); for a fuller bibliography, see *Lfgre* s.v. That Roeder detects traces of the original sense "smoke" synchronically in Homer (cf. Latin *fūmus*, Sanskrit *dhūmá-*) makes it easier to treat the constructions ἀνά and κατά θυμόν as spatial expressions.

²³ This example (*Od.* 19.312) is odd in that it is the only impersonal use of οἶομαι in Homer. Some have emended the line (see Russo *et al.* 1992: 92); Knight and Dawe have athetized lines 312-16. The construction of οἶομαι with κατά θυμόν occurs at *Od.* 19.390.

²⁴ I do not see in these passages evidence for Hermann's distinction between the constructions: "ἀνά θυμόν de studio dici videtur, quod quasi surgat in animo; κατά θυμόν autem cum iis fere verbis coniungi videmus, quae

- (22) *Il.* 24.680-1 ὀρμαίνοντ' ἀνά θυμὸν ὅπως Πρίαμον βασιλῆα
νηῶν ἐκπέμψει
“[Hermes] pondered in his heart how he would
escort king Priam from among the ships”
- (23) *Il.* 1.193 ἦος ὁ ταῦθ' ὄρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμὸν
“while [Achilles] pondered this in his mind and
heart”
- (24) *Od.* 4.638 ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἀνά θυμὸν ἐθάμβεον
“thus [Noemon] spoke, and [the suitors] were
bewildered in their hearts”
- (25) *Od.* 1.322-3 ὁ δὲ φρεσὶν ἦσι νοήσας | θάμβησεν κατὰ θυμὸν
“and [Telemachus], on perceiving [the change
caused by Athena] in his mind, was amazed in
his heart”

What is clearest from a comparison of the passages with the two prepositions (see the table in the Appendix) is that ἀνά is restricted in scope compared to κατὰ, confirming Spitzner's observation (see p. 69-70). Most obvious, there are simply many more verbs that occur with κατὰ θυμὸν than with ἀνά θυμὸν. But it is also important that the phrase ἀνά θυμὸν only occurs at one place in the line (beginning at the second syllable of the second foot); κατὰ θυμὸν, by contrast, also occurs frequently in the fifth foot (usually, though not always, as part of the formula

cogitationem, deliberationem, curam, sollicitudinem significant, ideoque huc illuc versari aliquid animo ostendunt” (1834: 49). One might just argue that Achilles in (23) is less certain of his course of action than Hermes in (22); thus, κατὰ is used. But this does not hold true for, say, *Il.* 1.428-9, where Achilles' anger can hardly be said to waver: τὸν [Achilles] δὲ λίπ' αὐτοῦ | χωόμενον κατὰ θυμὸν ἐϋζώνοιο γυναικός. Nor does the bewilderment in (25) seem to flutter about any more than that in (24). If anything, passage (24), with the imperfect, would indicate a less settled confusion, whereas in (25), with the aorist, it is more the case that something “quasi surgat in animo.” Compare also Jahn, who lists phrases both with ἀνά θυμὸν (*Il.* 21.137) and with κατὰ θυμὸν (*Od.* 10.50) as indicating “Überlegung” (1987: 191, row 32).

κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν). The latter phrase can also occur with an adjective modifying θυμόν (*Od.* 9.299). Furthermore, ἀνά only occurs after an elided vowel: for metrical reasons, it could never be replaced by κατά.

5. Conclusion

In short, the following conclusions may be drawn. First, when ἀνά and κατά are used to mean “in,” “through,” or “throughout” in Homer, the difference between them has nothing to do with how systematic or precise the event described happens to be. Both can be used interchangeably in most instances.²⁵ Second, an examination of the collocations of these prepositions with particular landmarks reveals that the only significant difference between them is that, sometimes, they gravitate towards different parts of the line and, even when this is not the case, they cluster into formulaic turns of phrase. Such a result, though somewhat disappointing to the linguist seeking to uncover fine distinctions of meaning in these prepositional phrases, should come as no surprise considering the compositional techniques that underlie Homeric poetry. The principles of economy and extension in formulaic systems will have led to the creation of doublet prepositional phrases, one beginning with a consonant, another with a vowel.²⁶ Of course, the fact that two prepositions can occur in a metrically complementary distribution in a formulaic set does not in itself prove that there was no distinction in their meaning. First, the

²⁵ The clearest example of difference is that only κατά is used in the descriptions of wounds.

²⁶ Parry did not discuss such pairs in detail, but some potential doublets can be spotted in his tables (1971: 107-13, especially 108-9). Hainsworth remarks on the interchangeability of μετά^{+D} and ἐνί^{+D} (1993: 4, 14), Sale on that of ἐπί^{+D} and παρά^{+D} (1987: 25) and even ἀνά^{+A} and κατά^{+A} with στρατόν (*ibid.* 27, also 25 n. 13). Jahn's tables also suggest the significant extent to which prepositions could be substituted for one another in Homer (1987:266-70).

would not have always occurred in such sets; second, if such reasoning were valid, then the debate over how much semantic weight to attach to Homeric epithets would not have become as involved as it is. But such a distribution does make it plausible to conclude that the contextual evidence in Homer is insufficient to recover whatever distinction in the meaning there may have been. In the current case, the most it is safe to speculate is that the wider range of *κατά* both in Homer and in later Greek suggests that the use of *ἀνά* in this sense was to some extent a feature of poetic register.²⁷

²⁷ I would like to express particular thanks to James Clackson, Roger Dawe, Eric Handley, Geoff Horrocks, and Torsten Meißner for their comments on earlier versions of this paper.

APPENDIX

Examples in Homer of
ἀνά and κατά στρατόν, ὄμιλον, δήμον, and θυμόν²⁸

NOTE: The last column indicates where in the line the prepositional phrase begins. An asterisk indicates that both ἀνά and κατά would be metrically possible.

ἀνά στρατόν

Location	Verb	Subject	Metr. Pos.
Il. 1.10	νοῦσον ὤρσε	Apollo	1c
1.53	ᾤχετο	κῆλα	2c
1.384	ἐπώχετο	κῆλα	1c
4.209	βάν δ' ἰέναι	Talthybius and Machaon	3c
4.436	ὀρώρει	ἀλαλητός (of the Trojans)	3c
10.66	εἶσι	κέλευθοι	3c
10.82	ἔρχεαι	(σύ) οἶος = Agamemnon	3c
10.141	ἀλάσθε	(ὕμεῖς) οἶοι = Nestor et al.	3c
13.117	ἔόντες	πάντες ἄριστοι	3c
15.657	κέδασθεν	the Greeks	3c

²⁸ These tables were compiled with the TLG CD-ROM. All textual variants that are noted in the Teubners of West and Ludwich are identified in the footnotes, apart from those that involve only a difference of accentuation. The Teubner of von der Mühl offers no additional variant readings, although it does indicate the doubtful authenticity of the following relevant lines: for ἀνά and κατά δήμον, *Od.* 3.215, 19.273, 4.167, 17.227, 21.258, 22.52; for ἀνά θυμόν, *Od.* 19.312.

κατὰ στρατόν

Location	Verb	Subject	Metr. Pos.
Il. 1.229	δῶρ' ἀποαιρεῖσθαι	Agamemnon	3c*
1.318	πένοντο	the Greeks	3c
1.484 ²⁹	ἴκοντο	the Gks who went to Chryse	3c
2.439 ³⁰	ἴομεν	Nestor and Agamemnon	3c
2.779	φοίτων	Achilles' men	3c
5.495	ῥῆχετο	Hector	3c
6.104	ῥῆχετο	Hector	3c
7.380 ³¹	δόρπον εἶλοντο	the Trojans	3c
9.234	κηάμενοι πυρά	the Trojans	3c
9.302	τειρομένους	Παναχαιούς	3c*
11.212	ῥῆχετο	Hector	3c
11.658	ῥωρε	πένθος	3c*
11.730	δόρπον ἐλόμεσθα	Nestor's men (N. is speaking)	3c
13.329	ἀφίκοντο	Meriones' men	3c
13.357	ἔγειρε	Poseidon	3c*
18.298	δόρπον ἔλεσθε	the Trojans (Hect. speaking)	3c
18.314	δόρπον εἶλοντο	the Trojans	3c
19.196	κάπρον ἐτοιμασάτω	Talthybius	3c
19.352	θωρήσσοντο	the Greeks	3c
23.285	στέλλεσθε	the Greeks (Ach. speaking)	3c
24.691	ἔλαυνε	Hermes	3c*

²⁹ κατὰ Ar F R G : μετὰ (ex 478) 379 Ω *

³⁰ με(τα) 793^s

³¹ om. Z A D^a W G : hab. A^m (εν αλλω) D² G^m Ω*

ἀν' ὄμιλον

Location	Verb	Subject	Metr. Pos.
<i>Il.</i> 3.449	ἐφοίτα	Agamemnon	2b
5.528	ἐφοίτα	Agamemnon	2b
7.183	φέρων δειξε	herald carrying a lot (κλῆρος)	4b*
7.186	φέρων δειξε	herald carrying a lot (κλῆρος)	4b*
11.247	φέρων βῆ	Ag. carrying weapons	2b*
11.259	ἔλκοντα	Ag. dragging someone	2b
11.324	ιόντε	Diomedes and Odysseus	1b
12.49	ιών	Hector	2b*
17.365 ³²	ἀλεξέμεναι φόνον	the Danaans	2b*

καθ' ὄμιλον

Location	Verb	Subject	Metr. Pos.
<i>Il.</i> 3.36	ἔδω	Paris	2b(†)
4.126	ἐπιπτέσθαι	οἰστός	2b*
4.209	βὰν δ' ἰέναι	Machaon and Talthylus	2b(*)
4.445	ἐρχομένη	Eris	2b(*)
4.490	ἀκόντισεν	Antiphus, Priam's son	2b*
4.516	ἐρχομένη	Athena	2b(*)
5.334	ὀπάζων (here = "chasing")	Diomedes	4b(†)
11.460	κεκλόμενοι	the Trojans	2b(*)
11.469	ἴομεν	Menelaus and Ajax	2b(†)
12.467	ἐλιξάμενος	Hector	5b(†)
13.332	κεκλόμενοι	the Trojans	2b(*)
13.338	ἐναίρεμεν	the fighters of both sides	2b*
13.498	τιτυσκομένων	the fighters of both sides	5b*

³² ἀν' 43 1402 1403 h : καθ' ὦ

13.560	τιτυσκόμενος	Antilochus	5b(†)
17.462	ὀπάζων (here = "chasing")	Automedon	4b(†)
17.532	ἦλθον	the Aiantes	2b(†)
23.651	ῥαχέτο	Achilles	4b(†)

NB: The last column indicates where in the line the prepositional phrase begins. An asterisk indicates that both ἀν' and καθ' would be metrically possible. An asterisk in parentheses indicates that ἀνά would be metrically possible only if the poet(s) of the *Iliad* allowed (a) a word preceding ἀνά to end in a syllable ending in a long vowel or diphthong and (b) that preceding syllable to count as a long under the ictus. As there are only three examples of this (1.310, 13.308, 22.276), it is difficult to say whether this metrical configuration would have been regarded as perfectly acceptable (and so the examples in question really could have had ἀν' ὄμιλον, justifying the asterisk), or whether it was ideally to be avoided (and so καθ' ὄμιλον would have been strongly preferred on metrical grounds). An obelus in parentheses indicates the similar situation in which the syllable preceding ἀνά ends in a short vowel followed by a single consonant and would have to count as a long under the ictus. Again, this happens, but only rarely, viz. 18.493, 21.361.

ἀνά δῆμον

Location	Verb	Subject	Metr. Pos.
<i>Od.</i> 2.291	ἐταίρους συλλέξομαι	Athena/Mentor	4b
3.215	σὲ ἐχθαίρουσι	the Ithacans	2b
4.666	κρίνας ἀρίστους	Telemachus	4b
16.96	σὲ ἐχθαίρουσι	the Ithacans	2b
19.73	πτωχεύω	Odysseus	2b
19.273	αἰτίζων (a fortune)	Odysseus	2b*

κατά δῆμον

Location	Verb	Subject	Metr. Pos.
<i>Od.</i> 2.101	νεμεσήση	τις (of the Greek women)	2b(*)
4.167	ἀλάλοικεν κακότητα	εἶς' οἷ	2b(†)
4.530	κρινάμενος φῶτας ἀρίστους	Aegisthus	2b(†)
4.652	ἀριστεύουσι	Telemachus' men	2b(*)
6.34 ³³	σε μνῶνται	the Phaeacian noblemen	5b(†)
6.274	εἰσὶν ὑπερφίαλοι	the Phaeacians	5b(*)
6.283	ἀτιμάζει Φαίηκας	Nausicaa	5b(*)
8.36	κρινάσθων	52 young Phaeacians	2b*
8.390	κραίνουσι	12 βασιλῆες	2b(†)
9.6	ἔχη	ἐϋφορσύνη	4b(*)
13.14	ἀγειρόμενοι	we (the Phaeacians)	5b(*)
17.227	πτώσων	Odysseus	5b*
17.558	αἰτίζων	Odysseus	5b*
18.363	πτώσσειν	Odysseus	5b*
19.146	νεμεσήση	τις (of the Greek women)	2b(*)
21.258	(ἐστὶ)	ἑορτή	2b(†)
21.331	ἔμμεναι ἐϋκλείας	men (of a particular kind)	5b(†)
22.52	βασιλεύοι	Antinous	2b*
22.55	ἀρεσσάμενοι	we (the suitors)	5b(*)
24.136	νεμεσήση	τις (of the Greek women)	2b(*)

NB: The last column indicates where in the line the prepositional phrase begins. An asterisk indicates that both *ἀνά* and *κατά* would be metrically possible. An asterisk in parentheses indicates that *ἀνά* would be metrically possible only if the poet(s) of the *Odyssey* were to allow (a) a word preceding *ἀνά* to end in a syllable ending in a long vowel or diphthong and (b) that preceding syllable to count as a long under the ictus. As there are only two

³³ *κατὰ* Ω : *ἀνά* X D

examples of this (9.77 and the nearly identical 12.402), it is difficult to say whether this metrical configuration would have been regarded as perfectly acceptable (and so the examples in question really could have had ἀνά δῆμον, justifying the asterisk), or whether it was ideally to be avoided (and so κατὰ δῆμον would have been strongly preferred on metrical grounds). An obelus in parentheses indicates the similar situation in which the syllable preceding ἀνά ends in a short vowel followed by a single consonant and would have to count as a long under the ictus. Again, this happens, but only rarely, viz. 4.783 (dub. auth.), 9.209.

ἀνά θυμόν

Location	Verb	Subject	Metr. Pos.
<i>Il.</i> 2.36	φρονέοντ(α)	Agamemnon	2b
18.4	φρονέοντ(α)	Achilles	2b
21.137	ὄρμηεν	the river Xanthus	2b
24.680	ὀρμαίνοντ(α)	Hermes	2b
<i>Od.</i> 2.116 ³⁴	φρονέουσ(α)	Penelope	2b
2.156	ὤρμηναν	the people of Ithaca	2b
4.638	ἐθάμβεον	the suitors	2b
10.63	ἐθάμβεον	Aeolus' household	2b
19.312 ³⁵	ὄϊεται (= it seems)	(impers., dative μοι = Pen.)	2b

³⁴ ἐνὶ θυμῷ Τ

³⁵ ὑπὸ θυμὸς ci. Axt Coni. Hom. 34: ἄρα θυμὸς olim Axt, Herwerden Quaestiunc. ep. 52

κατὰ θυμόν
(*Iliad* 1-12 and *Odyssey* 1-12 only)

Location	Verb	Subject	Metr. Pos.
<i>Il.</i> 1.136 ³⁶	ἄρσαντες	the Achaeans	2b
1.193	ῥρμαινε	Achilles	5b ³⁷
1.429	χωόμενον	Achilles	2b
2.5	ἀρίστη φαίνεταιο	βουλή (with dative οἱ = Zeus)	2b
2.409	ἦδεε	Menelaus	2b
4.163 ³⁸	οἶδα	Agamemnon	5b ³⁷
5.671	μερμήριξε	Odysseus	5b ³⁷
6.447	οἶδα	Hector	5b ³⁷
8.169	μερμήριξε	Diomedes	5b ³⁷
9.645 ³⁶	μυθήσασθαι	Ajax (with dative μοι = Ach.)	2b
10.17	ἀρίστη φαίνεταιο	βουλή (with dative οἱ = Ag.)	2b
10.355	ἔλπετο	Dolon	2b
10.491	φρονέων	Odysseus	2b
11.411	ῥρμαινε	Odysseus	5b ³⁷
<i>Od.</i> 1.4	πάθεν ἄλγεα	Odysseus	5b
1.29	μνήσατο	Zeus	2b
1.294	φράζεσθαι	Telemachus	5b ³⁷
1.323	θάμβησεν	Telemachus	2b
4.117	μερμήριξε	Menelaus	5b ³⁷
4.120	ῥρμαινε	Menelaus	5b ³⁷
4.187	μνήσατο	Peisistratus	2b
4.813	ἐρέθουσι	ὀδύναι (with μ' = Penelope)	5b ³⁷
5.365 ³⁹	ῥρμαινε	Odysseus	5b ³⁷
5.424	ῥρμαινε	Odysseus	5b ³⁷

³⁶ Here the sense of the preposition is closer to "in accordance with."

³⁷ The phrase occurs in the formula κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν.

³⁸ del. Bentley, Fulda, alii

³⁹ καὶ κατὰ θυμόν Ω, cum γρ' F²: δῖος ὀδυσσεύς F P J T U K, cum γρ' X E Y

5.444	εὔξατο	Odysseus	5b
6.118 ⁴⁰	ῶρμαινε	Odysseus	5b ³⁷
9.299	βούλευσα	Odysseus	3c ⁴¹
9.318	ἀρίστη φαίνετο	βουλή (with dative μοι = Od.)	2b
9.424	ἀρίστη φαίνετο	βουλή (with dative μοι = Od.)	2b
10.50	μερμήριξα	Odysseus	2b
10.151	μερμήριξα	Odysseus	5b ³⁷
11.230	ἀρίστη φαίνετο	βουλή (with dative μοι = Od.)	2b

⁴⁰ καὶ κατὰ θυμόν Ω : δῖος ὄδυσεύς G

⁴¹ Only here does an adjective occur between the preposition and its object: κατὰ μεγαλήτορα θυμόν.

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