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Eumaeus and Odysseus—Covert Recognition and Self-Revelation?

HANNA M. ROISMAN

For Mordechai Gichon

When Odysseus first returns to Ithaca, he reveals his identity explicitly only to Telemachus. All the other members of the household see him only as a ragged beggar. Telemachus is probably granted this formal recognition not only out of paternal sentiment, or because Athena commanded it (16. 167–71), but because he is the safest confidant in the household. His youth, naiveté, and filial relation to Odysseus all favor his trustworthiness, and besides that he needs Odysseus to protect his life and property. Moreover, were Telemachus to violate Odysseus' confidence and reveal his identity to the suitors, Odysseus could readily deny it. Telemachus is the only character Odysseus meets at the beginning who cannot confirm his identity because he was a baby when his father left and has no memory of him.¹

Yet despite Odysseus' insistence on withholding his identity, the leitmotiv of covert self-revelation runs through the epic. To get the help he will need in reestablishing his place in his home, Odysseus must obtain the support of key figures who are potentially less reliable than his son. He needs Eumaeus as a loyal servant in a distant farmstead with a footing in the palace. He needs Eurycleia as an ally in the house.² Since they are slaves, however, their loyalty cannot be taken for granted. As Eumaeus attests, the gods take half a man's *arete* the day he enters servitude (17. 322–23).

¹ In fact, Odysseus appears to his son in a way that should have caused Telemachus to question his self-disclosure. If Telemachus had ever asked about his father's appearance, he could have been told, as the text informs us, that Odysseus is red- or fair-haired (13. 399, 431). Yet he appears to his son bald, with a thick black beard and dark complexion (16. 175–76, 13. 399, 18. 353–55).

² For the view that Odysseus reveals himself first to those whose assistance he needs in overcoming the suitors and, therefore, not to Penelope, see also Σ^N *Od.* 13 init. (= II 789–90 Dindorf), which starts with a citation from Aristotle (presumably from the *Homeric Problems*, see N. J. Richardson, "Recognition scenes in the *Odyssey*," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4 [1983] 225–26): ἔστι φάναι, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἔδει ὡς ἂν μετέχειν μέλλουσι τοῦ κινδύνου εἰπεῖν. ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἦν ἄνευ τούτων ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς μνηστήρσι (fr. 176 R). See also W. J. Woodhouse, *The Composition of Homer's Odyssey* (Oxford 1930) 75, for Odysseus' need of Eumaeus.

Slaves were notorious for changing allegiance. Thus with these characters Odysseus is cautious and circumspect. He reveals himself covertly.

This paper will focus on Eumaeus' covert recognition and his master's covert self-disclosures. Let me begin by pointing out that for all Odysseus' insistence on secrecy and disguise, on several occasions the poem implies that Odysseus can be recognized. Penelope, Eurycleia, and Philoetius are all struck by the beggar's similarity to Odysseus. Penelope orders Eurycleia to wash her master's "agemate" and makes a point of noting the beggar's similarity to Odysseus: "and Odysseus must by this time have the same hands and feet as he does" (καί που Ὀδυσσεὺς / ἤδη τοιόσδ' ἐστὶ πόδας τοιόσδε τε χεῖρας 19. 358–59), she tells Eurycleia in front of the guest. Eurycleia also notes the resemblance. "Many sore-tired strangers have come here," Eurycleia says as she is about to bathe the beggar, "but I say I have never seen one as like as you are to Odysseus in form, voice, and feet" (οὐ πῶ τινά φημι εἰκότα ᾧδε ιδέσθαι / ὡς σὺ δέμας φωνήν τε πόδας τ' Ὀδυσῆϊ ἔοικας 19. 380–81). Even Philoetius, who probably was not particularly close to Odysseus before his departure for Troy, compares the beggar's form to that of a royal prince (ἔοικε δέμας βασιλῆϊ ἄνακτι). He tells the beggar that cold sweat covered him when he saw him, since he was immediately reminded of his long-absent master (20. 194, 204). Odysseus' awareness that his disguise can be penetrated is probably the reason why he takes so much care to appear before Penelope after sunset, when she would have a harder time making out his features (17. 570, 582).

Eurycleia and Odysseus

It is generally assumed that Odysseus does not want Eurycleia to recognize him. But Odysseus' attitude toward Eurycleia is ambivalent. On the one hand, he expressly asks for her to wash his feet—his description of the maid he wants for the task excludes everyone but Eurycleia, whom he sees sitting near Penelope. On the other hand, the text tells us that when Eurycleia rose to prepare the bath, he moved away from the hearth to avoid being seen in the firelight, and "immediately he thought in his heart that as she handled him she might become aware of the scar, and the whole story might come out" (19. 390–91).

W. J. Woodhouse attributes the contradiction to Homer's having based this encounter on different variants of the old tale. The saga material offered more than one means by which, and more than one person by whom, the hero could be recognized.³ Woodhouse suggests that there might have been a story in which the maid, who knew her master better and longer than his wife, was the one who first revealed Odysseus' identity to Penelope. Jasper Griffin suggests that the poet sang different versions on different occasions, choosing the variant on the basis of an immediate effect rather than absolute coherence.⁴ In either case, in the written version Odysseus clearly wishes Eurycleia to recognize him. Otherwise he could have rejected the bath as he rejects a soft bed. It is noteworthy that the Scholia also maintain that Odysseus reveals himself to Eurycleia as he does to Telemachus, Eumaeus, and Philoetius, since her help forms part of his plot in overcoming the suitors (διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῇ Εὐρυκλείᾳ ἐκκαλύπτει αὐτὸν χρησίμῳ ἔσομένῃ πρὸς τὴν θυρῶν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν θεραπαινίδων ἡσυχίαν).⁵

He chooses Eurycleia to wash him because he knows that she is the only one who can identify him by his scar. Other than Eurycleia, none of the people Odysseus encounters was sufficiently familiar with his scar to identify him by it. The scar was above the knee, where a boar, we are told, gashed the flesh (19. 450). Yet when Odysseus prepares himself to fight Irus, he girds his rags and shows his thighs (18. 67–68) without concern that he will be identified. The suitors marvel at the size and beauty of his limbs (18. 71), but no one remarks on the scar. Either they do not know that Odysseus has such a scar, or they do not notice it. Indeed, the text emphatically points out that Eurycleia identifies Odysseus by feeling the leg and touching the scar, which suggests that it was not noticeable to the eye (19. 390, 468, 475).⁶

Odysseus wants Eurycleia to recognize him but not to reveal his identity to Penelope nor to insist on having him acknowledge her recognition. When in Penelope's presence she drops his foot into the basin and, crying out, touches his chin, he throttles the old woman and checks the possible cry of joy on her lips (19. 469–81).

³ Woodhouse (previous note) 74–76. On recognition by a future accomplice as a standard feature of Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian songs, see A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (London 1960) 103–04.

⁴ J. Griffin, *The Odyssey* (Cambridge 1987) 26–33, esp. 31.

⁵ Σ^N *Od.* 13 init. (= II 789 Dindorf).

⁶ Nor did Odysseus consider his scar ultimate proof of his identity, for in addition to showing Laertes his scar, he recounts the trees that his father had given him (24. 336–43). Woodhouse (above, note 2) 75 suggests that Penelope herself might have been altogether unaware of the adventure.

Eumaeus and Odysseus

When analyzing characters' encounters, we should carefully differentiate between the recognition of one's identity and the acknowledgment of this recognition. There is a difference between the two, and they are not necessarily simultaneous. A character can recognize the identity of another character who seeks to remain incognito and yet not make his discovery known, and vice versa, a recognized character might not wish to acknowledge another character's recognition of his identity. The tension between Eumaeus' recognition of his master and Odysseus' acknowledgment of this recognition adds depth to the encounter between the swineherd and his master, just as does the tension between Penelope's recognition of her husband and her intentionally postponed acknowledgment of this recognition in the final encounter of the royal couple.⁷ The covert recognition also effects a very complex irony of the kind we witness explicitly in Book 17, where the audience, Telemachus, and Eumaeus all know the beggar's true identity, but none of the characters knows about the other character's awareness.⁸

There is no formal recognition (i.e., recognition and acknowledgment) between Odysseus and Eumaeus till very late in their encounter in Book 21, just before the bow contest, when Odysseus reveals his identity formally to both the swineherd and the neatherd. Yet throughout their encounter, which starts in Book 14, the two men operate with inner rapport and psychological sympathy. The text subtly confirms that inner rapport between master and slave, which is a vital factor in the upcoming recognition. When Odysseus sits down, frightened by Eumaeus' dogs, and his stick falls from his hand, the text notes: . . . σκῆπτρον δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χειρός ("and the staff fell out of his hand" 14. 31). The language and metrical structure of the statement are picked up when Eumaeus, hearing the barking of the dogs, hurries out to the yard and drops the hide from his hand: . . . σκῦτος δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χειρός ("and the hide fell out of his hand" 14. 34). The counterpointing of

⁷ See H. M. Roisman, "Penelope's Indignation," *TAPA* 117 (1987) 59-68.

⁸ Cf. also *mutatis mutandis* the irony effected after Eurycleia recognizes her master, but Penelope remains unaware of this recognition (20. 129-43). The encounter between Eumaeus and Odysseus is commonly taken by scholars as effecting irony, bathos, and humor. E.g., B. Fenik, *Studies in the Odyssey* (Wiesbaden 1974) *passim*. Since no recognition is assumed to have happened, the irony in question is a simple one based on the audience's knowledge of the beggar's identity and the slave's slowness in gathering what is happening. The covert recognition of Odysseus by Eumaeus does not preclude the presence of irony but it is of a different kind. The irony effected is not only between the poet/text and the audience at the expense of one of the two characters, but mostly between each of the characters at the expense of each other and the audience. Such an irony, which is more subtle, will become fully developed especially in the frequent slave asides in Roman comedy.

the statements suggests the accord between the two characters who meet after a long separation.⁹

Cedric Whitman stated that Odysseus starts his self-revelation with the lower ranks but not with Eumaeus.¹⁰ Yet we cannot understand Eumaeus' behavior and his response to Odysseus' arrival, or Odysseus' thoughts and motivations during his stay in Eumaeus' hut, unless we take into account Eumaeus' covert recognition of Odysseus, which might initially be subconscious but gradually becomes conscious, even if not formally acknowledged.¹¹

The theme of recognition is introduced when Odysseus approaches Eumaeus' hut in Book 14 and Eumaeus' dogs are about to attack him. The text says in 14. 30–31: αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς / ἔζετο κερδοσύνη. The use of the noun κερδοσύνη ("resourcefulness, ingenuity, shrewdness, wiliness") hints at the motif of recognition, for the only other occurrence of the noun in Homer is in Helen's tale about her recognition of Odysseus when he entered Troy, also disguised as a beggar. Helen says she was the only one who recognized and questioned him, but in his κερδοσύνη he sought to avoid her (4. 251). The noun seems to occur in association with the penetrability of Odysseus' disguise. Moreover, the base κερδ- also occurs in connection with Odysseus' unmasking. We find it in every scene in which Odysseus is recognized through his disguise. When upon his arrival at Ithaca he tries to hide his identity from the disguised Athena, the text marks his attempt as using πολυκερδέα (13. 255). When he reveals himself to his wife, Penelope accuses him of κακὰ κέρδεα (23. 217). Alcinoos tells him not to hide his identity with νοήμασι κερδαλείοισιν and proceeds to inquire who he really is (8. 548 ff.). When Eurycleia tells Penelope that she recognized Odysseus in the bath, she adds: "in his great shrewdness (πολυκερδείησι) he would not permit me to speak" (23. 77).

Eumaeus, who spent three days with Odysseus in his hut, had more opportunity than the other characters to recognize him. Like Eurycleia, Eumaeus knew Odysseus intimately. He was raised in Odysseus' family together with Odysseus' younger sister Ctimene, and he refers to Odysseus

⁹ One is reminded of a similar rapport between Odysseus and Penelope, in the incident in which Penelope thinks to herself that Odysseus' clothes are dirty but says nothing of it, while Odysseus expresses her thought (23. 115–16).

¹⁰ C. H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge, MA 1958) 302. For the importance of the swineherd and his close association with kingship in Irish and Welsh traditions, see A. and B. Rees, *Celtic Heritage* (London 1961) 178–79.

¹¹ By subconscious recognition I mean a recognition which at first is not plain and clear to Eumaeus but motivates him to act in a certain way. For the Homeric ways of dealing with characters' levels of awareness, especially that of Penelope, see J. Russo, "Interview and Aftermath: Dream, Fantasy, and Intuition in *Odyssey* 19 and 20," *AJP* 103 (1982) 4–18. While in the case of Penelope, who is on the whole a passive persona in the epic, the subconscious comes out through her fears, hopes, and dreams, in the case of the swineherd we note it in the sequence of his interactions with Odysseus which logic cannot explain.

as ἡθεῖον, which denotes an older brother (or a close friend).¹² His recognition of his disguised master is thus plausible, and Odysseus has reason to expect it.

Nevertheless, the recognition is not straightforward or decisive at the very beginning. Moments when Eumaeus recognizes his master alternate with moments when he does not.

Odysseus is characteristically cautious about trusting Eumaeus or anyone else, including his wife. Although Agamemnon, Anticleia, and Athena all reassure him of Penelope's fidelity (11. 181–83, 444–46; 13. 336 ff., 378–81), he remains wary and reveals his true identity to her only after he kills the suitors. With regard to Eumaeus, he has even more cause for circumspection. Eumaeus could potentially inform the suitors of his arrival and so endanger him. Athena, it is true, vouched for Eumaeus' being well disposed toward Odysseus and his family (13. 404–06). Athena's recommendation, however, does not mean that Odysseus can trust the slave without question—certainly not if he did not trust Penelope, or even the gods.¹³ After all, Teiresias has left unresolved the question whether Odysseus would attack the suitors by stealth or openly.

From the very beginning of their meeting, the text presents all sorts of hints that Eumaeus recognizes his master. Eumaeus' first address to Odysseus is introduced with the information: ὁ δὲ προσέειπε ἄνακτα. The listener is uncertain for a long moment whether these words are mere information provided by the poet or whether they suggest that Eumaeus addressed Odysseus knowing him to be his master.¹⁴ After all, the listener learns from Athena that the disguise she provides for the hero will fool Penelope, Telemachus, and the suitors, but nothing is said of Eumaeus in this connection, even though the goddess mentions him right after her famous prediction (13. 402–05).¹⁵

Unlike all the characters who were close to Odysseus prior to his departure for Troy, Eumaeus does not make any statement when he sees his guest in regard to the guest's resemblance to Odysseus. And yet he was closer to his master than any of the other slaves. Could it be that he is the only one who does not notice the beggar's resemblance to the long-absent master? Or should we look for a different reason for his silence?

¹² Cf. Stanford *ad* 14. 147.

¹³ For Odysseus' habit of distrust see Griffin (above, note 4) 83–84.

¹⁴ For a similar uncertainty see 14. 192–95. Up to the late protasis, one may think that Odysseus, by suggesting that he and Eumaeus should be left alone while others work, will reveal himself.

¹⁵ The emphasis in the text's comment in 16. 457–59, that Athena renewed Odysseus' disguise so that the swineherd would not know him by appearance and reveal the secret to Penelope, is in my view on the divulging of the secret. Exactly as Athena prevented Eurycleia from drawing Penelope's attention to the identity of the beggar, so she does it in this case. It says nothing of the covert recognition of Eumaeus or Eurycleia. The lack of disguise might have been understood by Eumaeus to mean that a formal revelation is forthcoming, and that there was no need of secrecy anymore. This would be an unwelcome sequence at the moment.

In his first words to Odysseus, Eumaeus addresses the supposed beggar with all the deference and respect one would show toward a superior (14. 56–61):

Ξεῖν', οὐ μοι θέμις ἔσθ', οὐδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι,
 ξείνον ἀτιμῆσαι· πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσιν ἅπαντες
 ξεῖνοί τε πτωχοί τε· δόσις δ' ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε
 γίγνεται ἡμετέρῃ· ἢ γὰρ δμῶων δίκη ἐστὶν
 αἰεὶ δειδιότων, ὅτ' ἐπικρατέωσιν ἄνακτες
 οἱ νέοι. 60

Stranger, it is not right for me, even if one meaner than you would have come, to slander a stranger. All strangers and beggars are under Zeus, and the gift though small is dear from us, for that is the way of us who are servants, ever filled with fear when ruled by masters who are new/young.

So long as Eumaeus proclaims his adherence to Zeus' laws, he might be addressing anyone who came to his door. As soon as he adds, incongruently, that it is the way of servants to fear "young" or "new" masters, he is on different ground entirely. If we read νέοι as "young," as Stanford does, the reference is to Telemachus and is based on the proverbial harshness of young masters. Indeed, there was no harsh punishment of which the women slaves thought Telemachus incapable (18. 338–42). In this reading, Eumaeus would be trying to tell the man he recognizes as Odysseus that he has been a faithful servant also to his son. If we read νέοι as "new," the reference is to Odysseus himself and implies that the newcomer is his new master, which would be appropriate only if Eumaeus recognizes the guest as his master. In either reading, Eumaeus, in this welcome speech, hurries to ensure the hearer that he has been a good servant and has taken good care of Odysseus' house.

Eumaeus also emphasizes the fact that he considers himself part of Odysseus' household. By stressing his adherence to the laws of hospitality (which he again mentions in 14. 388–89 and 402–06), he is saying that he is keeping the traditions of Odysseus' household. Both Penelope and Telemachus obey those laws, tacitly allowing the beggar into their home and providing him with the necessities of life (16. 44–45; cf. 1. 119 ff.). Eumaeus points out his adherence explicitly. Moreover, in so doing, he uses the first person plural of the possessive adjective: ἡμετέρῃ (14. 59), as if to affirm his place in Odysseus' home even more strongly.

Eumaeus also goes out of his way to relate to the visitor the misfortunes of Odysseus' household, without being asked or in any way encouraged. If he did not suspect that the beggar was Odysseus, the information would be entirely gratuitous. Nowhere in the *Odyssey* does a host disclose the misfortunes or blessings of his house before asking the stranger to identify himself, unless of course the situation calls for such a

confession. This would be the case of Telemachus' apology to Mentès/Athena for the suitors' conduct, which caused Telemachus to seat her apart from them (1. 132–34, 158–68).¹⁶

Intermingled in his long and informative greeting, Eumaeus enumerates the rewards he expects from Odysseus upon his return: possessions of his own, a bit of land, and a wife sought by many suitors (14. 62–66). Those are the rewards, Eumaeus says, that a master gives a slave who has made his house prosper, and they are in fact the rewards that Odysseus promises Eumaeus and Philoetius at his formal self-revelation (21. 214–16). Like the greeting that preceded it, this codicil makes most sense if we assume that Eumaeus knows, or at least guesses, the identity of the person he is addressing.

Eumaeus' awareness at this stage seems less than certain and not entirely conscious. Eumaeus seems to be responding instinctively to the familiarity the stranger conveys. Being uncertain, and no less κερδαλέος than his master, he does not show his awareness directly, but rather puts his best face forward and angles for reward, in case what he suspects proves true.

He refrains from insisting on an open revelation but proceeds as though the beggar were his master. In giving Odysseus a detailed account of the suitors' exploitation of the hospitality of his household, he provides his beloved master with important information. Then he takes particular care to repeat his deep affection for his master. If the guest were actually an unknown beggar, this emphasis would have been extremely unwise. Beggars used to roam from one palace to another begging for food. A roaming beggar on his way to the city could easily tell the story to the suitors, who were unlikely to judge Eumaeus' care for Odysseus kindly and who may have vented their wrath on him. One should remember their rage at Telemachus when he dared to criticize their conduct openly at the assembly. In taking such a risk, Eumaeus is attempting to tell Odysseus that he knows who he is, but by an innuendo rather than explicitly.

Throughout most of his stay in Eumaeus' hut, Odysseus keeps careful watch of the extent to which Eumaeus has guessed his identity or suspects it and how he will react. To achieve his aim, Odysseus simultaneously hints at his identity and denies it.

He had already played this game with the Phaeacians, as we are told in Book 8, drawing attention to his identity first by crying, pulling his tunic over his head, and sighing aloud when Demodocus sang of the quarrel between him and Achilles (8. 73–75). He did so again by asking the bard to sing about the wooden horse which Odysseus led up into the citadel. In that

¹⁶ The only similar instance is Menelaos' tale about Agamemnon to Telemachus and Peisistratus (4. 78–112), but there again Menelaos had recognized Telemachus and did not need to ask his identity (4. 141–50), or suspected the youngster to be Orestes and found it more politic to voice his version of the past events. See F. Ahl, "Homer, Vergil, and Complex Narrative Structures in Latin Epic: An Essay," *JCS* 14 (1989) 8–10. For additional anomalies in the conventions of *xenia* in the scene, see Fenik (above, note 8) 30–31.

request he explicitly introduced his own name (8. 494) and again wept aloud, so that Alcinoos finally asked him for his name and lineage.

To clarify my statement let me digress. The text does not reveal this to us explicitly or directly, but by a succession of events and acts on the part of the hero, which I will analyze here but briefly.¹⁷ One of the main questions that arises in the Phaeacian episode is why Odysseus is crying. After all, he is the man in the epic whose ability to conceal emotions is proverbial. There is no clear reason for his groaning and moaning in the episode. We do not know much about the quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles, but if anything, the text is clear that ultimately it was advantageous for the Achaeans, as we can judge from Agamemnon's rejoicing when the best of Achaeans were quarreling (8. 77–78).¹⁸ Nor is it clear why he cries when being told the story about the Trojan horse, a story he himself asked for.¹⁹ The text compares his tears to those of a woman who cries over the body of her husband slain fighting for Troy, as the victors drive her away to a life of slavery. Such a simile in which the "doer" is compared to the victim of the situation he effected is unparalleled in the epic. Recent Homeric scholarship agrees that at times similes give a deeper and more significant, understated meaning to a situation.²⁰ This simile, portraying the unemotional hero par excellence crying for the fate he imposed on the woman, borders on the improbable or unbelievable, especially on the part of the hero who is not moved by his father's misery when depicted movingly by Eumaeus and who succeeds in keeping a straight face in front of his wife, who melts in tears when he talks about her lost husband. Furthermore, while Odysseus' crying and self-pity during his stay with Calypso, with no hope of returning home, are well within the theme

¹⁷ In spite of the common belief that the Homeric narrative is explicit and straightforward rather than implicit, we will do well to remind ourselves of Demetrius' words about a special part of "formidable speaking" (δεινότης). Demetrius gives an example from Plato, who along with Homer is a source for many illustrations of the formidable style among rhetoricians. In the *Phaedo* Aristippus and Cleombrotus are not explicitly criticized for feasting in Aegina when Socrates was lying for many days imprisoned in Athens. Instead, Plato makes Phaedo ask who was with Socrates. He enumerates the men one by one. Next, he is asked whether Aristippus and Cleombrotus were present. The answer is "No, they were in Aegina." Demetrius summarizes: "The passage is all the more forcible because its point is conveyed by the *fact itself and not by the speaker*" (*On Style* 5. 288). On the oral theory and implicit and subtlety in expression, cf. also M. Lynn-George, *Epos, Word, Narrative and the Iliad* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ 1988) 55–81, esp. 58, 66, 78–81. For Homer's technique leaning on the implicit and the subtle, especially in the second half of the *Odyssey*, see P. W. Harsh, "Penelope and Odysseus in *Odyssey* XIX," *AJP* 71 (1950) 1–21, esp. 2. For inferences about characters' motivations from their acts rather than from explicit statement in the text, see J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford 1983) 62–64.

¹⁸ See the discussion by G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore 1979) 23–25, 63–65.

¹⁹ For additional oddities in Odysseus' reaction to the song about the Trojan horse, see G. B. Walsh, *The Varieties of Enchantment* (Chapel Hill 1988) vii, 3–6, 20–21, who seeks a psychological explanation and sees Odysseus as a close paradigm of the Homeric audience.

²⁰ Harsh (above, note 17) 2; M. W. Edwards, *Homer, Poet of the Iliad* (Baltimore 1987) 106.

of an imprisoned hero, there is nothing in the entire Phaeacian episode that calls for a description of Odysseus as an emotional and empathic character. He already knows he is going to have a *pompe* home, and there is no need for this sentimentality, nor is it stressed anywhere else in the episode.²¹ One should also note the careful strategy of Odysseus' crying. During the first song, he cries only during Demodocus' singing, stopping at intervals, thus connecting explicitly the song with his tears. Even if this can be seen again as a superb command of one's feelings as far as characterization is concerned, it still calls for an explanation of the tears, a clarification for which the Phaeacians remarkably refrain from asking. When asking for the song about himself partaking in the Trojan horse adventure, Odysseus must have known that he would be unable to control his tears again. It is noteworthy that Odysseus' reaction to the songs is marked as unusual by Alcinoo, who fails to understand why Odysseus cries over the fate of both the Achaeans and the Trojans. This is an important point; since during the games Odysseus identified himself as one of the Achaeans who fought at Troy (8. 216–28), his crying over the fate of the Trojans is unclear even to the host. The exhibition of emotionalism can hardly be seen as a goal of a hero who suffered as much as he did. His demand for the song can be understood, however, if he wishes to attain a goal which he failed to reach during the first song, namely, to be asked his identity, upon which a formal revelation followed.²²

In the Eumaeus episode Odysseus similarly draws attention to his true identity but without revealing himself openly. We may see this first in Odysseus' response to Eumaeus' complaint that his master will never return. Odysseus answers Eumaeus on oath and insists that deceitful tales are hateful to him (14. 151–64). On the surface, he tells Eumaeus a deceitful tale—that Odysseus will return—implying that he has not yet come back. His statement that Odysseus *νεῖται* (14. 152, is in the very process of return) is in the present tense, not the future, indicating that Odysseus is the beggar, and making good his fervent oath.²³ Still, Odysseus refuses to reveal himself explicitly and even steers Eumaeus away from any identification.

²¹ On the contrary, Odysseus' straightforward and logical treatment of Euryalus' insult, when he repeatedly claims to be sore at heart, stands against it (8. 178–79, 205).

²² Note the lack of attention of the banqueters to his covering of his head and tears during the first song. Alcinoo notices the guest's uneasiness but at first does not ask for its reason; rather, he changes the activity of the banqueters (8. 90–96). During the third song Odysseus' tears are once again ignored by the banqueters, but Alcinoo stops the song and asks Odysseus' identity and the reason for his crying (8. 531–35).

²³ Stanford (*ad loc.*) does not prove his claim that *νεῖται* regularly has a quasi-future sense. The tense emerges from the semantics of the verb. Here Odysseus does not use a clear future statement.

Eumaeus wavers momentarily and suggests that they leave the subject of his master and turn their thoughts to other matters (14. 168–70). Yet in the next verse he returns to that subject. He tells the beggar that along with Penelope, Laertes, and Telemachus, he wishes Odysseus would return. Thus the text shows us that inwardly and subconsciously something compels Eumaeus to dwell on the subject of Odysseus, even when rationally he wishes to drop it. Eumaeus now completes his account of the suitors' misconduct and informs his hearer of their scheme to kill Telemachus. Eumaeus' return to the subject of Odysseus gives the beggar a second chance to reveal himself. The warning of the threat to Telemachus' life, and with it to the demise of Odysseus' line (14. 179–84), can be considered a serious bait to Odysseus to reveal himself and help his son.

The beggar's response that he heard that Odysseus is about to return, either "openly or in secret" (14. 321–30), tells the swineherd that he is not going to reveal himself and that he prefers an incognito approach. At the same time, Odysseus once again covertly hints at his true identity. In telling Eumaeus of his escape from the Thesprotians' ship, he alters the formulaic phrase οἱ/μοι φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι το σφιν ἐφαίνετο κέρδιον εἶναι (14. 355), thereby hinting at who he is.

Before I show how, it is necessary to digress to note the attributes that this formula generally possesses in the *Odyssey*.

1. With three exceptions, once in reference to a favor Peisistratus grants Telemachus (15. 204), once with reference to Phemius' decision to plead before Odysseus (22. 338), and once in the case of the Thesprotians, the formula refers to Odysseus (5. 474, 6. 145, 10. 153, 18. 93, 24. 239).

2. The formula always concludes a character's inner deliberation of two alternatives, which are either mentioned in the text or can be deduced from it. Odysseus ponders whether to stay at the riverbed or to climb the slope and find a resting place in the thick brushwood. He wavers between coming forward naked and clasping Nausicaa's knees or addressing her from a distance. In Aeaea, he ponders whether to go himself and search for the source of smoke he sees or to send his comrades. Should he kill Irus or just beat him up? And finally, should he reveal himself to his father with hugs and kisses or should he provoke him? Phemius ponders whether to flee to Zeus' altar or to clasp Odysseus' knees. Peisistratus debates whether to obey Nestor's order to return Telemachus to Pylos or to allow Telemachus to embark on his ship for Ithaca (15. 195–201).

3. The κέρδιον choice is the clever, shrewd choice that benefits the character involved. By shrewdly risking being attacked by a wild beast on the slope, Odysseus avoided freezing to death down in the riverbed. The text tells us this by describing the double olive bush, a partially cultured bush that can grow only in a civilized area where wild beasts are unlikely to live. By not clasping Nausicaa's knees, Odysseus avoided enraging the young maiden. Odysseus' decision in Aeaea to send his comrades to investigate the source of the smoke enabled him to avoid endangering himself (10. 203 ff.).

In his choice to deal Irus a light blow rather than kill him on the spot, Odysseus avoided drawing the suitors' attention to his might (18. 94). (For Odysseus' calculations and advantage in his treatment of Laertes, see below). Peisistratus earned Telemachus' friendship. Phemius, by touching Odysseus' knees, forced him to hear his plea.

4. Κέρδιον decisions in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* never benefit an anonymous group.²⁴

5. Κέρδιον decisions are generally marked by a divergence from the natural or expected course of events. Odysseus' resolution to climb up the slope and rest in the thick brushwood seems the riskier one, for whereas he has some knowledge of the riverbed, which he sees and can examine, he has no information about the upper wood. Odysseus' decision not to clasp Nausicaa's knees but to address her in an ingratiating way from a distance is a divergence from the socially accepted way of assuring a positive answer to one's wish. Phemius' decision to clasp Odysseus' knees instead of running and sitting on Zeus' altar for safety seems the riskier one, since just a moment earlier Odysseus killed Leiodes while he was clasping his knees and begging to be spared. Social convention would have required that Peisistratos obey his father's order to bring Telemachus back to Pylos. In all of these cases, however, the κέρδιον decisions prove to be the correct ones.

In short, the resolutions called κέρδιον deviate from the common practice; they are the result of deliberation within a certain situation and are the suitable and correct response to the situation. The term κέρδιον thus not only indicates that the decision is the more advantageous one but also points to the shrewdness and resourcefulness of the character, whose judgment of the situation at hand proves to be right.

Odysseus' version of the term in the Thesprotians' incident diverges in several important respects from the standard formula. (1) The base κερδ- does not refer to Odysseus. This makes the application of the word one of the rarer applications in the *Odyssey*.²⁵ Moreover, it refers not to an individual but to a group. (2) The Thesprotians stand to gain no personal advantage from their κέρδιον decision, which will in fact cost them a valuable slave. (3) Although the formula points to an unpredicted or unusual, yet successful, course of action, the Thesprotians' decision to abandon the search for Odysseus is most natural in their eagerness to continue their voyage. (4) The Thesprotians' decision to stop looking for Odysseus in the bushes involves no shrewdness or guile. Indeed, in his use of the verb φαίνω with no indication for the use of φρήν, Odysseus

²⁴ For *Iliad* 19. 63, one should note that Hector is mentioned specifically and carries most significance in the sentence. For this instance and for Antenor's words in *Iliad* 7. 352, see my "Kerdion in the *Iliad*, Skill and Trickiness," forthcoming in *TAPA*.

²⁵ Out of 38 occurrences, in 5 cases it is used for known individual characters outside of Odysseus' family, 22 times for Odysseus, 7 times for Telemachus, and 4 times for Penelope.

explicitly omits the standard acknowledgment of the role of the mind in deciding what is κέρδιον.²⁶

This awkward use of κέρδιον is significant especially in the attribution of the base κερδ- to unknown characters. In a clear majority of its occurrences the base is used in reference to Odysseus and his family, or to known figures. This deviation can be seen as Odysseus' way of drawing attention to himself and hinting to his κερδαλέος slave that the "beggar" is not what he seems to be, but going no further in his revelation.²⁷

Eumaeus' answer that he does not believe that Odysseus will return so soon and his refraining from further probing lets his listener know that he understands the hint and will act accordingly. Eumaeus explains his conduct by telling of a bad experience he had with an Aetolian who claimed he had seen Odysseus in Idomeneus' house and said that Odysseus would be back by harvest time (14. 361–89). Eumaeus is not clear as to why this episode should discourage him from questioning the beggar further. After all, Penelope was lied to often and did not refrain from inquiring further. But the tale serves to emphasize his acquiescence to his master's wishes. In so indicating, Eumaeus seems to be acceding to the general disapproval of forced identification which runs through the epic. The poem indicates that no formal recognition (acknowledgment) should be offered to Odysseus unless the master starts it formally. Whoever offers such a revelation risks his life. Argus, who recognizes his master and is about to show it, dies before he can strip Odysseus' disguise; Eurycleia almost loses her life (19. 479–81). It can be inferred, however, from the text that Eumaeus makes a distinct connection between the person he addresses and his master, introducing a subtle criticism of the way he is being treated by using the base θεलग-.

Throughout the poem the base is used almost exclusively in connection with Odysseus in a variety of contexts. Calypso tries to charm him with words (1. 56–57), Circe is unable to bewitch him with her herbs as she does other men (10. 212–13, 290–91, 317–18), the Sirens try to charm him with their voice and song (12. 39–40, 43–44), Telemachus claims that his father is but a *daimon* who tries to bewitch him (16. 194–95), Odysseus promises Telemachus that Athena and Zeus will steal the suitors' minds during their attack upon them (16. 297–98), Eumaeus tells Penelope that the stranger

²⁶ The base κερδ- is usually used with the derivatives of φρην-. Telemachus' slip in 2. 320 (ὕμιν εἰσατο κέρδιον εἶναι) is also an intentional divergence from the common use, pointing to the misuse of language on the part of the growing youth, who tries in his great excitement to apply the language of grown-ups but fails. Similarly in 16. 311 Telemachus uses κέρδος in the singular. This is the only place in the *Odyssey* where it is not used in the plural.

²⁷ When raising an argument on the basis of common or uncommon usage of a phrase, we will do well to remember that what we, the readers/audience, view as formula is a means of natural communication of the characters as far as the epic diction is concerned. What we judge as bizarre or customary usage on the basis of meticulous examination and analysis of various occurrences of a phrase must have sounded the same to the characters on the basis of their usage of the language within the epic diction.

stole his heart by his stories (17. 513–14, 520–21), and Odysseus rejoices that Penelope charmed the souls of the suitors by setting the bow contest and requesting gifts (18. 281–82).

The basic meaning of the base is the utter emotive helplessness of the person upon whom *θελγ-* is being used, followed by the incapability of rational judgment which results in hurting one's own interests. The notion of helplessness becomes clear when one thinks of Hermes' wand, which can make one sleep or wake up. No will or human power can withstand its effect (5. 46–47, 4. 2–3; cf. *Iliad* 24. 342–43; cf. also the derivative *θελκτήρια*). Telemachus feels he cannot fight his inner wish to believe his father has returned, even though there is no logical or critical proof that the newly arrived stranger is his father.²⁸ Whoever happens to listen to the Sirens gives up all former plans and stays to listen to them forever. The secret of the charm is in the content and the arrangement of the words.

Of more significance is the contextual setting of the base. *Θελγ-* is associated with lies, deceits, or purposes that are not in the interest of the person upon whom *θελγ-* is being used. Thus in the only usage of the base not in reference to our hero, it describes the way Aegisthus succeeded in "persuading" the virtuous Clytaemnestra to betray her husband; he "charmed her with words" (*θέλγεσκ' ἐπέεσσιν*); her subsequent deed is described as *ἔργον ἀεικές*, "a shameful deed" (3. 264–65). Calypso is using *θελγ-* to make Odysseus stay with her against his will. Circe wants to turn him into an animal. Telemachus is afraid of an impostor. Zeus and Athena are about to spread havoc among the suitors so they will be killed. And Penelope, according to Odysseus, promises the suitors what they wish to hear but in fact has different plans.

In his address Eumaeus tells the beggar in a straightforward manner, *μήτε τί μοι ψεύδεσσι χαρίζο μήτε τι θέλγε* ("do not try to please me nor charm me with lying words" 14. 387). The narrative's use of a base connected closely to the persona of Odysseus and his whereabouts is significant and points to the swineherd's growing confidence as to the identity of his guest, confidence that might fade again. But for now, Eumaeus tells his master he has recognized him and no more lies need to be invented to charm his ear. Thus in a subtle way, Eumaeus criticizes Odysseus' treatment of him, hinting that it would be in Odysseus' interest to reveal his identity to him, but yet fulfills his master's desire to keep his secret.²⁹

²⁸ For Telemachus' ardent wish to see his father's return see 1. 113–18.

²⁹ For the Odyssean technique of describing emotions by inference from the characters' words rather than stating them explicitly, see Harsh (above, note 17) 10. For Eumaeus' careful but indicative use of words see also his prayer in 14. 424, where he does not merely pray for Odysseus' return, but would like to see him return to Odysseus' own house (*ὄνδε δόμονδε*) that is to say, to have him regain the authority and power he once had.

Despite his conceding to Odysseus' wishes for anonymity, Eumaeus becomes increasingly sure of the beggar's identity—and increasingly explicit in the symbolics he uses to express that awareness. When Odysseus first arrived, Eumaeus offered him a meal of a young pig, apologizing that this is the only meat slaves have to give because the suitors eat the fatted hogs (14. 81–82). For their second meal, however, Eumaeus orders the *best fat hog* slain for the stranger (14. 414–17), as is fitting for the master of the house. White-tusked boars were served only on special festive occasions and to the suitors. Furthermore, Eumaeus gives him the best long chine of the meat. The text asserts that this sign of respect *κύδαινε δὲ θυμὸν ἄνακτος* (“exalted the heart of his master” 14. 438). Although Odysseus overtly takes the good portion as exceeding his lowly status—*Αἴθ' οὕτως, Εὐμαίε, φίλος Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιο / ὡς ἐμοί, ὅττι με τοῖον ἔοντ' ἀγαθοῖσι γεραίρεις* (“Eumaeus, may you be as dear to father Zeus as you honor me now in spite of my condition” 14. 440–41)—the implication is that he appreciates Eumaeus' treatment.³⁰ The usual explanation for this improbability in Eumaeus' behavior along with others is to see them as plain irony or pathos. In such a case we have to make several assumptions. We were told from the start that it is the young sucklings that are the common food of slaves, presumably because they have not yet entered the inventory (14. 73–84). A white-tusked boar is taken into account in the inventory, and we were told that the number of hogs was far less than the number of female swine because of the suitors' consumption (14. 16–20). The slaughtering of a white-tusked boar with no particular reason except to entertain a personal guest not only gives the guest for no clear reason the status of the suitors, but diminishes the number of highly valued hogs in the sties and should be viewed as Eumaeus' misuse of his position as supervisor of his master's herds. In short, we must see the swineherd as committing a wanton felony and Odysseus' genuine joyfulness over such a waste remains a mystery.³¹

The next significant exchange occurs when the beggar, feeling cold in the swineherd's hut, tells Eumaeus a fantastic story about how “Odysseus” succeeded in getting a cloak for him while they were lying in ambush below the Trojan walls. His tale is preceded by the following thought (14. 459–61):

τοῖς δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μετέειπε, συμβάτω πειρητίζων,
εἷ πῶς οἱ ἐκδὺς χλαῖναν πόροι, ἢ τιν' ἑταίρων
ἄλλον ἐποτρύνειεν, ἐπεὶ ἐο κήδετο λίην.

³⁰ Cf. a similar serving of a chine of a white-tusked boar to Odysseus in Phaeacia just before he formally comes forward and reveals his identity to Alcinoos (8. 474–75), having already clearly indicated his participation in the Trojan war (8. 216–20).

³¹ Yet the text is explicit about Odysseus' keen interest in the way Eumaeus watches over the flocks and Eumaeus' awareness that Odysseus would be interested in knowing how his herdsmen tend the flocks (14. 526–27, 17. 246).

Odysseus spoke among them making trial of the swineherd, to see whether he would take off his cloak and give it to him, or tell one of his comrades to do it, since he cared for him so greatly.

Odysseus' speculation that Eumaeus would provide him with a cloak "since he cared for him so greatly" has no basis unless Odysseus realizes that Eumaeus has guessed his true identity and will treat him as the Odysseus he has claimed to love.³² As a mere *xenos*, a beggar would have no grounds for expecting such special treatment. Eumaeus had not revealed any special affection for the "beggar" and only a short time earlier had told Odysseus that the only reason he was treating him so kindly was that he pitied him and feared Zeus (14. 388–89). Since Eumaeus did not reveal any special affection for the beggar per se, but talked repeatedly and at length about his love for his master, Odysseus' expectation is based on his awareness that Eumaeus intimates his true identity. Odysseus' roundabout request for Eumaeus' cloak is a way both of hinting yet again at his identity and of testing the slave's awareness of it and allegiance to him.

Eumaeus answers (14. 508–09):

Ἦ γέρον, αἴνιος μὲν τοι ἀμύμων, ὃν κατέλεξας,
οὐδέ τι πω παρὰ μοῖραν ἔπος νηκερδὲς ἔειπες·

Old man, the story you told is blameless,
nor have you uttered an unmannerly or unprofitable word.

The base κερδ-, as already claimed, is used in the text mainly for the royal family or people closely attached to it. Eumaeus' use of the word would not have been proper reference to a strange vagabond and tells Odysseus in a manner well disguised from the other attendants, and in a structure of a powerful litotes, that he, Odysseus, displayed his characteristic κέρδεα in this tale.³³ It is noteworthy that this is the sole use of the word in the epic. When Eumaeus lends Odysseus the extra cloak, he tells the beggar that he expects it back in the morning. In a veiled way, he is telling Odysseus that he recognized him, will oblige him, and yet in the morning will continue to pretend he is a beggar (14. 510–17).³⁴

³² A subconscious recognition implicit in the tunic scene was suggested by S. Mumaghan, *Disguise and Recognition in the Odyssey* (Princeton 1987) 108, who accepts the notion that the loan of the cloak can be a covert expression of recognition and sees the loan as a part of the social institution of hospitality, which, in turn, serves as a substitute or alternative for a recognition of identity (91–117). Mumaghan believes, however, that Odysseus reveals himself to Eumaeus and is recognized by him only in Book 21, see 13 n. 19, 20–21, 38–39, 74, 107, 151–52.

³³ For a summary of the uses of the base κερδ- in the *Odyssey*, especially in the noun form, see Roisman (above, note 7) 66–67.

³⁴ I find unconvincing Mumaghan's assertion (above, note 32) 167, that Eumaeus is *moved* (my emphasis) by the account of how Odysseus cleverly arranged the loan of a cloak to the beggar. Nor does the text support any sentimentality here. The message is simply that Eumaeus understood the hint in the story and is going to arrange for a cloak for the beggar/Odysseus.

Having established Eumaeus' affection, Odysseus enlists him in his struggle against the suitors. The first thing the following evening, Odysseus again tests his faithful slave (15. 304–06):

τοῖς δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μετέειπε, σὺ βώτεω πειρητιζῶν,
ἢ μιν ἔτ' ἐνδοκέως φιλέοι μείναιί τε κελεύοι
αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ σταθμῶ, ἢ ὀτρύνειε πόλινδε.

Odysseus spoke among them making trial of the swineherd,
to see whether he would show him kind affection and invite him
to stay on his farm, or would urge him to go to the city.

In making this trial of Eumaeus, Odysseus is testing whether the swineherd φιλέοι him, despite the latter's declaration to the beggar in 14. 388: οὐδὲ φιλήσω. Here Odysseus wants to know whether Eumaeus will be loyal to him as the master of the house when it comes to fighting the suitors, not merely whether Eumaeus is benevolent as such.³⁵

Odysseus continues by telling Eumaeus his plans and draws from the loyal slave the counsel and information he needs to launch a successful repossession of his property. Odysseus begins the process in 15. 309–24 by asking Eumaeus to get him a ἡγεμῶν ἐσθλός to lead him to the city. Behind the request are the assumptions that Eumaeus will both carry out his bidding and correctly interpret his wishes, as would a slave faithful to his master (16. 272, 17. 185–96). Even though Odysseus here asks merely for “the best guide,” he later tells Telemachus that the swineherd will lead him (16. 272), indicating that he is now sure of Eumaeus' recognition.

Odysseus' increasing certainty of Eumaeus' presumptive loyalty to him, as his master, is also indicated in this incident where he informs Eumaeus that he intends to see Penelope and offer the suitors his services in tending the fire and pouring wine. Odysseus is here prompting Eumaeus for information and advice, as one would a person close to one. In giving the advice, warning him of the danger of the plan, since the suitors do not employ beggars for those tasks, Eumaeus contrives to prove his fidelity to his master. Toward the end of this incident Eumaeus passes the test Odysseus had made by suggesting that Odysseus stay with him and await Telemachus, who will give him a cloak and send him wherever he wishes.

Nonetheless, Odysseus remains careful not to make any remark or reveal any information that might lead to a formal recognition. Rather, he continues his play of teasing self-revelation against explicit denial, which Eumaeus, as always, goes along with. After being satisfied that Eumaeus has passed the test, Odysseus asks him about his (Odysseus') parents, an odd question for a passing beggar and one that strongly hints at his identity (15. 346–50). Yet shortly after that, when, pretending ignorance, he asks

³⁵ For the significance of a positive sentiment in the compound social value of loyalty, see H. Roisman, *Loyalty in Early Greek Epic and Tragedy*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 155 (Königstein/Ts. 1984).

Eumaeus about the slave's past, he avoids referring explicitly to Laertes as Eumaeus' master and instead refers to the master in an anonymous ὄδε ἀνήρ (15. 388 τοῦδ' ἀνδρός).

Eumaeus, true to form, does not try to force Odysseus to be more explicit. In line 429 he answers Odysseus' ambiguous reference to his owner with his own τοῦδ' ἀνδρός, waiting 60 verses, till 483, to state explicitly that Laertes had bought him.³⁶ Eumaeus offers Odysseus repeated assurances of his goodwill and fidelity. In response to Odysseus' question about his life, Eumaeus tells the story of the Phoenician slave woman who had kidnapped him as a child and was struck dead, presumably for her betrayal (15. 410–84). In this apt and highly moral tale Eumaeus seems to be trying to let Odysseus know that he, unlike the treacherous Phoenician maid, has no intention of betraying his master.

In return, as Odysseus becomes increasingly sure of Eumaeus' loyalty, his hints as to his true identity become increasingly strong and overt. Before leaving for the city, and before formally revealing his identity to Telemachus, the beggar boasts that if he were Odysseus he would fight the suitors. Even before Telemachus tells him about the suitors' mischief, the beggar proclaims in self-dramatizing indignation that if only he were as young as Odysseus' son, or Odysseus himself, he would prove himself the suitors' bane. He would rather be slain, he exclaims, than see his home despoiled so shamefully (16. 99–111). Here, as in his stay with the Phaeacians and his request for a cloak, he conspicuously introduces his own name. Moreover, this passage is highly emotional, and the entire tone of the beggar's outburst makes it difficult to avoid suspicion of his very personal interest in the affair.

In response to Odysseus' increasing overtones, Eumaeus becomes somewhat more assertive in his call for a more explicit affirmation from his evasive master. In 16. 137–45 Eumaeus suggests to Telemachus that Laertes should be notified of his safe return from Pylos, since the old man stopped eating and drinking after his (Telemachus') departure for Pylos. The previous evening he had told the beggar/Odysseus of the old man's misery. Now, by giving Telemachus this advice in his father's presence, he seems to be calling for Odysseus to support his suggestion, thereby admitting his concern for his old father and thus his true identity. Since nowhere in the epic does the beggar refrain from speaking when he has something to say, Eumaeus can reasonably expect him to speak on his father's behalf.

Odysseus, however, does not give Eumaeus the proof he wants. He refrains from interfering and so revealing beyond any doubt who he is. Nevertheless, from this point on, Eumaeus' actions all indicate that his doubts have been satisfied and he knows the beggar's true identity. When Odysseus, leaving for the city, asks Eumaeus for a ῥόπαλον, a shepherd's

³⁶ I doubt whether one should see lines 388 or 429 as interpolations. The lines are meant to be ambiguous. But see Stanford *ad loc.*

staff, to lean on, Eumaeus provides him with a σκῆπτρον (17. 195–99), which of course marks Odysseus' noble stance and identity.³⁷ Only Athena, besides Eumaeus, knowing well the identity of her hero, provides Odysseus with a σκῆπτρον. Eumaeus' dogs, on the other hand, who do not know the long-absent master, cause Odysseus to drop his σκῆπτρον (13. 436–37, 14. 30–31). Then, although Telemachus ordered Eumaeus not to allow the beggar to beg at his palace (16. 85–89),³⁸ Eumaeus leads Odysseus straight there (17. 260–71), inferring that this is his master's wish. Eumaeus also contrives to act as a good scout by providing his master with vital information. When they meet the abusive Melanthius, for example, the swineherd makes sure that his master knows that this shepherd had purposefully destroyed Odysseus' herds (17. 246). A similar offer of help is found when Eurycleia recognizes Odysseus. She offers to name all the treacherous maids when the time comes (19. 495–98).

By the time they reach the palace, their bond, based on Eumaeus' knowing who the beggar is and Odysseus' knowing that he knows, is solid and confirmed. In the palace, Odysseus tells Antinoos a different story about his arrival in Ithaca than the one he told Eumaeus, even though the swineherd is present in the hall and participates in the conversation. He had told Eumaeus he arrived in Ithaca from the Thesprotians (14. 315–16; cf. 16. 65–66). He now tells the suitors he came from Cyprus (17. 442), a more conventional place of arrival than the Thesprotians. Here Odysseus uses a more convenient story knowing he can rely on his faithful slave not to give him away.

In all of these exchanges, Odysseus hints at his true identity and expects Eumaeus to confirm his comprehension, but then goes no further. He neither reveals himself explicitly nor confirms Eumaeus' guess explicitly. Eumaeus remains cautious.

When meeting Penelope after bringing Odysseus to the palace, Eumaeus uses ambivalent diction in referring to his master. Penelope asks him to bring the stranger to her so she will inquire about her husband. Eumaeus says (17. 513–21):

Εἰ γάρ τοι, βασιλεία, σιωπήσειαν Ἀχαιοί·
οἱ ὅ γε μυθεῖται, θέλγοιτό κέ τοι φίλον ἦτορ . . .
ὥς ἐμὲ κείνος ἔθελγε παρήμενος ἐν μεγάροισι.

The use of the term Ἀχαιοί in Eumaeus' words is significant. It is commonly taken to refer to the suitors. But is this understanding correct?

³⁷ See 2. 36–37, 79–80, 3. 411–12, 11. 90–91, 568–69, and finally 18. 103, where Odysseus' planting a σκῆπτρον in the hands of half-conscious Irus marks the sarcasm of the scene. Odysseus consistently refers to the staff Eumaeus gave him as a ῥόπαλον, 17. 236. For a ῥόπαλον as shepherd's staff, see *Iliad* 11. 558–61. Cf. M. N. Nagler, *Spontaneity and Tradition* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1974) 124–25.

³⁸ That it was possible for Odysseus to go and beg in other houses is confirmed by the abusive Melanthius, who says that there are feasts not only in Odysseus' house (20. 182).

The term is used to identify the suitors only 19 times out of 133 occurrences. Mostly in narrative passages, where the term is used as a general qualifier of the Greek men feasting at Odysseus' house, their courting is not emphasized. In speeches it occurs in the addresses of a suitor to his companions and renders the speech an elevated and respectable tone.³⁹ Otherwise it is used as a signifier for ethnic and geographic purposes, or in reference to Ithacans who participate in the assembly. In fact, in many cases the text makes clear that the term Ἀχαιοί includes other Ithacans than the suitors, and the latter are mentioned separately (e.g., 2. 87–88, 111–12, 115, 265–66, 3. 216–17, 220, 4. 343–44, 16. 76–77). The most common use of the term by far (62 times) is to denote the Greek heroes who fought at Troy.

When Eumaeus wishes the “Achaean” to be silent, he is certainly not referring to the suitors. They are not noisy at the moment; when they are making a loud havoc it is mentioned expressly in the text (e.g., 1. 365–71, 18. 399–400). Eumaeus' subsequent explanatory sentence, “for the things he is telling could indeed charm the heart,” makes clear that it is not the suitors he is talking about but the beggar/Odysseus, whom Penelope wishes to invite to appear before her. The suitors do not have to be silent in such a case. Ἀχαιοί here is a collective term for all the Greek heroes who fought in Troy. The term emphatically sets the beggar apart from the more lowly vagabonds and beggars like Irus and places him among the glorious heroes. After all, none of the passersby who previously reached Ithaca claimed they participated in the war or met Odysseus at Troy. All of them claimed to meet or hear about the hero. In the immediate situation Eumaeus' bold wish that the returning Trojan heroes keep silent can be seen as an innocent remark, but for the queen it is a pregnant message. The emphasis is rather on the verb σιωπῶ, used nowhere else in the text. After all, Penelope is just over an excruciating worry concerning her son, who left Ithaca without telling her, in search of other returning Greeks hoping to gain some new information about his father. The subject of stories retold by the heroes who once fought at Troy haunts the queen. In this context Eumaeus' remark is characteristic of a slave close to his queen, who knows what she is experiencing and is allowed to express it openly. Yet in the larger context of Eumaeus' encounter with his master, this remark is carefully structured.

The beggar's telling Eumaeus that he fought in Troy did not contradict the common knowledge that there are no more “Achaean” who survived the war and the sea but have not reached their home (1. 11–12, 285–86) because Odysseus placed the continuation of his wanderings after having reached his home in Crete and says he set out on more adventures voluntarily (14. 118, 199–256). Eumaeus' reference to the beggar as one of the “Achaean” not

³⁹ 2. 90, 105–06, 2. 203–04, 18. 285–86, 20. 270–71, 24. 140–41; for a similar attempt at deference and respect (ironical?) in Odysseus' and Telemachus' words, see 17. 415, 18. 61–62, 21. 427–28.

only sets him among the heroes who fought in Troy but marks his identity. Only Odysseus from all those who fought in Troy and survived has not returned safely home, and his whereabouts is unknown (4. 182, 496–98, 551–55). If this most subtle hint may be questioned as to its intentional purpose, and may indeed be no more than a slip of the tongue on the part of the swineherd, whose reaction to the homecoming of his master borders belief and disbelief, his next remark makes it clear that he recognized his master's persona. Again and repeatedly he uses the base *θελγ-*, which unequivocally in the epic identifies Odysseus. Thus he not only reveals his awareness of the identity of the beggar but also calls for Penelope's attention and warns her that while conversing with this former hero she should beware because his words will probably baffle her, and the encounter might not be entirely beneficial to her. In short, she should be suspicious of anything he tells her.

If we assume a covert recognition on Eumaeus' part, one last question arises as to what to make of the statement that Eumaeus prayed for Odysseus' return, repeated in 20. 238–39 and 21. 203–04:

Ἦς δ' αὐτῶς Εὐμαιὸς ἐπέυξατο πᾶσι θεοῖσι
νοστήσαι Ὀδυσῆα πολύφρονα ὄνδε δόμονδε.

So Eumaeus also prayed to all the gods
that they would grant that the thoughtful Odysseus might return to his home.

On the surface at least, those prayers seem to be a clear assertion that Eumaeus is longing for Odysseus' return.⁴⁰ These are not silent prayers, but stated aloud. They are made, it should be noted, in the presence of Philoetius, who, in response to Odysseus' question, clearly exclaims his wish for Odysseus' return (20. 236–37):

Αἶ γὰρ τοῦτο, ξεῖνε, ἔπος τελέσειε Κρονίων·
γνοίης χ' οἷή ἐμὴ δύναμις καὶ χεῖρες ἔπονται.

How I wish, stranger, that the son of Kronos would fulfil your word;
then you would see what kind of strength my hands have.

Eumaeus' response matches Philoetius'. Its purpose is to keep the secret that he and his master have between them. Any other response would give away Odysseus' identity prematurely. The text subtly implies the difference between the statements of the two slaves. Whereas Philoetius, who does not yet know of his master's return, proclaims his ardent wish in a direct exclamative statement, Eumaeus' prayer is conveyed in the less enthusiastic manner of indirect speech, which is generally not favored in the epic.⁴¹ The claim that he prayed to "all the gods," without a specific address, also

⁴⁰ This is in fact their purpose in Book 14 (423–24) during Odysseus' first evening in Eumaeus' hut, when Eumaeus keeps trying on the one hand to assure Odysseus of his affection for him, and on the other hand to follow his master's wish of anonymity.

⁴¹ For the *Odyssey's* preference for direct speech, see Griffin (above, note 4) 59.

emphasizes the moderation of the statement. The temperateness of Eumaeus' tone here hints that the prayer is necessary and meant for Philoetius, not for Odysseus, whom he has already and repeatedly told of his care and loyalty.

In Book 24, Amphinomedon tells in the underworld that Eumaeus was privy to the beggar's true identity (24. 150–62). Aristarchus queried the passage on the grounds that Amphinomedon did not know about the meeting of Odysseus and Eumaeus before Odysseus arrived at his palace. Stanford answered that any intelligent suitor might have gathered as much from the alliance between Odysseus and the slave in the palace (*ad* 150 ff.). One may note too that the suitor made no similar suggestion about Philoetius, who helped Odysseus no less than Eumaeus in his fight against the suitors.

Odysseus and Laertes

Odysseus reveals himself to Laertes because within the social context of the Homeric epic it is only with Laertes' approval that he can resume his inherited political position as head of Arcisius' *oikos* and as a king of Ithaca.⁴² The problem is that when Odysseus sees his father, he realizes how old and grief-stricken he has become (24. 234–35) and has reason to doubt whether he remembers him. Indeed, nothing in Laertes' behavior indicates that the old man recognizes Odysseus. Although Odysseus is no longer in his beggar's disguise, Laertes addresses him as "stranger" (24. 281). Odysseus realizes that the direct and dramatic self-revelation that was effective with the young Telemachus is out of place with the aged and apparently somewhat senile Laertes. Pondering whether to come up and kiss his father or to withhold his identity for a while, Odysseus chooses the latter and decides to try his father.

The text says: ὧδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι, / πρῶτον κερτομίους ἐπέεσσιν πειρηθῆναι (24. 239–40). These verses contain two apparent anomalies. One is Odysseus' decision to provoke his father with "biting words." Agathe Thornton, in my view, is correct in rejecting the understanding of κερτομίους ἐπέεσσιν as "teasing" or "bantering words," which do not exclude friendliness, pointing out that in other occurrences this adjective indicated distance and alienation (9. 474, 20. 177, 263).⁴³ A. Heubeck, more recently, has shown that the use of κερτομ- in the Homeric epic suggests means of provoking a reaction.⁴⁴ Indeed,

⁴² Cf. Whitman (above, note 10) 296, 305. For the emphasis put in the episode on Laertes' inheritance, see also C. Moulton, "The End of the *Odyssey*," *GRBS* 15 (1974) 164. For what it most probably meant to be a king in and of Ithaca see D. Wender, *The Last Scenes of the Odyssey*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 52 (Leiden 1978) 45, 54.

⁴³ A. Thornton, *People and Themes in Homer's Odyssey* (Dunedin 1970) 116.

⁴⁴ A. Heubeck, "Zwei Homerische κέρτα (ω 205 ff.—B 53 ff.)," *Ziva Antika* 31 (1981) 78–79; see also J. T. Hooker, "A Residual Problem in *Iliad* 24," *CQ* 36 (1986) 32–37, esp. 35; P. V. Jones, "*Iliad* 24. 649. Another Solution," *CQ* 39 (1989) 247–50.

Odysseus chooses to provoke his father. He taunts Laertes with looking uncared-for, squalid, and ill-clad and adds insult by asking whose slave he is. Further on, Odysseus says that he is looking for a man by the name of Odysseus, son of Laertes, whom he once entertained in his house. It is not the insertion of his own name that is uncharacteristic. Similar insertions are found in both former incidents in which he tries to hint at his own identity. He does it during the banquet in Phaeacia and while trying to give some advice to Telemachus in Eumaeus' hut, before his self-revelation to his son. Yet here it is different. Not only does he mention the name of a lost son to a bereaved father, but he exacerbates the poor old man's misery by saying that he is looking for Odysseus, that is, he expects Odysseus to be there, and thus pinpoints the absence of the beloved and longed-for son.⁴⁵

The second difficulty lies in the use of the κέρδιον formula, which on the surface marks even further the lack of propriety within the relationship of a father and a son. Yet, as noted above, the formula points in the *Odyssey* to a breach of the expected and natural course of events and is generally associated with guile, which proves right and successful, and to the hero's advantage in the circumstances. The formula tells that Odysseus' conduct, however unusual and cruel it may seem, serves his goals. The deviation stems from Odysseus' ability emotionally to withstand the misery of his father, his well-known ability to conceal his feelings.

Given Laertes' condition, Odysseus could not reveal himself immediately as he had to Telemachus. To do so might prove too great a shock.⁴⁶ Nor could he rely on Laertes' remembering him or guessing who he was, as did Eumaeus. By using "biting words" and mentioning his own name to the distraught old man, Odysseus attempts to rouse him out of his stupor and so pave the way for his formal self-revelation. Thornton suggests that Odysseus wishes to make Laertes angry and arouse his feelings. Her point can be extended by suggesting that he wishes to make his father intellectually active.⁴⁷ Even after Odysseus reveals himself to his father, he needs to give two proofs of his identity, showing the old man his

⁴⁵ Scholars are usually uneasy about the "inconsiderate" treatment of Laertes by Odysseus; see for example D. L. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey* (Oxford 1955) 112, who refers to the scene as an "aimless and heartless guessing-game."

⁴⁶ The Scholia also say that Odysseus addresses Laertes with a deceptive speech "lest the old man should die of sudden joy, as the dog also died" (ἵνα μὴ αἰφνιδίῳ χαρᾷ ἀποψύξει ὁ γέρον, ὡς περ καὶ ὁ κύων ἀπώλετο, Σ^Q 24. 240). For a response to Fenik's characterization of this explanation as "amusingly fatuous" (above, note 8) 47 n. 58, see Richardson (above, note 2) 228–29.

⁴⁷ Thornton's proposal (above, note 43) 118–19, that the importance of Laertes' "recovery" lies within the place of the kin in the Homeric world seems to me too broad. There is no indication that Odysseus is overtly concerned about Laertes or other family members. Instead, when Telemachus forbade Eumaeus to go and tell the old man, who had stopped eating and drinking since his grandson had left for Pylos, of his safe return, Odysseus does nothing to support Eumaeus. For the opposed view that Laertes' highly emotional reaction takes Odysseus by surprise, see Moulton (above, note 42) 163–64.

scar and recounting the trees that his father had given him when he was a boy, noting their name and exact number (24. 336–41). To everyone else Odysseus had given only one proof.⁴⁸ Odysseus' rather brutal approach spurs the old man to accept his revelation, while in concealing his feelings, an ability that sets him off from all the other characters in the two epics, he provides further proof to the old man of who he is.⁴⁹ No impostor is likely to assume such an extraordinary method of further annoying an old man.

In summary, Odysseus covertly revealed his identity to the key members of the household who had the means of recognizing him: Euryycleia and Eumaeus. To those who did not have the means, both Telemachus and Laertes, he revealed his identity overtly.⁵⁰

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⁴⁸ Laertes' bluntness of intellect born out of his grief for his son is marvellously picked up in the case of the old man of Onchestus in the *Hymn to Hermes*. See S. C. Shelmerdine, "Odyssean Allusions in the Fourth Homeric Hymn," *TAPA* 116 (1986) 59–60; J. S. Clay, "Hermes' *Dais* by the Alpheus," *Μῆτις* 3 (1988) 230–31.

⁴⁹ For the possible nonphysical clue that can prompt recognition, see P. Pucci, *Odysseus Polutropos: Intertextual Readings in the Odyssey and the Iliad* (Ithaca 1987) 90–94; for Odysseus' ability to withstand emotional stress, see Griffin (above, note 4) 96–97.

⁵⁰ As must be clear by now, I have not included Penelope in my discussion. Harsh (above, note 17) has claimed that Penelope recognizes Odysseus even though he does not deliberately reveal himself and that she keeps her recognition a secret. Cf. Russo (above, note 11); A. Amory, "The Reunion of Odysseus and Penelope," in *Essays on the Odyssey*, ed. by Ch. H. Taylor, Jr. (Bloomington, IN 1963) 100–21; Whitman (above, note 10) 303; S. Mumaghan (above, note 32) 47–52, have noted a possible subconscious recognition of Odysseus by Penelope. It is plausible that the Trojan tales had a model of a recognition between the returning husband and his faithful wife and not with other members of the household. Agamemnon's elaborate compliments to Penelope in Book 11 can support such a possibility.

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Aischylos *Eumenides* 858–66

C. Carey

The acquittal of Orestes in *Eumenides* is followed by an epirrhematic exchange in which the chorus of Erinyes, robbed of their prey, turn their anger against the city whose representatives have (they believe) deprived them of their power and prestige. In answer to the choral songs of menace and complaint, Athene utters four speeches in iambic trimeters. The third and longest of these (848–69) presents problems of structure, scale and content which have led either to deletion of 858–66 or to somewhat desperate attempts at defence. However, discussion has been cursory. The aim of the present paper is to discuss the problems presented by lines 858–66 in some detail, and to argue that the third speech as presented by the tradition is not only the work of Aischylos but is also an integral and important part of the development and resolution of the problem of the administration of justice which the Erinyes represent. For convenience I reproduce here the whole of the speech:¹

ὄργας ξυνοίσω σοι· γεραιτέρα γὰρ εἶ,
καὶ τῶι μὲν εἶ σὺ κάρτ' ἐμοῦ σοφώτερα,
φρονεῖν δὲ κάμοι Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν οὐ κακῶς. 850
ὕμεις δ' ἐς ἀλλόφυλον ἔλθοῦσαι χθόνα
γῆς τῆσδ' ἐρασθήσεσθε. προυννέπω τάδε·
οὐπιρρέων γὰρ τιμιώτερος χρόνος
ἔσται πολίταις τοῖσδε, καὶ σὺ τιμίαν
ἔδραν ἔχουσα πρὸς δόμοις Ἐρεχθέως 855
τεύξει παρ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικείων στόλων
ὄσ' ἂν παρ' ἄλλων οὐποτ' ἂν σχέθεις βροτῶν.
σὺ δ' ἐν τόποισι τοῖς ἐμοῖσι μὴ βάλῃς
μῆθ' αἱματηρὰς θηγάνας, σπλάγγων βλάβας
νέων, αἰοῖνοις ἐμμανεῖς θυμώμασιν, 860
μῆτ' ἐκζέουσ' ὡς καρδίαν ἀλεκτόρων
ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖσιν ἰδρύσεις Ἄρη
ἐμφύλιόν τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θρασύν.

¹ In 861 the MSS have ἐξελοῦσ', which is exceedingly flat and does not make sense of the scholiast's gloss ἀναπερώσασα; I accept Musgrave's ἐκζέουσ', which gives acceptable sense in context, explains the scholiast's gloss, and is palaeographically plausible. See Thomson's note in W. G. Headlam and G. Thomson, *The Oresteia of Aeschylus* (Cambridge 1938) II 308 f.

θυραῖος ἔστω πόλεμος, οὐ μόλις παρών,
 ἐν ᾧ τις ἔσται δεινὸς εὐκλείας ἔρωσ·
 ἐνοικίου δ' ὄρνιθος οὐ λέγω μάχην.
 τοιαῦθ' ἐλέσθαι σοι πάρεστιν ἐξ ἑμοῦ,
 εὖ δρῶσαν, εὖ πάσχουσαν, εὖ τιμωμένην
 χώρας μετασχεῖν τῆσδε θεοφιλεστάτης.

865

The problems, as presented succinctly by Dodds,² are as follows: i) if lines 858–66 are omitted, Athene's speeches to the chorus assume a roughly uniform length, 14 lines (794–807), 13 (824–36), 13 (848–57, 867–69), 11 (881–91);³ ii) τοιαῦτα in 867 looks back to the privileges promised in lines 854–57, ten lines before, a remarkable interval; iii) the Erinyes have made no explicit reference to civil war, and yet that is what Athene takes them to be threatening. These difficulties have been met in two ways. A number of scholars over the last century have simply deleted the verses in question as an interpolation, thus solving the problems at a single stroke.⁴ An alternative solution, proposed by Dodds and accepted recently by Sommerstein,⁵ is to regard the problematic passage as an interpolation by Aeschylus himself: "the poet himself . . . at some moment when the threat of civil war had grown acute inserted [the verses] into an already completed draft."

Before considering the merits of these solutions, we should first note a fact which has gone unremarked. In Athene's other three speeches there is an explicit request not to damage Athens alongside promises of honours to the Erinyes (deprecation of damage 800–03, 830–32, 888–89, promise of honours 804–07, 833–36, 890–91). This balance between the speeches is clearly intentional. It demands a request not to cause damage in the speech which begins in 848 alongside the promise of honours in 854–57. We cannot solve this problem by excising 861–66 and retaining 858–60, for quite apart from the presence of μήθ' in 859, which calls for an answering particle, lines 858–60 clearly envisage a danger which consists in incitement to violence. If the passage is intrusive, probably we are dealing not with

² E. R. Dodds, *PCPhS* 6 (1960) 23 f. (= *The Ancient Concept of Progress* [Oxford 1973] 51 f.).

³ Cf. also 903–15 (strictly outside the epirrhematic sequence), 13 lines.

⁴ N. Wecklein, *Aeschyli Fabulae* (Berlin 1885) 458 says of the verses in question: "hoc loco alieni videntur," and more fully in *Aeschylus Orestie* (Leipzig 1888) 311: "Die V. [858–66] unterbrechen den Zusammenhang. Die stark hervortretende politische Tendenz und der manierierte Stil kennzeichnen sie als Interpolation." The verses are also rejected by J. F. Davies, *The Eumenides of Aeschylus* (Dublin 1885), and suspected by O. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (Oxford 1977) 407 n. 1 and C. W. MacLeod, *JHS* 102 (1982) 130. H. Weil, *Aeschyli Tragoediae* (Leipzig 1884) transposed 858–66 to follow 912. But it makes no sense for Athene to answer a question from the chorus concerning the benefits to be prayed for (902) with (in part) a prolonged request not to cause destruction; the request is anyway otiose after 900, where the Erinyes explicitly abandon their anger.

⁵ Dodds (above, note 2), A. H. Sommerstein, *Aeschylus Eumenides* (Cambridge 1989) 251 f.

simple insertion but with the replacement of at least two or three trimeters urging the Erinyes not to blight Athens with a lengthy request that they should not cause civil war.

It may perhaps be felt that such a substitution would come more naturally from Aeschylus himself than from an actor-writer (or a scribe incorporating a passage from the margin of his exemplar) who was apparently influenced by considerations neither of length nor of appropriateness of context, and who might therefore be expected merely to append a passage on civil war to a reference to physical blight rather than substitute the former for the latter.⁶ This is however the most that can be said in favour of Dodds' solution. There is much to be said against it. Firstly, there is the fact that the play elsewhere shows a desire for political stability.⁷ Though surprising in its context, the passage is not so isolated in the play as a whole that we should look for a separate explanation; indeed, the presence of other passages urging stability argues strongly against the need for a hurried insertion of the sort envisaged by Dodds. Secondly, other contemporary political references in the play⁸ arise naturally from the dramatic situation, irrespective of any reference to the world outside the play, while the passage in question as viewed by Dodds is inserted in defiance of the dramatic context. The contrast with lines 976 ff. is particularly illuminating in this regard. There we have a prayer averting stasis in the context of a number of prayers for the well-being of Athens; the prayer is entirely at one with its context. It is striking that the parallels for the supposed procedure adduced by Sommerstein are from comedy, a genre which readily responds to contemporary events irrespective of the

⁶ In favour of Aeschylus as author Sommerstein (previous note) argues: "[the lines] were written at a time when (a) there was a serious danger of civil war and (b) an abundance of external war could be regarded as a blessing (cf. 864). Both these conditions were satisfied in 458 B.C." As to the second point, external conflict would *at any period* be preferable to civil war (cf. MacLeod [above, note 4]; incidentally, Sommerstein assumes that the ambiguous οὐ μόλις παρών in 864 means μηδὲ μόλις παρέστω, "let there be no lack," but it could mean ὅς οὐ μόλις πάρεσσι, "of which there is no lack"). The first point is highly subjective. We do not in fact know that there was a grave risk of civil war in the spring of 458. There was certainly an oligarchic plot at the time of the battle of Tanagra (Thuc. 1. 107. 4-5), but if A. W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Oxford 1945) I 412 is correct to place the Tanagra campaign at the end of 458/7, the plot postdates the play by a year. Of course, the atmosphere in spring 458 *may* have been tense. But we do not know this, and we certainly cannot assume it. Violent reaction to the reform of the Areiopagos had been limited to the assassination of the democrat Ephialtes. A contemporary might well feel that the reforms had been carried through with a remarkable lack of violence and see this as evidence of the inherent stability of Athenian society. In view of the optimistic close of the play it is at least as easy to see in *Eumenides* a celebration of Athens' capacity for peaceful change as it is to see anxiety in the face of political uncertainty.

⁷ Cf. 526-39, 696 ff., 976 ff.

⁸ Specifically the Argive alliance 289-91, 669 ff., 762 ff. and the founding of the Areiopagos 681-707. For a general discussion with some bibliographical data (to which add Sommerstein [above, note 5] 25 ff., A. J. Podlecki, *Aeschylus Eumenides* [Warminster 1989] 17 ff.) see D. J. Conacher, *Aeschylus' Oresteia: A Literary Commentary* (Toronto 1987) 197 ff.

demands of the immediate context. It would moreover have been easy enough for Aischylos to insert a reference to civil war in the Erinyes' songs of rage in order to achieve an obvious harmony between Athene's speech and its surroundings. Finally, Dodds' suggestion rests on an unverifiable conjecture, that at the time of the Dionysia of 458 the political situation had suddenly become critical. We cannot rule out this possibility absolutely, but clearly an interpretation which relies on guesswork starts at a disadvantage. It appears therefore that the choice lies between deletion and an interpretation which seeks to solve the problems with reference to the immediate context of Athene's speech and the broader context of the dramatic situation.

I turn therefore to the problems summarized by Dodds. Firstly, the questions of scale. At *Pers.* 256–89, *Th.* 203–44, 686–711, *Suppl.* 736–63 and *Ag.* 1072–1113 the trimeter utterances in epirrhematic exchange are exactly equal in number; at *Ag.* 1407–47 the trimeter speeches are of nearly equal length (14, 17); likewise the herald's trimeters in the sequence at *Suppl.* 866 ff. (3, 3, 2, 2). We might therefore expect the speeches of Athene in the epirrhematic exchange in *Eumenides* to be at least roughly equal. However, at *Suppl.* 348–417 we have an epirrhematic exchange in which the trimeter utterances are all exactly equal with the exception of the last, 407–17 (the figures are 5, 5, 5, 5, 5, 11). The aim there is clearly to create a climax as the king articulates fully the imperative presented by the chorus' role as suppliants. In *Eumenides* likewise one might expect any dislocation in the balance of speeches to come at the end, but one possible reason for dwelling at length on the danger in the penultimate speech of the sequence is a desire to articulate most vividly (by the juxtaposition of Athene's most sustained attempt at persuasion with a choral response in 870 ff. which as before reiterates verbatim complaints already uttered) the apparent insolubility of the crisis and intractability of the Erinyes in preparation for their sudden capitulation after Athene's final speech in 881 ff. Also relevant perhaps (though not in an epirrhematic sequence) is *Cho.* 315–404, in which choral anapaests three times follow a run of three lyric stanzas; the anapaestic utterances consist of 5, 8 and 5 verses (340–44, 372–79, 400–04).⁹ Thus the imbalance is neither unique in Aischylos nor inexplicable.

The second problem, the interval which separates τῶντα from its antecedent, rests on the assumption that τῶντ' looks back only to 854–57. However, this is by no means certain. εὖ δρωσαν in 868 has more point if it takes up the request to refrain from inciting violence (858–63), in which case τῶντ' vaguely resumes both request and promise.¹⁰ If τῶντ'

⁹ I owe this reference to Dr. A. F. Garvie.

¹⁰ I owe this point to Dr. Malcolm Campbell. There is a close parallel at *Eum.* 480–81, where τῶντα resumes both the imperative presented by Orestes' position as suppliant (473–74) and the menace presented by the chorus (476–79); because the second of these is developed at

looks back only to the promise of 854 ff. εὖ δρῶσαν has no point of reference within the speech, for there is no hint in 854 ff. of any benefit the Erinyes can bestow in return; but we expect 868–69 to resume points already made in the speech. If we accept for the sake of argument that τοιαῦτ' looks back only to 854 ff., one obvious solution to the problem is to transpose lines 867–69 to follow 857. This would be linguistically unexceptionable. Though retrospective τοιοῦτος is commonly used by Aischylos in closing summary at or near the end of a speech (as e.g. *Ag.* 315, 348, 580, *Eum.* 197, 638, 913), it is also used simply to round off a section within a speech (as e.g. *Ag.* 593, *Eum.* 480, *Pers.* 823, *Th.* 195, 279, 384, 590). However, this solves one problem by creating another. As presented by the manuscripts all Athene's speeches in this epirrhematic sequence end with promises of honours for the Erinyes. This parallelism is destroyed if the closing lines of her penultimate speech are transposed, and the rhetorical force of the speech itself is weakened, for the purpose of the parallelism is to end each speech with an appeal to the self-interest of the Erinyes which simultaneously reinforces her claim that they have not been dishonoured. It is indeed unusual in Aischylos for retrospective τοιοῦτος not to follow its antecedent immediately as common sense dictates. However, at *Eum.* 912 τοιαῦτα looks back not to the preceding line but to 904–10.¹¹ The interval between 857 and 867 is of course far greater, and if 867 stood alone a reference to honours described ten lines before would be intolerably obscure. However, since the content of 854–57 is resumed in εὖ πάσχουσαν κτλ. (868–69) there is in fact no real obscurity.

The third problem is the most serious. The Erinyes have spoken of their destructive influence as a poison drop (σταλαγμόν 783, 813) which creates a wasting disease (λειχήν 785, 815) destroying vegetable and human life (785–87, 815–17). One naturally supposes from this description that the menace presented by the Erinyes is purely physical,¹² especially given the similarity to the effects of the plague in Sophokles' *OT* 26 ff., 168 ff. Furthermore, lines 938 ff., in which the Erinyes pray for fertility, make more sense as a reversal of their earlier attitude if their threats included physical corruption of life in Attica. Yet Athene clearly sees a threat of civil war. Either Athene is correct or the passage is alien to its context. But if Athene is correct, the poison of the Erinyes is not only physical but psychological, corrupting the minds of men as well as their bodies and their crops, and the description of the drops issuing from the Erinyes has both a literal and a metaphorical aspect. The country will become depopulated and

some length, τοιαῦτα is expanded in 480–81 (cf. 868–69), which resumes the whole sequence 473–79.

¹¹ Another such postponement perhaps is 638, which (if referring to Klytimestra) must look back to 635. However, in view of the textual uncertainty both in 638 and its immediate context its value as corroborative evidence is limited. The same is true of τοιάδε at *Cho.* 1005.

¹² At *Cho.* 1058, *Eum.* 54 the drops from the eyes of the Erinyes are literal.

infertile not only because human and plant growth will wither but also because civil war will cause widespread death and the abandonment of agriculture.¹³ There are in fact a number of arguments which may be advanced in support of this view.

Firstly, in the epirrhematic exchange which follows the conversion of the Erinyes they offer prayers averting stasis (856, 976 ff.). Although those verses offer an acceptable sense if we suppose merely that the chorus prays for civil concord as part of a general benediction upon the state (as at *Suppl.* 679 ff.), they gain considerably in effect if the chorus is transforming an earlier curse into a blessing. This is what the textual tradition offers in lines 858 ff. This view of the relationship between those two passages receives support from the other blessings for which the chorus prays in 921–26 and 937–47, which contrast with the threat in 780–87, 810–17 and Athene's words in 801–02. Athene's comment on their prayers for blessing (988 f.) underlines the reversal in their attitude (contrast 830). If the second strophe and antistrophe in the following exchange like the first strophe and antistrophe reverse earlier threats, the result is a more pointed contrast between the attitudes of the chorus before and after they are persuaded by Athene.

Secondly, there are a number of expressions in the general context which hint at a certain ambiguity in the malign effects of the Erinyes. At 476–79 Athene, anticipating the wrath of the Erinyes if they are balked of their prey, says:

αὐται δ' ἔχουσι μοῖραν οὐκ εὐπέμελον,
καὶ μὴ τυχοῦσαι πράγματος νικηφόρου,
χωρεῖ μεταῦθις ἰδὸς ἐκ φρονημάτων
πέδοι πεσῶν ἄφερτος, αἰανῆς νόσος.

At 782–83 (812–13) the poison is described as καρδίας σταλαγμόν. Neither description suggests a literal discharge of poisonous drops. Athene in urging them to do no harm in 829–31 says:

σὺ δ' εὐπιθῆς ἐμοὶ
γλώσσης ματαίας μὴ 'κβάληις ἔπη χθονί,
καρπὸν φέροντα πάντα μὴ πράσσειν καλῶς.

ἔπη does not suggest a direct, physical infusion of poison. All of these expressions can of course be explained in physical terms, if we take φρονημάτων in 478 and καρδίας in 782 as expressing the emotion which causes the Erinyes to blight Attica and 830 as metaphorical. But both alone and more especially when taken together with 858 ff. these passages do

¹³ Cf. (in the context of the Peloponnesian invasions of Attica in the Archidamian War) *Ar. Ach.* 971–99, *Pax* 562–97, 706–08, 1316–57.

suggest that there is more to the malign power of the Erinyes than a poisonous discharge, and the terms used in 831 seem by their vagueness to look beyond physical wasting.

Thirdly (and, it may be felt, less subjectively), the proposed ambiguity is entirely in line both with the portrayal of the Erinyes in the trilogy as a whole and with Greek conceptions of divine beings. Having watched the all too corporeal vampires pursuing Orestes earlier in *Eumenides* it is easy for the viewer/reader to forget that they have only acquired this role in the last play of the trilogy.¹⁴ With the exception of Apollo's threats to Orestes (*Cho.* 278 ff.), to which I shall return later, and the invisible pursuit of Orestes at the close of *Choephoroi*, wherever the text in the first two plays of the trilogy allows us to discern the mode (and not merely the fact) of the operation of the Erinyes, they are seen overdetermining events,¹⁵ that is, not intervening physically but operating on or through human psychological processes. They are predominantly a force operational within and through the vendetta. In *Eumenides* the balance is altered as the Erinyes become involved in the action in a direct, physical way. This ambiguity (as both physical beings and immanent forces) is entirely in accordance with Greek conceptions of divinity. Thus Aphrodite is a beautiful female, but she is also the reproductive force in human and animal life (e.g. *h. Hom. Aphr.* 2–6, 69–74, *Soph. Ant.* 781–801, *Tr.* 497 f., *Eur. Hipp.* 1268–81). In Euripides' *Hippolytos* Aphrodite is both an anthropomorphic deity jealous of her τιμή (8) and a force at work in Phaidra. The same is true of Dionysos in *Bacchae*. Unlike Aphrodite, Dionysos is visible throughout the play as an anthropomorphic figure who has been offended (23–54); but he is also a power at work within the human mind, as can be seen clearly in the "toilet scene" (912–70), where he both toys with Pentheus from without and possesses him from within (cf. 849–53).

Even in *Eumenides*, despite the move towards direct physical involvement in the action on the part of the Erinyes, there remains some ambiguity about the scope and the nature of their activity. At *Eum.* 210 the chorus is quite explicit about its function. The Erinyes pursue those who attack their mother. Quizzed by Apollo, they insist that they would not intervene in the case of a woman who kills her husband because this does not involve kindred slaughter (212). They identify themselves in 417 as "curses" ('Αραί), that is, embodiments of Klytimestra's anger. This agrees with the conception of the Erinyes at *Cho.* 283 f., 924, 925, 1054, where it seems that each victim of homicide has his or her own Erinyes.¹⁶ However, at *Eum.* 421 the Erinyes claim that they pursue homicides in general. In

¹⁴ See A. L. Brown, *JHS* 103 (1983) 14.

¹⁵ Cf. *Ag.* 59, 749, 1119, *Cho.* 577, 651; see also *Th.* 70, 723, 791, 886, 977, 988, 1055.

¹⁶ For the Erinyes linked to a specific victim (though not in the context of homicide) cf. also *Th.* 70, 723, 791, 886, 977, 988, 1055 and see K. Reinhardt, *Aischylos als Regisseur und Theologe* (Bern 1949) 154.

the choral odes their role appears to be even broader, since at 269 ff. and 538 ff. they speak of the punishment of wrongs against god, guest or parent. The Erinyes we see in *Eumenides* have a specific function, the punishment of Orestes for the murder of his mother; they are individual beings. At the same time, they represent the principle of the vendetta, which though a crude mechanism for the administration of justice nonetheless reinforces basic rules essential for the survival of society, and it is in the latter capacity that they speak more generally about justice and about duties to god, guest and parent. The nature of their attack is likewise ambiguous. At *Eum.* 264 ff. they are vampires; they will drain Orestes dry of blood and take him down to Hades; in the same spirit they describe their binding song as "a withering of men" (ἀυὸνὰ βροτοῖς 333, 346).¹⁷ But they also see their effect as psychological, for they describe their song as inducing madness (329–32, 341–45).

A fourth, and related, argument concerns the similarity between the threats against Orestes in *Choephoroi* and those against Athens in *Eumenides*. At *Cho.* 275 ff. Apollo threatens Orestes, in the event of his failing to punish his father's killers, with punishments which include madness (288 f.) physical disease (279 ff.) and isolation from all human intercourse (289 ff.). That is, unless Orestes avenges his father's murder he is to receive the punishment which would befall the killer.¹⁸ Similarly, at 924–25 he apparently faces the same punishments for failing to avenge his father and for killing his mother. In the former case the punishments are explicitly connected with the Erinyes, in the latter implicitly. The same pattern of transferred anger is seen in *Eumenides*. Having agreed to the trial, the Erinyes have forfeited the right to punish Orestes. But as in *Choephoroi* they must still have a victim. The victim is Athens, the city whose citizens and patron goddess have between them allowed the murderer to go unpunished. The wasting disease (785 λειχήν) is the counterpart of the diseases with which Orestes was threatened (*Cho.* 281 λειχήνας ἐξέσθοντας ἀρχαίαν φύσιν). The madness of civil strife which (as interpreted by Athene) the Erinyes threaten against Athens (*Eum.* 858–60 σὺ δ' ἐν τόποισι τοῖς ἐμοῖσι μὴ βάλῃς / μήθ' αἱματηρὰς θηγάνας, σπλάγγνων βλάβας / νέων, αἰνοῖς ἐμμανεῖς θυμώμασιν) finds its counterpart in the madness with which Orestes was threatened, and which descends on him at the close of *Choephoroi* (1021 ff.) as a result of his mother's murder.

Thus in perceiving a psychological/metaphorical aspect to the poison of the Erinyes as well as a biological/literal aspect Athene is not introducing an idea which is alien to the immediate context, the play or the trilogy. If as has been argued the passage is genuine, its purpose is clearly to bring out the ambiguity of the choral threats. As well as urging the Erinyes not to

¹⁷ Cf. 138–39.

¹⁸ Cf. A. F. Garvie, *Aeschylus Choephoroi* (Oxford 1986) 116.

destroy Attica, it is Athene's role in this exchange to clarify through trimeters menaces which the chorus expresses through the more suggestive medium of lyric.

The conclusion that 858–66 are genuine, implying as it does an ambivalence to the Erinyes, has consequences for our understanding of the course of events after Orestes' acquittal. Firstly, we are witnessing a widening of the menace presented by the vendetta. In *Agamemnon* the vendetta claims individual victims; by the end of the play however (1530 ff., 1565 ff.) and for the whole of the *Choephoroi* it is the survival of the family which is at issue; in *Eumenides* it is the survival of society as a whole. In *Agamemnon* the Erinyes were associated with stasis within the family (1117–20). In *Eumenides* stasis threatens the whole state.¹⁹ We have already seen the potential for social fragmentation in the system of justice which obtains in the *Oresteia*. Apollo in his first confrontation with the chorus denies that they have a place in civilized society (185 ff.). They belong where justice consists in acts of mutilation. From the exchange which follows it is clear that the Erinyes are a threat to order. They profess loyalty only to the mother–son bond (210–21) and ignore the man–wife bond (213 ff.). The narrow loyalty to one vital relationship subverts another, equally valid relationship. This impression of social fragmentation is reinforced by the trial scene, where Apollo in championing the importance of the father subverts the mother–son bond (652 ff., 657 ff.). Though Apollo despises the Erinyes, his idea of loyalty is as limited as theirs. What we have in these passages is not a change in the problem caused by violent retributive justice but a broader perception of the problem. This expanded focus is implicit in the use of gods rather than human beings as the central participants in the play. The issues are seen in general terms as a clash of rights and functions rather than of individuals, and the emphasis is on principles. We see marriage bond set against blood bond, mother–son against father–son relationship. There is inevitably a potential for social disintegration where loyalties are thus reduced to the minimum, and where violent action is the only conceivable response to violence. It is this destructive force which the Erinyes threaten to let loose in Attica.

This broadening of the issues raised by the vendetta finds expression in the image of fluid dripping to the ground. Throughout the trilogy the relentlessness of the bloodshed in the house of Atreus has found expression in the image of blood spilled on the ground which demands fresh blood.²⁰ Elsewhere in the trilogy this image relates to the individual or the family,

¹⁹ Cf. A. Lebeck, *The Oresteia: A Study in Language and Structure* (Cambridge, MA 1971) 87.

²⁰ Cf. *Ag.* 1019–21, 1509–12, *Cho.* 48, 66–67, 400–04, 520 f., *Eum.* 261–63, 647–48. For the connection between the flow of blood and the flow of poison cf. Lebeck (previous note) 87 f.

but in *Eumenides* the poison which drips from the Erinyes threatens the whole of society; it is an imperative to kill operating throughout the state²¹ rather than within the confines of one family.

A second consequence concerns the nature of the confrontation between Athene and the Erinyes. From the transference of their anger from Orestes to Athene and Athens it is clear that the Erinyes have not abandoned their commitment to revenge in its crudest form. They have simply exchanged one victim for another. This is as one would expect. The audience has seen the chorus pursue Orestes relentlessly, denying that even death brings any release for their victim.²² It is incredible that they would blandly accept the acquittal of their victim. However, this relentless pursuit of violent revenge is not merely an aspect of the Erinyes as corporeal beings, nor is it new to *Eumenides*. The impression of relentless and inescapable destruction is present in the two preceding plays as an aspect of the system of justice through which the Erinyes exert their influence in human life.²³ If the Erinyes remain an immanent force in human conduct in the confrontation with Athene, the crisis engendered by the acquittal of Orestes concerns more than the wrath of these vengeful creatures whose τιμή has been curtailed. This crisis has another aspect. The founding of the Areiopagos has solved only the specific problem of Orestes; it has not put an end to the principle of violent, unreflecting retributive justice which the Erinyes represent. The persuasion of the Erinyes by Athene is thus a vital counterpart to her foundation of the Areiopagos. Athene must induce the force which previously had operated through the vendetta to operate through the court which enshrines the positive principles which are at work in the vendetta.²⁴ It is important however to bear in mind that this force works through human decisions. The Erinyes are therefore used to express an important truth relating not to the gods but to mankind; here as elsewhere in Aeschylus divine intervention is used to describe a phenomenon recognizable in human life.²⁵ It is a fact of life that in a free society an institution comes into being or survives only with the agreement of those subjected to its authority. This is why Athene's persuasion is necessary. The founding of a lawcourt to settle violent disputes does not in itself put an end to violence; this can only happen when those with a grievance accept the right of a court to decide the issue irrespective of whether the decision is in their favour. Aeschylus could have enacted this development in purely human terms, by having Orestes prosecuted by a mortal.²⁶ But the universal significance of

²¹ The connection of stasis with the vendetta is indicated by ἀντιφόνους 982.

²² Cf. 267–68, 339–40.

²³ Ag. 1117, 1186, 1479–80, 1484, 1530–34, 1565–66, Cho. 400–04, 1065–76.

²⁴ For this aspect of the confrontation cf. A. J. Podlecki, *The Political Background of Aeschylean Tragedy* (Ann Arbor 1966) 77 f., and for the Areiopagos as enshrining the positive principles which underlie the violence of the vendetta cf. 518–30, 690–99.

²⁵ Cf. P. E. Easterling, *G & R* 20 (1973) 6.

²⁶ Cf. Brown (above, note 14) 33.

the gesture would be less pointed.²⁷ By shifting the dispute to the divine plane, and placing the emphasis on the power which inspires violent revenge rather than on the individual human avenger, Aischylos ensures that the act of forgoing revenge will have a universal significance. The use of the Erinyes to represent the revenge imperative enables Aischylos to enact a phase in the development of a whole society within the limitations of the Greek theatre.²⁸ He expresses this phase in a typically Greek way, not in evolutionary terms but through the concept of the *πρῶτος εὐρέτης*, and he makes this *πρῶτος εὐρέτης* a god, significantly the goddess of wisdom. But within those terms, and within the limits of a scene played out entirely between superhuman powers, Aischylos' representation of this development corresponds to human experience.

Thus the presence or absence of 858–66 affects more than the formal balance of a single scene or the fluency of a single speech. It affects the nature of the danger presented by the Erinyes and the nature of the process which Aischylos is seeking to represent in the confrontation between Athene and the Erinyes. If the verses are genuine, then we see in the scene following the acquittal of Orestes the centrifugal force of the vendetta, which has divided and nearly destroyed the house of Atreus, threaten to divide and destroy Attica through stasis generated by mutual acts of violent revenge. The imperative to take life for life still operates. Through the medium of the Erinyes, the embodiment of the revenge principle, Aischylos enacts the agreement of mankind, previously bound by this imperative, to accept the transfer of the right to punish to a state-appointed tribunal and forgo the claim to violent action, with the result that punishment no longer provokes further violence. The result is a more cohesive society in which violence is both deterred and (where it does erupt) contained; aggression can therefore be directed outward to the benefit of the state rather than inward to its destruction.²⁹ The climax of *Eumenides* is not therefore, as is sometimes

²⁷ Likewise, Euripides could have presented *Hippolytos* entirely in empirical (human) terms, without recourse to Aphrodite and Artemis at beginning and end; the play would lose nothing in psychological plausibility, but it would not provide the same impression of universal and insuperable forces at work, nor the irresolvable clash of values.

²⁸ Brown (above, note 14) 34 suggests that by presenting a solution on the divine plane Aischylos evades the difficulties presented by the irresolvable conflict witnessed throughout the trilogy. If we are correct in seeing the Erinyes as (in part) an aspect of human behaviour Aischylos does not evade the issue but rather transcends the physical limitations of his theatre. There is an excellent parallel in *Agamemnon*, where the act of walking on precious fabrics is used to express the essence of Agamemnon's conduct within the physical limits of the theatre; the single act encapsulates crimes separated in time and space and perpetrated on a scale beyond the resources of the theatre of Dionysos.

²⁹ Cf. 864, 986. Despite the change from menace to benediction on the part of the Erinyes, it is clear from Athene's comments at 930–37 (cf. 310 f., 367 f., 561) that the Erinyes have not changed their nature. They are still a source of dread (as in 518 ff.) and therefore a deterrent against wrongdoing; but now that the mechanics of their intervention have changed at the physical level (from direct action by the aggrieved party to punishment by a tribunal) the

erroneously stated,³⁰ the acquittal of Orestes. It is the persuasion of the Erinyes; for this is the action which will determine the future of Athens, and indeed of the human race.³¹

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administration of justice ceases to be a destabilizing force. The stable society which results can channel violence against the external enemy.

³⁰ Cf. T. G. Rosenmeyer, *The Art of Aeschylus* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1982) 349: "Athene's position as reconciler and innovator means that the Furies are merely hanging on to prolong the tensions of the play a little longer, rather than opening another valid round of conflict."

³¹ I wish to thank Dr. Malcolm Campbell of St. Andrews and Dr. Alex Garvie of the University of Glasgow for reading and commenting on an earlier draft of this paper.

Dreams and Poets in Lucretius

CHARLES SEGAL

The power of the dead to visit us in dreams and visions haunts the Western imagination from Homer's Achilles to Shakespeare's Hamlet and Macbeth, and beyond. Although as early as Homer the ancients distinguish between true and false dreams (Zeus' deception of Agamemnon by οὔλος ὄνειρος in *Iliad* 2 is a famous instance of a deceptive dream), there is a strong belief that dreams are prophetic, that they have a divine source, and that they contain a privileged knowledge to which we would not otherwise have access. Many of the dreams in Virgil and Ovid, for example, are of this latter type.¹ Even today Freud's *Traumdeutung* remains an accepted tool of psychoanalysis, founded on the theory that dreams speak a hidden language of truth that is closed off to our conscious mind.

Accounting for dreams is central to Lucretius' ethical purpose because they feed our fears about the afterlife and about monstrous creatures like centaurs and chimaeras. Like all mental phenomena, however, they have a rational explanation. All bodies are continually throwing off an external film of atoms; these impinge on the *anima* through the pores of the body as we sleep and set the fine, sensitive soul-atoms into motion, thus creating the visions and the sensations that we experience as dreams. The same process also accounts for waking visions, which Lucretius frequently pairs with dream-visions. He sets forth his detailed explanation in Book 4 (722–1036),² where, of course, the basic theory closely follows Epicurus, who in turn is deeply indebted to the atomistic psychology of Democritus.³

At the beginning of Book 4 Lucretius brings together the fear of nocturnal visions and the fear of death and the afterlife (4. 33–41):

¹ For example, Aeneas' dreams of Hector (*Aen.* 2. 270 ff.), or the elaborately designed dream of Alcyone in Ovid, *Met.* 11. 583–695, in which she learns of the death of her husband Ceyx. But cf. the dangerously emotional dream of Tumus, *Aen.* 7. 413 ff. Even before Artemidorus' handbook, dream-interpretation is of course well developed in the Greek world: e.g. Soph. *OT* 980–82 or Hdt. 6. 107, 7. 12–18, especially 7. 16β. 2.

² For recent discussion and bibliography see P. H. Schrijvers, "Die Traumtheorie des Lukrez," *Mnemosyne* 33 (1985) 128–51, especially 133 ff., 138 ff.

³ See Epicurus, *Letter to Herodotus* in D.L. 10. 51; also 10. 80 and Epicur. fr. 326 Usener; Democritus 68 A 77 (= Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 734 f); also 68 A 136–37 Diels-Kranz.

atque eadem nobis vigilantibus obvia mentis
 terrificant atque in somnis, cum saepe figuras
 contuimur miras simulacraque luce carentum, 35
 quae nos horrifice languentis saepe sopore
 excierunt, ne forte animas Acherunte reamur
 effugere aut umbras inter vivos volitare
 neve aliquid nostri post mortem posse relinqui,
 cum corpus simul atque animi natura perempta 40
 in sua discessum dederint primordia quaeque.

This concern with the emotional disturbance caused by dreams recurs in the detailed discussion later, particularly in the explanation of how these images (*simulacra*) continue to impinge on the soul even when we are asleep (4. 757–61):

nec ratione alia, cum somnus membra profudit,
 mens animi vigilat, nisi quod simulacra lacessunt
 haec eadem nostros animos quae cum vigilamus,
 usque adeo, certe ut videamur cernere eum quem 760
 relicta vita iam mors et terra potitast.

Lucretius' ethical aims, in his humanitarian concern for mankind's well-being, however, also pervade his poetics. The theory of dreams, like everything else in Epicureanism, is absorbed and transformed by the poetic imagination of a great literary artist. This combination of ethical concern and imaginative transformation is particularly clear in the poem's first account of dreams, namely Ennius' vision of Homer early in Book 1. Here Lucretius associatively shapes a complex of themes—poetry, dreams, sleep, death, the afterlife—which help him to link the moral content of his philosophy to the traditions of hexameter poetry that stretch from Homer through Ennius.

Ennius' vision of Homer evokes the two major literary points of origin, one Greek, one Roman, in which the dead have a shadowy existence after death and visit us in dreams. As the most famous poetic dream in Latin letters hitherto, Ennius' poem is important for Lucretius' view of his place in the history of epic and didactic poetry. But viewed in its context, it is also of a piece with his Epicurean explanation of the nature of dreams. It forms part of a careful progression in which specific *exempla* from the Greek and Roman literary past introduce some of the main points of Epicurean moral philosophy. Placed at the beginning of the work, it suggests how pervasive and erroneous is the poets' influence and how beneficial will be Lucretius' antidote. Indirectly, it enables Lucretius to assert his superiority over his poetic predecessors—a superiority that rests on superior knowledge of dreams, visions, and death. He overcomes his "anxiety of influence," to use Harold Bloom's term, by defeating the anxiety about death that his poetic "fathers" have bequeathed to their "sons" and heirs.

First, Lucretius shows us the victorious journey of Epicurus himself, both hero and *triumphator*, to the limits of the world, crushing the *religio* that oppresses mankind (1. 62–79).⁴ The next tableau reveals the crimes that were perpetrated in the name of just that *religio*, the sacrifice of Iphigeneia (1. 82–101). Finally, in the third passage, Lucretius turns to the fears that may disturb human life. These include the *somnia* (1. 105) that men make up because they lack the truth about life's limits and so are a prey to the *religionibus atque minis . . . vatum* (1. 109). Those who are ignorant of the atomic theory, and thus of the materiality and mortality of the soul, imagine a possible survival in the afterlife. This mistaken notion is then exemplified in Ennius' vision of Homer in tears, as the Greek bard returns from Hades to lament over his miserable existence there (1. 112–27). Lucretius thus mingles praise of his great poetic predecessors with criticism of their false doctrine.

Viewed as moral illustrations, the two latter passages complement one another. The sacrifice of Iphigeneia shows the folly into which the fear of the gods leads men. The account of Homer and Ennius exemplifies the fear of the traditional, poetic views of Hades, which in turn leads men to fear death. *Somnia* in 1. 105 does not just mean "silly tales," as Bailey and others take it;⁵ it also implies the false "visions" that men "imagine" for themselves because they are "overcome by the fear-speaking utterances" of *vates*, here probably "poets" as well as "prophets" (*vatum terrioloqua dicta* 1. 102 f.).⁶ These *somnia* thus prepare for and are analogous to the visions that Ennius had of Homer in the proem of the *Annales* (1. 115–26). In both cases the fear can be dispelled by the superior perspective of Epicurus' grandiose vision (1. 72–79).⁷ Hence the transition between the two passages echoes Epicurus' journey (cf. *religionibus atque minis obsistere vatum* 1. 109, and *obsistere contra . . . minitanti* 1. 66–67).⁸ As Epicurus stands to ordinary, unenlightened men, so Lucretius stands to the

⁴ For the triumphal imagery of this passage see V. Buchheit, "Epikurs Triumph des Geistes," *Hermes* 99 (1971) 303–23.

⁵ C. Bailey (ed.), *T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura Libri Sex* (Oxford 1947) *ad loc.* For the *somnia* and the connection of poet and prophet see J. J. O'Hara, "Somnia Ficta in Lucretius and Lucilius," *CQ* 37 (1987) 517–19, with further bibliography.

⁶ This double reference to both poetic and prophetic vision is all the more likely because of the notion of poetry that may be implied in the *-loquis* of *terrioloquis* (103) and *fingere somnia* of 1. 104–05. Cf. also Lucretius' scornful reference to the poets, especially the Greek poets, elsewhere: 2. 600 and 655–60, 3. 629–30, 4. 590–94, 5. 405–06.

⁷ It is a further connection between these passages that the people, obedient to the *vates* (= prophet of *religio*) "pours forth tears" (*lacrimas effundere civis* 1. 91), while in the equally false and harmful vision of another *vates* (= poet) a shade seems to "pour forth tears" (*lacrimas effundere salsas* 1. 125). The former scene of submission to *religio* (*muta metu terram genibus summissa petebat*, of Iphigeneia, 1. 92) recalls Epicurus' victory over *religio* (*pedibus subiecta* 1. 78; cf. also 1. 63 *in terris oppressa*). *Horribili super aspectu* in 1. 65 may also be taken up in the submissive fear of the weeping citizens, *aspectuque suo* 1. 91.

⁸ *Victus* in 1. 103 also harks back to the triumphal language used of Epicurus in 1. 62–79 (*pervicit, victor, victoria*).

unenlightened poets who preceded him, for, like Epicurus, as 1. 102–35 imply, he understands the true nature of the soul and hence the true origin of dreams.

The intervening sacrifice of Iphigeneia is also relevant to this complex of themes, for she is not only pressed down to earth, on her knees, like “human life” generally in 1. 62 f., but is also struck dumb in terrified silence. The poets and prophets here have “speech” (1. 102 f.), while their human victim is mute with fear: *muta metu terram genibus summissa petebat* (1. 92). The passage ends with *religio*’s persuasive power (*potuit suadere* 1. 101). In the next lines, Lucretius is now continuing Epicurus’ work in the realm of language, replacing this evil persuasion and the terrifying utterances it breeds (*vatum terriiloqua dicta* 1. 102 f.) with a discourse of truth and peace. In this way he also brings Epicurus’ *victoria* to the reader who has been *victus* by words (1. 79, 103).

Ennius, for all his fame among the peoples of Italy, nevertheless perpetuated in his “eternal verses” the fears of “eternal punishments” that destroy happiness (cf. *aeternas quoniam poenas in morte timendumst* 1. 111 and *Ennius aeternis exponit versibus edens* 1. 121). Venerable as he is, he lends credence to the deleterious belief in *simulacra modis pallentia miris* in Hades, from which the shadowy image (*speciem* 1. 125) of Homer appeared to him in tears and expounded on “the nature of things in his words” (*rerum naturam expandere dictis* 1. 126). To correct such views, Lucretius will himself give the true account of things human and divine, of the nature of the soul, and of the visions that men have both by day and by night, in dreams (1. 132–35):

et quae res nobis vigilantibus obvia mentis
terrificet morbo adfectis somnoque sepultis,
cernere uti videamur eos audireque coram,
morte obita quorum tellus amplectitur ossa. 135

The language of this last passage anticipates the direct discussion of fearful visions and dreams in Book 4, cited above. We may note particularly the resemblances between this passage of Book 1 and 4. 33–37:

atque eadem nobis vigilantibus obvia mentis
terrificant atque in somnis, cum saepe figuras
contuimur miras simulacraque luce carentum, 35
quae nos horrifice languentis saepe sopore
excierunt . . .

Lucretius returns to the same point in fuller detail later in his exposition of dreams (4. 760 f.):

usque adeo, certe ut videamur cernere eum quem
relicta vita iam mors et terra potitast.

The language of 1. 134 f., especially *quorum tellus amplectitur ossa*, is an appropriately "poetic" equivalent, using Homer's own diction, of the more prosaic *relicta vita iam mors et terra potitast* in 4. 761, and for the still more prosaic *quem mens vivum se cernere credit* in 4. 767.⁹ The phrase *figuras / contuimur miras simulacraque* in 4. 38 f. stresses the same "wondrous" quality of these visions as Ennius' *simulacra modis pallentia miris* in 1. 123; and Lucretius loses few opportunities to make fun of these miraculously moving or living *simulacra* (especially 4. 788 ff.; cf. also 4. 455 ff., 721 ff., 768 ff., 980 f.).¹⁰

His own task is to expose the falsehood behind the terrors that dreams inspire. Thus his transition to Ennius stresses the absence of true knowledge about the soul, which will be balanced later by his own positive determination to provide just that understanding (*ratio*):

- 110: nunc *ratio nulla* est restandi, *nulla* facultas;
127 f.: quapropter bene cum superis de rebus habenda
 nobis est *ratio* . . .

The other side of his task is obviously to provide an alternative explanation. This he does, for example, not only in the case of ghosts from Hades but also for the real gods enjoying tranquil eternity in the spaces between worlds. Modern man's false visions, both awake and in dreams, of the dead contrast with early man's true visions of the gods that gave rise to religion (5. 1169–82). Men saw the extraordinary forms of the gods both awake and in sleep: *egregias animo facies vigilante videbant / et magis in somnis mirando corporis auctu* (5. 1170 f.). These divine movements, the sign of the gods' extraordinary powers and their freedom from effort, are calmer than the extravagant gestures of the *simulacra* of ghosts: cf. *membra movere videbantur* (5. 1173); *et simul in somnis quia multa et mira videbant / efficere et nullum capere ipsos inde laborem* (5. 1181 f.). The true images of the gods are not necessarily a source of superstitious fear (cf. 5. 1165); such fear arises only because men attribute human passions to the gods, out of their own ignorance of the real causes of natural phenomena (cf. 5. 1183–1240).

Even a brief examination of these passages reveals how closely Lucretius connects dreams with the falsehoods of the poets, religious superstition, and the fear of death. In Book 1, as elsewhere, Lucretius anticipates in imagistic, poetical terms arguments that he will later develop

⁹ Lucretius repeats 1. 135 also just before his explanation of dreams in Book 4, where he accounts for the related phenomenon of false imaginings of monstrous creatures like Centaurs, Scyllas, Chimaeras (4. 722 ff.). He includes in this group of waking visions *simulacraque eorum / quorum morte obita tellus amplectitur ossa* (4. 733 f.). This last phrase, *tellus amplectitur ossa* (= 1. 135) is modelled on Homeric formulas like ἔχεν κατά γαῖα μέλαινα (Il. 2. 699) or κατά γαῖα καλύπτει (Il. 6. 464, etc.). Cf. also 3. 1035 *ossa dedit terrae*.

¹⁰ See P. H. Schrijvers, *Horror ac divina Voluptas. Etudes sur la poésie et la poésie de Lucrèce* (Amsterdam 1970) 101.

with more technical Epicurean arguments.¹¹ Thus Ennius' dream of Homer receives its full "scientific" explanation only in Book 4. But the allusive, literary approach to dreams here, through the vivid narrative of Ennius' vision, shows how deeply rooted are men's false and disturbing notions of what dreams are and what truths, if any, they contain.

Just as the preceding account of Iphigeneia is carefully framed by the repetition of the word *religio* (*religio scelerosa* l. 83; *religio . . . malorum* l. 101), so here the detailed account of the visions of the underworld is framed by "fictions" or "figments" of the mind, whether from poet or dreamer: *vatum / terriloquis victus dictis . . . fingere possunt / somnia* l. 102–05; *terrificet . . . somno sepultis* l. 133. By thus framing the passage on Ennius and Homer with the repeated terms for "fear," "dream," or "sleep," Lucretius associates the empty fears from dreams with the fearful *somnia* that come from *religio*.

The full significance of the framing device becomes clear only in the light of the following verses, which describe the kind of nights that an Epicurean poet will enjoy. The hoped-for pleasure of Epicurean friendship, he says,

. . . inducit noctes vigilare serenas
 quaerentem dictis quibus et quo carmine demum
 clara tuae possim praepandere lumina menti,
 res quibus occultas penitus convisere possis. (l. 142–45)

This passage, to be sure, uses the conventions of literary patronage (cf. *amicitia* here and the *philia*-motif of Pindar); but it is none the less reflective of central philosophical issues in the poem.¹² Unenlightened men, victims of the poets, spend troubled, fearful nights of bad dreams; the philosopher, on the other hand, enjoys *serenas noctes* of meditation on the truth—an activity that, Epicurus says at the end of his *Letter to Menoeceus*, gives man a life like to that of the blessed gods (D.L. 10. 135). In place of the darkness of the poets' Hades (*tenebras Orci . . . vastasque lacunas* l. 115), Lucretius sets the luminous vision of truth that will enable his reader to see what has previously been hidden, *res quibus occultas penitus convisere possis* (145). This vision will, once more, dispel "fear" (*terrorem animi* 146; cf. *terriloquis* 103 and *terrificet* 133):

¹¹ See in general C. Bailey, "The Mind of Lucretius," *AJP* 61 (1940) 278–91. Schrijvers (above, note 2) 141 f. remarks, "Alle Phänomene, die irgendwo in De rerum natura als sekundäre Exempla im Dienst einer anderen Beweisführung angewendet sind, werden selbst zu gelegener Zeit primäre Objekte einer selbständigen Auseinandersetzung."

¹² On the language of patronage here see the sensible remarks of D. P. Fowler, "Lucretius and Politics," in M. Griffin and J. Barnes (eds.), *Philosophia Togata: Essays on Philosophy and Roman Society* (Oxford 1989) 121.

hunc igitur terrorem animi tenebrasque necessest
 non radii solis neque lucida tela diei
 discutiant, sed naturae species ratioque. (1. 146–48)¹³

Lucidly and reassuringly, the poet's "true vision of nature," *naturae species ratioque* (1. 148), counters that misleading and potentially frightening "vision of Homer," *Homeri . . . species*, that Ennius reported in his dream of 124 f. This luminous truth, better than the *lucida tela diei*, will be particularly effective against the *simulacraque luce carentum* that may terrify us in our bad dreams of the life after death (4. 38 ff.).

A later passage in Book 4 confirms the thematic significance of this contrast between troubled nights of false dreams and the philosopher's serene nights. In explaining dreams as the result of our occupations during the day, Lucretius cites his own case.¹⁴ While lawyers, generals, and sailors dream of their respective activities, he dreams of expounding Epicurean thought in his Latin poem (4. 969–72):

nos agere hoc autem et *naturam quaerere rerum*
 semper et inventam *patriis exponere chartis*. 970
 cetera sic studia atque artis plerumque videntur
 in somnis animos hominum frustrata tenere.

The Epicurean's dreams of his philosophical work contrast both with the troubled activities of which the general and the sailor dream here (4. 967–68) and with Ennius' misleading dream of Homer's shade (cf. 1. 126 *rerum naturam expandere dictis* and 4. 969 f., above).¹⁵

Lucretius does not explicitly label Ennius' vision of the shade of Homer a dream, which is rather surprising in the light of his close verbal imitation of Ennius throughout this passage.¹⁶ Lucretius calls Homer's shade *semper florentis Homeri / speciem* (1. 124–25). The flower-imagery may derive from Ennius, but *species* is probably Lucretius' own word, chosen to emphasize the immateriality of this vision. The contrast between

¹³ Lucretius repeats these lines several times: 2. 59–61, 3. 91–93, 6. 39–41. Cf. also the related passage on the analogy of what children fear in the dark and what we (adults) fear "in the light": 2. 55–58 = 3. 87–90 = 6. 35–38. On the clear vision of "hidden things" in Epicurus see also Cicero, *Nat. Deor.* 1. 18. 49.

¹⁴ This explanation of dreams is not original with Lucretius, or Epicurus: cf. Hdt. 7. 16β. 2.

¹⁵ The echo between 1. 126 and 4. 969 is noted by Schrijvers (above, note 2) 141, though for a different purpose. The immediate juxtaposition of the generals' battles and the sailors' struggles (4. 967 f.) with Lucretius' philosophical dreams probably also strengthens the contrasts in the *content* of the dreams, especially when one compares the account of the general in the midst of a storm in 5. 1226–32.

¹⁶ For the echoes see the discussion in O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Quintus Ennius* (Oxford 1985) 147–57, with the bibliography, p. 150 n. 12; also P. Aicher, "Ennius' Dream of Homer," *AJP* 110 (1989) 227–32. The surviving fragment of Ennius' poem does not explicitly mention a dream (*visus Homerus adesse poeta* 6 Vahlen = 2 Skutsch); but cf. schol. ad Pers. 6. 9–11: Ennius in *Annalium suorum principio . . . dicit se vidisse in somnis . . .* So too fr. 5 V = 2 Sk *somno leni placidoque revinctus*, echoed by Lucr. 1. 133, *somnoque sepultis*. See Skutsch 155 f.

“ever-flowering” and “appearance” suggests the seductive but insubstantial quality of this “vision”; it is like the *simulacra* of the previous line (123). The unreality of a *species* that “rises forth” and “pours out salt tears” thus serves as an antidote to Ennius’ account of the *Acherusia templa* of Hades where only “certain wondrously pale images” of the dead dwell (*quaedam simulacra modis pallentia miris* 1. 120–23).

Lucretius’ own comment on Ennius’ vision is to point out the need for “seeing whence the nature of soul and mind exists” so that we are not frightened by visions of the dead in illness and in dreams (1. 131–35):

unde anima atque animi constet natura videndum
 et quae res nobis vigilantibus obvia mentis
 terrificet morbo adfectis somnoque sepultis,
 cernere uti videamur eos audireque coram,
 morte obita quorum tellus amplectitur ossa. 135

As we have noted, this point is repeated even more clearly in Book 4. The propaedeutic function of the passage here is, once more, enhanced by a framing device. Lines 130–35 answer 112–16, the introduction to Ennius’ vision:

ignoratur enim quae sit natura animai,
 nata sit an contra nascentibus insinuetur,
 et simul intereat nobiscum morte dirempta
 an tenebras Orci visat vastasque lacunas 115
 an pecudes alias divinitus insinuet se,
 Ennius ut noster cecinit . . .

In both cases, understanding the nature of the soul is necessary to free us from “fear” in dreams, and specifically dreams of the dead that may give us erroneous and terrifying ideas about a life after death (cf. also *terrificet* 133 and *aeternas . . . poenas in morte timendumst* 111).

Lucretius clearly means us to recognize the literary genealogy of Ennius’ vision. The adversative structure of the sentence that introduces it,

quo neque permaneant animae nec corpora nostra,
 sed quaedam simulacra modis pallentia miris, (1. 122 f.)

may also go back beyond Ennius to the most famous dream in epic, Patroclus’ appearance to the sleeping Achilles in *Iliad* 23. 103 f.:

ὦ πόποι, ἦ ῥά τίς ἐστι καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι
 ψυχῇ καὶ εἰδῶλον, ἀτὰρ φρένες οὐκ ἔνι πάμπαν.

Indeed, Lucretius’ phrase for such images of the dead in Book 4, *simulacra luce carentum* (4. 39), may be indebted to Patroclus’ description of the dead as εἰδῶλα καμόντων in this passage (23. 72), possibly via Ennius’ own “translation” of Homer. And of course Lucretius’ passage is a complex

intertextual allusion to another famous literary dream, Callimachus' dream in the proem to the *Aitia*, which Ennius had adapted in his *Annales*.¹⁷

The poetic fame of Ennius and the hold of that continuous tradition that his vision of Homer embodies obviously constitute a provocation for Lucretius' own work. By recreating the epic tradition about the afterlife, therefore, Lucretius gives an even clearer justification for his poem, with its "correct" views of dreams, the soul, and death.¹⁸ His *dicta* and his *Latini versus*, he suggests, are more useful than Ennius' (cf. 126 and 143, 121 and 137). As the "second proem" will imply, he is in fact more worthy of the fame that Ennius has won (1. 921 ff., especially 928–30). The contrast between Ennius' "eternal verses" and their content of "eternal punishments" (111, 121) is replicated in the ironical contrast between the life-filled *effect* of Ennius' poetry, with its *perenni fronde coronam* (118) and its *content* of frightening darkness, ghosts, and punishments forever. Later in the poem, Lucretius will show not only that Hades does not exist (3. 978 ff.) but also that nothing is in fact "eternal" except atoms and void. For the purpose of the individual human life, only death is eternal, the *mors aeterna* that ends Book 3 (1091).

Ennius' poetic assimilation of Greek lore—Homer, Pythagoras, Callimachus—to which Lucretius alludes in 1. 117–26 is presumably one reason for his fame *per gentis Italas* (119). Lucretius answers this claim with his own struggles to put the "Greeks' dark discoveries" into "Latin verses" (1. 136–39). In the proem to Book 3 he offers a very different mode of assimilating Greek poetry, adapting the Homeric Olympus to the serene life of the Epicurean gods (3. 19 ff.; cf. *Odyssey* 6. 42–46). This true vision, like Epicurus' in Book 1, out over the limits of the universe counterbalances Ennius' false vision of the underworld there. It specifically disproves the existence of those Homeric *Acherusia templa*:

etsi praeterea tamen esse Acherusia templa, (1. 120)

at contra nusquam apparent Acherusia templa. (3. 25)

Thus Lucretius fulfils his promise there to give a "good" treatment of the things above (*bene cum superioribus de rebus habenda / nobis est ratio* 1. 127 f.).

¹⁷ Callim. *Aitia* I, fr. 2, with the schol. Flor. and testimonia in R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* (Oxford 1949) I 11. The importance of Callimachean elements in Lucretius has often been noted: see, e.g., E. J. Kenney, "Doctus Lucretius," *Mnemosyne* 23 (1970) 366–92; R. D. Brown, "Lucretius and Callimachus," *ICS* 7 (1982) 77–97, with the bibliography, p. 92 n. 16; J. K. Newman, *The Classical Epic Tradition* (Madison, WI 1986) 108–15. See also my "Poetic Immortality and the Fear of Death: The Second Proem of the *De Rerum Natura*," *HSCP* 92 (1989) 193–212.

¹⁸ Lucretius' use of Ennius' dream may also allude to mistaken philosophical views too, if he means us to think of the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis that Ennius seems to have incorporated into his dream.

At the conclusion of Book 3, refuting the possibility that the soul can survive the body at death, Lucretius returns to Homer and the poets (3. 1036–38):

adde repertores doctrinarum atque leporum,
adde Heliconiadum comites; quorum unus Homerus
scepra potitus eadem aliis sopitu' quietest.

Homer, along with the other poets, has a very "unHomeric" death, a peaceful Epicurean death, in repose (*sopitu' quietest*).¹⁹ This tranquil quietus, in turn, takes up the comforting recognition, shortly before, that death is but a quiet sleep (3. 910 f., 977). In Book 1 Homer's shade "wept salt tears" (*lacrimas effundere salsas*), presumably at its unhappy fate in the gloomy underworld. Such weeping is chastized and rebuked, at least indirectly, by the view of death set forth in Book 3:

. . . quid sit amari
tanto opere, *ad somnum* si res redit *atque quietem*,
cur quisquam *aeterno* possit *tabescere luctu*. (3. 909–11)
numquid ibi horrible apparet, num triste videtur
quicquam, non omni *somno securius* exstat? (3. 976 f.)

Had Homer known the peaceful end that awaits him, he would have expounded his *rerum naturam* not in sadness (1. 125 f.) but, like Lucretius, in joy (*voluptas* 1. 140, 3. 28, 6. 94, etc.).

Epicurus' death, mentioned almost immediately after Homer's, belongs completely to the philosophical, not the epic world. It follows on the end of Democritus, which comes entirely as an intellectual act, a decision of mature wisdom and mind (3. 1039–44):

denique Democritum postquam matura vetustas
admonuit memores motus languescere mentis, 1040
sponte sua leto caput obvius obtulit ipse.
ipse Epicurus obit decurso lumine vitae,
qui genus humanum ingenio superavit et omnis
restinxit stellas exortus ut aereus sol.

Epicurus' end, furthermore, is glorified in lines that are adapted from an epigram of Leonidas of Tarentum in honor of Homer (3. 1043 f.; *Anth. Pal.* 9. 24).²⁰ His "rising like the sun of the heavens" here (*exortus* 1044)

¹⁹ We may also compare 3. 904, in which the foolish man addresses the dead relative: *tu quidem ut es leto sopitus*, but does not fully grasp the implication of what it is to be *leto sopitus*.

²⁰ On other aspects of this passage see my *Lucretius on Death and Anxiety* (Princeton University Press, forthcoming), chap. 10. The Homeric borrowings throughout this passage, of course, add to the contrasts of philosophical and epic death: see, e.g., G. B. Conte, "Il trionfo della morte e la galleria dei grandi trapassati in Lucrezio III, 1024–1053," *SIFC* 37 (1965) 114–32.

reminds us again of Ennius' false vision of Homer's shade that "rose forth" (*exortam*) from Hades (1. 124).²¹ As the peaceful death of Lucretius' Homer in 3. 1037 f. replaces Ennius' weeping shade of Homer in Book 1, so the fame of Epicurus that eclipses all other mortals absorbs and replaces the fame of Homer. Lucretius thus continues his Epicurean assimilation of poetic fame and poetic conventions that he began in Book 1.²²

The following lines, however, extend Epicurus' "superiority to the whole human race" (3. 1043) in a slightly different direction, for Lucretius adapts the heroic encounter between Homer's Achilles and Lycaon in *Iliad* 21 to a philosophical encounter between the sage and the ordinary man. This person, addressed in the second person, after the manner of the diatribe, "spends the greater part of his life in sleep" and never "ceases to see dreams," whether waking or sleeping, so that his mind is always disturbed by "vain terror" (3. 1045-49):

tu vero dubitabis et indignabere obire?	1045
mortua cui vita est prope iam vivo atque videnti,	
cui somno partem maiorem conteris aevi	
et vigilans stertis nec somnia cernere cessas	
sollicitamque geris cassa formidine mentem.	

We thus return from heroic epic, parody, and diatribe to the association of dreams, death, and fear that Lucretius will treat in the following book. The notion of both waking and sleeping dreams here in 3. 1048, *et vigilans stertis nec somnia cernere cessas*, is repeated in the introduction to the formal treatment of dreams in Book 4 (37 f.):

atque eadem nobis vigilantibus obvia mentis
terrificant atque in somnis . . .

It harks back, in turn, to the first mention of this theme in 1. 132 f.:

et quae res nobis vigilantibus obvia mentis
terrificet morbo adfectis somnoque sepultis.

Lucretius has not only replaced these dangerous *somnia* with the truth; he also makes the old epic material speak to the man in the street, as it were. This ordinary, somnolent person of 3. 1045 ff. has nightly visions that may not be those of poets or heroes, like those of Ennius or of Homer's Achilles, but they are no less real to him and no less a source of the fear that troubles his life and destroys his happiness (cf. also 3. 1066 *aut abit in somnum gravis atque oblivia quaerit*).

²¹ Note too that the following line, 3. 1045, *tu vero dubitabis et indignabere obire*, is an intentional echoing of a famous Homeric verse, *Il.* 21. 106.

²² The device is analogous to Epicurus' claim to divinity and heroic status in 5. 7-54.

The contrast between the dream-visions of the poetic tradition and the truth of Lucretius' Epicurean poetry early in the poem thus emerges as part of a larger, programmatic contrast wherein Lucretius is challenging the entire course of Graeco-Roman poetry, from Homer through Callimachus and Ennius. He takes over conventional literary motifs from Callimachus and Ennius, but bends them to his ethical aims as an Epicurean poet. When Ennius tells how Homer's shade expounds the "nature of things" (*rerum naturam expandere dictis* 1. 126), we know that it is only a living man, i.e. Lucretius himself, not a ghost, who writes the true poem *de rerum natura* (1. 25).²³

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Conjectures in Ovid's *Heroides*

J. B. HALL

"Which text of the *Heroides* am I to use?" asks the student of Ovid, and "Which text of the *Heroides* am I to prescribe?" asks the teacher. These are very good questions, and ones which it was exceedingly difficult to answer before the year 1977; and even after that date there remains nowhere for the student or teacher to go who needs accurate information about what the manuscripts say. In 1971 appeared Heinrich Dörrie's elaborate edition with full apparatus criticus; but, lamentably, that apparatus is not critical nor is it to be trusted for what it says or implies, and the constitution of the text itself leaves everything to be desired. 1977 saw the very welcome arrival on the Ovidian scene of G. P. Goold's revision of Grant Showerman's Loeb edition of 1914; but, while Professor Goold has effected improvements at practically all points where he has deviated from Showerman, the limitations inevitably imposed on what in his words is "essentially a corrected reprint" mean that a lot remains in the Loeb which in any other circumstances would have been replaced by something quite new. And Loeb's of course have space only for a very small amount of critical information. While therefore we must all welcome what Professor Goold has been able to do for the *Heroides*, the need for a critical edition remains. For a number of years, I and others had been looking forward with the greatest anticipation to an OCT from Professor E. J. Kenney, but sadly, he has now abandoned that project. A new Teubner (Leipzig) edition being deemed desirable, I have found myself unable to resist the challenge presented by this formidably problematical collection of poems, and I have every intention of producing an edition (which I guarantee now will at all events have an accurate apparatus criticus, whatever people may think about my constitution of the text) within the next five or six years. The present paper will give those interested in Ovid a foretaste of the kind of text which I shall produce.

For the purposes of this paper I have regularly consulted the following editions: Burman (Amsterdam 1727); Palmer and Purser (Oxford 1898); Dörrie (Berlin and New York 1971); and Goold (Cambridge, MA and London 1977). As the reader will observe, I have been at pains to indicate where the new or revised Loeb edition differs from the old; hence the proliferation of phrases such as "the old Loeb edition," "the new Loeb

edition" (where the two editions go their separate ways), and "the Loeb translation" and "the Loeb edition" (where there are no differences between the new and the old). In the case of each passage discussed, I cite the text according to the revised Loeb edition, which is the best text currently available in print.

Finally, before coming to my notes on individual passages, I must say something on the question of authenticity in the *Heroides*. Much has been written on this subject over the years (see the bibliography provided by Dörrie in his edition), and much of what has been written has the validity of objective statement, with which no one can quarrel: it is, for example, fact that the double epistles contain locutions exemplified nowhere else in Ovid, and it is fact that the passages 16. 39–144 and 21. 145–248 are not found before the Parma edition of 1477. In the end of the day, however, the objective invariably gives way to the subjective, and final decisions about authenticity are based on nothing firmer than the instinct and intuition of each individual scholar. In *CQ* n.s. 29 (1979) 394–431, there appeared a splendid paper by E. J. Kenney entitled "Two Disputed Passages in the *Heroides*," and I am happy to say that I find myself in complete agreement with Kenney's main conclusion, which is that the two passages mentioned above, and indeed the double epistles as a whole, are the work of P. Ovidius Naso. I have myself read the disputed texts repeatedly with the question of authenticity in the forefront of my mind, and always have found myself ending with a reinforced conviction that this is the genuine article. Quite simply, I cannot believe in the existence of a second, unknown Ovid who was fully as consummate an artist as the first, known one. In the light of this conviction I approach the disputed texts with the same critical attitudes that I bring to bear on the undisputed, and apply the yardstick of Ovidian usage universally throughout the twenty-one epistles.

1. 3–4

Troia iacet certe, Danais inuisa puellis;
uix Priamus tanti totaque Troia fuit.

Variation in the punctuation of the hexameter apart (Palmer, for instance, has no comma, while Dörrie places one after *iacet*, not after *certe*), this is how the couplet has stood for centuries, but not without some reservations on the part of critics. Burman, for example, had jibbed at *certe* (which, if right, would surely be less ambiguously placed at the start of the line?), for which he suggested *per te*, and before him Heinsius had written: "Ut tamdiu absis nimirum. Frustra igitur se exercent hoc in loco viri eruditi. Fuit cum et ego versum unum alterumque excidisse suspicarer, sed nullus excidit." The word *nimirum* in Heinsius' first sentence is to my mind rather nervously brusque, for there is in these verses no hint of *ut tamdiu absis*. What they appear to be saying is, "Troy has fallen: the whole of Troy was hardly worth it," and one is then entitled to ask, "Worth what?" Now

approach the verses from another angle, and consider the sentiment, "Troy has fallen: Priam was scarcely worth it." What kind of sense is this? Add then the adjective *tota*, attached as it is to the second occurrence of *Troia* but not the first, and enquire what may be its point. Unless I am very much mistaken, there is a deep corruption in the hexameter, and a lesser one in the pentameter, and the sense called for here may be expressed in the following words (for which various alternatives no doubt might be canvassed):

ut mora nectatur (or sic fieret) Danais inuisa puellis,
uix Priamus tanti uictaque Troia fuit.

1. 13-14

in te fingebam uiolentos Troas ituros;
nomine in Hectoreo pallida semper eram.

Another poet might operate differently, but I cannot believe that if Ovid had written *in te* and *nomine in Hectoreo* he would have intended *in* to have a different function in the two phrases; but so it must, for *te* is accusative in the hexameter, and *in* accordingly seems to be governing now the accusative, now the ablative. This is clumsy writing, I suggest, and the attractions of *et* for *in* in the pentameter I find compelling. Now back to the hexameter, which is, if anything, still more clumsy, with *uiolentos*, surely almost adequate in itself to explain *in te*, followed almost immediately by the almost superfluous *ituros*. Could even a juvenile Ovid ever have written so feeble a line? Unless something now very remote lies concealed here, there may be something to be said for:

in te fingebam uiolenter Troas ituros,

or, alternatively:

in te fingebam Troas uiolenter ituros.

It is pertinent to note that Planudes has βιαίως.

2. 9-10

spes quoque lenta fuit; tarde, quae credita laedunt,
credimus. inuita nunc es amante nocens.

In the hexameter I would much prefer *fugit* for *fuit*, and then either *lenta . . . lente* or *tarda . . . tarde*. In the pentameter *es . . . nocens* is no doubt possible (for exemplification of the so-called periphrastic conjugation see K.-S. I 159, where *Lucr. 3. 396 est coercens* and *Ov. Her. 18. 55 nox erat incipiens* are cited), but *inuita* I should say was quite the wrong word for Phyllis to be made to use: of course she does not "will" Demophoon's ill-usage. Perhaps:

. . . inuicto nunc es amore nocens,

or, as I should myself prefer:

. . . inuicto nunc in amore noces.

2. 35–36

per mare, quod totum uentis agitur et undis,
per quod nempe ieras, per quod iturus eras.

Nempe is Bentley's conjecture for the manuscripts' *saepe*, which is manifestly wrong since Demophoon had travelled that way but once before; but I have to say that I do not see the force here of *nempe*, which is only tolerable if toned down in translation to something like "over which you had indeed sailed" (so G. P. Goold in the revised Loeb ed.); but did the assertion that Demophoon had come from Troy to Thrace in fact need confirmation or strengthening? It is notorious that *nempe* is often corrupted to *saepe*, but this is not, I think, one of the cases where that corruption has happened. Let me propose, then, for consideration the form of words:

per quod ut ante ieras rursus iturus eras.

2. 61–62

sperauī melius, quia me meruisse putauī;
quaecumque ex merito spes uenit, aequa uenit.

" . . . the hope—whatever it be—that is grounded in desert, is just" (so Showerman). Yes, that is doubtless a true sentiment, but is it Phyllis' sentiment? Is not the point here that her hope, while abundantly justified (as she sees it), was justifiably abundant? I fancy that Ovid here wrote, not *aequa*, but *ampla*.

2. 85–86

exitus acta probat." careat successibus, opto,
quisquis ab euentu facta notanda putat.

I should like to think that Ovid wrote either *probat . . . probanda* or *notat . . . notanda*.

2. 91–92

illa meis oculis species abeuntis inhaeret,
cum premeret portus classis itura meos.

And where, one may ask, was Demophoon's fleet in the period preceding its imminent departure if not (somewhere) in the area of Phyllis' harbour? There would be far more point in a pentameter which read:

cum fremeret portu classis itura meo.

2. 105–12

iamque tibi excidimus, nullam, puto, Phyllida nosti. 105
 ei mihi! si, quae sim Phyllis et unde, rogas—
 quae tibi, Demophoon, longis erroribus acto
 Threicios portus hospitiumque dedi,
 cuius opes auxere meae, cui diues egenti
 munera multa dedi, multa datura fui; 110
 quae tibi subieci latissima regna Lycurgi,
 nomine femineo uix satis apta regi, . . .

It may be that there is no problem here, but it is noteworthy that as the lines stand at present, *quae* in 107 and 111 refers to Phyllis, but *cuius* and *cui* in 109 to Demophoon, and such an oscillation I should have said was clumsy (and, to the extent of the three words *cuius opes auxere*, misleading). I accordingly propose:

cuius opes auxere tuas, quae diues egenti . . . ,

a form of words which keeps the focus firmly on Phyllis.

2. 113–18

qua patet umbrosum Rhodope glacialis ad Haemum,
 et sacer admissas exigit Hebrus aquas,
 cui mea uirginitas auibus libata sinistris 115
 castaque fallaci zona recincta manu!
 pronuba Tisiphone thalamis ululauit in illis,
 et cecinit maestum deuia carmen auis; . . .

Lines 113–14 were pronounced suspect by Sedlmayer, but in truth there is nothing un-Ovidian about them, nor are they in any way to blame except perhaps for their irrelevance; let them, therefore, be regarded, or even punctuated, as a parenthesis. With 115 I return to the previous note, and come to the main point of this one; for those who object to *tuas* and *quae* in 109 are sure to claim support in the *cui* of 115, which must refer to Demophoon. Must, that is, if it is right, for I fancy I discern a broken connexion between 115–16 and 117–18, and would suggest *cum* for *cui* in 115 to repair that break; but even if *cui* is right, it does not stand on a par with the pronouns of 109, being separated indeed from the previous sequence by the topographical parenthesis introduced by *qua*.

2. 145–46

inscribere meo causa inuidiosa sepulcro.
 aut hoc aut simili carmine notus eris.

The parataxis of these clauses is arguably jagged, and the coupling of *aut . . . aut* ("either . . . or") a shade too emphatic. Perhaps *atque hoc*?

3. 1

Quam legis, a rapta Briseide littera uenit, . . .

Rapta is factually untrue, except with reference to Briseis' original capture at Lymesus, which is surely irrelevant here, where her present position in the Greek camp is what matters. The heralds came to Achilles and asked for her (7), and her complaint is that she was given up (7 *tradita*, 10 and 21 *data*) without a fuss. Although in 99 Briseis is made to say that she did not behave as Achilles' wife, there are a number of places in the poem (5–6, 37, 52, 101) where she views herself, or presents herself as viewed, as *coniunx* or *domina* to Achilles as *uir*. Much more apt than *rapta*, therefore, would be *pacta*, referring (it may be) as much to her quasi-matrimonial status as to the allocation of prisoners which had brought her to Achilles in the first place.

3. 3–4

quascumque adspicies, lacrimae fecere lituras;
sed tamen et lacrimae pondera uocis habent.

Sed tamen is very heavy. Perhaps *sic tamen*?

3. 13–14

differri potui; poenae mora grata fuisset.
ei mihi! discedens oscula nulla dedi.

If Briseis gave no kisses on her departure, that is her fault, and she has no one to blame but herself. *Ei mihi*, however, suggests rather that she was blameless in this respect, and so she would be if the original read, not *dedi*, but *tuli*.

3. 17–18

saepe ego decepto uolui custode reuerti,
sed, me qui timidam prenderet, hostis erat.

Is there not something of a contradiction between the hexameter and the pentameter? If Briseis “wanted” to trick the guard and return, she was hardly “timid,” and I consequently find it impossible to believe that Ovid wrote *timidam*. What he did write, I know not, but it could have been *refugam*. *Timebam* in line 19 lends no support to *timidam*—though it may well explain its genesis—for capture by the Trojans outside the camp would be a quite different matter from being apprehended while sneaking from one Greek tent to another.

3. 29–33

Laertaque satus, per quos comitata redirem
(auxerunt blandas grandia dona preces)
uiginti fuluos operoso ex aere lebetas,

et tripodas septem pondere et arte pares;
addita sunt illis auri bis quinque talenta, . . .

In 30 most of the manuscripts (including the Puteaneus) have *blandas* . . . *preces*, and that is what the sense calls for, since it is gifts that enhance entreaties rather than the other way around. The problem then presents itself in stark terms: on that interpretation of 30 the phrase *grandia dona* is in the nominative, but the particularised gifts of 31–32 are in the accusative. In the new Loeb I have to say that I find a breakdown of syntax between 29 and 31, which the parenthesising of 30 does nothing to remedy; nor indeed is this parenthesis to my mind at all credible. Various conjectures designed to deal with this problem may be found in Burman's edition and in that by Palmer, but the only one of these which I wish to explore is Madvig's:

auxerunt blandas grandia dona preces,
uiginti fului operoso ex aere lebetes
et tripodes . . .

Lebetes and *tripodes* are indeed found in manuscripts, as Heinsius had noted, and the new departure, unfortunately in the direction of a metrical solecism not to be attributed to Ovid, comes in the introduction of *fului* for *fuluos*. A brave attempt, and wrong, but suggestive of what may be right, and that is:

uiginti fuluo pretiosi ex aere lebetes.

This is, I must add, no more than a variation on an earlier idea by Palmer:

uiginti fului pretioso ex aere lebetes,

which I have no recollection of registering before I came to my own conclusion.

3. 93–94

res audita mihi, nota est tibi. fratribus orba
deuouit nati spemque caputque parens.

Is this indeed the way of it, that Briseis had heard the story of Meleager—which Homer in *Iliad* 9 has Phoenix narrate to Achilles—while Achilles knows of it? Quite what the distinction is between *audita* and *nota* in this passage, I am not clear, but, whatever it is, I should have thought that the natural sequence was:

res audita tibi, nota est mihi,

the Asiatic Briseis' knowledge of a Peloponnesian tale presumably coming to her via Achilles.

3. 97–98

sola uirum coniunx flexit. felicior illa!
at mea pro nullo pondere uerba cadunt.

Madvig's *pro!* (recorded by Goold), in which he had been preceded by Gruter, is best forgotten, but the diagnosis which led up to it should be remembered, and acted on. Daniel Heinsius' comment was: "Sane nec Latinum est, nec sensum explet," and while Nicolaus worked diligently to accumulate evidence against his father's contention, *pro* remains a problem. My suggestion is:

at mea non ullo pondere uerba cadunt,

in which case it may be that *pro* was interpolated to mend the metre after *non ullo* had been closed up to *nullo*. Not dissimilarly, perhaps, at *Tristia* 3. 2. 24 Ovid might, I think, have written *ianua non ullo tempore aperta fuit*, where the manuscripts have *sed nullo* or *sub nullo*, but Housman's learned defence of *sub* (*Classical Papers* [Cambridge 1972] III 1274) should act as a deterrent to conjectural intervention.

3. 103–04

per tamen ossa uiri subito male tecta sepulcro,
semper iudiciis ossa uerenda meis; . . .

"Bones ever to be held sacred in my eyes" (so Showerman) is inoffensive enough, but Briseis is talking about the bones of her husband, slain in war, and *iudiciis . . . meis* properly means something like "in my opinion" (so Shuckburgh), a totally heartless expression in so poignant a remembrance. I do not know what Ovid wrote here, but two possibilities readily suggest themselves in the shape of:

semper ab (*or in*) officiis ossa uerenda meis,

and:

semper cum lacrimis ossa uerenda meis.

4. 7–8

ter tecum conata loqui ter inutilis haesit
lingua, ter in primo restitit ore sonus.

The first two occurrences here of *ter* relate to *lingua*, but the third, according to the manuscripts, accompanies another noun altogether, and that, I submit, is not elegant. Perhaps the pentameter should read:

lingua, ter in primo restitit orsa sono.

4. 9-10

qua licet et sequitur, pudor est miscendus amor;
dicere quae puduit, scribere iussit amor.

Nobody, I suspect, is entirely happy with *et sequitur*, and such a translation as "Wherever modesty may attend on love, love should not lack in it" (so Showerman), while it sounds very well, does not really meet the needs of this case: with Phaedra, *pudor* is opposed to *amor*, and while it must perforce be conjoined with love, it is not so obliging as to "follow" love. What Phaedra was ashamed to say, love has bidden her write, and, "as far as possible," shame must be made to come to terms with love. How is this possible? Lines 7 and 8 had told us that her tongue had ceased to function, and achievement of the fusion of *pudor* with *amor* is only possible without a tongue, without speech, on the silent page. No one word springs to mind as the mot juste, so let me simply suggest various possibilities: *elingui* (not otherwise found in Ovid, I know), *et mutae*, *et tacitae*, *hoc scripto*, or even *absque sono*.

4. 15-16

adsit et, ut nostras audio fouet igne medullas,
figat sic animos in mea uota tuos!

As the sequel shows, Phaedra has been burned and wounded by love, yet the action of *fouet*, I should have said, was a gentle one, and one, moreover, at variance with the adjective *audio*. Better suited to conveying the sense required here would be *domat*.

4. 81-82

seu lentum ualido torques hastile lacerto,
ora ferox in se uersa lacertus habet.

"*Ferox* applied to *lacertus* is in itself strange, and coming so soon after *ferocis* in ver. 79 is offensive. Heinsius proposes with inferior MSS. to read *fugacis* there. I should prefer to strike out ver. 81, 82, or 82, 83, for there is no real distinction between *hastilia* and *uenabula*." So Palmer, here, as often, both right and wrong: wrong about the need for deletion; right about the strangeness of the adjective *ferox*. Perhaps *sequax*, with something of the force of *lentus*, as Leander (19. 48) has *lenta brachia*; see also Purser's note on 19. 12.

4. 85-86

tu modo duritiam siluis depone iugosis;
non sum militia digna perire tua.

Militia is Palmer's conjecture for the manuscripts' *materia*, which Heinsius ("Non sum digna, quae peream te praebente ac suppeditante caussam &

materiam mortis. eleganter & Latine dictum.”) and Burman (“Locus hic obscurior, & quidquid adferant interpretes, non efficient, ut *perire alicujus materia*, sit, caussa alicujus. *Materies* hominis vero eleganter dicitur, indoles, & ingenium ejus . . .”) were vainly at pains to vindicate. Tanaquil Faber had earlier hit on the expedient of writing *duritia* in the pentameter (for which he earned Heinsius’ incredulous censure), but he seems to have missed the opportunity of completing the emendation by, conversely, writing *materiam* in the hexameter. All that has happened here is that metrically equivalent words, set at the same point in consecutive lines, have exchanged places and terminations.

4. 87–88

quid iuvat incinctae studia exercere Dianae,
et Veneri numeros eripuisse suos?

Not *numeros*, surely, but *neruos*?

4. 91–92

arcus—et arma tuae tibi sunt imitanda Dianae—
si numquam cesses tendere, mollis erit.

It is all very well for modern editors to introduce marks of parenthesis, as is the case here, but I cannot bring myself to believe that in antiquity the sequence *arcus et arma* . . . would have been understood otherwise than as “the bow and weapons . . .,” in other words, as a double subject, when what follows shows clearly that while *arma* governs one verb, *arcus* governs another. Heinsius, not surprisingly, disliked *et*, and proposed replacing it with *ut*; but I am not sure that this expedient makes it clear that *arcus* and *arma* are shortly to move away from one another to different verbs. Perhaps *ita*?

4. 93–96

clarus erat siluis Cephalus, multaeque per herbas
concocterant illo percutiente ferae;
nec tamen Aurorae male se praebebat amandum.
ibat ad hunc sapiens a sene diua uiro.

Cephalus (so the manuscripts here tell us) was a great hunter, but yet he did not do a bad thing in letting Aurora love him. That, perhaps, is one interpretation of the pentameter, and it holds out to Hippolytus an example of cynical self-interest. Surely that could not be what Ovid intended? Palmer, following a different approach, understood *male* to mean “reluctantly,” and that would give the sense: “but yet he did not reluctantly give himself to Aurora to love.” But Hippolytus has not given himself to Phaedra to love at all. And when all is said and done, these interpretations, and any variations on them that might be devised, lay an almost verbal force

on *male*, while leaving *praebebat* as a colourless irrelevance after the opening *nec tamen*. If *nec tamen* is to have any particular force in this line, what is needed, I suggest, is not *praebebat*, but *prohibebat*; and if that is right, *amandum* will have to be changed to *amari*.

5. 15–16

saepe super stramen faenoque iacentibus alto
defensa est humili cana pruina casa.

Why the change of construction in the hexameter? Was there anything to be gained by not writing *faenumque . . . altum*?

5. 35–36

qua (*sc. die*) Venus et Iuno sumptisque decentior armis
uenit in arbitrium nuda Minerua tuum.

These lines are translated as follows by Showerman: "when Venus and Juno, and unadorned Minerva, more comely had she borne her arms, appeared before you to be judged." If Minerva really was "more comely" in full armour, why was she such a fool as to appear in the nude before Paris? Or why did she not insist on appearing in full armour-plating, if that was what made her "more comely"? I find it hard to believe that *sumptis* is right, when *positis* would restore some common sense to these lines.

5. 109–12

tu leuior foliis, tum cum sine pondere suci
mobilibus uentis arida facta uolant;
et minus est in te quam summa pondus arista,
quae leuis adsiduis solibus usta riget.

The ear of corn has already by implication in 111 been described as light-weight, and *quae leuis* in 112 accordingly seems pointless. Add also that *riget* is perhaps not the most appropriate verb to use of *arista*. I suspect that what Ovid wrote in the pentameter was:

cui leuis adsiduis solibus hasta riget.

6. 93–96

et quae nescierim melius. male quaeritur herbis
moribus et forma conciliandus amor.
hanc potes amplecti thalamoque relictus in uno
inpavidus somno nocte silente frui?

In this conformation of the text, the first clause of 93 forms an appendix to the catalogue of Medea's fell deeds previously mentioned; then follows a generalised statement about winning love by herbs, not by character and by looks, which is only by implication to be referred to Medea. Somehow this is a rather uncoordinated couplet, in part retrospective, in part unrelated,

except by implication, to what follows. Making use of the variant *quod* for *quae* in 93, let me propose, at least as food for thought, this form of words:

huic, quod nescierim melius, male quaeritur herbis,
moribus et forma conciliandus, amor.

The love of 93–94 now being clearly described as Medea's, the next couplet comes in much more smoothly, and proceeds unobjectionably as far as *somno*, which stands in jarring juxtaposition to *nocte*. Why not therefore *inpavidus somni*, a construction for which Silius (7. 128) provides exemplification?

6. 115–16

Bacchus auus; Bacchi coniunx redimita corona
praeradiat stellis signa minora suis.

Perhaps *signis . . . suis*, or *signo . . . suo*?

7. 33–34

aut ego, quae coepi, (neque enim dedignor) amorem,
materiam curae praebeat ille meae!

The trouble with this form of words (in which *amorem* is Madvig's conjecture for the manuscripts' *amare*) is that the couplet changes direction spectacularly in the pentameter, where a new subject, *ille*, takes over from *ego*, which no candid reader would say he did not expect to continue into the next line. Nor is this problem at all alleviated by punctuating after *aut* rather than after *ego*. The older editors opted for:

aut ego, quem coepi (neque enim dedignor) amare,

approved by Ciofanus and Heinsius, and retained, against his better judgement, it seems, by Burman ("Nondum tamen video sensum, cum suspensa sit oratio."), but this version is open to the same strictures as the other, punctuate the hexameter how you will. The difficulty, to be precise, consists primarily in the position of *ego*, and some means of indicating that it belongs firmly to a clause subordinate to that of the pentameter needs to be found. Would that means be found, I wonder, if we were to write:

aut, ut ego hunc coepi (neque enim dedignor) amorem?

Hunc for *aut* is given by the Eton MS Bk. 6, 18, and *ut* could obviously have dropped out after *aut*.

7. 75–76

haec minus ut cures, puero parcatur Iulo!
te satis est titulum mortis habere meae.

Haec minus ut cures is Housman's conjectural restoration. Most manuscripts have *nec mihi tu curae*, while others weave variations with *tibi*, *tu*, *sum*, *non*, and *sim* in place of *mihi tu*, with *care*, *parcas*, and *parce* in place of *curae*, and with *parcatur* for *tu curae*. As so often in the *Heroides*, we are faced with a total mess in the transmission. From a Cambridge manuscript E. J. Kenney elicited *nec tibi sim curae*, which in point of sense is adequate, but lacks the emphasis which only *mihi* can give, as it is indeed given in the version preferred by the older editors, *nec mihi parcatur*; but here the repetition of *parcatur* is a little dull. Many manuscripts have *parcas* instead of *curae*, and *mihi non* is available (in the Eton manuscript cited in the previous note, and in Treuirensis bibl. ciu. 1088). Invert *tu*, therefore, let me suggest, and write:

ut mihi non parcas, puero parcatur Iulo.

For the pentameter to stand, *meae* would have, as Palmer spotted, to be emphatic ("not of the death of Iulus as well"), but alas! the emphasis has already been laid on *te*: it is enough that you (and no one else) should have the credit for my death. Perhaps it might be better to write:

sat tibi sit titulum mortis habere meae,

where *meae* can bear the emphasis that Palmer envisaged for it.

7. 177-78

pro meritis et siqua tibi debebimus ultra,
pro spe coniugii tempora parua peto.

Dido has nearly done now, and hope of marriage is not compatible with learning "the strength to endure my sorrows bravely" (180). Not therefore *pro spe coniugii*, but *non spe coniugii*.

8. 35-36

cum tibi nubebam, nulli mea taeda nocebat;
si iungar Pyrrho, tu mihi laesus eris.

Showerman's translation makes my point for me: "When I was wed to you . . . if I wed with Pyrrhus . . ." *Cum tibi nubebam* calls for a corresponding *si nubam Pyrrho*.

8. 89-92

parua mea sine matre fui, pater arma ferebat,
et duo cum uiuant, orba duobus eram.
non tibi blanditias primis, mea mater, in annis
incerto dictas ore puella tuli.

89: Would anyone say that there was any point in *mea*, which bears no emphasis, nor adds a jot to the sentiment? Better by far would be *etiam*.

91: Precisely the same criticism may be levelled at *mea* in this line too. I should like to think that Ovid wrote either *male mater*, or *mala mater*.

92: *Dictas* strikes me as too articulate a verb for the blandishments which Hermione's "tripping tongue" endeavoured to utter. Perhaps *fictas*?

9. 19–20

quid nisi notitia est misero quaesita pudori,
si cumulas turpi facta priora nota?

At *Tristia* 3. 13. 3 (on which see his note) Burman took the opportunity of correcting *miseros* to *seros*, and I can only express surprise that he did not propose the same expedient here, where *facta priora* would be neatly complemented by *serus pudor*.

9. 33–34

uir mihi semper abest, et coniuge notior hospes,
monstraque terribiles persequiturque feras.

"My lord is ever absent from me—he is better known to me as guest than husband—ever pursuing monsters and dreadful beasts." So Showerman. If that is the sense of the couplet, as it surely is, *ut* would be better than *et*.

9. 41–42

aucupor infelix incertae murmura famae,
speque timor dubia spesque timore cadit.

I do not believe that the pentameter, as the manuscripts give it, is logical: if hope is wavering, it will not bring down fear, nor will wavering fear bring down hope. Fear will only be brought down by hope if fear is wavering, and only if hope is wavering will it be brought down by fear. Logic will be restored if *dubius* is written for *dubia*.

10. 23–24

et quotiens ego te, totiens locus ipse uocabat.
ipse locus miserae ferre uolebat opem.

With *locus ipse* first governing *uocabat*, and then, as it seems, on its return visit forming the subject of *uolebat*, this is not the most elegant of couplets. I wonder if *uocanti* would improve matters?

10. 37–38

haec ego; quod uoci deerat, plangore replebam;
uerbera cum uerbis mixta fuere meis.

Thus punctuated, the hexameter presents no problem, for, as Palmer reminds us, "the verb is often omitted" after *haec ego*. Quite so, it is indeed omitted;

but not one of the cases he cites by way of illustration is at all ambiguous, whereas here, if there were inept punctuation (as e.g. in Weise's *haec ego, quod uoci deerat, plangore replebam*), or no punctuation at all (as in every ancient manuscript), the reader might well not understand. If, however, Ovid wrote, not *haec*, but *hic* or *hinc*, there would be no problem.

10. 67-70

non ego te, Crete centum digesta per urbes,
adspiciam, puero cognita terra Ioui,
ut pater et tellus iusto regnata parenti
prodita sunt facto, nomina cara, meo.

Terrae has preceded in 61, *terra* in 64, and *tellus* is found in 69; a further occurrence in 68 is not needed, nor indeed does *terra* there add anything to the sense. What would add something to the sense, particularly in the light of *iusto* and *prodita*, would be *fida*: Jove experienced the fidelity of Crete, and Crete has experienced the infidelity of Ariadne.

10. 141-44

non te per meritum, quoniam male cessit, adoro;
debita sit facto gratia nulla meo.
sed ne poena quidem! si non ego causa salutis,
non tamen est, cur sis tu mihi causa necis.

It may be that all is well here, but I find myself slightly disturbed by the lack of balance between the second halves of 143 and 144. Proper balance would, I suggest, be restored if 143 ended:

. . . tibi non sim ego causa salutis.

11. 1-2

Siqua tamen caecis errabunt scripta lituris,
oblitus a dominae caede libellus erit.

Tamen is very abrupt, and has bothered editors since the time of Micyllus. If it is right, it must, as Palmer suggests, refer "to an implied thought that she was doing all in her power to avoid blots"; but the abruptness remains, and citation of Prop. 4. 3. 3-4, which is after all the second couplet of that poem, serves only to underline the present difficulty. Heinsius ventured a bold reconstruction in the shape of:

siqua latent caecis errantia scripta lituris,

but neither he nor Burman noticed that this is prosodically solecistic: if *latent* (but might not *manent* have been easier?) . . . *errantia* were right, *scripta* would also have to be changed, and that is going too far, I think. Showerman's translation begins: "If aught of what I write is yet blotted deep and escapes your eye . . .," and "escapes your eye," while not in the

Latin of the manuscripts, might yet have been in the Latin of the author, if *tamen* stood for an original *tibi*.

11. 107–08

quid puer admisit tam paucis editus horis?
quo laesit facto uix bene natus auum?

The phrase *uix bene natus* is peculiar: the child was only a few hours old, and *uix natus*, it is true, but *bene* does not square with the fact of his being “completely” born. Well and truly born he indeed was, but not *uix bene notus*; and it was the fact of his “scarcely being fully known” to his grandfather that enabled Canace to ask these rhetorical questions.

12. 59–60

ante oculos taurique meos segetesque nefandae,
ante meos oculos peruigil anguis erat.

Meos in 59 is indeed the reading of most manuscripts, but if it is right, it leaves *tauri* with no adjective, whereas the two other nominatives, *segetes* and *anguis*, are both qualified. This, Heinsius felt, was inelegant writing, and I am sure that he was right to accept *taurique truces* from two Medicean manuscripts. If he was right in so doing, he ought to have taken steps also to remove *meos* from 60. One way in which this may be done is to write:

ante oculos uigili peruigil anguis erat.

As the snake is sleepless, so is the distraught Medea.

12. 62–64

mane erat, et thalamo cara recepta soror
disiectamque comas aduersaque in ora iacentem
inuenit, et lacrimis omnia plena meis.

Omnia is an extravagant generalisation. Perhaps *stramina*?

12. 97–98

ipsa ego, quae dederam medicamina, pallida sedi,
cum uidi subitos arma tenere uiros, . . .

Since *pallida* could refer to *medicamina*, there is, it seems to me, a manifest ambiguity here. Did Ovid, I wonder, write *medicamen*?

12. 111–14

uirginitas facta est peregrini praeda latronis;
optima cum cara matre relicta soror.
at non te fugiens sine me, germane, reliqui!
deficit hoc uno littera nostra loco.

The verb forms *relicta* (112) and *reliqui* (113) are translated, respectively, as "I have left behind" and "I did . . . leave behind" in the Loeb edition, while Palmer, previously, had rendered *sine me* (113) as "behind me." Why, one may accordingly ask, does *sine me* appear in the one place but not in the other, and is it really necessary at all? Is it not, moreover, an odd way of expressing the idea "behind me"? "Suspectum hoc est & duriter dictum," said Burman of *sine me*; and he was right, I think, so to do. He was not, however, right, I think, in his solution, which was to write:

at cur non fugiens sic te germane reliqui?

since *sic* is not clear, and a question not necessary. A simpler way out of the difficulty might perhaps be to write:

at non te fugiens, miser a! germane, reliqui.

12. 143

turba ruunt et "Hymen," clamant, "Hymenae!" frequenter.

At *Tristia* 4. 7. 25 *frequenter* does indeed appear at the end of a line, but the tone there is almost colloquial. Here the tone is anything but colloquial, and *frequenter* at the end of this line has for me more than a touch of bathos. The older editors favoured *frequentant* (here in the sense of "ingeminare, repetere," as Burman suggests, and not, it must be added, otherwise attested with this force in Ovid), and if that is right, *clamant* must surely be wrong. Did the original conceivably read:

turba ruunt et "Hymen" clamore "Hymenae" frequentant? ◊

12. 155-58

ire animus mediae suadebat in agmina turbae
sertaque compositis demere rapta comis;
uix me continui, quin dilaniata capillos
clamarem "meus est!" iniceremque manus.

Demere is slightly incongruous beside *rapta*, and one may well wonder why the poet did not write *deripuisse*, if that was all that he wished to say. I think that he wished to say more, and propose for consideration *scindere rapta*. It is not, I think, irrelevant that the participle of 157, *dilaniata*, like the participle of 156, *rapta*, is indicative of violent action on Medea's part.

12. 163-64

serpentis igitur potui taurosque furentes;
unum non potui perdomuisse uirum.

At lines 62, 103 and 198 of this poem the serpent is singular; and it would be an absurdly exaggerated flourish for Medea here to be made to multiply

him. *Vnum* in 163 is not an objection, since the sense of that word is "alone." Perhaps one might contemplate:

ergo serpentem potui taurosque furentes.

12. 185–86

tam tibi sum supplex, quam tu mihi saepe fuisti,
nec moror ante tuos procubuisse pedes.

Was Jason "often" a suppliant of Medea, and is she "often" a suppliant of him? Surely he was but once a suppliant, when Aeetes set him those dreadful tasks; and surely she is but once a suppliant, on this occasion, when she writes begging *redde torum* (193)? I cannot help feeling that *nempe* would be right here, as it is on other occasions where the manuscripts conspire in reading *saepe*.

12. 201–02

aureus ille aries uillo spectabilis alto
dos mea, quam, dicam si tibi "redde!", neges.

Alto is the reading of a minority of manuscripts, including the Puteaneus, while the majority offers *aureo* or *auro*. It may be that the combination of *aureus* with *alto* is what Ovid intended, but I should have thought that what made the ram *spectabilis* was not the thickness of its fleece but the fact of the fleece being golden. If, therefore, *aureo* were right as the final word of the line, the first word as given by the manuscripts must be wrong; and for *aureus* the obvious word to restore is *Phrixus*.

12. 203–04

dos mea tu sospes; dos est mea Graia iuuentus!
i nunc, Sisyphias, inprobe, confer opes!

"My dowry is yourself—saved; my dowry is the band of Grecian youth!" So the Loeb translation; but we are not told in what sense the "band of Grecian youth" is her dowry. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of *mea* and *Graia* is harsh: the last thing that Medea would want now is to be identified with Greeks! Both of these problems would disappear if the original read:

dos mea tu sospes, sospes tibi Graia iuuentus.

13. 9–10

raptus es hinc praeceps, et qui tua uela uocaret,
quem cuperent nautae, non ego, uentus erat.

"*Vocaret* and *cuperent* in 10 are descriptive subjunctives," says Palmer, inviting us to compare 81 *deceat*; so how then is Showerman able to render 9–10 as: ". . . and the wind that invited forth your sails was one your seamen longed for, not I," where a clear enough distinction is drawn between

the type of the two verbs? Answer: the translator was aware what sense was required, but not aware that what was required in the Latin to convey that sense was one imperfect indicative, *uocabat*, to identify the wind, and one imperfect subjunctive, *cuperent*, to tell us what kind of a wind it was.

13. 37–40

scilicet ipsa geram saturatas murice lanas,
bella sub Iliacis moenibus ille geret?
ipsa comas pectar, galea caput ille premetur?
ipsa nouas uestes, dura uir arma feret?

Lanas (37) is the reading of three manuscripts, according to Dörrie, the vast majority having *uestes*, an unwelcome repetition of line 40. Even with *lanas*, however, the contrast between the hexameter and pentameter is not at all exact: there is nothing in common between *geram . . . lanas* and *bella . . . geret* except the repetition of the verb, for the nouns conduct us to quite different types of action. As a mere shot in the dark, let me suggest that behind *lanas*, on which *uestes* is a gloss, stands a further word on which *lanas* is a gloss, namely *telas*, and that behind *bella* stands *tela*. I fancy it was a subconscious recollection of Claudian 18. 273–74 (of the eunuch consul Eutropius) *tu potes alterius studiis haerere Mineruae, / tu telas, non tela, pati*, which prompted this idea. If, as I hope, it is right, this passage will be yet another of many in Ovid which have given inspiration to Claudian.

In line 40 *nouas* is out of keeping with *dura*. Here I am rather inclined to think that the *uestes* were originally *leues*.

13. 71–72

si cadere Argolico fas est sub milite Troiam,
te quoque non ullum uulnus habente cadet.

Cadet appears as a variant reading in Cantab. Trin. 598, and was also proposed conjecturally by Bentley and Madvig; but I see no merit in it. *Cadat*, the majority reading of the manuscripts, on the other hand, is absolutely apt to the required sense: if it is fated that Troy shall fall, let it fall without your being wounded. The new Loeb edition, however, favours *cadet*, and translates as follows: "If it be fated Troy shall fall before the Argive host, it will fall without your taking a single wound!" But where in this translation, I ask, is *quoque*? Palmer makes an attempt to do justice to it ("you, as well as others, being unwounded"), but the attempt is footling: Laodamia is not in the least concerned about others, only about Protesilaus. Of earlier critics, only Francius, so far as I can see, was aware of the problem, but I am not vastly attracted by his two alternative suggestions, *te uoueo nullum*, and *te modo non ullum*, although the first is on the right lines. In *quoque* I fancy I see one of the interpolator's favourite stopgaps, and suggest that the original form of words was:

te certe nullum uulnus habente cadat.

Compare the note above on 3. 97–98.

14. 31–33

in thalamos laeti—thalamos, sua busta!—feruntur
strataque corporibus funere digna premunt.
iamque cibo uinoque graues somnoque iacebant, . . .

To my mind the epanalepsis of 31 is rather overdoing things, and I would have expected a somewhat quieter form of words. It may be that nothing more is needed here than to replace the second *thalamos* with one or other of the variants *fratres* and *iuuenes*, but I find myself wondering whether the original might have read:

in thalamos laeti, iuuenalia busta, feruntur.

In 32 *corporibus* seems oddly otiose, and *strata . . . funere digna* is surely the last phrase to be put in the mouth of Hypermnestra.

strataque nequaquam funere digna premunt

is what she should be made to say.

14. 59–60

si manus haec aliquam posset committere caedem,
morte foret dominae sanguinolenta suae.

Caede for morte?

15. 7–16

flendus amor meus est—elegiae flebile carmen;
non facit ad lacrimas barbitos ulla meas.
uror, ut indomitis ignem exercentibus Euris
fertilis accensis messibus ardet ager. 10
arua, Phaon, celebras diuersa Typhoidos Aetnae;
me calor Aetnaeo non minor igne tenet.
nec mihi, dispositis quae iungam carmina neruis,
proueniunt; uacuae carmina mentis opus.
nec me Pyrrhiades Methymniadesue puellae, 15
nec me Lesbiadum cetera turba iuuant.

In lines 5–6 Phaon is represented as enquiring why Sappho, uncharacteristically, is writing in elegiacs, and the answer he receives is that her love is matter for tears, and for tears the appropriate verse form is the elegiac couplet (7–8). Would someone now explain to me why much the same point is made again five lines further on (13–14), in a context unrelated to the matter of the choice of metre? Not quite the same point, however, since 13–14 seem to be saying that Sappho cannot write lyrics (the formulaic *carmina neruis* refers to that kind of writing) because they

require an untroubled mind. This is a very pedestrian sentiment, and long-winded too, after the concise *flendus amor meus est* of line 7. I am strongly inclined to pronounce it a spurious insertion. If it is genuine, its appropriate place would be after line 8.

15. 21-22

est in te facies, sunt apti lusibus anni—
o facies oculis insidiosa meis!

As it stands, 21 is identical with *Am.* 2. 3. 13, and that is unlike Ovid, whose normal practice is to incorporate variations, however slight they may be. But the 21 of our manuscripts is not, I suggest, the 21 that Ovid left behind him. To be sure, Phaon may well be endowed not only with looks but also youthful years, but line 22 dwells only on the looks, and the years are forgotten. Then there is the absence in the hexameter of anything corresponding to *oculis . . . meis*; and *oculis*, one notes, has appeared four lines earlier. All in all, there is a lack of balance between the hexameter and the pentameter which is somewhat jarring. Let me therefore suggest for consideration the wording:

est in te facies, in me apti lusibus anni.
o facies annis insidiosa meis!

15. 35-38

candida si non sum, placuit Cepheia Perseo
Andromede, patriae fusca colore suae.
et uariis albae iunguntur saepe columbae,
et niger a uiridi turtur amatur aue.

In 36 *fusca* completely gives the game away, leaving *patriae . . . colore suae* with very little to add to the sentiment. Rather than *fusca*, what is needed is *picta* or *tincta*, or at all events, a neutral adjective or participle.

In 37 there is no colour contrast with *albae* provided by *uariis*, and if anyone cared to argue that the line originally began *et fuscis albae*, the argument would surely find its supporters. There is more, however, I think, to be said for:

et ravis albae iunguntur saepe columbae.

15. 39-40

si, nisi quae facie poterit te digna uideri,
nulla futura tua est, nulla futura tua est.

This may be right, but I find the presence of two ablatives, *facie* and *te*, in the hexameter slightly jarring. There is, however, a variant *facies*, from which may be elicited:

si, nisi cui facies poterit te digna uideri.

15. 45–48

haec quoque laudabas, omnique a parte placebam—
 sed tum praecipue, cum fit amoris opus.
 tunc te plus solito lasciuia nostra iuuabat,
 crebraque mobilitas aptaque uerba ioco, . . .

Phaon praised Sappho's kisses, and she pleased him in every way, but above all when they made love. Then indeed her wantonness pleased him "more than usual"—what, pray, is the sense of "usual" in this context? And when else did her *lasciuia* please him? Is not what is required something like:

tunc te plus modico lasciuia nostra iuuabat?

15. 113–14

postquam se dolor inuenit, nec pectora plangi
 nec puduit scissis exululare comis, . . .

On line 113 Palmer comments: "The bad caesura is decisive that the line is not Ovidian: no example exists of a hexameter with a caesura after the second and fourth arsis, and the first foot a spondaic word"; his own attempt at curing the line, however, is not attractive (*se dolor inuenit postquam*). Perhaps:

postquam sede dolor uenit, . . .

15. 201–02

Lesbides, infamem quae me fecistis amatae,
 desinite ad citharas turba uenire mea.

Mea is Housman's conjecture for the manuscripts' *meas*, and for Purser "*mea* introduces real poetry into the line." That is as may be, but I am not happy with Housman's expedient, first because *citharas* seems to me to need the epithet *meas*, and second because of the position of *mea*, coming after, not before, the noun it qualifies. Let me therefore propose another solution, and that is to write:

Lesbides, infamem quae me fecistis, amata,
 desinite ad citharas, turba, uenire meas.

16. 1–2

Hanc tibi Priamides mitto, Ledaean, salutem,
 quae tribui sola te mihi dante potest.

Tribuo for mitto?

16. 21–22

hac duce Sigeo dubias a litore feci
 longa Phereclea per freta puppe uias.

Theseus' path through the labyrinth was indeed "doubtful" (10. 128), and so was Leander's over the Hellespont (18. 154), but Paris has Venus for his guide, and, as he himself points out in 29, *neque tristis hiemps neque nos huc appulit error*, so how can he here be made to talk of *dubias . . . uias*? At 7. 116 Heinsius and Burman animadvert to the frequency of the confusion of *dubius* with *durus*, but *duras* here would hardly comport with *faciles auras uentosque secundos* of line 23. Did metre and Ovidian usage permit, one might have contemplated *indubias*; that word being impermissible, however, I am inclined to suspect that what Ovid wrote here was *certas*.

16. 31–32

nec me crede fretum merces portante carina
findere—quas habeo, di tueantur opes!

If the newly landed Paris has wealth, as the pentameter says he has, he evidently must have arrived with it, and the contrast with the hexameter is greatly weakened. I suggest that what he originally said in the pentameter was:

. . . quas adeo, di tueantur opes!

with a graceful compliment to the wealth of beauty that he has arrived to find in his promised Helen.

16. 43–44

matris adhuc utero partu remorante tenebar;
iam grauidus iusto pondere uenter erat.

Two nouns in the ablative juxtaposed in the hexameter is not at all elegant, and *partum* would, I suggest, be a distinct improvement.

16. 45–46

illa sibi ingentem uisa est sub imagine somni
flammiferam pleno reddere uentre facem.

Two attributive adjectives, *ingentem* and *flammiferam*, attached to one noun, *facem*, is not in Ovid's manner, and Palmer's *urgentis*, for all that he did not regard the double epistles as Ovidian, reveals an appreciation of the problem. *Vrgentis* could well be right (as Palmer notes, Heinsius had made a similar correction, of *ingenti* to *urgenti*, in a fragment of Calvus), but I am not convinced that it is appreciably superior to *ingesti*, which I now propose for consideration.

16. 219–20

hostibus eueniant conuiuia talia nostris,
experior posito qualia saepe mero.

No doubt *posito* is possible, but *posita . . . mensa* has occurred just three lines before (217), and Menelaus' boorish conduct is better explained if the company has already been drinking. *Poto* for *posito*, therefore?

16. 257-58

et modo cantabam ueteres resupinus amores,
et modo per nutum signa legenda dabam.

I doubt if Helen would have been much pleased by Paris' singing of "old amours," since, as far as the Latin goes, those amours might have been his own! He would have been better advised—as Ovid, I am sure, advised him—to sing *ueterum . . . amores*.

In 258 *legenda*, which he attributes to the "excerpta Gallicana" and as a conjecture to Slichtenhorst, is scouted by Burman with a reference to 17. 82 *tecta signa*. The two cases, however, are only superficially comparable, since "covert signs" may be read, but "signs which should have been kept hidden" betoken at best a very timid passion—and was Helen expected to warm to that?!

16. 261-62

quae mihi non aliud, quam formidare, locutae
orantis medias deseruere praeces.

Mihi does not sit comfortably in the proximity of *orantis*, and *formidare* could use a subject. *Se* for *mihi*, therefore?

16. 301-04

non habuit tempus, quo Cresia regna uideret,
aptius—o mira calliditate uirum!
"res, et ut Idaeï mando tibi," dixit iturus,
"curam pro nobis hospitit, uxor, agas."

If *calliditate* is right, it must be intended ironically, for, on an objectively factual assessment of Menelaus' conduct, the appropriate word (and form) would be *credulitate*, just as at 312 the word *commoditate* is used of the absent king, and then, in 316, *simplicitate*.

If, as I think possible, 302 has ironic intention, that may I think help us to determine what the original opening dactyl of 303 was. *Esset et, esset ut*, and *iuit et* say the manuscripts, and conjectures abound. The one here printed is by Madvig, and it requires us to believe, if we can, that *mando* has two direct objects, *res* and *ut Idaeï curam pro nobis hospitit agas*. Did it never occur to Madvig to consider the demands of style in formulating his conjecture? *Haesit et, risit et, restat ut, cessit et*—the propounders of other conjectures seem determined to add a verb to *dixit iturus* (in the same way as

other scholars support *iuit et*). Let me propose a different solution. If *calliditate* is right, the next couplet might aptly begin:

scilicet "Idaei mando tibi" dixit iturus.

17. 195-98

tu quoque dilectam multos, infide, per annos
diceris Oenonen destituisse tuam.
nec tamen ipse negas; et nobis omnia de te
quaerere, si nescis, maxima cura fuit.

All that Paris had said in his letter (16. 95 ff.) was that he had been sought after by many women, among whom he had admired Oenone the most; he was economical enough with the truth not to say that he had loved and left her. *Nec tamen ipse negas* thus seems to be at variance with what Paris himself has told Helen. Her enquiries in this respect, moreover, would appear to have been time wasted, if he had already confessed to her that he had betrayed Oenone. More apt to the sense required would be:

ne tamen ipse neges, et nobis omnia de te . . .

18. 3-5

si mihi di faciles, si sunt in amore secundi,
inuitis oculis haec mea uerba leges.
sed non sunt faciles . . .

With Palmer's *si* (in the second place, for the manuscripts' *et, ut, uel, qui, and tibi*), we are almost home and dry; but *sunt* is wrong, as line 5 makes clear, and it is necessary to adopt *sint* from a number of manuscripts.

19. 1-2

Quam mihi misisti uerbis, Leandre, salutem
ut possim missam rebus habere, ueni!

Missam is no more than an empty verbal flourish, and it is unsurprising that Showerman's translation ignores it altogether. "That I may enjoy in very truth the greeting . . ." is how that translation runs, and for it to have a properly corresponding form of words in the Latin, *missam* should give place to *ueram* or *plenam*.

19. 115-16

o utinam uenias, aut ut uentusue paterue
causaque sit certe femina nulla morae.

Purser and Palmer combine here to produce a lengthy note speculating on the possibility, or impossibility, of *ut* here having the sense of *utinam*; and the possibility is tacitly given reality by Showerman's translation (" . . . or did I only know that . . ."); the usage, however, remains dubious, and I for

one do not believe that Ovid would have contemplated it. What to do then? Dispose of *ut*, for a start, and after that do something about the ungainly sequence *-que . . . certe . . . nulla*. The required form of words might perhaps be this:

o utinam uenias, aut sit uentusue paterue
causa, sed incertae femina nulla morae.

Since writing these words, I have seen a very recent paper by W. S. Watt entitled "Notes on Ovid, *Heroides*," which came out in *RIFC* 117 (1989) 62-68. On p. 67 of that paper Watt proposes to read *ferus aut* (that at all events is what his wording leads me to suppose, but did he not rather intend *ferus ut?*), but I am not taken with his suggestion that the hexameter has lost "an adjective ending in *-us*."

19. 121-22

me miseram! quanto planguntur litora fluctu,
et latet obscura condita nube dies!

Et is a stylistic disaster, nor is Heinsius' tentative *ut* much better. Listen to Showerman's translation, and spot the difference between it and the Latin text as transmitted: "Ah, wretched me! with what great waves the shores are beaten, and what dark clouds envelop and hide the day!" Precisely; and what is needed in the pentameter here is:

quam latet obscura condita nube dies!

19. 197-98

stamina de digitis cecidere sopore remissis,
collaque puluino nostra ferenda dedi.

Nostra is utterly pointless: of course it was her own head that Hero laid on the pillow. Far better would be *lassa* or *fessa*.

20. 15-18

quique fuit numquam paruus, nunc tempore longo,
et spe, quam dederas tu mihi, creuit amor.
spem mihi tu dederas, meus hic tibi credidit ardor.
non potes hoc factum teste negare dea.

Hic (17) is left untranslated in the Loeb edition, nor do I see what particular point the pronominal adjective would have here (the adverb, I take it, would be no less pointless). Perhaps *hinc*, which would have some point: you gave me hope, and because of that "my ardent heart put trust in you."

20. 55–58

tu facis hoc oculique tui, quibus ignea cedunt
sidera, qui flammae causa fuere meae;
hoc faciunt flauī crines et eburnea ceruix,
quaque, precor, ueniant in mea colla manus.

Tu facis does not seem in place in a context where Acontius' audacity (represented by the *hoc* of 55 and 57) is described as prompted by a variety of physical attributes possessed by Cydippe. Perhaps 55 originally began:

hoc facies oculique tui . . . ,

with *facies* picking up *facie* of 54, and *hoc* looking forward to *hoc faciunt* of 57.

20. 89–90

ipsa tibi dices, ubi uideris omnia ferri:
"tam bene qui seruit, seruiat iste mihi!"

Most manuscripts have *iste*; one or two have *ille* or *ipse*, with which *iste* is often enough confused; and all three pronouns alike are totally superfluous to the sense of the pentameter. Something would be added to the sense if what Ovid in fact wrote was *usque*.

20. 161–62

hic metuit mendax, haec et periura uocari;
an dubitas, hic sit maior an ille metus?

The only consideration which makes me wonder about the authenticity of this form of words, in which *metuit* is neatly complemented by *metus*, is the fact that in the context (160, 164) there is a pairing of *haec* (Cydippe) and *ille* (her father), whereas here we have *haec* and *hic*. It seems that the Puteaneus (before correction) had *ille timet*, and this opening is given also by a couple of later manuscripts, according to Dörrie. If *ille timet* is right at the start of the couplet, then *metus* at the end should be replaced by *timor*. Should anyone then be troubled by a further appearance of *timor* in 166, there is a variant, *metus*, available for adoption in that line.

20. 177–78

quem si reppuleris, nec, quem dea damnat, amaris,
tu tunc continuo, certe ego saluus ero.

The pentameter was thus translated by the old Loeb edition: "Then straightway you—and I assuredly—will be whole." The reader may well wonder what the force is of that "assuredly." The new Loeb edition, while retaining the Latin wording of the old, offers a different translation: "Then straightway, thanks to you my welfare will be secure." The reader may well wonder where "thanks to you" is in the Latin and what has become of *certe*,

now not translated at all. If *certe ego* is right, it surely implies a contrast with *tu*, and that contrast might perhaps best be represented by:

fors tu continuo, certe ego saluus ero.

Let it be noted that *fors* as an adverb is not found elsewhere in Ovid, and, while occurring a few times in epic, makes only one appearance in Propertius (2. 9. 1) but none in Tibullus.

20. 185–86

nil opus est istis; tantum periuria uita
teque simul serua meque datamque fidem!

You need not have recourse to such treatments as steel and fire and bitter juices, Acontius assures Cydippe; “only shun false oaths, preserve the pledge you have given—and so yourself, and me!” (such is Showerman’s translation, retained by Goold). In the pentameter as transmitted, however, we have no less than three instances of *-que*, and the first of these has disappeared altogether from the translation, which also arranges the three objects in an order different from that of the Latin. What the Latin should, I suggest, be saying, but is not now saying, is: “simply avoid perjury, and you will save . . . ,” and that requires *seruabis*. What will Cydippe then save? Surely herself, in the first instance, and the pledge she gave. The Latin now reforms itself to read:

seruabisque simul teque datamque fidem.

I do not doubt that the devoted Acontius would be unconcerned at his not being mentioned in this line.

20. 189–92

admonita es modo uoce mea cum casibus istis,
quos, quotiens temptas fallere, ferre soles.
his quoque uitatis in partu nempe rogabis,
ut tibi luciferas adferat illa manus?

Cum is Housman’s conjecture for *modo* of the manuscripts, but is there really anything amiss here with *modo . . . modo*? The admonition which Cydippe receives comes now from Acontius’ lips, now from the frequent setbacks to her health that beset her. In 191, however, I see no point whatsoever in *quoque*, and some form of contrast with *in partu* would be welcome. I suggest:

his nunc uitatis, in partu nempe rogabis, . . .

20. 197–201

non agitur de me; cura maiore laboro.
anxia sunt causa pectora nostra tua.
cur modo te dubiam pauidi fleuere parentes,

ignaros culpae quos facis esse tuae?
et cur ignorent? . . .

Cur in 199 is just not credible. The answer to the question, "Why did your parents weep for you when you were poised between life and death?" is immediate, and obvious: because they were her parents, and concerned about her, and that makes the question a very silly one to ask. Sense will be restored to 199 if it begins: *quin modo* . . . , and the question mark is removed at the end of 200.

20. 235-36

quod si contigerit, cum iam data signa sonabunt,
tinctaque uotiuo sanguine Delos erit, . . .

For the second half of 235 the Loeb translation offers "when the sounding signals will be given," which does not offend. Follow the Latin more closely, however, translating "when the given signals will sound," and offence will surely be taken at the purposeless "given." I think that the original had *rata signa*, a phrase for which Ovid had something of a liking, employing it also at *Met.* 14. 818 and *Ep.* 15. 90.

21. 7-8

omnia cum faciam, cum dem pia tura Dianae,
illa tamen iusta plus tibi parte fauet.

"Though I do everything" (so Showerman) is a very flabby thing for Cydippe to be made to say; and when she is then made to add, "though I offer duteous incense to Diana," "everything" does not seem to amount to very much at all. She would be saying something entirely pertinent if her words originally ran:

uni cum faciam, cum dem pia tura Dianae, . . .

21. 33-34

haec nobis formae te laudatore superbae
contingit merces? et placuisse nocet?

Haec . . . formae te laudatore superbae . . . merces is a strangely overladen subject phrase. Perhaps *superbis*?

21. 163-66

cum tetigit limen, lacrimas mortisque timorem
cernit et a cultu multa remota suo,
proicit ipse sua deductas fronte coronas,
spissaque de nitidis terget amoma comis.

The main clause, so the Loeb translation assumes, begins with *proicit*, but this assumption involves supplying “and” between the first and the second clause of 163: “When he has touched the threshold, *and* (my italics) sees tears and dread of death . . .” The simplest way that I can see of confining 163–64 in subordination to 165–66 is to begin:

cum tetigit limen, lacrimasque necisque timorem . . .

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A Sallustian Echo in Tacitus

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"Even a slight modification in the form of a familiar term may lack parallel. Nobody else thought of varying 'bella civilia' with 'bella civium.' That being so, it may not be fanciful to suppose that some of the unusual expressions that emerge for the first time in Tacitus, and seldom or never again, might be of his own creation. He conjures up these striking locutions when an especial emphasis is required: for example, Nero is labelled as 'incredibilium cupitor.' When such turns occur (especially in character sketches or obituary notices) they suggest Sallust, himself the great 'novator verborum.'"

Thus Syme,¹ writing on the style of the *Annals*. In a footnote to this passage, he glosses *cupitor* by observing that "the word has been employed effectively" in *Ann.* 12. 7. 2, *reperitus est unus talis matrimonii cupitor*. On this latter case, Furneaux remarked with singular inaccuracy that the noun (outside Tacitus) could only be found once in Apuleius (giving no reference).

Oddly enough, Syme did not notice, either here or in his subsequent (728-32) appendix on Sallustian language in Tacitus, what was surely the inspiration for *incredibilium cupitor*, namely Sallust's description (*Cat.* 5. 5) of Catiline with its culminating *vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta semper cupiebat*. Tacitus here both varies and echoes his model in a recognisable way, achieving novelty and compression by use of *cupitor*, either his own coinage or a rarity he had unearthed somewhere (the *Historiae* of Sallust might be a fair bet). This conclusion accords with Syme's general doctrine on the subtle technique of Tacitean use of Sallust in the *Annals*.

Elsewhere (723), Syme includes *cupitor* in a list of nouns ending in *-or* in the *Annals* which he claims "recur in writers of late antiquity." This is misleading to the point of error.² True, two late writers do employ the term, namely Martianus Capella 6. 589 and (more to the point) the anonymous composer of the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, who (45. 5)

¹R. Syme, *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958) I 342.

²For the statistics that follow, I draw on the *TLL* (4. 1435) and the *Index Apuleianus* of W. A. Oldfather and others (Middletown, CT 1934) 97.

stigmatises the emperor Valentinian as *infectus vitiis maximeque avaritiae; cuius cupitor ipse fuit acer . . .* This may establish the author (or his source) as both word fancier and devotee of Tacitus. But the writer most addicted to *cupitor* was Apuleius, hardly a representative of late antiquity. Some might infer a touch of *Africitas* from this. At all events, Apuleius has the word at *Met.* 3. 19 and 7. 11, at *Fl.* 17. 8, and at *Pl.* 2. 2. 11 and (accepting³ Thomas' emendation for the mss. *cupidior*) also *Pl.* 2. 18. 16.

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³ The *Index Apuleianus* adduces the passage without qualms; in the *TLL* (which provides the bibliographical reference to Thomas), it is left open.

Paralipomena Lexicographica Cyranidea*

GEORGE PANAYIOTOU

The *Cyranides*¹ (referred to hereafter as *Cyran.*), from which the last word of the title of the present article derives, is a curious *farrago* of ancient medico-magical lore in Greek. It consists of six books or divisions of unequal length and is a work of considerable antiquity; according to both the compilers of *LSJ* (*LSJ Suppl.* vii) and those of the *Canon of Greek Authors and Works*² the work is dated to the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. It is a manual containing, *inter alia*, information on the various properties of herbs, plants, land animals, fishes, birds and stones as well as medico-magical recipes utilizing those properties. In terms of content, cultural aspects and "sciences" involved, the components of *Cyran.* are diverse and quite often incongruous: mythology, sciences of the occult (astrology, divination and magic), folklore, mineralogy, medicine, botany, and zoology including ichthyology and ornithology. The tone varies immensely, ranging from solemn, pious and mystic to didactic, scholarly, quasi-scientific, to facetious, humorous and frivolous. The work is in prose with an admixture of a few verse passages in dactylic hexameter and iambic trimeter; neither the prose nor the verse shows any signs of craftsmanship and literary pretensions on the part of the anonymous author(s). The importance of *Cyran.* then lies not in its artistic-literary merits, which are non-existent, but elsewhere, namely in its value as (a) a source of Hellenistic and oriental science, pseudo-science and folklore; and (b) a rich mine of classical and Hellenistic lexical (including grammatical and syntactical) material which has not been preserved by any other written source. The importance of *Cyran.* as a valuable text for the knowledge of

*I wish to record here my sincere thanks to Professors David Sansone of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and George E. Pesely of the University of Northern Iowa for their helpful comments and criticism with regard to this article.

¹ For a bibliographical survey pertaining to the *Cyranides*, see R. Halleaux and J. Schamp, *Les lapidaires grecs* (Paris 1985) xxvii. The latest work, not included in that survey, is Maryse Waegeman, *Amulet and Alphabet: Magical Amulets in the First Book of Cyranides* (Amsterdam 1987).

² L. Berkowitz and K. A. Squitier, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: Canon of Greek Authors and Works*, 2nd ed. (New York 1986) 93.

the Greek language was grasped already by the compilers of *LSJ*, who regarded it a lexicographical source that rightly falls under the purview of a classical Greek lexicon and drew, therefore, substantially upon it in the compilation of their monumental work. Quite a few of the words and meanings recorded in that lexicon from *Cyran.* are *hapax legomena*.

The first lexicographical harvest in *Cyran.* by the compilers of *LSJ* proved, however, to be far from exhaustive. Consequently, *LSJ Suppl.*, which appeared in 1968, had to draw more extensively and thoroughly on that text. According to my calculations, the citations from *Cyran.* in *LSJ Suppl.* are twice as numerous as in *LSJ* and, as was the case with *LSJ* earlier, quite a few of those citations document the existence of words and meanings known from nowhere else up to now. However, even this second lexicographical harvest in *Cyran.* failed to record all pertinent material that occurs only in the work in question. Quite a few such lexical items in *Cyran.* have been neglected, or, to a lesser extent, incorrectly or inadequately treated by the lexicographers involved in the compilation of *LSJ* and *LSJ Suppl.* This fact along with the realization that most of those items that still wait to be noticed and given their proper place in a Greek lexicon are extremely important both for the reconstruction of the thesaurus of the Greek language as well as for the study of Hellenistic science and culture (since they are to a large extent scientific technical terms), has been the *raison d'être* of the present article. Many such items are no doubt much older than the period to which *Cyran.* is dated and must have been employed in numerous literary and scientific works prior to that period which no longer exist.

The present article contains entries which belong to the following categories: new words, new meanings, new forms, and new constructions and usages of familiar words. Even though several lexical items recorded in *LSJ* and *LSJ Suppl.* as *hapax legomena* might receive additional documentation and illustration with citations from *Cyran.*, this article has deliberately and systematically avoided incorporating and discussing such ancillary lexicographical material.³ The only instances in which this article presents entries already recorded in the lexica are when:

A. the entry in the lexica is documented by only one citation in which the word in question is, according to the lexica themselves, *varia lectio*, conjecture, *dubia lectio*, or *falsa lectio*;

³ I would like to mention here only by way of *praeteritio* just a few "*hapax legomena*" entries in *LSJ* and *LSJ Suppl.* which might be further documented and illustrated with citations from *Cyran.*: ἀγλυφος 1. 10. 89, ἀγγίλωψ 1. 16. 15, ἀκρόπρῳρον 1. 21. 56, ἀντιπελάργωσις 3. 36. 29, ἀρσενική 2. 11. 24, βατραχίτης 1. 21. 10, γυναικομανία 3. 9. 32, ἔγκρυφος 1. 1. 134, θηριόπληκτος 5. 12. 8-9, ἰχθυοειδής 1. 5. 2, κατάχρισμα 1. 12. 36, κουβαρίς 4. 47. 2, κρινόμυρον 4. 24. 4, λαμπυρίς 3. 26. 2, λιθουρία 3. 46. 5, μυρμηκολέων 2. 25. 7, ὀλοκίτρινος 6. 2. 2, παραθιγγάνω 1. 4. 40, προεκτέμνω 4. 40. 2, πυργίτης 3. 32. 2, φωκίς 4. 33. 2, χρύσαφος 4. 74. 2.

B. the entry in the lexica has come down to us from antiquity only through glossaries, lexica, etymologica and grammatical treatises, all of which have in most of the cases preserved words as isolated lexical items out of context;

C. the only citation substantiating the existence of a word, meaning, form, construction or usage recorded in the lexica comes from a later source or a Christian author;

D. the lexica document only the literal or only the figurative meaning of an entry;

E. *LSJ* or *LSJ Suppl.* has incorrectly treated a particular entry.

The vast majority, however, of the entries in this article are entirely absent not only from *LSJ* and *LSJ Suppl.* but also from the other lexica, as well as from Robert Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes: A Critical Supplement to the Greek-English Lexicon of Liddell-Scott-Jones*, *Hypomnemata* 45 (1975) and 74 (1982).⁴

With very few exceptions, all the entries, including those designated by me as "text. gloss" have been drawn from the text of Cyran. itself. By the term "text(ual) gloss" I do not mean words added later by another person, for example a glossator or a scholiast, in the margin or between lines or as a part of a separate body of work of interpretive nature, designed to assist the reader in the understanding of the Cyranidean text; by this term I have designated entries which, while forming an integral part of the text, were written by the author(s) of Cyran. as either synonyms or more familiar names for various objects, in order to enable the user to identify the object under discussion more easily. In addition to words that come directly from Cyran., I have also admitted to this article as entries a few words drawn from the Cyranidean Scholia, marginalia and supralinear glosses; entries of such provenance I have designated as just "gloss" or "gloss on word X in Cyran." On account of their formation and function as, at least in the case of some of them, technical terms in various branches of science, I felt that such words must not be denied admission to a lexicon of classical Greek, especially since the scholia on so many ancient authors have been most profitably utilized by modern lexicographers and philologists in general.

The edition of the text used for the composition of this article and to which the Cyranidean references are made is the most recent one, namely that by Dimitris Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden*, *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 76 (Meisenheim am Glan 1976). The edition appeared comparatively recently, after the appearance of the 9th edition of *LSJ* and

⁴ The only lexicon other than *LSJ* and *LSJ Suppl.* which has included citations and entries from Cyran. is the *Diccionario Griego-Español* (in progress). I have compared this article against the two fascicles of *DGE* that have appeared up to now. The entry ἀμπέλιον of this article is recorded in the lexicon in question s.v. I. 2 with its single citation coming from a papyrus source which is later than my source by a century. Three other entries, ἀγριολάχανον, αἰμοστολίς and ἀμέθυσος, are incorrectly explained or treated in *DGE*, as I demonstrate under each entry.

LSJ Suppl., whose compilers used the earlier edition by C. E. Ruelle in F. de Mély, *Les lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen âge*, tome II: *Les lapidaires grecs* (Paris 1898), which they cite by page.

ἄβρωτος, ον, adj., *immune to tooth decay or caries*: Μύλας δὲ ἀσήπτους καὶ ἀκινήτους ποιῆσαι καὶ ἄβρώτους Cyran. 1. 1. 70. New meaning. For the verb βιβρώσκομαι in the sense "to decay," of teeth, cf. βιβρώσκω in *LSJ* and Cyran. 1. 12. 2.

ἀγνώστως, adv., *unawares, unknowingly*: ἐὰν δὲ ἀγνώστως φορέση (sc. τὸν ἱμάντα), μαλακισθήσεται Cyran. 1. 10. 65. The adv. ἀγνώστως as recorded in *LSJ* s.v. ἄγνωστος I. 3 from Procl. in *Alc.* p. 52C, and II. from Phld. *Lib.* p. 290 has different meanings, the meaning in the latter citation being "inconsiderately."

ἀγριολάχανον, τό, text. gloss on δρακοντία ἢ ἡμερος = δρακοντία, ἡ, a variety of *edder-wort*, Bot. *Dracunculus vulgaris*: Δρακοντίων δύο εἶδη εἰσὶν· μία μὲν ἡ ἀγρία . . . ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ ἡμερος ἢ καὶ οἰνοβίκη, ὃ ἐστὶν τὸ ἀγριολάχανον ἢ καὶ ἀρμενολάχανον Cyran. 1. 4. 3-5. Stephanus and *LSJ* record only the plural form ἀγριολάχανα from Schol. Theoc. 4. 52 but with a different meaning, "*olera agrestia*" and "wild pot-herbs," respectively, but not as the name of any particular plant. *DGE* cites Cyran. for the meaning "*verdura silvestre*," rather than for the specialized meaning I have given above.

ἄδηκτος, ον, adj., *proof against the bites of poisonous serpents, serpent-proof, incapable of being bitten* by poisonous serpents: ἄδηκτον ἀπὸ ἐρπετῶν διαφυλάττει Cyran. 5. 18. 3. The adj. is recorded in *LSJ* and *DGE*, from sources other than Cyran., but with different meanings.

ἀδρῦζω, *to appear bulky*: Γαλαϊκὸς λίθος ἐστὶ τοῦ κολωνοῦ ῥυπαρώτερος, (παρ)έχων ὄρασιν πυκνὴν ἀδρῦζουσαν Cyran. 6. 9. 3. *LSJ* and *DGE* record only the verb ἀδρύνω.

ἄδωροδόκητος, ον, adj., *deprived of gifts, without being given gifts, having no share in gifts*: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡ θεία φύσις . . . ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσιν ἀερίοις τε καὶ καταχθονίοις ζῴοις, ἵνα μηδὲν ἄδωροδόκητον καταλείπη (*scribendum* καταλίπη) τῷ βίῳ Cyran. 4. 78. 7-8. The word is recorded in *LSJ* and *DGE*, from sources other than Cyran., but with a different meaning, "incorruptible."

ἀειθαλής, ἑς, adj., in the phrase ἀειθαλής βοτάνη, the plant *houseleek*, Bot. *Sempervivum tectorum*, a plant with pink flowers and thick succulent leaves growing on walls and roofs; it is also called ἀείζωον, of which the Latin equivalents *semperviva herba*, *semperviva* (subst.), and *sempervivum* (subst.), are a literal translation. It is to be noted that the word *aithales* < Greek ἀειθαλές does occur in Latin with the same meaning as the

headword above, *houseleek* (Apul. *Herb.* 123): ταύτης (sc. τῆς θύνης) ἡ χολὴ σὺν ὀπῶ ἀειθαλοῦς βοτάνης ἐγχεομένη Cyran. 4. 23. 2–3; cf. 4. 39. 12. A casual reader will unsuspectingly take ἀειθαλοῦς as a generic adj. signifying any kind of *evergreen* plant, whereas the nature of the text makes it clear that only a particular kind of plant is referred to here, the one known by the name ἀειθαλῆς βοτάνη. Our explanation above is based both on Schol. marg. ad Cyran. *loc. cit.*, ἥπερ (sc. βοτάνη) καὶ ἀεὶ ζῶον (*scribendum* ἀεὶζων) λέγεται καὶ ἀμάραντον, and on the meaning of the Latin *aithales*, for which see J. André, *Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique* (Paris 1985) 8.

ἀερόεις, εσσα, εν, adj. = ἡερόφοιτος, *of the air, living in the air*: ὄρνεα ἀερόεντα Cyran. prol. p. 19. 4. New meaning.

ἀερόθεν, adv., *from on high*: ὦ ψυχὴ ἀθάνατε . . . ἀχθεῖς ἀερόθεν Cyran. prol. p. 19. 8. Cyran. antedates by some centuries the authors cited for this word in the lexica.

ἄζυγος, ον, adj., of eggs laid by chickens without impregnation: φῶ ἀζυγα Cyran. 3. 55. 23 = *wind-eggs, unfertilized eggs incapable of producing chickens*. None of the three words recorded in *LSJ* and *DGE*, ἀζυγῆς, ἄζυγος, and ἄζυξ, has this meaning, which, it seems, is completely new and unattested in the lexica.

αἱματίζω, intrans., *to be of blood-red color, to be blood-red*: ψηφίς αἱματίζουσα μᾶλλον τῷ χρώματι Cyran. 1. 20. 8. New meaning.

αἰμοστολῖς, -ίδος, ἡ [Liter. *blood-wrinkles, blood-folds*], medical techn. term, *wrinkles or folds near the anus swollen with blood*: ὁ δὲ ἐγκέφαλος αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς χηνός) . . . προστεθεις ραγάδας καὶ αἰμοστολίδας καὶ πᾶσαν φλεγμονὴν δακτυλίου θεραπεύει Cyran. 3. 51. 9. The second component of the word is στολῖς not σταλῖς. The word στολῖς is a medical techn. term employed by various Greek medical writers; for its meaning see *LSJ s.v. II*. *DGE* records our word with a single citation, namely the one from Cyran., but incorrectly explains it as “*inflamación o tumor*.”

ἀκόνιτον, τό, subst., a kind of *poison* extracted from any of the poisonous plants of the genus *Aconitum* as e. g. *leopard's bane* or *wolf's bane*: ὁ δὲ ζωμὸς αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ χηνός) ποθεῖς . . . βοηθεῖ τοῖς πίνουσιν . . . ἀκόνιτον Cyran. 3. 51. 25. New meaning, unattested in the lexica, which record the word, from sources other than Cyran., but only as a plant name, not as the name of the poison extracted from it.

ἄκρον, τό, subst., *penis*: τὸ δὲ ἄκρον αὐτοῦ (sc. ἀλώπεκος) περιαφθὲν μεγίστην ἔντασιν ποιεῖ Cyran. 2. 2. 13. The reference is to the use of the aforementioned anatomical part of a male fox as an aphrodisiac amulet. New meaning.

ἀλγέω, intrans., *to cause pain*: κεφαλαλγίας τε ἀπαλλάσσει ἀλγούσας βραχύ Cyran. 1. 4. 25. *LSJ* and *DGE* cite two instances of this use of the verb, but in the passive voice: Hp. *Coac.* 273 and Dsc. *Eup.* 1. 66.

ἀλείφομαι, passive, *to be applied as an ointment, to be used as a salve*: ὁ δὲ μυελὸς αὐτοῦ (sc. καμήλου) σὺν ῥοδίνῳ ἀλείφόμενος τῇ κεφαλῇ . . . Cyran. 2. 18. 13; cf. 2. 29. 4. This peculiar use of the verb ἀλείφω in the passive voice is completely new and unattested in the lexica. Even the active construction ἀλείφω τι and the middle ἀλείφομαί τι in the sense *to apply a substance as an ointment*, with τι standing for the ointment applied, are either non-existent or, if the word λίπα in the unique Homeric usage λοέσσατο καὶ λίπ' ἄλειψεν (*Od.* 6. 227) is indeed accusative, are extremely rare. The word λίπα, however, is used normally as an adverb in Homer in the formulaic phrase ἀλείψασθαι λίπ' ἐλαίῳ, with ἐλαίῳ, in the dative case, indicating the substance applied to the skin; the only exception in which the dative ἐλαίῳ is omitted is the one cited above. This dative appears also in post-Homeric writers in the construction of this verb, with a few exceptions in which the dative is omitted: χρίεσθαι λίπα Hp. *Mul.* 1. 35; λίπα ἀλείψασθαι Thuc. 1. 6 and 4. 68. But, again, there is no indication that λίπα in these instances is acc. sing. denoting the substance used as ointment and not an adverb meaning "richly," as *LSJ* takes it to be *s.v.* λίπα. (For a detailed discussion of λίπα from the morphological and semantic points of view the reader is referred to M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* [Basel 1950] 309–10.) However, there is in Cyran. at least one instance of the use of the verb ἀλείφω in the middle voice *cum accusativo* of the person applying the ointment to himself, with the accusative denoting the ointment: τὸ δὲ ἀποτηγάνισμα . . . ἐὰν ἀλείψηται τις, ὅσας πληγὰς ἂν λάβῃ οὐ μὴ αἰσθήσεται 2. 22. 6.

ἀμέθυσος, ον (I) = ἀμέθυστος, ον *LSJ s.v.* I., adj., *not drunken, not affected by the consumption of liquor*: οὔτος (sc. ὁ ἀμέθυστος λίθος) . . . οἰνοφυγοῦσι φρένας ποιεῖ καὶ ἀμεθύσους Cyran. 6. 3. 3. New form. (II) ἀμέθυσος, ὁ, subst. = ἀμέθυστος, ὁ *LSJ s.v.* II., *amethyst, a precious stone of a violet-blue color*: ἀμέθυσος λίθος ἐστὶ πορφυροῦς τῇ ιδέᾳ Cyran. 6. 3. 2. *LSJ* records with this meaning only the neut. subst. form ἀμέθυσον, τό, and only as a *varia lectio* the fem. subst. ἀμέθυσος, ἡ from J. *AJ* 3. 7. 5 but not the masc. form, ἀμέθυσος, ὁ. (The passage in Josephus to be sure does not indicate whether the gender of the word is masc. or fem.) *DGE* records the word in this form as a feminine with the same meaning and with three citations, one of which is Cyran. 6. 3. 2, but in doing so *DGE* has failed to notice that the gender of the word in Cyran. in this sense is not fem. but masc.

ἀμπέλιον, τό, dimin. of ἄμπελος, ἡ, but without any diminutive force = ἀμπελών, *vineyard*: Cyran. 4. 67. 11. Meaning attested in *DGE s.v.* I. 2, with a citation from *PStrassb.* 29. 39, a source which is later than mine by a century.

ἀνάβρωσις, εως, ἡ, medical techn. term, *a disease afflicting the corner of the eye*, a kind of *eye disease*: περὶ δὲ τοὺς κανθοὺς, ψωροφθαλμία, ξηροφθαλμία, ἄργεθμον . . . ἀνάβρωσις Cyran. 1. 16. 16. New meaning.

ἀναζεύγνυμι, trans., *to join something to a thing as an accompaniment, to couple something with something else*. The construction of the verb in Cyran. is with accus. and ἐν + dative: ἀναζεύξας ἐν δυνάμεσι λίθους Cyran. prol. p. 19. 2–3; cf. prol. p. 17. 73. New construction and meaning.

ἀνδροκέφαλος, ον, adj. The word ἀνδροκέφαλος (*sc.* μύρμηξ), ὁ, in Cyran. is used to designate a particular species of *ant* of black color.: τῶν δὲ μυρμηκῶν εἶδη εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ . . . οἱ δὲ ἀνδροκέφαλοι καλοῦνται Cyran. 2. 25. 4. Prof. D. Sansone has kindly pointed out to me that the word ἀνδροκέφαλος is an error for ἄδροκέφαλος, “with large head.” At my own risk, I have chosen to disagree with Prof. Sansone, for the following reasons. The word ἄδροκέφαλος occurs nowhere in texts, glossaries or lexica as a name for a particular species of *ant* “of black color,” or as a name for any animate or inanimate object for that matter; it does not even appear as a *varia lectio* in Cyran. *loc. cit.*, the only variant offered by two of the mss. (I, O) being μακροκέφαλοι, “with long head,” a reading of which the corresponding analytical description “*longi capitis*” in the Latin version of Cyran. (to be found in the Ruelle edition, p. 68. 6) is a precise rendering. But the reading μακροκέφαλοι, if adopted, militates against Prof. Sansone’s ἄδροκέφαλοι just as much as it does against ἀνδροκέφαλοι, which has been preserved by all the mss. except the aforementioned two, and has been retained in his critical edition by Kaimakis. As recorded in *LSJ*, from sources other than Cyran., the word ἄδροκέφαλος is attested only as adj. “with large head,” literally and *sensu obscaeno*, only. The reading ἄδροκέφαλοι in Cyran. was proposed by Ruelle in his edition of the text. His proposed emendation has not been accepted. Admittedly, the use of ἀνδροκέφαλος to signify a species of *ant* seems *prima facie* odd. But what about another species of ant with an “odd” name, the μυρμηκολέων “ant-lion,” attested both in the *Septuagint* (see *LSJ s.v.*) and in the same paragraph of Cyran. as the ἀνδροκέφαλοι? What about so many “odd” names of insects, birds, fishes, land animals and plants in the Greek language? The oddity of a name in itself is not a sufficient reason for eliminating it. In the present case, I believe that the reading ἀνδροκέφαλοι must be retained not only for the reasons advanced above but also because it receives, as I will explain below, some support from mythology. In Greek mythology the soldiers of Achilles, the

formidable Myrmidons, or, more precisely, their grandfathers were said to have been originally *ants* (μύρμηκες), which were changed into men (Μυρμιδόνες) by Zeus in response to a prayer from Aeacus, Achilles' grandfather and king of Aegina, to repopulate his island (Hesiod, Fr. 205 West; Ovid, *Met.* 7. 523 ff. and 614 ff.; Strab. 9. 433). Thus, it may well be that this mythological connection between men and ants combined with an imaginary resemblance of the head of ants (belonging to a particular species) to that of men suggested the use of the word ἀνδροκέφαλοι. New word.

ἀνέντατος, ὁ, adj., of male humans, *incapable of attaining an erection, impotent*: Τῆς δὲ σάλπης τοῦ ἰχθύος ὁ δεξιὸς τοῦ κρανίου λίθος περιεπιτόμενος ἔντασιν ποιεῖ, ὁ δὲ εὐώνυμος ἀνεντάτους Cyran. 1. 18. 51; cf. 2. 25. 16. The word is recorded in *LSJ* from sources other than Cyran., but with different meanings.

ἀνύω or **ἀνύτω**, trans., *cum accusativo et dativo, to dip something into a liquid substance*: ἐὰν . . . τῷ αἵματι τοῦ ὀρνέου ἀνύσης τὸν λίθον Cyran. 1. 23. 14. With double accusative: 1. 23. 16. New meaning and construction.

ἀπειθέω, *cum infinitivo, to defy a command to, to refuse to obey an order to*: ἐξελαύνει καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ἐξελθεῖν δαίμονας Cyran. 1. 24. 51. Construction unattested in the lexica.

ἀποσπερματόω, intrans., *to emit semen, to ejaculate*: ποιεῖ (sc. τὸ μύρον) αὐτὸν ἀπὸ ἡδονῆς ἀποσπερματώσαι Cyran. 2. 38. 21. Lexica record only the middle-passive form with the meaning "to be converted into semen" (*LSJ*).

ἀποτηγανίζω, *to extract oil or fat from meat or fish through frying*. The verb in Cyran. is used only in the passive voice, with the oil obtained functioning as the subject of the verb, ἀποτηγανίζομαι, *to be extracted through frying*: τούτου τὸ ἀποτηγανιζόμενον ἔλαιον Cyran. 4. 45. 3. New meaning.

ἀποτηγάνισμα, ατος, τό, *fat or lard extracted from meat through frying*: τὸ δὲ ἀποτηγάνισμα τοῦ κροκοδείλου ἐὰν ἀλειψηταί τις Cyran. 2. 22. 6; cf. 2. 29. 4. The word is recorded in *LSJ Suppl.* but, unfortunately, it is not properly and adequately explained; the explanation "fat, lard" is too vague and imprecise. Steph. *Thes.* does, however, record the word with the meaning "decoctum" from ms. Paris 2286 (= Kaimakis' "K").

ἀποφράττω, trans., *to remove the obstacles (e.g. mud, clay, mortar) that block an opening, a hole or an entrance*: εἰ μὲν γὰρ πηλῷ (sc. σφηνώση τις τὴν νοσσιὰν τοῦ δένδροκολάπτου) ἀποφράττεται ὁ πηλὸς καὶ πίπτει Cyran. 1. 4. 38. In Cyran. the verb is used in the passive voice. The significance of this entry consists in two points: (a) the novelty of the

meaning, which is quite different from that recorded in *LSJ*; (b) the novelty of the usage in which the verb is used in the passive voice, with the obstacle blocking the opening, hole or entrance, rather than the opening or hole itself, functioning as the subject of the verb.

ἀραιάκις, adv., *infrequently, seldom, rarely*: βάλλε εἰς γάστραν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ σπέρμα. πότιζε δὲ ἀραιάκις Cyran. 1. 7. 93. The word is recorded in *LSJ*, but only as a probable reading in Hesychius s.v. ἀδράκις, ἀρβάκις.

ἀράχνιος, α, ον, adj., = ἀραχναῖος or ἀραχνήεις, *of or belonging to a spider*: τὰ δὲ ἀράχνια φά Cyran. 2. 47a. 18. New word.

ἀρθρογονάγρα, ἡ, medical techn. term, *gout in the joints of the knee*: εἰς ποδάγρας, χειράγρας, ἀρθρογονάγρας Schol. marg. ad Cyran. 4. 18. 2. New word.

ἀρμενίζω, intrans., *to sail*: οὗτος (sc. ὁ ναυκράτης ἰχθύς) ἐὰν κολληθῆ πλοίῳ ἀρμενίζοντι, οὐκ ἔᾶ αὐτὸ κινηθῆναι ὅλως Cyran. 1. 13. 12; cf. 3. 6. 3, 4. 18. 3. The verb is recorded in the lexica either as a *hapax* from glossaries, which have preserved the word but without a context, or from much later, Christian sources.

ἀρμενολάχανον, τό, text. gloss on δρακοντία ἡμερος in Cyran. = δρακοντία, a variety of *edder-wort*, Bot. *Dracunculus vulgaris*: Δρακοντίων δύο εἶδη εἰσίν· μία μὲν ἡ ἀγρία . . . ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ ἡμερος ἡ καὶ οἰνοβίκη, ὃ ἐστὶν τὸ ἀγριολάχανον ἢ καὶ ἀρμενολάχανον Cyran. 1. 4. 5. New word.

ἀρρενοτόκος, ον, adj., *associated with the birth of male children*: γάλα γυναικεῖον ἀρρενοτόκον, milk obtained from a woman who has given birth to male children, Cyran. 2. 11. 23; cf. 2. 31. 14. New meaning.

ἀρσενόθηλυ, τό, subst. = ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, *a male and a female considered together*: ἐὰν δὲ μιγνυμένας (sc. ζάυρας) δύο ἀρσενόθηλυ ἀγρεύσης Cyran. 2. 14. 10. This is an instance of the *dvandva*-type compounds referred to by Ed. Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.* I 452 f. as *kopulative Komposita*. Such formations are rare in classical Greek according to the same scholar, who cites the word νυχθήμερον as the only instance of a compound noun made of substantives. *LSJ* records the word ἀρσενόθηλυς, υ, but only as an adj. and with a different meaning, "hermaphrodite, of both sexes."

ἄσβεστος, ἡ, subst. = τίτανος, *lime*: βάλλε δὲ καὶ γαλλικὸν οὐγ. δ' καὶ τὴν ἄσβεστον ζῶσαν Cyran. 1. 21. 27. The word was originally an adj. modifying the word τίτανος, ἡ, and meaning *unslaked lime*; the subst. τίτανος was later omitted and the adj. ἄσβεστος came to be used as a noun with the same meaning. Two of the citations in Steph. *Thes.* s.v., Galen,

De comp. medicam. gener. 4, p. 366 ed. Basil. and Procop. *De aedific.* I, 1, illustrate the substantivization of the adj. ἄσβεστος. My citation above from Cyran. shows beyond doubt that later on ἄσβεστος assumed a new, more general meaning, *lime*, whether slaked or unslaked. And so just as τίτανος was combined with the attributives ἐσβεσμένη and ζῶσα to indicate whether it was *slaked* or *unslaked*, so was ἄσβεστος, as one may see in the citation from Cyran. above. *LSJ* does record the word, from various sources other than Cyran., but only in the sense “unslaked lime,” s.v. ἄσβεστος II., not as a general term. For this general meaning of the word, i.e. *lime*, cf. also Procop. *Goth.* 2. 27.

ἀστράγαλα, τά, subst., heterocliton, plur. of ἀστράγαλος; a collateral form of ἀστράγαλοι, οἱ, *knucklebones*: τὰ ἀστράγαλα τούτου (sc. τοῦ ἄρρενος βοός) καθθέντα Cyran. 2. 6. 18. New form.

ἀσύλληπτον, τό, subst., *a means preventing conception, a contraceptive device*: ὁ δὲ εὐώνυμος ὄρχις (sc. τῆς γαλῆς) . . . ἀσύλληπτόν ἐστι Cyran. 2. 7. 16; cf. 2. 15. 4. This is the first known instance in which the word is used as a subst. *LSJ* records the word only as an adj.

ἀτονία, ἡ, medical techn. term, *a disease afflicting the pupil of the eye*: περὶ δὲ τὴν κόρην . . . πλατυκορία, σύγχυσις, ἀτονία Cyran. 1. 16. 19. New meaning.

αὐγος, εος, τό, neut. subst., *brightness, radiance, sheen*: ἔστι δὲ (sc. ὁ Βαβυλώνιος λίθος) ὡς ἄνθραξ καιόμενος, ἢ ὡς αὐγος ἀνατολῆς ἢ δύσεως πυραυγῆς Cyran. 6. 8. 3. New meaning.

ἀυπνία, ἡ, figur., *wakefulness, vigilance, restlessness; state of constant motion*: σφαῖρα κυλινδομένη ἀπὸ ἀντολῆς ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς / δινεῖ ἀυπνία ἀνέμων, κινουσα ἅπαντα Cyran. p. 51. 23 (cf. also 1. 7. 37). The word as recorded in *LSJ* from sources other than Cyran. means “sleeplessness” and is used there only in a literal sense.

ἀφλέγμων, ον, adj. = ἀφλέγμαντος, *free from inflammation, not liable to inflammation*: ἡ δὲ ἀράχνη αὐτῆς . . . ἀφλέγμονα τὸν τόπον διατηρεῖ Cyran. 2. 16. 11. New word.

ἀφροδισία, ἡ, subst. = ἀφροδισία, τά, *sexual pleasures, sexual intercourse*: οἱ δὲ ὄρχις (sc. τοῦ ἀλέκτορος) σὺν οἴνῳ ποθέντες ἀφροδισίαν παρορμῶσι Cyran. 3. 3. 17. Unrecorded in the lexica except in Steph. *Thes.*, which towards the end of the lemma ἀφροδισιασμός says: “ita scribendum apud Galen. vol. 10, p. 636 (14, p. 488L): αἰδοῖον κατάχρησιν τῷ μέλιτι πρὸ ἀφροδισίας.” The word is also recorded with the same meaning in *Etym. Gud.* s.v. συνουσίαν: “τὴν ἐν λόγῳ ἀφροδισίαν δὲ τὴν μίξιν.”

ἀφροδίτη, ἡ, *the shell of molluscs and crustaceans*: καὶ κατακλείσας βράθυος βραχὺ καὶ ὀλίγον τῆς καρδίας τοῦ πτηνοῦ καὶ τὴν λεγομένην ἀφροδίτην τοῦ καράβου Cyran. 1. 2. 22. New meaning.

ἀχειμάστως, adv., *so as not to be vexed by storms*: ἀσφαλῶς καὶ ἀχειμάστως κυβερνήσει τὸ πλοῖον Cyran. 3. 2. 13. Only the adj. ἀχείμαστος is recorded in the lexica.

βαβουτζικάριος, ὁ, subst., text. gloss on λυκάνθρωπος, *werewolf, man-wolf*: ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ λύκου) . . . λυκανθρώπους (τούς καὶ βαβουτζικαρίους) . . . θεραπεύει Cyran. 2. 23. 18. New word, of non-Greek origin, unrecorded in the lexica, except in Soph. *Lex.*, which records the word from Suidas s.v. ἐφιάλτης. Etymology unknown.

βαβυλώνιος, ὁ, subst., λίθος σάρδιος, *a kind of precious stone, the Sardian stone*, and specifically the transparent-red kind known as *carnelian*: ἔστιν ἕτερος (sc. λίθος) ὑπὸ τῶν Χαλδαίων καλούμενος Βαβυλώνιος Cyran. 6. 8. 2. New meaning.

βαλάνιον, τό, subst. = βάλανος, ἡ, *acorn*: τὸ δὲ αἶμα αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ τράγου) ξηρὸν μετὰ κικίδων καὶ βαλανίων ἐν βρώματι ποθὲν Cyran. 2. 38. 4. Recorded in *LSJ*, from sources other than Cyran., but with different meanings.

βάλσαμος, ἡ = βάλσαμον, τό, *costmary*, Bot. *Chrysanthemum balsamita*: βάλσαμος βοτάνη ἐστὶ. ταύτης ὁ καυλός . . . Cyran. 5. 2. 2. *LSJ* records only the neuter form. But in Cyran. it is clear that a collateral fem. form does exist. Steph. *Thes.* and Soph. *Lex.* do record the fem. form, from Pallad. *Laus.* 1025C, but with a different meaning, "balsam-tree."

βαμβάκινος, ον, adj., *made of cotton*: περιαιπτόμενος (sc. ὁ λίθος) ἔρπετίῳ βαμβακίνῳ εἰς τὸν τράχηλον Cyran. 1. 19. 16–17. *LSJ* records only the subst. βαμβάκιον, the adj. βαμβακοειδής, and the subst. παμβακίς, ἴδος, ἡ " = βαμβάκιον . . ." Soph. *Lex.* records, in addition, the adj. βαμβακερός and βαμβακηρός. The adj. is recorded in Steph. *Thes.* with the same meaning as in Cyran., but without any citations, for which the reader is referred to Ducangius *Gloss.*, which draws them from the late Byzantine author Georgius Gemistus Pletho.

βασίλειον, τό, subst. = λόφος, *the crest or tuft on the head of birds*: Γλαυκός ἐστὶ πτηνόν . . . βασίλειον ἔχει ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς πτερωτόν Cyran. 1. 3. 6–7. In this sense the word occurs quite frequently in Cyran.: 1. 7. 49–50, 1. 7. 102, 1. 22. 23, 3. 10. 3, 3. 13. 3–4. New meaning. Apparently the birds' crest owes its name to the fact that it resembles a diadem or a king's crown. In Cyran. 3. 10. 3 this crest is called στέφανος, q.v. in this article. [For another new meaning of the

word (= kingdom), see my "Addenda to the *LSJ* Greek-English Lexicon: Lexicographical Notes on the Vocabulary of the *Oracula Sibyllina*," *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ* 38 (1987) 62-63.]

βασιλικόν, τό, subst., *basil*, Bot. *Ocimum basilicum*; text. gloss on ὄκιμον, τό: "Ὀκιμον φυτὸν ἐδώδιμον, λαχανῶδες . . . αὐτὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ λεγομένη βασιλικόν Cyran. 1. 24. 4. Recorded in *LSJ* from a much later source, Suidas (10th cent. A.D.), which has preserved the word without a context. The word is also preserved by Hesychius as a gloss on ὄκιμον: "βοτάνη εὐώδης, τὸ λεγόμενον βασιλικόν."

βατραχίτης, ὁ, another name for the plant φρόνη, ἡ, *ranunculus*, by which name various plants of the family *Ranunculaceae* are known: Φρόνη βοτάνη ἐστίν, ἦν καὶ βατράχιον καλοῦσιν ἢ βατραχίτην Cyran. 1. 21. 3. New meaning.

βελονίς, ἴδος, ἡ, text. gloss on ῥαφίς: *garfish*, *Belone acus*, a fish characterized by a long spearlike snout of the genus *Belone*: ῥαφίς ἰχθύς ἐστὶ θαλάττιος ἡ καλουμένη βελονίς Cyran. 4. 55. 2. The fish in question is known in mod. Greek as βελονίδα or ζαργάνα. See also the entry ζαργάνη in this article and the entry βελόνη II in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*, pp. 31-32. The word as a fish name is recorded in *LSJ* from Sch. Opp. *H.* 3. 577, s.v. βελονίς II, but the meaning given, "a little fish," is vague and inadequate.

βηχικός, ὁ, subst., *a person who suffers from cough*: ἡ δὲ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ ἀετοῦ) . . . ἀρτηρικούς καὶ βηχικούς . . . μέγਾਲως ἰάται Cyran. 3. 1. 52-53. *LSJ* records only the adj. βηχικός, but the only instance of the use of the word in this meaning, Hp. *Epid.* 7. 105, is according to that lexicon itself a *falsa lectio*.

βιβάζω, intrans., of animals, *to copulate*: καὶ ὅταν βιβάζωσιν (*sc.* αἰ ζᾶραι), ἐὰν ρίψης ἐπάνω . . . Cyran. 2. 14. 11-12. New meaning.

βολβός, ὁ, the *eye-ball*: περὶ δὲ ὄλον τὸν βολβόν, πτερύγιον, λεύκωμα, ῥήξις Cyran. 1. 16. 16. The eye-ball was called βολβός in Greek, evidently, because of its globular, bulb-like, shape. The word is recorded with this meaning only in Steph. *Thes.* from the medical writer Paulus Aegineta 6. 17 and other sources.

βορός, ὁ, subst. = κορώνη, the bird *crow*: Βορός ὄρνεόν ἐστὶ πᾶσι γνωστόν. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶν, ὃ κορώνην ὀνομάζουσι πάντες Cyran. 3. 7. 2. New word. The word is, of course, etymologically related to the words βιβρώσκω, βορά, and the adj. βορός, and the Latin *vorare*; the literal meaning of the headword here, then, is *voracious*, and the word itself is the result of a substantivization of the adj. βορός in the phrase βορός ὄρνις and a simultaneous omission of the subst. which had thus been rendered redundant. Absent also from Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*.

βοῦφος, ὁ, the bird owl, the great horned owl: βοῦφον λέγουσιν τινες ὄρνειον φιλάγρυπνον Cyran. 3. 8. 2. The word is recorded in *LSJ Suppl.* from this passage, but the explanation given, "name of a night-bird," is too vague and far from satisfactory. Schol. marg. *ad loc.* "τὸν βούβωνα (*scribe* βουβῶνα)," and the heading of the section in one of the mss. (O) "ὄρνειον λεγομένου βούβονος (*scribe* βουβῶνος)" make it clear that the bird in question is the same as the Lat. *bubo*, the great horned owl; the form βούβων of the Schol. marg. above is a loan word from Latin, concerning which *v.s.v.* βουβῶν II. in *LSJ*.

βρύσις, ἡ, = κορώνη, the bird crow, specifically the hooded crow, *Corvus cornix*: βρύσις κοινὸν ζῷον ἐστίν, ἡ κορώνη, ζῶν ἕως ἐτῶν φ' Cyran. 1. 2. 5; cf. 1. 2. 1. Unrecorded in the lexica, but included in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, p. 66, where Cyran. constitutes the only citation.

βυσμός, ὁ [Liter. *plugging*], medical techn. term, an eye disease, specifically a disease afflicting the eyeball: περὶ δὲ ὄλον τὸν βολβόν, πετέρυγιον . . . σταφυλῖς, βυσμός σταφυλῶν Cyran. 1. 16. 17. As one may see, the word βυσμός in Cyran. forms one phrase with the word σταφυλῶν which, if the reading is sound (which is extremely doubtful), must be an objective genitive. But the reading βυσμός σταφυλῶν does not make much sense for other reasons and also because there is not any part of the eye which is called σταφυλή or σταφυλαί. The accepted reading σταφυλῶν should be discarded in favor of the *varia lectio* σταφύλωμα, which is the name of a well-known eye disease. Etymology: βυσμός < βύω *to stuff, to plug*. Only one other derivative from this root is known, the neut. subst. βύσμα. New word.

βύσσα, ἡ, explained by the Auctor Cyran. as κάραβος θαλάσσιος, namely the lobster: βύσσα ὁ καὶ κάραβος θαλάσσιος. ἐκλήθη δὲ βύσσα διὰ τὴν ὁμοίτητα τῶν βυσσάλων Cyran. 1. 2. 7. The word κάραβος is explained by *LSJ* as meaning, "a prickly crustacean, *crayfish*," a lobster-like freshwater crustacean, a meaning which is indeed applicable in the citations given by that lexicon. But the citation here refers specifically not to a freshwater crustacean but to a marine crustacean which is, evidently, the lobster. Not in the lexica or in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*.

Γαλαϊκός, adj., in the phr. Γαλαϊκός λίθος, a kind of precious stone, apparently the same as the *Gallaica gemma* referred to by Pliny *HN* 37. 59. 163: Γαλαϊκός λίθος ἐστὶ τοῦ κολωνοῦ ῥυπαρώτερος Cyran. 6. 9. 2. Recorded in Steph. *Thes.*, from sources other than Cyran., but not in *LSJ* or the other lexica. Etymology uncertain. Steph. *Thes.* *s.v.* κάλαϊς derives the word καλλάϊνος, and the collateral forms γαλαΐνος, καλλαϊκός and γαλαϊκός from καλλαΐον (*scribe* κάλλαϊον): "principale est καλλαΐον. Unde καλλαϊκόν et καλλαΐνον." I would be inclined to derive the word from *Gallaicus* and *Callaicus*, collateral forms of *Gallaecus*

denoting the inhabitants of Gallaecia (the Καλλαϊκία in Zos. *HN* 4. 24), a region in western Hispania Tarraconensis, on the assumption that the stone in question was either first discovered in, or imported from, that area. For this reason, I believe that the correct spelling of the stone in Greek is Γαλλαϊκός.

γαλλικόν, τό, subst. = σάπων, *soap*, owing its name to the country where it originated, Gaul: βάλλε δὲ καὶ γαλλικόν οὐγ. δ' Cyran. 1. 21. 26. The word is recorded in this meaning in *Soph. Lex.* from the Byzantine chronographer Theophanes. The form γαλλικόν leads one to postulate the existence of a Latin form *Gallicum*. Not recorded in the other lexica.

γλαῦκος, ὁ, subst. = γλαῦξ, a kind of *owl*, a bird sacred to the goddess Athena: Γλαῦκος ἐστὶ πτηνόν· τοῦτο τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ ἀναγράφεται Cyran. 1. 3. 6. The word is evidently a collateral form of the more common γλαῦξ. Absent from *Soph. Lex.*, *LSJ* and Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*.

γλεύκινον, τό, subst. = γλεύκινον ἔλαιον: Ψύλλος . . . ἐψηθεὶς ἐν ῥοδίνῳ ἢ γλευκίνῳ ὠταλγίαις ὠφελεῖ Cyran. 4. 76. 3. *LSJ* records the word only as an adj. and only from Latin authors.

γλώσσα, ἡ, subst., of the leaves of sprouting seeds, *tongue-shaped leaf*: κριθᾶς βεβρεγμένας . . . ἕως ἂν βλαστήσωσι καὶ ἔξω τὰς γλώσσας ἔχωσιν Cyran. 1. 21. 115. New meaning.

γόμφος, ὁ = κεστρεύς, *mullet* or, according to Thompson (*v. infra*), the *grey mullet*: Γόμφος ἰχθύς ἐστὶ θαλάσσιος πᾶσι γνωστός Cyran. 4. 11. 2. *LSJ* does record the word in this meaning, but only from glossaries which have preserved the word without a context. Absent from the other lexica, but included in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*, p. 50.

γοναγρός, ὁ, subst., medical techn. term, *a person who suffers from gout in the knee*: θεραπεύει ποδαγρούς, γοναγρούς, χειραγρούς Cyran. 2. 40. 54. New word.

γοργόνιος, ἡ (*sc.* βοτάνη) = ἡρύγγιον, *eryngo*, *sea-holly*, Bot. *Eryngium creticum*: Ἡρύγγιος βοτάνη ἐστίν, ὡς κάλαμος φουομένη, ἀκανθώδης, ἢ καὶ γοργόνιος λέγεται Cyran. 1. 7. 4. *LSJ* has the entry Γοργονιάς βοτάνη, which it literally explains as "Gorgon-like plant," but without identifying it with any known plant. There is no doubt that the headword here (which is unrecorded in *LSJ* and the other lexica, including even Carnoy, *Diction. étym. des noms grecs des plantes*) is the same as the Γοργονιάς βοτάνη and Γοργόνιον, both recorded in *LSJ*.

δαύς, gen. δαός, ἡ, text. gloss on ὠμίς = μαΐνη, *Maena vulgaris*, "a small sprat-like fish, which was salted" (*LSJ s.v. μαΐνη*): ὠμίς ἰχθύς ἐστὶ θαλάσσιος, ἡ καλουμένη δαύς Cyran. 4. 77. 2. Not in the lexica or in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*. For the accent, see the anonymous grammarian in *Etym. Mag.* 604. 57 (1720F).

δεδώνη, ἡ = κορώνη, *crow*, but it is impossible to determine with certainty which kind of *crow* is here meant: Κορώνη καὶ δεδώνη καλουμένη, ὄρνεόν ἐστὶ πᾶσι γνωστόν Cyran. 3. 22. 2. Not in the lexica or in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*.

δενδροκολάπτης, ὁ = δρυκολάπτης, *woodpecker*, a bird of the family *Picidae*: Δενδροκολάπτης πτηνόν ἐστὶ πᾶσι γνωστόν . . . κολάπτει δὲ τὰς δρῦς Cyran. 1. 4. 10; cf. 1. 4. 36, 45, 47, 3. 12. 2. This is the first instance of the occurrence of the word in context. Up to now the word was known to us through glossaries, which have preserved it as an isolated lexical item.

δηλητήριος, ον, *cum genitivo objecti, harmful, noxious*: τὸ δὲ αἶμα αὐτοῦ δηλητήριόν ἐστὶ τριχῶν Cyran. 2. 42. 4. The word is recorded in *LSJ* with this meaning but not in this construction, namely with objective genitive.

διακλύζομαι, passive, *to be used as a lotion for washing out the mouth*: ὠφελοῦσι (sc. βάτραχοι) καὶ ὀδονταλγίας συννεψόμενοι ὕδατι καὶ ὄξει καὶ διακλυζόμενοι Cyran. 2. 5. 31; cf. 4. 41. 10–11, 5. 11. 5, 5. 20. 6. Such usage is completely new and unattested in the lexica. The only citation for the use of this verb in the passive (*Arist. GA* 11. 839) documents a usage in which the subject of the verb is the person or area which is washed out, not the lotion used for washing out.

διαχρίομαι, passive, *to be applied as a salve by smearing*: ἡ δὲ κόπρος αὐτοῦ διαχρισμένη ἀλφουὸς ἰάται Cyran. 3. 29. 6; cf. 4. 47. 5. New usage.

διφυής, ἐς, adj., of the hyaena, *alternately belonging to both sexes, alternating from male to female sex and vice-versa* (The hyaena was believed to undergo a change of sex every year.): Ὑαίνα ζῶν ἐστὶ τετράπουν . . . διφυές. τὸ γὰρ ζῶν τοῦτο γεννᾶται θήλυ καὶ μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν γίνεται ἄρρεν. εἶτα πάλιν κ.τ.λ. Cyran. 2. 40. 2. New meaning.

διωκτικόν, τό, subst., of amulets, *a means of chasing somebody or something* (e.g. enemies, spirits, dogs, etc.) *away*: διωκτικὸν κυνῶν Schol. marg. ad Cyran. 4. 29. 5; cf. 1. 7. 5, 2. 23. 5. New meaning.

δορύκνιον, τό, a kind of *poison* extracted from the plant στρύχνον μανικόν, *thorn apple*, a poisonous solanaceous plant of the genus *Datura* (The plant is also called δορύκνιον: *LSJ s.v. 4.*): 'Ο δὲ ζωμός αὐτοῦ (*sc. τοῦ χηνός*) ποθεῖς . . . βοηθεῖ τοῖς πίνουσιν . . . δορύκνιον *Cyran. 3. 51. 25.* New meaning. *LSJ* does record the word, but only as a plant name, not as the name of the poison extracted from it.

δρακόντιος, α, ον (I) adj., in the phr. δρακόντιον αἶμα, *juice extracted from the seeds of the plant χολοβοτάνη*, which is a variety of δρακόντιον with broad leaves: ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος δὲ τῆς βοτάνης ταύτης (*sc. τῆς χολοβοτάνης*) ἐκθλίβεται ὄπος, ὃν καλοῦσι δρακόντιον αἶμα διὰ τὸ ἐρυθρὸν εἶναι *Cyran. 1. 4. 8.* New meaning. (II) δρακόντιον, τό, subst., the fish *dragonet*, Lat. *dracunculus*, a spiny fish of bright color belonging to the family *Callionymidae*: ἄλλα τὰ γινόμενά ἐστι δρακόντια μικρὰ . . . εἰς ὕψος ἰχθυώδη πιπρασκόμενα *Cyran. 1. 4. 30.* There is little doubt that the δρακόντιον here signifies the same kind of fish as the Lat. *dracunculus* in Pliny *HN 32. 53. 148.* *LSJ* does record the word δρακόντιον as a fish name, but the only citation is according to that lexicon itself a "varia lectio for δράκων III." Not in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes.*

δυνάστρια, ἡ, fem. of δυνάστης = *female ruler*: Μάκαιρα βοτάνη . . . πᾶσιν ἐν φυτοῖς δυνάστρια *Cyran. 1. 1. 130-31* (see also p. 29. 2). New form.

δυσουρητικός, ὁ, subst., *one who has difficulty in urination*: δυσουρητικούς αἶμα οὐρεῖν παρασκευάζει *Cyran. 1. 2. 10.* *LSJ* records the adj. δυσουρητικός as a *hapax*, but the only citation comes from glossaries, which have preserved the word without a context.

δυσπορία, ἡ, *difficulty in obtaining* something: "Ἴνα οὖν μὴ πλανώμεθα πρὸς τὴν δυσπορίαν τοῦ μεγάλου δράκοντος *Cyran. 1. 4. 29.* *LSJ* does record the word, from sources other than *Cyran.*, but with a different meaning.

ἔγκαυσις, εως, ἡ = ἔγκαυμα, *an eye disease, specifically ulcer in (the corner of) the eye*: περὶ δὲ τοὺς κανθοὺς ψωροφθαλμία . . . ἔγκαυσις, αἰγίλωπία *Cyran. 1. 16. 15.* New meaning.

ἐγκυανίζω, intrans., *to be of a bluish color*: βήρυλλός ἐστι θαλασσόχρους ἐγκυανίζων *Cyran. 6. 7. 1.* For other similar verbal formations in -ίζω signifying the color of stones, cf. ἀμεθυστίζω Pliny *HN 37. 25. 93* and αἱματίζω, ἐμφλογίζω, λευκίζω, πυραυγίζω in this article.

ἐκπίεσμα, ατος, τό = the act of *removing the skins of boiled seeds by squeezing the seeds out*: Τῆς σὺν βοτάνης τοῦ σπέρματος οὐγ. γ' . . . καὶ εἰλήσας ἐν ράκει τὸ μὲν σκύβαλον τοῦ ἐκπίεσματος ρίψον Cyran. 1. 23. 10. New meaning.

ἐκτριτώσις, εως, ἡ, of magical or medicinal decoctions, *to boil down to one third, to reduce to one third by boiling*: ἐὰν δέ τις μύρμηκας καθεψήσῃ σὺν ὕδατι ἕως ἐκτριτώσεως τοῦ ὕδατος Cyran. 2. 25. 13. New word.

ἐμφλογίζω, intrans., *to be flame-colored, to be fiery-red, to be of flame-red color*: οὗτος ὁ σάρδιος λίθος . . . ἐμφλογίζων λαμπρῶς Cyran. 6. 8. 4-5. For similar verbal formations in -ίζω signifying the color of stones, see ἐγκυανίζω in this article. New word.

ἐνάμαρτος, ον, adj., *faulty, sinful, prone to sinning*: ὡς θεὸς αὐτὸς ἔφρασε / σώμασι δὲ θνητοῖσι κυβερνᾶν καὶ σ' ἐνάμαρτοις / στέργειν . . . Cyran. p. 19. 10. Cf. prol. p. 18. 81. Recorded in *LSJ* with the meaning "faulty," but the only citation comes from glossaries, which have preserved the word without a context. *Steph. Thes.* and *Soph. Lex.* record the word in this sense, but from late sources, Christian authors and legal texts.

ἐνηδόνως, adv., *with pleasure, enjoyably*: λαμπρῶς ἐσθίειν καὶ ἐνηδόνως παρασκευάζει Cyran. 4. 39. 5. *LSJ* records only the adj. ἐνήδονος. *Steph. Thes.* and *Soph. Lex.* record the word with this meaning from D. S. 4. 78 and Ioannes, the author of the *Climax*, but in the first citation the word is a *varia lectio* whereas the second comes from a much later, Christian source (6th cent. A.D.).

ἐνθουσιάζομαι = ἐνθουσιάζω, *to be possessed by a god*: ἐνθουσιάζεσθαι ποιεῖ τοὺς ὀσφραινομένους . . . τοὺς μυκτηῖράς σου χρίε μύρῳ δυνατῶ καὶ οὐκ ἐνθουσιασθήσει τὸ καθόλου Cyran. 1. 14. 29-31. New form. *LSJ* records only the active ἐνθουσιάζω.

ἐντασις, εως, ἡ (I) of male human beings, *erection, state of sexual arousal*: τοῖς παραλυθεῖσι τὸ αἰδοῖον πολλὴν ἔντασιν παρέξει Cyran. 1. 1. 23; cf. 1. 1. 13, 1. 18. 46, 57, 58 and elsewhere. (II) of both men and women, *state of sexual excitement and arousal*: οἱ δὲ δεξιῶι αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ κροκοδείλου) ὀδόντες . . . ἔντασιν μεγίστην τοῖς ἀνδράσι ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ εὐώνυμοι ταῖς γυναῖξιν Cyran. 2. 22. 9; cf. 1. 18. 22 and elsewhere. Recorded in *Steph. Thes.*, from sources other than Cyran., but not in *LSJ* or the other lexica. The word also occurs, with the same meaning, in Greek medical writers, e.g. Oribas. *Libr. ad Eunap.* 4. 105 (*CMG* VI. 3 p. 484. 19 and 26).

ἐπιχρίω (I) active, *to anoint, to besmear* a surface with an ointment. Construction: with double accusative, the one accus. indicating the surface besmeared and the other the ointment which is applied: ἐπιχρισάτω τὸ μόριον αὐτοῦ αἶμα λαγωῦ Cyran. 2. 24. 40. New construction. (II) ἐπιχρίομαι, passive, *to be applied* as a salve or ointment: ὁ δὲ ἐγκέφαλος αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ συάγρου) . . . ἐπιχρίομενος ποδαλγικὰς ὀδύνας παραμυθεῖται Cyran. 2. 35. 7; cf. 2. 36. 12, 3. Ia. 5, 3. 9. 23, 3. 18. 6, 4. 23. 9, 4. 31. 4 and elsewhere. This usage is recorded only in Steph. *Thes.*, from Galen and Dioscor., but not in *LSJ*.

ἐπτάπολος, ον, adj., *of the seven celestial spheres*: ἐπταπόλοις ἄρκτοις δυσὶ συγκινούμενα πάντα, i.e. "all things being set in motion together with the constellations of the two Bears of the seven celestial spheres," Cyran. p. 51. 11; cf. also 1. 7. 28–29. New word.

ἐπτάχρωμος, ον, adj., *of seven colors*: Ζῳὸν ἐστὶν ἐν ἀέρι πετόμενον ὃ καλεῖται ἔποψ, ἐπτάχρωμον (v.l. ἐπτάχροον) βασιλείον ἔχον Cyran. 1. 7. 49. New word.

ἐργάζομαι, *cum accusativo et infinitivo*, *to make or cause* somebody to do something, *to effect that*: συλλαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἐργάσεται Cyran. 1. 18. 18; also Geop. 15. 2. 17. Construction attested only in Soph. *Lex*.

ἐρπέτιον, τό, subst., *string or thread twisted like a serpent*: περιεπτόμενος (sc. ὁ λίθος) ἐρπετίῳ βαμβακίνῳ εἰς τὸν τράχηλον Cyran. 1. 19. 16. New word. It is worth noting that the Latin word *dracunculus* is attested with the same meaning: Inscr. Orell. 1572.

ἕτεροφρονέω, *cum dativo*, also with πρὸς + accus., *to disagree with* somebody, *to quarrel with*: καὶ γυνὴ δὲ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἕτεροφρονούντες ἀλλήλοις ἢ ὁ ἕτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον Cyran. 3. 7. 7–8. New meaning.

εὐάκουστος, ον, adj., passive, *eagerly listened to, to whom others are inclined to give ear*: θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν ἔσται ἡγαπημένος καὶ εὐάκουστος Cyran. 1. 4. 50. New meaning.

εὐζωμος (sc. βοτάνη), ἡ, *rocket*, Bot. *Eruca sativa*: Εὐζωμος βοτάνη ἐστὶν ἐσθιομένη ὡς λάχανον, παρὰ πᾶσι γνωστόν Cyran. 1. 5. 1–3. *LSJ* records with this meaning only the neuter form εὐζωμον. New form.

εὐνοῖος, ον, *pleasantly affected by wine, enjoying wine without unpleasant after-effects*: εὐοίνων φρενῶν τήρησον εὐωχίαν Cyran. 1. 1. 141. This new meaning is borne out by the context, which is a magic formula or incantation which the host, in order to prevent any undesirable effects of wine-consumption on his guests, solemnly pronounces before he pours wine into their cups. Cf. also 1. 1. 161–69.

εὐπέπτως, adv., *digestibly, with good or easy digestion, in a manner in which something edible is easily digested*: πολλὰ ἐσθίειν ποιεῖ εὐπέπτως Cyran. 1. 9. 15. New meaning.

εὐστομαχία, ἡ, *easy digestion, digestibility, healthy condition of the stomach*: ἡ δὲ γαστήρ (sc. τῆς αἰθυρίας) . . . πέψιν εἰς ἄκρον καὶ εὐστομαχίαν παρέχει Cyran. 3. 6. 7; cf. 4. 41. 7. The entry in *LSJ* gives a different meaning, “wholesomeness of food.” The word is recorded in Steph. *Thes.* with the same meaning as in Cyran., but the only citation given there, Dioscor. 2. 18 (*lege* 2. 16), is only a *varia lectio* which has been rejected by Max Wellmann, the best editor of Dioscorides, in favor of εὐστομία.

εὐστοχος, ον, causative, adj., of amulets, *capable of enabling somebody to hit the mark, capable of making somebody successful, conducive to success*: τούτου (sc. τοῦ βούφου) ὁ ὄνυξ εὐστοχός ἐστι καὶ φυλακτικός Cyran. 3. 8. 4. New meaning.

εὐσύλληπτος, ον (I) adj. = συλληπτικός, *conducive to conceiving, facilitating or promoting conception*: ἔστι γὰρ ξηρίον ἡδονικὸν καὶ εὐσύλληπτον Cyran. 1. 18. 15. (II) εὐσύλληπτον, τό, subst., of amulets and substances possessed of magical properties, *a means conducive to conceiving, a means promoting conception*: ἐὰν οὖν βούλη εὐσύλληπτον ποιῆσαι μέγιστον καὶ ἀπαράβατον, ποιεῖ οὕτως Cyran. 2. 9. 3. New meaning. For antonyms of εὐσύλληπτον in the latter meaning, cf. ἀσύλληπτον in this article, and ἀτοκεῖον and ἀτόκιον in *LSJ*; also R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes*, Hypomnemata 45 (1975) 42–43.

εὐτόκιον, τό, subst., of an amulet, *a means conducive to easy or painless childbirth*: ἔστι δὲ (sc. ὁ ἀετίτης λίθος) καὶ εὐτόκιον Cyran. 3. 1. 93. *LSJ* records the word only as an adj. in this sense (εὐτόκιον φάρμακον Aet. 1. 115).

ζαργάνη, ἡ, text. gloss on ῥαφίς, *garfish, Belone acus*, a fish characterized by a long, spearlike snout of the genus *Belone*: ῥαφίς ἰχθύς ἐστὶ θαλάττιος ἡ καλουμένη βελονίς, ἦν καὶ ζαργάνην οἱ πολλοὶ ὀνομάζουσιν Cyran. 4. 55. 3. See βελονίς in this article. It is tempting to suspect an etymological connection between the word σαργάνη, explained by the glossographer in *Anecd. Graec.* (Bekker) 1. 301. 23–24 as a “plaited receptacle for fish made of rope,” and my headword, especially if one considers that the letters σ and ζ are used interchangeably at the beginning of certain words, e.g. ζμάω, ζμάραγδος, ζαύρα (Cyran. 2. 14. 1–3 and elsewhere). However, such a connection might be difficult to prove. But it is almost impossible to deny that ζαργάνη is etymologically related to the following fish names: σαργίνος, “a kind of gregarious fish” (*LSJ*), σαργίον and σαργός, “a sea-fish, the *sargue*, *Sargus Rondeletti*” (*LSJ*). The word ζαργάνη occurs also in the Schol. Oppian. *Hal.* as a gloss on three

different fish names: ταινία (*Hal.* 1. 100), σφύραινα (1. 172, 3. 117), and ῥαφίς (1. 172). The word as a fish name is absent both from Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* (who, however, mentions the mod. Greek forms ζαργάνα, σαργώνη, σαργώννος) and from the lexica, whether in the form σαργάνη or ζαργάνη.

ζώνη, ἡ, subst., *a vein, streak, or stripe of different color on stone, marble etc.*: Οὗτος ὁ σάρδιος λίθος . . . ζώνας ἔχει Cyran. 6. 8. 4. New meaning. The present entry can be incorporated into *LSJ*'s lemma ζώνη III.

ζώννυμαι, passive, *to be worn as a girdle or belt*: Ἡ δὲ δορὰ (sc. τῆς φώκης) ζώννυμένη νεφροὺς καὶ ἰσχία θεραπεύει Cyran. 2. 41. 19. This usage is unattested in the lexica.

ζωογονέω, trans., *to revive, to resuscitate, to bring back to life*: τὰ δὲ αἵματα στάζοντα ἐπὶ τὰ νεκρὰ σώματα . . . ζωογονεῖ αὐτά Cyran. 3. 39. 10. New meaning.

ἡγέομαι, in a passive sense, copulative verb, *to be regarded as*: τὸ δὲ στέαρ αὐτοῦ εἰς πολλὰ ἡγεῖσθω σοι χρήσιμον, "let its fat be regarded by you as useful in many respects," Cyran. 2. 33. 31. New usage.

ἡγήτρια, ἡ, fem. of ἡγητής = ἡγήτειρα, *female leader*: Μάκαιρα βοτάνη τῶν θεῶν ἡγήτρια Cyran. 1. 2. 130; cf. also p. 29. 1. New meaning.

ἡδύλαλος, ον, adj., in a passive sense, *sweetly spoken of or pleasingly spoken to*: καὶ ἔση πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φιλητὸς καὶ γνωστὸς καὶ ἡδύλαλος Cyran. 1. 5. 30. The word is proparoxytone and, therefore, of passive sense; it is not the same as the paroxytone ἡδυλάλος, recorded by *LSJ* as a *hapax*, which is of active sense. New word.

ἡλιακός, ἡ, ὄν, adj. [*Liter. of the sun, solar*], ἡλιακή, ἡ (sc. σαύρα or ζαύρα), a species of *lizard*: Ζαυρῶν δὲ εἰσι γένη τρία. ἡ μὲν ἡλιακή λέγεται . . . Cyran. 2. 14. 2. New meaning. It is worth noting that the distinction of three kinds of lizards which we see in Cyran. is not mentioned in the lexica.

ἡλιος, ὁ, in the phr. ἡλίου ζῶον, τό = φοινικόπτερος, the bird *flamingo*, *Phoenicopterus antiquorum*: ἡλίου ζῶον ἢ φοινικόπτερος Cyran. 1. 7. 1; cf. 1. 7. 13, 1. 7. 18. New meaning, unattested in the lexica either under ἡλιος or ζῶον.

ἡλιοφανής, ἔς, adj., *visible by the sun, exposed to sunlight*: προΐοντα οὖν (sc. τὰ γῆς ἔντερα) καὶ ἡλιοφανῆ γενόμενα χειμῶνας καὶ ὄμβρους προμηνύει Cyran. 2. 8. 57. New word.

ἡμικότυλον, τό, subst. = ἡμικοτύλιον, *half-κοτύλη*: τοῦ δὲ ἐρίφου τὸ αἶμα ὅσον ἡμικότυλον σὺν ὄξει πινόμενον Cyran. 2. 4. 24. New form.

ἦπαρ, ατος, τό, a kind of a slow-moving, soft *fish* with a big liver (precise identification impossible; a collateral form of ἦπατος, ὁ, *q.v.* in *LSJ* and Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*): Ἡπαρ ἰχθύς ἐστὶ μαλακός, ἀργός, ἦπαρ μέγα ἔχων Cyran. 4. 21. 2. The word is recorded in *LSJ s.v.* ἦπαρ III as a *hapax*, but the only citation comes from Plin. *HN* 32. 149.

ἦρύγγιος (*sc.* βοτάνη), ἦ = ἦρυγγος, *eryngo*, Bot. *Eryngium creticum*: Ἡρύγγιος βοτάνη ἐστὶν . . . ἦ καὶ γοργόνιος λέγεται Cyran. 1. 7. 3. *LSJ* records only the forms ἦρύγγιον and ἦρυγγος.

ἦφαιστίτης, ὁ (*sc.* λίθος), explained in Cyran. as πυρίτης: εἰς δὲ τὸν ἦφαιστίτην λίθον τὸν καὶ πυρίτην λεγόμενον Cyran. 1. 7. 17; cf. 1. 7. 2. The πυρίτης, however, of Cyran. is not the same as the πυρίτης λίθος recorded in *LSJ s.v.* πυρίτης II: "a mineral which strikes fire, copper pyrites . . . ; other varieties of uncertain nature . . . : of a zinc ore . . ." The words ἦφαιστίτης (*sc.* λίθος) and πυρίτης as they are used in Cyran. signify a very hard siliceous stone that emits a spark when struck against steel, i.e. *flint*. This stone is also called πυρεκβολίτης λίθος, concerning which see *Anecd. Graec.* (Bachm.) 2. 321. 21 and *LSJ s.v.*, and πυρέκβολος λίθος in *Zonarae Lexicon* (Tittmann) c. 1598 *s.v.* πυρεῖον. New word.

θαλασσόμικτος, ον, adj. = θαλασσομιγής, *mixed with seawater, connected with the sea*: ἐν λίμναις θαλασσομίκτοις Cyran. 4. 16. 3. New word.

θαλασσόχρους, ουν, adj., *of sea-green color*: βήρυλλός ἐστι θαλασσόχρους ἐγκυανίζων Cyran. 6. 7. 2. Absent from *LSJ* and the other lexica except Steph. *Thes.*, which explains: "*Qui colore marino est,*" with citations from the 11th cent. Byzantine writer Psellus and from "cod. Paris. ap. Boiss. ad Herodiani Epimer. p. 43."

θεόγονος, ἦ (*sc.* βοτάνη), subst., mystical name of a plant otherwise unknown: θεογόνου ρίζης (ἐν ἄλλῳ γράφει θεόπνου) οὐγ. δ' Cyran. 2. 3. 21. Apparently the ancient editor saw in another ms. of Cyran. the *varia lectio* θεόπνου, again as a plant name. New meaning.

θεραπευτής, ὁ, *healer, curer*: μεγίστων δὲ παθημάτων θεραπευταί Cyran. 4. 36. 3. The word, with this meaning, occurs quite often in Christian authors, from whom it is recorded in Soph. *Lex.* and Lampe.

θερμαγωγός, ὄν, adj., *conveyor of heat, calorific, capable of heating*: ὁ δὲ καρπὸς αὐτῆς (*sc.* τῆς βαλσάμου βοτάνης) λεπτομερῆς ὦν καὶ θερμαγωγός Cyran. 5. 2. 6. New word.

θηρευτής, ὁ, subst., a species of *carnivorous bird* (The scantiness of the text does not allow precise identification.): θηρευτής πτηνόν ἐστίν ὃ καὶ πάνθηρ καλεῖται Cyran. 3. 17. 2. According to Cyran. the bird in question is also known as πάνθηρ (see below *s.v.*). New meaning.

θηριόδηκτος, ον, adj., of wounds or sores, *caused or inflicted by the bite of serpents*: ἰοβόλα ἔλκη θηριόδηκτα ἰᾶται (sc. ἡ πυτία τοῦ λαγωῦ) Cyran. 2. 24. 22–23; cf. 5. 4. 7. For the semantic capabilities of such compound formations, i.e. with -δηκτος as the second component, cf. κυνόδηκτος. New meaning.

ινάριον, τό, subst., dimin. of ἴς, a *vein, streak, or stripe of different color in stone, marble etc.*: ὡς ἰνάρια ἔχει ὁ λίθος καθ' αὐτόν Cyran. 6. 5. 6, used without any diminutive force. For a synonym in Cyran., see above, *s.v.* ζώνη.

ιόβολος, ον, adj., *caused by venomous animals*: οἱ δὲ νεοσσοὶ . . . ἐπιτιθέμενοι θερμοὶ τοῖς ἰοβόλοις ἔλκεσιν Cyran. 3. 34. 15. New meaning.

ισοκάρδιος, ον, of the twigs of the mulberry tree, *shaped like a heart, in the form of a heart*: Τῆς οὖν μορέας οἱ κλάδοι οἱ μὲν ἄνω βλέπουσιν, οἱ δὲ κάτω ἔχουσιν τὸ ἄκρον, ἰσοκάρδιον καὶ δυοειδές Cyran. 1. 12. 19. For compound formations with ἰσο- as the first component in the sense “similar, like,” cf. ἰσοδαίμων, ἰσόδουλος, ἰσοθάνατος, ἰσόθεος, ἰσολύμπιος etc. Strangely enough, *LSJ Suppl.* records from the same chapter two other words that share the same second component as the present headword, ἀνακάρδιον and κατακάρδιον, but not ἰσοκάρδιος. New word.

ιύγγιον, τό, *ιύγγιον ἀττικόν* = ἴυγξ, κιναιίδιον, the bird *wryneck, Iynx torquilla*: κιναιίδιος πτηνόν, ὃ καλεῖται ἴυγξ . . . οἱ δὲ ιύγγιον ἀττικόν Cyran. 1. 10. 4–7. The word is a diminutive of ἴυγξ, but without any diminutive force. New word.

καπνέλαιον, τό [*Liter. smoked oil*], *naphtha*: τὸ δὲ καλούμενον καπνέλαιον ἢ νάφθα ἐστίν Cyran. 4. 18. 19; cf. 4. 18. 5, 7, 11, 15. New meaning.

καπνίζομαι, passive, *to be used as a fumigation substance*: ἡ δὲ δορὰ αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ ἐρίφου) καπνιζομένη ληθαργικούς διεγείρει Cyran. 2. 4. 36; cf. 2. 4. 38, 2. 6. 15, 2. 33. 13; also: Geop. 12. 10. 11 and 13. 4. 8. This usage is unattested in the lexica.

καρδία, ἡ = καρδίδιον, *the heart-shaped twig of a mulberry tree*: Εἰ δὲ τὴν κάτω βλέπουσαν καρδίαν (sc. τῆς μορέας) ὑποκλείσης, ἔσται φυλακτήριον πρὸς αἱμοπτοϊκούς Cyran. 1. 12. 42. Elsewhere (1. 12. 21, 24, 39) Cyran. uses the synonym καρδίδιον. New meaning.

κάρη, ἡ, *a metal container*, most probably shaped like a human head and used in magic ritual: τὸ δὲ αἷμα ψύγε ἐμβαλὼν εἰς κάρην Cyran. 3. 1. 31. Most probably, the word is etymologically connected with κάρα, "head," presumably because of the head-like shape of the vessel in question. New word.

καστόριον (or, more correctly, καστόρειον), τό, subst., *the testicles of the beaver*, used in magical potions and for medicinal purposes: τούτου (sc. κυνοποτάμου ἦτοι κάστορος) οἱ ὄρχεις, τὸ καλούμενον καστόριον, εἰσὶν ὠφέλιμοι Cyran. 2. 19. 3. This new meaning is borne out not only by our citation but also from Pliny *HN* 32. 13. 26: *spectabili naturae potentia, in iis quoque, quibus et terris victus est, sicut fibris, quos castoras vocant et castorea testes eorum*, cited by Steph. *Thes.* with the note, "ubi nota hoc καστόρεια pro καστόρεια ὀρχεΐδια." The same lexicon adduces Galen (= 12. 337. 3 Kühn) to the effect that the beaver's testicles are called καστόριον.

κατάβρωσις, ἡ, medical techn. term, *a kind of disease afflicting the nose*: Πρὸς δὲ τὰς ὀζαΐνας καὶ ὄχθους καὶ πολύποδας καὶ ἀναβρώσεις τε καὶ καταβρώσεις . . . καὶ ὅσα περὶ τοὺς μυκτῆρας Cyran. 1. 1. 62; cf. 1. 20. 16. New meaning.

κατάρτιν, τό = κατάρτιον, *the mast of the ship*: Ἐὰν δὲ τὴν καρδίαν . . . περιάψῃς εἰς κατάρτιν πλοίου Cyran. 1. 21. 54; cf. 4. 67. 9 (κατάρτιον). The form κατάρτιν is absent from *LSJ*, but even the form κατάρτιον which is recorded in that lexicon is documented only with a citation from *Etym. Mag.*, which has preserved the form without a context.

καταχρίομαι, passive, *to be applied as a salve or ointment*: τὸ δὲ λευκὸν τοῦ ὤου . . . καταχρίομενον φλεγμονὴν παρηγορεῖ Cyran. 2. 47a. 6; cf. 2. 5. 28, 3. 17. 5, 3. 30. 11, 3. 34. 6, 5. 19. 3, 5. 24. 5 etc. New usage.

κατενστάζω, trans., *to instill a liquid upon or into a part of the body* (The construction is κατενστάζω τί τις. The verb in Cyran. is used only in the passive voice, the genitive denoting the surface upon which the liquid is instilled.): ὄνυξ δὲ ὄνου κεκαυμένος, σὺν γάλακτι . . . κατενσταζόμενος ὀφθαλμῶν αἶρει τραχώματα Cyran. 2. 31. 14. New word.

καυκοειδῶς, adv., *in the shape of a cup*: ῥάφανος καυκοειδῶς γλυφεῖς Cyran. 5. 17. 10. New word. The headword leads one to postulate an adj. *καυκοειδής, which is not listed in the lexica either. The word evidently derives from the word καῦκος, "a kind of cup" (*LSJ*), a word that has come down to us only through glossaries. The dimin. καυκίον seems to be a little more common. Cf. Lat. *caucus* and *caucula*.

κέχεδρον, τό or κέχεδρος, ἡ, gender indeterminate = ἄμπελος λευκή, *bryony*, Bot. *Bryonia cretica*: ἡ μὲν πρώτη ἄμπελος λευκή, ἣν τινες βρυωνίαν καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ὄφρεως σταφυλὴν . . . οἱ δὲ κέχεδρον Cyran. 1. 1. 108. New word. Etymology uncertain.

κηρόω, trans., to convert something into a wax-salve, to reduce to cerate: οὗτος ὁ ἰχθύς ὄλος . . . ἐψηθεῖς ἕως κηρωθῆ . . . ποδάγρας θεραπεύει Cyran. 1. 13. 13; cf. 2. 3. 20. The verb in Cyran. is used only in the passive voice. New meaning.

κηρύκιον, τό, subst., a generic name for various kinds of molluscs including trumpet-shells and purple-fish (murex): Πορφύρα θαλασσία ἡ καὶ κογχύλη λεγομένη, κηρύκιόν ἐστι μικρόν Cyran. 4. 53. 2. New meaning, unrecorded in the lexica, except in Steph. *Thes.*, which records the word from Alex. Trall. Neither κηρύκειον nor κηρύκιον in *LSJ* is used as a fish name. Only the word κήρυξ (*LSJ* s.v. II) is recorded as a fish name, but it is doubtful whether κήρυξ in this sense and the headword here mean the same thing. For another instance of κηρύκιον in this sense, see Schol. in Arist. *Vesp.* 968 cod. V (Dübner) p. 457: ἔστι δὲ ὄστράκιόν τι βραχὺ τελέως, παραπλήσιον τοῖς κηρυκίοις.

κιναίδιος (For the gender and meanings, see below. *LSJ Suppl.* does record the word from Cyran. 1. 10. 1–22, but the explanation given is vague and inadequate: “name of a plant, a fish, a bird, a stone.” Moreover, contrary to what is indicated in *LSJ Suppl.*, the gender of the word in Cyran. is not always masculine; when the word is used as a plant name, it is evidently feminine in gender so as to agree with the subst. βοτάνη.) (I) κιναίδιος, ἡ, in the phr. κιναίδιος βοτάνη = περιστερεῶν ὕπτιος, *holy vervain*, Bot. *Verbena supina*: κιναίδιος βοτάνη, ἥτις ἐστὶ περιστερεῶν ὕπτιος Ἀφροδίτης Cyran. 1. 10. 3. (II) κιναίδιος (sc. ὄρνις), ὁ = ἴνγξ, *wryneck*, *Lynx torquilla*: κιναίδιος πτηνόν, ὃ καλεῖται ἴνγξ Cyran. 1. 10. 4. The word is a collateral form of κιναίδιον, τό, which is preserved by Hesychius and Photius and recorded from them in *LSJ*. Another collateral form is κίναϊδος (*LSJ* s.v. III). (III) κιναίδιος (sc. ἰχθύς), ὁ, a kind of little sea-fish whose size, according to Cyran., is the breadth of six fingers; it is flat-headed, of a round shape and transparent body, so that its spine can be seen through its flesh as clearly as if it were in front of a mirror: κιναίδιος ἰχθύς θαλάσσιος· τὸ μέγεθος ἔχει δακτύλους ἕξ Cyran. 1. 10. 10. There is no doubt that the fish in question is the same as Lat. *cinaedus*, referred to by Pliny *HN* 32. 53. 146, even though precise identification is not possible. (IV) κιναίδιος (sc. λίθος), ὁ = ὀψιανός λίθος, a black stone of two varieties, sacred to Cronos, believed to have magical properties, prob. *obsidian*: ὁ δὲ κιναίδιος λίθος εὐγνωστός ὦν (ὄμ)ως δὺσγνωστός ὑπάρχει, ὃς καλεῖται ὀψιανός Cyran. 1. 10. 18. This stone is not the same as *cinaedia* and *cinaedium*, referred to by Pliny *HN* 37. 56. 153 and 29. 38. 129, respectively.

κισσόφυτον, τό = κισσός, *ivy*, Bot. *Hedera helix*: Ζμίλλάξ ἐστὶ βοτάνη ἰσχυροτάτη ὡς κισσόφυτον (*v.l.* χρυσόφυτον) Cyran. 1. 6. 3. New word.

κλύζομαι, passive, *to be used as a lotion for washing out or rinsing out* (of a kind of ξηρίον, i.e. desiccative powder, mixed with wine and used as a liquid for rinsing out the mouth): καὶ εἰς ὀδονταλγίας ὠφέλιμον γίνεται σὺν οἴνῳ κλυζόμενον Cyran. 3. Ia. 14; cf. 3. 9. 50. New usage.

κνίφη, ἡ, medical techn. term, *a disease afflicting the eyelids*: ἀπόκειται ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν βλεφάρων, κνίφη, κονιδισμός, φθειρίασις . . . Cyran 1. 16. 11. New word. *LSJ* records from the grammarian Herodian the verbs κνίφω and κνιφιάω (2. 949). Neither Herodian nor *LSJ* explains the meaning of these verbs. I venture to suggest that the meaning of κνίφη as given above helps to define these two verbs, namely "to suffer from κνίφη, a disease that afflicts the eyelids." Steph. *Thes.*, Soph. *Lex.*, and *LSJ* have the entry κνήφη, with the meaning "itch," which seems to be a variant of the same word.

κογχύλη, ἡ = πορφύρα, *purple-fish*, any of the genera *Thais*, *Purpura* and *Murex*, from which the purple dye was extracted: Πορφύρα θαλασσία ἡ καὶ κογχύλη λεγομένη Cyran. 4. 53. 2. Meaning attested in Steph. *Thes.* and Soph. *Lex.*, from sources other than Cyran., but absent from *LSJ*. That the word did signify *inter alia* "purple-fish, murex," can be seen from the following derivatives: κογχυλευτής "murex-fisher" (*LSJ*), κογχυλιαβάφος "purple-dyer" (*LSJ*), κογχύλιος "purple" (*LSJ*), κογχύλιον " = κόχλος II" (*LSJ*), κογχυλιωτός "dyed with purple" (*LSJ*), κογχυλεύς "purple-worker" (*LSJ Suppl.*).

κολέντερον, τό, subst., anatomical techn. term, *colon, the greater part of the large intestine, from the caecum to the rectum* (In Cyran. it refers to the corresponding digestive organ of fowls and specifically of the bird ζῶκος.): τὸ δὲ κωλέντερον (*sic*) τοῦ πτηνοῦ ἐὰν δῶης λείον πιεῖν, ἢ ὀπτὸν φαγεῖν κωλικῶ τελείως σωθήσεται Cyran. 1. 6. 15. What we have here is the fundamental principle of magic and primitive medicine "*similia similibus*," concerning which cf. R. Heim, *Incantamenta magica Graeca Latina* (Leipzig 1892) 484 ff. In Cyran. the force of this underlying principle is exemplified in the simple prescription that the κολέντερον of the bird ζῶκος, if given as a solid food or as a liquid to a person suffering in the κόλον, i.e. from colic, will cure it of its ailment. It is not, however, unlikely that the anatomical part meant by my headword here with reference to fowls is the *gizzard*. The word is extremely rare. Steph. *Thes.* and *LSJ Suppl.* record the word as a *hapax*, from glossaries, which have preserved the word without a context. Besides, the meaning of the word as given in those two lexica, " = Lat. *longao*," makes it uncertain whether the word means what our entry does, i.e. *colon* (of fowls: "gizzard"?) or a kind of *sausage*; for the Lat. *longao* has both meanings. The word occurs as an anatomical

term for the human body in at least one more author, the Byzantine writer Petrus of Antioch, from which source it was recorded in *Soph. Lex.* The word is spelled κωλέντερον in *Steph. Thes.*, *Soph. Lex.* and the Kaimakis edition of Cyran. This spelling seems to have as strong a claim to correctness as the spelling κολέντερον, especially if one considers the spelling of such words as κωλή, κωλήν, κωλικεύομαι, κωλικός, Lat. *colice*, κῶλον, Lat. *co'lon* and *co'lum*, all of which are semantically associated with colon, rectum or thigh. To be sure, *LSJ s.v. κῶλον* II. 6 says, "incorrect form for κόλον." But if the spelling κῶλον in the sense *colon* is incorrect, then it goes without saying that the spelling of such entries in that lexicon as κωλικεύομαι, "suffer from colic," and κωλικός, "suffering in the colon, having colic," must be accordingly corrected in the lexica. In fact, I believe that the spelling of this word and its derivatives fluctuates between κωλ- and κολ-.

κολοστόμαχος, ὁ, subst., anatomical techn. term, *the colon, the straight gut, the greater part of the large intestine, from the caecum to the rectum*: τοὺς τὸν κολοστόμαχον ἀλγοῦντας Cyran. 3. 1. 80. The word in the Kaimakis edition (where it is designated a "vox nova") is spelled κωλοστόμαχος. Concerning the spelling, see previous entry. New word.

κολωνός, ὁ, subst., *a kind of stone* (precise identification impossible): γαλαϊκός λίθος ἐστὶ τοῦ κολωνοῦ ῥυπαρώτερος Cyran. 6. 9. 2. New word.

κοπανίζω, trans., *to bray, to grind*: καρκίνον καύσας καὶ ἀριστολοχίαν καὶ κνίδας κοπανίσας Cyran. 4. 28. 25. The word is listed in *LSJ* with this meaning, but only in the passive voice; our citation gives the first known occurrence of the verb in the active voice.

κοσμικός, ἡ, ὄν, in the phr. αἶμα κοσμικόν, a mystical, magical, name of a kind of *small, black, ant-like insect (?) with short wings found in the center of the flower of the plant χρυσάνθεμος βοτάνη*: κατὰ μέσον τοῦ ἄνθους (sc. τῆς χρυσαυθέμου) ὡσεὶ μυρμήκια μικρά, μέλανα, βραχέα πτερὰ ἔχοντα. ταῦτα καλεῖται αἶμα κοσμικόν Cyran. 1. 22. 9; cf. 1. 21. 32. New meaning. Concerning my reservations in explaining as above the meaning of the phrase αἶμα κοσμικόν, see below under μυρμήκιον.

κροκοδιλία (sc. βοτάνη), ἡ, a kind of plant, most likely *sea-holly*: αἶμα δὲ ζῶντος ὄνου μετὰ κροκοδιλίας βοτάνης Cyran. 2. 31. 15. New word. *LSJ* records two similar forms as the names of two plants: κροκοδίλειον, "sea-holly, *Eryngium maritimum*," and κροκοδιλιάς, "= foreg. . . ἀρτεμισία κ." It is impossible to determine whether my headword here signifies sea-holly or ἀρτεμισία or some other kind of plant.

κροτών, ὄνος, ὄ [Liter. *striker*] = κύων, a young dog: ζώντος δὲ τοῦ κροτώνος ἀνατμηθέντος καὶ ἔτι θερμοῦ ὄντος Cyran. 2. 20. 23. New meaning. Etymology: < κροτέω *to strike*. I have arrived at this meaning on the basis of both the heading (περὶ κυνὸς μικροῦ) of Cyran. 2. 20 and its content, which deals entirely with the medicinal qualities of a puppy. Nevertheless, I have serious doubts about the soundness of the reading.

κρούσμα, ατος, τό = δῆγμα, bite or sting of insects, as for example bees and wasps: πρὸς μελισσῶν καὶ σφηκῶν κρούσματα Cyran. 2. 20. 18. New meaning. Etymology: < κρούω *to strike*.

κυκλίσκω, trans., *to set something in a circular motion*: κυκλίσκων τάδε πάντα ἀπ' ἀντολῆς ἐπὶ δυσμάς Cyran. p. 51. 10; cf. also 1. 7. 28. New word.

κυμβαληφόρος, ον, adj., *associated with cymbals* (epithet of the vine which, apparently, derives from the fact that the vine was associated with the orgiastic cult of Dionysus, which included the playing of cymbals): ἄμπελος λευκὴ ἢ μήτηρ τῶν βοτανῶν εὕδιε κυμβαληφόρε γῆς ἐν φυτοῖς ἢ πρώτῃ Cyran. 1. 1. 163. New word.

κυνογάλεος, ὄ, subst., *dog-fish*, or a kind of small shark resembling the *hammerhead*: τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα (sc. τῆς ζυγαίνης) ὅμοιον κυνογαλέῳ Cyran. 4. 19. 3. This fish is also known as κύων γαλέος: Opp. *Hal.* 1. 373, *Ael. HA* 1. 55. New word.

κωδωνίζω, intrans., *to sound, to ring, to produce a bell-like sound* (of a stone which, if held to the ear while being shaken, creates the illusion of producing a bell-like sound): ἀκούσει κωδωνίζοντος (sc. τοῦ ἀετίτου λίθου) Cyran. 1. 1. 7. New meaning.

κωλικός, ὄ or κωλικόν, τό, gender indeterminate, subst., *colic, severe spasmodic griping pain in the belly*: κοχλιάριον α' δίδου μεθ' ὑδρομέλιτος . . . τῷ ἔχοντι κωλικόν Cyran. 2. 11. 13. The word is a substantivized adj. resulting from the phrase κωλικὸς πόνος or κωλικὸν νόσημα. New word. This word supplies the etymological and semantic origin of English "colic" through the intermediate stage Lat. *colica passio* and med. Lat. *colica* (subst. fem.); cf. *OED* s.v. "colic." *LSJ* records κωλικός, but only as an adjective and with different meanings.

λαζοῦριν, τό (< λαζούριον), a kind of pigment used in painting and prepared from the stone σάπφειρος, *lapis lazuli*: ἀφ' οὗ (sc. σαπφείρου λίθου) ποιοῦσιν οἱ ζωγράφοι τὸ λαζοῦριν τὸ ἄριστον, ὃ καλοῦσιν φυσικόν Cyran. 1. 18. 10. This pigment is also known to us from the

παρυγι by the names σαπφείριον, σαππείριον or σαππίριν. New word. Formation: the word is a direct Greek borrowing from Arabic, *la-zuward* or *lāzaward*, which, however, goes back to Persian *la-zward*. The medieval Latin form *lazulum*, from which the genitive in the phrase *lapis lazuli* comes, is a loan word from the Greek λαζούριον or perhaps the unattested form *λάζουρον. The text of Cyran. contains also the adj. ὑπολαζούριος (cf. below).

λευκασία, ἡ, medical techn. term, a kind of *skin disease* which causes whitening of the skin, a kind of *leprosy*: Πρὸς οὖν τὰς ἀλγηδόνας τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐλεφαντιάσεως . . . καὶ λευκασίας τὰς περὶ τὸ σῶμα γιγνομένης Cyran. 1. 4. 33. New meaning.

λευκίζω, intrans., *to be white in color*: οὗτος ὁ σάρδιος λίθος γίνεται ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος λευκίζων Cyran. 6. 8. 4. New word. For similar verbal formations signifying the color of stones, see above on ἐγκυανίζω.

λευκομέτωπος, ὁ, subst. = φαλαρίς, the aquatic bird *coot*, *Fulica atra*: Φαλαρίς πτηνὸν ὁ λεγόμενος λευκομέτωπος. ὄλον γὰρ ἐστὶ μέλαν, τὸ δὲ μέτωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ μόνον ἔχει λευκόν Cyran. 3. 48. 2. It is to be noted that λευκομέτωπος in Cyran. is a rendering of φαλαρίς (< φάλαρος) into a more precisely descriptive form in the vernacular. *LSJ* does record the word, from sources other than Cyran., but the meaning given is vague and unsatisfactory ("as Subst., name of a bird"), no identification of the bird being given. Recorded, from sources other than Cyran., and correctly identified in Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*.

λύσις, εὖς, ἡ, magical techn. term, *counterspell*, *spell-breaker*, (magic or medicinal) *antidote*: ἐὰν δέ τις λειώσας (sc. τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὴν καρδίαν τῆς ἀηδόνας) δῶη τινὶ πιεῖν λάθρα, ἄνπνος ἀποθανεῖται· λύσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχει Cyran. 1. 5. 23; cf. 1. 24. 113, 2. 31. 25. New meaning.

μάργα, ἡ, text. gloss on νάρκη, *torpedo*, *electric ray*: Νάρκη ἰχθύς ἐστὶ θαλάσσιος, ὃν οἱ πολλοὶ φασὶ μάργαν Cyran. 4. 44. 2. New word. The word is etymologically related to the words μάργος, μαργάω, μαργότης, μαργοσύνη, with the basic notion of "madness, fury, rage."

μάργαρος, ὁ, subst., *eye-ball*: οἱ δὲ μάργαροι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ φορούμενοι ὀφθαλμίαν παύουσι καὶ ἡμικρανίαν Cyran. 4. 39. 6. New word. The word is etymologically related to the nouns μάργαρον, μαργαρίτης and μάργαρος, the first two signifying "pearl" and the latter "pearl-oyster." The use of the word in the sense "eye-ball" is a figurative one based on the pearl-like appearance of the object signified.

μαχαιρία, ἡ, subst., text. gloss on the plant ξίφιος (sc. βοτάνη) = ξίφιον, φάσγανον, *corn-flag*, Bot. *Gladiolus segetum*: Ξίφιος βοτάνη ἐστὶ πληθύουσα ἐν πάσῃ γῆ . . . ἦν τινες μαχαιρίαν καλοῦσιν Cyran. 1. 14.

5. New word. *LSJ* records the word *μαχαιρίων* along with the *varia lectio* *μαχαιρώνιον* with the same meaning.

μελάνθραξ, ακος, ὁ, medical techn. term = *δοθίην*, *small abscess, boil*: καταχριομένη δὲ ἢ κόπρος (sc. τῆς κατοικιδίου ὄρνιθος) μυρμηκίας καὶ μελάνθρακας ἰᾶται *Cyran.* 3. 34. 5. New word. Some lexica record similar forms with the same meaning, *μελανθράκη* and *μελανθράκιν*. That the word *ἄνθραξ* signifies *inter alia* some kind of disease can be seen from *LSJ s.v. II. 2*: “*carbuncle, malignant pustule* (acc. to some *small-ροχ*).”

μελανίτις, ιδος, ἡ, adj., *black* (attributive of γῆ: *μελανίτις γῆ* = northwestern Africa, in particular Mauritania and Numidia): Πορφύριτης λίθος, γνωστός μάλιστα ἐν τῇ μελανίτιδι γῆ *Cyran.* 1. 16. 6; cf. 1. 14. 17–18, 1. 15. 16, 2. 37. 2–3. New word. The phrase *μελανίτις γῆ* signifies exactly the same thing as the noun *Μαυρουσιάς*, occurring in *Dioscor. Mat. Med.* 2. 66, and *Μαυρουσία*, preserved by *Vitruvius* (8. 2. 6). Both forms (neither of which is recorded in *LSJ*) mean “the country of the Mauri,” i.e. Mauritania. Indeed, according to *Vitruvius loc. cit.*, *Μαυρουσία* was the Greek name of Mauritania. Now, given the meaning of the word *μαῦρος*, “dark,” the literal meaning of the words *Μαυρουσιάς* and *Μαυρουσία* must be “the country of the black people,” which means that they are synonyms for *μελανίτις γῆ*. One more argument for identifying Mauritania with *μελανίτις γῆ* is the reference to the animal *σκίγγος* by both *Cyran.* (2. 37. 2–3) and *Dioscor. (Mat. Med.* 2. 66, spelled *σκίγγος*) with the information that this animal can be found ἐν τῇ *Μελανίτιδι γῆ* according to the former source and ἐν τῇ *Γαιτουλίᾳ τῆς Μαυρουσιάδος* according to the latter.

μελισσολόγος, ὁ, gloss on μέροψ in *Schol. marg. ad Cyran.* 3. 30. 2, the bird *bee-eater, Merops apiaster*. New word. Its etymological connection with bees can be seen both in its Latin name, *apiastra*, and in its names in mod. Greek, *μελισσοουργός* and *μελισσοφάγος*.

μηδικός, ἡ, ὄν, adj., in the phr. *μηδικός λίθος*, *Persian stone*, a kind of stone sacred to Aphrodite: *μηδικός λίθος, οὗτος ἀνήκει τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ Cyran.* 1. 12. 5; cf. 1. 12. 33 and 38. *Hesychius s.v. μήδιος* reads as follows: *μήδιος· μαλακός, καὶ βοτάνης εἶδος καὶ λίθος τι μηδιάτης*. From this it seems certain that these two stone names, *μήδιος* and *μηδικός λίθος*, signify the same kind of stone. New meaning.

μοιρικός, ἡ, ὄν (I) adj. = *μοιρόκραντος*, *ordained by the Fates, determined by one's destiny, inescapable*: ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς μοιρικὰς ἀνεπιτυχίας, ἀπραξίας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα *Cyran.* 1. 22. 15. (II) *μοιρική*, ἡ, subst., *success or happiness ordained by fate*: *μεγίστην μοιρικὴν καὶ μεσιτεῖαν ἔξεις Cyran.* 1. 24. 31; cf. 2. 31. 19. New meanings.

μονανδρία, ἡ (used figuratively of animals and, in particular, of birds) *the state of mating with only one male companion*: Τρυγῶν στρουθίον πᾶσι γνωστόν, μονανδρίαν ἀσκοῦν Cyran. 3. 43. 2. New word.

μοῦλα, ἡ, Lat. *mula*, a female mule: καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἀνδρῶν βουρδῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ γυναικὸς μοῦλα Cyran. 2. 15. 13. New form; *LSJ* records only the forms μουλάριον and μούλη. Recorded in *Soph. Lex.*, but from a later source.

μυρμήκιον, τό, subst., dimin. of μύρμηξ, *small ant*: κατὰ μέσον τοῦ ἄνθους ὡσεὶ μυρμήκια, μικρά, μελανά, βραχέα πτερὰ ἔχοντα. ταῦτα καλεῖται αἶμα κοσμικόν Cyran. 1. 22. 8. The precise meaning of the form (neut. plur.) μυρμήκια and its synonym αἶμα κοσμικόν is elusive and uncertain. The context is quite ambiguous in the sense that it leaves it unclear whether αἶμα κοσμικόν and μυρμήκια mean “ant-like insects,” as I reluctantly believe (see above on κοσμικός), or just parts of the flower itself (as e.g. stamens or stigmas) that resemble little, black, winged ants. This meaning is attested in *Soph. Lex.*, but from a much later source.

μύωψ, ὠπος, ὁ, subst., medical techn. term, *ailment affecting the pupil of the eye*: περὶ δὲ τὴν κόρην, νεφέλιον, ἀχλύς . . . νυκτάλωψ, μύωψ Cyran. 1. 16. 20; cf. 1. 11. 11. New meaning. For similar compound formations with -ώψ signifying various kinds of eye diseases, cf. ἀγγίλωψ, αἰγίλωψ, νυκτάλωψ.

νεκροτοκία, ἡ, medical techn. term, *extraction of a dead embryo*: εἰς νεκροτοκίαν Schol. marg. ad Cyran. 2. 24. 21. New word.

νεογέννητος, ον, adj., *newly born*: κύων ἐστὶ ὃ παρ’ ἡμῖν κυνάριον λέγεται, μικρός, νεογέννητος, ἔτι θηλάζων Cyran. 2. 20. 2. The word is recorded in *LSJ*, but the only citation comes from Photius, who has preserved it as a gloss on νεογιλός.

νεφέλιον, τό = ἵππομανές, a *small black membrane on the forehead of a new-born foal*, used as a powerful love-charm or love-potion: τὸ ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ (sc. ἵππου γεννηθέντος) νεφέλιον Cyran. 2. 17. 3. New meaning.

νεφρικός, ὁ, subst., medical techn. term, *a person suffering from a kidney disease*: ἐσθιόμενος δὲ ὁ ἰχθύς . . . νεφρικούς καὶ δυσουρίαν ἰᾶται Cyran. 4. 49. 4–5. *LSJ* does record this word in this meaning from *Dsc.* 1. 6, but according to that lexicon it is a “*falsa lectio* for νεφριτικός.” My citation here, therefore, is the first to document the existence of such a word.

ξερᾶχωμα, ατος, τό, medical techn. term, a kind of *disease that damages the skin or the hair of the head*: τὸ δὲ ἔριον αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ προβάτου) . . . χρήσιμόν ἐστι ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ξεραχώματα Cyran. 2. 33. 27. New word. The word is etymologically related to the base ξηρ-, “dry.” That the long

vowel η came to be pronounced as short ε in Hellenistic and Roman times can be seen both from the entry *ξερεύω* in *LSJ Suppl.* and from the vernacular mod. Greek, in which *ξηρός* and its derivatives have been replaced by *ξερός*, *ξεραίνω* etc.

Ξίφιος (sc. βοτάνη), ἡ = ξίφιον, *corn-flag*, Bot. *Gladiolus segetum*: Ξίφιος βοτάνη ἐστὶ πληθύουσα ἐν πάσῃ γῆ . . . ἢν τινες μαχαίριαν καλοῦσιν, ἔνιοι δὲ φάσγανον Cyran. 1. 14. 3. New form.

Ξύθος, ὁ, a kind of small fish, namely the *Smaris vulgaris*, of the *Maenidae* family: Ξύθος ἐστὶν ἰχθύς, ἢν ἔνιοι ζμαρίδα καλοῦσιν Cyran. 4. 46. 2. New word.

Ξυλάλοχον, τό, subst. = ξυλαλόη, ἀγάλοχον, *eagle-wood*, Bot. *Aquilaria malaccensis*: Ξυλάλοχον, οἱ δὲ ξυλαλόην φασί, ξύλον ἐστὶν ἰνδικόν Cyran. 5. 14. 2. New word.

Ξυλοβάτης, ὁ, subst., a kind of *domestic lizard resembling a small crocodile*: Ξυλοβάτης . . . εἶδος ἐστὶ κορκοδείλου μικροῦ Cyran. 2. 29. 2. For similar compound formations, cf. ἀκανθοβάτης, δενδροβάτης, σκολοβάτης, τοιχοβάτης. New word. The same creature is also known by the name τοιχοβάτης (see below).

οἰνοβίκη, ἡ, text. gloss on δρακοντία ἡμερος = δρακοντία, a variety of *edder-wort*, Bot. *Dracunculus vulgaris*: Δρακοντίων δύο εἶδη εἰσὶν· μία μὲν ἡ ἀγρία . . . ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ ἡμερος ἡ καὶ οἰνοβίκη Cyran. 1. 4. 4. New word.

οἰνοφλυγέω, intrans., *to be addicted to drinking, to be given to drunkenness*: ὁ οἶνος λάθρα δοθεὶς οἰνοφλυγοῦντι παύσει αὐτὸν τῆς τοῦ οἴνου ἐπιθυμίας Cyran. 4. 16. 7. New meaning.

ὀλιγοστός, ἡ, ὄν, adj., in the positive degree, of quantity, *little*: μετὰ οἴνου καὶ νάρδου ὀλιγοστοῦ Cyran. 2. 26. 14. Formation: on the analogy of πολὺς > πολλοστός, which in turn is formed on the analogy of the ordinal numerals εἰκοστός, etc. Cf. *LSJ s.v.* πολλοστός. New meaning.

Ὀλύμπιος, α, ὄν, adj., *associated with those dwelling on Olympus, divine* (predicative of ἄμπελος, *vine*): Ὀλυμπία . . . συντήρησόν μου νοὸς φρένας Cyran. 1. 1. 165. New meaning.

ὀμοσάρδιον, τό, subst., *Sardian stone of the same kind* (the Sardian stone was of two kinds, cf. *LSJ s.v.* σάρδιον): πάλιν δὲ ἄλλους β' λίθους . . . ὀμοσάρδια γλυφὴν ἔχοντας ἀμφοτέρω Cyran. 1. 10. 80. New word.

ὄνειριάζω, intrans. = ὄνειρώσσω, *to have an emission of semen during sleep*: τὸ μὲν γὰρ χλωρὸν εὐζωμον ψύχει τὰς συνουσίας καὶ οὐκ ἔα πολλὰ συνουσιάζειν, οὔτε πυκνῶς ὀρθιᾶν οὔτε ὄνειριάζειν Cyran. 1.

5. 13. New form, not recorded in the lexica, except in Soph. *Lex.* with the meaning "to have salacious *ὄνειρατα*."

ὄνόθουρις, *ιδος*, ἡ, subst., the plant *marsh mallow*, *wild mallow*, Bot. *Althaea officinalis*: 'Ὀνόθουρις βοτάνη ἐστίν· οἱ μὲν ὄνόθουριν καλοῦσιν οἱ δὲ ὀνομαλάχην Cyran. 1. 15. 3. It is described by the Auctor Cyran. as having leaves resembling those of a cultivated mallow, a tree-mallow. It therefore signifies a kind of plant different from the *ὄνοθήρας* and *ὄνόθουρις* recorded in *LSJ* as meaning "oleander, *Nerium oleander*." It signifies at least three different plants and the juice of a fourth one: (I) *oleander*, Bot. *Nerium oleander*. (II) *buglossum* (citations in Ducangius *Gloss.*). (III) = *χαλβάνη*, the resinous juice of *all-heal*, Bot. *Ferula galbaniflua*, see "Glossaires de botanique" XIII p. 425. 13 in Delatte, *Anecd. Athen.* II. (IV) = *ἀλθαία*, *marsh mallow*, *wild mallow*, Bot. *Althaea officinalis*. The last three meanings are absent from *LSJ*. Moreover, it is a philological crux to determine with certainty the orthography and original form of the word. The following forms (variants or distortions of the original form?) have been preserved in various authors and mss.: *ὄνόθουρις*, *ὄνοθήρας*, *ὄνοθήρα* and *ὄνόθηρα*, *οἰνοθήρας*, *ὄνούθορος*, *ὄνοθουρίς* and *ὄνοθοῦρις*, *ὄνοθοῦριν*, *ὄνοθύριον*, *ὄνόθουρις*. However, the forms *ὄνόθουρις* and *ὄνόθουρις* seemed perfectly correct and acceptable to the anonymous Auctor Cyran.

ὄνόθουρις, *ιδος*, ἡ, the plant *marsh mallow*, Bot. *Althaea officinalis*: Cyran. 1. 15. 3 (see previous entry). New word.

ὀνομαλάχη, ἡ [Liter. *donkey's mallow*], *marsh mallow*, Bot. *Althaea officinalis*: Cyran. 1. 15. 3 (see previous entries). New word. For other plant names with *ὄνο-* as the first component cf., besides the two preceding entries, *ὄνόβλιτον*, *ὄνοβρυχίς*, *ὄνοκάρδιον*, *ὄνόκλεια*, *ὄνοπορδον*, *ὄνοπτυξος*, *ὄνορυγχος*, *ὄνοφυλλον*, *ὄνοχειλές*.

ὄνος, ὁ, in the phr. *ὄνος θαλάσσιος*, the *sea polyopus*, *octopus*: "Ὀνος θαλάσσιος, ὃν τινες πολύπουν, οἱ δὲ ὀκτάπουν λέγουσιν Cyran. 4. 48. 1-2. New meaning.

ὀπισθότονος, ὁ, subst., medical techn. term, *one who suffers from ὀπισθοτονία* (the latter explained in *LSJ* s.v. as "disease in which the body is drawn back and stiffens, tetanic recurvation"): *πινόμενον δὲ (sc. τὸ καστόριον) στομαχικούς, σπληνικούς, ληθαργικούς καὶ ὀπισθοτόνους ἄκρως ἰᾶται* Cyran. 2. 19. 8-9. New meaning.

ὄραω, trans., *to experience*, *to undergo*: *εἰ δὲ περὶ τοῖς γόνασι γυνὴ αὐτὴν φορεῖ, οὐδόλως συλλήψεται, οὔτε ἔμμηνα ὄρα* Cyran. 2. 36. 10. New meaning. For a similar use of the verb *βλέπω*, cf. the phrase *καταμήνια βλέπει* Schol. ad Aesch. *Prom.* 134. 15 (Dindorf).

ὀρμητικός, ἡ, ὄν, causative adj., *cum genitivo objecti, inducive of, incitive of*: ἔστι δὲ τὸ στέαρ (*sc.* τοῦ κυπρίνου) συνουσίας ὀρμητικόν Cyran. 4. 37. 5–6. New construction.

οὐλοποιέω, intrans. = (ἐπ)ουλώω, *to scar over, to cause cicatrization*: εἰς οὐλοποιῆσαι πᾶν ἔλκος Schol. marg. ad Cyran. 4. 17. 4. New word. The entries οὐλοποιήσις and οὐλοποιός in *LSJ* are not related to the present headword.

ὀφέα, ἡ = νυκτερίς, *bat*: ὀφέα πτηνόν ἐστὶν ἡ λεγομένη νυκτερίς Cyran. 3. 33. 2. New word. Etymology unknown.

παμμήτωρ, ορος, ὁ, adj., *source of creation of all, origin of all*: ταῦτ' αἰώνια ἔργα θεοῦ παμμήτορος ἔσται Cyran. prol. p. 19. 18. Recorded in *LSJ*, but only as a fem. adj., whereas in Cyran. the word is used as a masc. adj., modifier of θεός.

πάνθηρ, ος, ὁ, subst. [*Liter. hunter of everything*], a kind of *predatory bird* (The text, scanty as it is, does not allow precise identification of the bird in question.): Θηρευτῆς πτηνόν ἐστὶν, ὃ καὶ πάνθηρ καλεῖται Cyran. 3. 17. 2. See above, *s.v.* θηρευτής. New meaning, unattested in the lexica and Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*.

πατέω, trans. = ὀχεύω, of male animals, especially of the rooster, *to mount the female, to cover*: ἀλέκτορι δὲ ἐὰν δῶς μετὰ ἀλφίτων οὐ πατήσει θήλειαν Cyran. 1. 10. 27; cf. 1. 19. 9. New meaning. It seems, however, that this meaning was quite common, since certain ancient grammarians derived the word πατήρ from πατέω in this sense: “πατήρ· παρὰ τὸ πατεῖν ἐν τῇ συνουσίᾳ· ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων” *Etym. Mag.* 655. 56. It might be worth pointing out the same figurative use of the English verb “to tread” (*OED s.v.* B. 8) and Latin *calcare* (*OLD s.v.* 9).

πελεκᾶνος, ὁ, subst., a bird: Ῥάμφιος πτηνόν ἐστὶ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν Νεῖλον ἱπτάμενον, λεγόμενον πελεκᾶνος Cyran. 3. 39. 3. It is extremely difficult to determine with certainty what bird is meant, since Cyran. here seems utterly confused and confusing; unsuspectingly and uncritically, he blends the features and descriptions of three different birds into one. First of all, the mention of the bird's habitat, i.e. the river Nile and the Lake of Egypt, leads one to identify it with the aquatic bird *coot*, Lat. *fulica*, whose Greek name, as we learn from glossaries, from which it is recorded as a *hapax* in *LSJ*, is πελεκανός (*scribe* πελεκᾶνος). But, as one can see from my citation above, the word in Cyran. is a text. gloss on ῥάμφιος, which is a descriptive name emphasizing a major feature of the bird, namely its *bill, beak*; the bird referred to here, therefore, must be one equipped with a strong or big beak, which, according to one of the two alternative explanations given by Schol. marg. *ad loc.* (πελεκᾶν ὁ

δρυοκόλαπτης ἦτοι ὁ δενδροκόλαφος) must be one of the species of *woodpecker*. In fact, one of the names for woodpecker in mod. Greek is πελεκᾶνος, a bird name which appears to be of considerable antiquity, and is obviously a collateral form of the classical πελεκᾶς, which denotes the same bird. *LSJ* does record ῥάμφιος as a *hapax*, from Cyran. *loc. cit.*, and explains it as “= πελεκανός,” which it defines as “*coot*.” But its identification of ῥάμφιος with *coot* without any qualification does not seem either correct or satisfactory; the reference to, and account of, the bird’s parental *pietas*, in particular that of the mother who revives her dead young offspring with her own blood (Cyran. 3. 39. 4–11), makes it certain that the bird in question is the famous πελεκᾶν, *pelican*, which is also an aquatic bird (see Arist. *HA* 9. 614b27). To conclude: any lexicon recording in the future ῥάμφιος or πελεκᾶνος with citations from Cyran. must take into account this confusion that renders the identification with this or that bird inaccurate; the confusion resulted because Cyran. has conflated into one the accounts of three different birds, namely the *coot*, the *woodpecker* and the *pelican*.

περιάπτομαι, passive, *to be hung around, to be worn as an amulet*: τῆς δὲ ἀηδόνης οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἡ καρδία περιαιπτόμενοι Cyran. 1. 5. 21; cf. 2. 7. 15, 2. 8. 54, 2. 47. 9, 3. 1. 52, 3. 1. 71. New usage.

περιλαμβάνομαι, passive, *cum dativo, to be afflicted by*: δυσεντερία περιειλημμένω Cyran. 1. 1. 12. This use is not recorded in the lexica.

περιπηλώω, intrans., see next entry.

περισπιλώω, *vox nihili*. Recorded in *LSJ* from Cyran. 2. 42. 10 and explained as “subject to heat.” The reading *περισπιλώω*, however, evidently appeared doubtful to the compilers of that lexicon themselves who added the proviso *si vera lectio*. The context in which this word seemingly occurs reads as follows: ἐὰν δὲ τὸν φρῦνον βάλης εἰς χύτραν καινὴν καὶ περισπιλώσης ἕως ἂν ἀπανθρακωθῇ τούτου ἢ τέφρα. The verb *περισπιλώω*, which does not occur elsewhere, seems extremely suspicious in this meaning; neither the verb *σπιλώω* nor the noun *σπίλος* has any semantic or etymological connection with a Greek word for *heat*. A close examination of this citation in conjunction with Cyran. 3. 36. 35 will shed light on the status of this word: ἐὰν δὲ νεοσσὸν μικρὸν πελαργοῦ λαβὼν βάλης εἰς χύτραν καινὴν, καὶ περιπηλώσας δώης εἰς φοῦρνον ὀπιᾶσθαι, ὅταν δὲ ἀπανθρακωθῇ ἄρας τὴν τέφρα. Clearly *περισπιλώω* is a ghost word, the result of scribal corruption of the correct reading *περιπηλώσας*. One can easily understand how and why the compilers of *LSJ* were misled into believing that the non-existent verb *περισπιλώω* means to “subject to heat”; the words signifying “subjecting the pot to heat by placing it into an oven,” something like δώης εἰς τὸν φοῦρνον ὀπιᾶσθαι, which we read in Cyran. 3. 36. 35, were inadvertently

omitted by the scribe. These words then need to be inserted into the text at Cyran. 2. 42. 10. The whole passage will read as follows: ἐὰν δὲ τὸν φρῦνον βάλῃς εἰς χύτραν καινὴν καὶ περιπηλώσας <δώῃς εἰς φούρνον ὀπτᾶσθαι> ἕως ἂν ἀπανθρακωθῇ: "if you put a toad into a brand-new earthen pot and, after sealing the pot all around with mud, place it in an oven to be baked until it burns to a cinder." As for the verb περιπηλώω, it is recorded in *LSJ*, from sources other than Cyran., but the meaning "encase in clay" does not seem adequate as far as the use of this verb in Cyran. is concerned. The verb means *to smear all over with mud*, with reference to cooking utensils; such vessels, whether of clay or metal, were smeared all over with mud before they were placed on the fire, for the purpose of washing them easily afterwards and preventing heat and soot from damaging their sheen. Such practice still persists in many villages of Greece, Southern Europe and the Middle East. However, in Cyran. the verb refers to the practice of hermetically sealing a pot around its rim and lid by smearing them with mud before placing the pot on fire, in order to prevent fumes, vapors, medicinal or magical qualities from escaping from the pot. See also προπηλώω below.

περισσοσαρκία, ἡ, the state of *having excess fat or flesh*: ἡ δὲ κόπρος αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς φώκης) περισσοσαρκίαν ἀποτῆκει Cyran. 2. 41. 27. New word.

περιχρίομαι, passive, *to be applied around as an ointment or salve*: σὺν ὕδατι δὲ περιχρισμένη (sc. ἡ τοῦ μυδὸς κόπρος) λέπρας καὶ λειχήνας θεραπεύει Cyran. 2. 26. 12; cf. 3. 9. 7, 3. 22. 5, 4. 40. 2. New usage.

πληθύνω, intrans., *to be found in abundance, to abound*: πληθύνει δὲ (sc. ὁ κιναιδίος ἰχθύς) ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ Cyran. 1. 10. 13; cf. 1. 14. 8. New meaning.

πνιγᾶς, ἄδος, ἡ, subst., medical techn. term, in the phrase ὑστερικὴ πνιγᾶς, ailment afflicting women = ὑστερικὴ πνίξις, *hysterics, hysterical fits or convulsions*: τὰ δὲ περὰ αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ ἀετοῦ) . . . ὑστερικὴν πνιγάδα καὶ φρενιτικὴν ἰώνται Cyran. 3. 1a. 7; cf. 3. 51. 21–22. (From the former citation it becomes clear that the ancient physicians distinguished also a second kind of πνιγᾶς, the φρενιτικὴ πνιγᾶς, which must mean a kind of *delirium* or *frenzy* associated with *phrenitis*.) New word.

πορφυρίς, ἴδος, ἡ = πορφύρα, *purple-fish* (see κογχύλη in this article): περὶ πορφυρίδος Cyran. 4. 53. 1. New meaning.

ποτίζομαι, passive, of drinks and liquids in general = πίνομαι, *to be consumed as a drink, to be given as a drink*: ὁ δὲ ζωμὸς (sc. τῶν καρίδων) . . . ποτιζόμενος γάλα ταῖς γυναίξιν πολὺ ἐπιφέρει Cyran. 4. 30. 8; cf. 1. 3. 21, 1. 7. 8. Usage unattested in *LSJ*. Such a usage,

however, occurs not only in *Cyran.* but also in *Dioscor.*, from whom the word is cited in *Soph. Lex.* Commenting on the existence of such a usage, *Steph. Thes. s.v. ποτίζω* says: "Nonnumquam et id ipsum quod potui praebetur s. potatur, ποτίζεσθαι dicitur . . ."

πράξιμος, *ον*, *adj.*, of (love-) charms, *efficacious, operative*: ἔστι δὲ καὶ πράξιμον φίλτρον *Cyran.* 2. 29. 5. New meaning. The word *πράξιμος* in this sense is semantically related to *πρᾶξις* in the sense of *LSJ s.v. II. 4*: "magical operation, spell."

προεκσπάω, *trans.* = *προεκτίλλω*, *to pluck out before*: τὰς προεκσπασθείσας τρίχας *Cyran.* 4. 61. 7. New word.

προκρίνω, *trans.*, medical techn. term, of diuretic substances = *προτρέπω* *LSJ s.v. III.*, *to cause increased excretion of urine, to induce urine to flow*: τὸ δὲ ἀπόζεμα . . . οὖρα προκρίνει *Cyran.* 4. 32. 5. New meaning.

προπηλώω, *trans.*, *to smear with mud in advance*: εἴαν τις τοὺς νεοσσοὺς αὐτῆς βάλῃ εἰς χύτραν καὶ προπηλώσας ὀπτήσῃ *Cyran.* 3. 50. 4. New word. See *περισιπλώω* above.

προποτίζω, *trans.*, of ceramic pots, *to saturate with water in advance, to soak with water before*: βαλὼν εἰς προπεποτισμένον ἀγγεῖον . . . τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν ᾧ ἀπεθεώθη ὁ ἱέραξ *Cyran.* 1. 21. 112. New meaning.

πυραυγίζω, *intrans.*, *to be of a fiery bright color*: ἄνθραξ λίθος ἐστὶ πολύτιμος, καθαρὸς . . . πυραυγίζων *Cyran.* 6. 1. 4. New word. For similar verbal formations signifying the color of stones, see *ἐγκυανίζω* above.

πυριάζω, *trans.*, medical techn. term, *to bathe a wound with warm medicated lotion, to give a vapor bath, to foment*: λειώσας τὴν βοτάνην σὺν οἰνελαίῳ ἐν τηγάνῳ ἀφέψει καὶ μετ' ἐρίων . . . πυρίαζε τὴν πληγὴν *Cyran.* 5. 6. 7. New form, unrecorded in *LSJ*, which records in this sense the verb *πυριάω*.

ράφανον, τό = *ράφανις*, including both *radish* (*Bot. Raphanus sativus*) and *ράφανος ἀγρία, charlock, wild mustard* (*Bot. Raphanus raphanistrum*): 'Ράφανον ἐδώδιμός ἐστι βοτάνη . . . ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἄγριος (*sc. ράφανος*) ὃς καὶ *ράφανις* λέγεται *Cyran.* 5. 17. 2. Form unrecorded in *LSJ* and *Steph. Thes.*, but attested in this sense in an anonymous medical author who supplies the only citation in *Soph. Lex. s.v.* From the above citation it becomes clear that there existed a masc. variant *ράφανος*, which is also absent from the lexica.

ρόυκα, ἡ < *Lat. eruca* = *εὐζωμον, rocket, Bot. Eruca sativa*: τουτέστιν βότανον λεγόμενον ρόυκα, gloss on *εὐζωμος βοτάνη* in *Cyran.* 1. 5. 3 (cod. O). Unrecorded in the lexica, except in *Ducangius Gloss.*

σάκκος, ὁ, text. gloss on χερσαῖος βάτραχος, *the land-frog*, believed to emit a poisonous breath: ὁ δὲ χερσαῖος βάτραχος ὁ καλούμενος σάκκος Cyran. 2. 5. 18. New meaning, unattested in the lexica, which do not record the χερσαῖος βάτραχος either.

σαλαμίνθη, ἡ = φαλάγγιον, *a venomous spider*: θήραφος ἡ ἀράχνη ὁ καὶ φαλάγγιον λέγεται . . . παρ' ἐνίοις δὲ σαλαμίνθη Cyran. 2. 16. 3. Most probably, the word is etymologically related to the word σαλάμανδρα. The word is absent from *LSJ*, but is recorded in Steph. *Thes.* and Ducangius *Gloss.* with a citation from an unpublished text which is either identical with Cyran. or strikingly similar. For a detailed discussion, see Ian C. Beavis, *Insects and Other Invertebrates in Classical Antiquity* (Exeter 1988), who cites Cyran. (p. 36).

σαμαμύθης, ὁ or σαμαμύθη, ἡ or σαμαμύθιν (< σαμαμύθιον), τό, gender indeterminate, text. gloss on ξυλοβάτης and τοιχοβάτης, *a kind of domestic lizard resembling a small crocodile*: Cyran. 2. 29. 2. New word.

σαπῶνιν, τό (< σαπώνιον), dimin. of σάπων, *soap*: μίξον σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ σαπῶνιν Cyran. 4. 28. 26. The form has no diminutive force. Unrecorded in *LSJ*.

σηπεδονώδης, ες, adj., medical techn. term. (I) *associated with putrefaction*, in the phr. σηπεδονώδη βοηθήματα, *remedies against wounds or sores which are inclined to putrefaction*: πρὸς ψωρικὰ βοηθήματα ἔτι δὲ καὶ λεπρικὰ καὶ σηπεδονώδη τὴν τοιαύτην κόνιν μινγνύουσιν Cyran. 2. 36. 14. (II) *σηπεδονώδης*, ὁ or ἡ, of *a person whose wounds or sores are in a state of putrefaction*: καθέντες γὰρ (sc. οἱ κοιλίαι) καὶ ποθέντες δυσεντερικοὺς ὠφελοῦσι τοὺς μήπω σηπεδονώδεις Cyran. 4. 36. 4. New meanings.

σηπόστρακον, τό, subst., *the internal shell of the cuttle-fish, cuttle-bone*: οὖ (sc. κυνὸς θαλασσίου) . . . ἡ τέφρα σὺν σηποστράκῳ οὖλας (*scribendum* οὖλα) θεραπεύει Cyran. 4. 29. 2. New word (as noted already by Kaimakis). I believe, however, that the form σηπόστρακον is corrupt and that it must be emended to σηπιόστρακον (from σηπία).

σιτοφόρος, ον, adj., in the phr. σιτοφόρος ἀρουραῖος, *a kind of mouse that carries off wheat from storehouses*: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ σιτοφόροι ἀρουραῖοι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν Cyran. 2. 25. 11–12. New meaning.

σιφούκιον, τό = ἐχίνος, *gizzard, bird's second stomach for grinding food mixed in the first with gastric juice*: Τῆς δὲ κοιλίας (sc. τοῦ ἀλέκτορος) ἔσωθεν ὑμῆν . . . ὃν καλοῦσιν ἐχίνον, οἱ δὲ σιφούκιον Cyran. 3. 3. 20; cf. 1. 18. 42. New word. The word, of non-Greek origin, comes from Arabic صفاق *ṣifāq*, plur. صفاق *ṣufuq*, *dermis, underskin; peritoneum*; cf. H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, edit. by J. M. Cowan (Repr. Wiesbaden 1980).

σκευή, ἡ = σκευασία, *preparing, recipe, prescription* (of magic substances or concoctions): Ἡ δὲ σκευὴ τοῦ ξηρίου ἐστὶν αὕτη Cyran. 1. 18. 25; cf. 1. 18. 30, 1. 24. 71, 1. 24. 80, 2. 3. 18. For the meaning, cf. κατασκευὴ and παρασκευὴ. New meaning.

σκνιπή, ἡ, subst., a kind of thin *ant* of yellow color: οἱ δὲ λεπτοὶ καὶ ἰσχυροὶ καὶ ξανθοὶ (*sc.* μύρμηκες), οἵτινες λέγονται σκνιπαί Cyran. 2. 25. 5. New word.

σκυτίς, ἴδος, ἡ, a *leather container for amulets*: ἐὰν δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς ἐνήθησῃ εἰς σκυτίδα μέλαιναν Cyran. 2. 28. 6. New meaning.

σπεκλάριον, τό, subst. = κάτοπτρον, Lat. *speculum, mirror*: ἰχθύδιον στρογγύλον, διαυγὲς δὲ τὸ σῶμα ὡς φαίνεσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν ῥάχιν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ὡς διὰ σπεκλαρίου Cyran. 1. 10. 12–13. New meaning. *LSJ* does record the word, but with a different meaning, namely “= Lat. *lapis specularis*, i.e. *mica* or *talc.*” *LSJ Suppl.* records the word from Cyran. and Zos. Alch. 139. 2, without indicating that the word in Cyran. has a completely different meaning; obviously, *LSJ* derives the word from the Lat. *specularis* (*sc.* *lapis*), which = *mica* or *talc.* However, in Cyran. the word is actually a diminutive-looking morphological development in Greek from the Lat. *speculum* (> σπέκουλ-, σπέκλ- + dimin. suffix -άριον; cf. παιδάριον); the meaning of the word in Cyran. is that of the Lat. *speculum* and the Greek κάτοπτρον (a word which does in fact appear written as a supralinear gloss in cod. I of Cyran.).

στάκτη, ἡ, subst. = σποδός, *ashes*: μετὰ στάκτης συκίνης ἢ δρυίνης καὶ ἐλατίνης Cyran. 2. 33. 5. New word. Cf. also the derivative στακτώδης, “ash-coloured, ashy.”

σταφυλῖς, ἴδος, ἡ, medical techn. term, a *disease afflicting the eyeball*: περὶ δὲ ὄλον τὸν βολβόν, πτερύγιον, λεύκωμα . . . σταφυλῖς Cyran. 1. 16. 17. New meaning. It is very probable that σταφυλῖς signifies the same thing as σταφύλωμα, “a defect in the eye inside the cornea.”

στέφανος, ὁ, text. gloss on βασίλειον = λόφος, the *crest* or *tuft* on the head of birds: Γλαυξ ὄρνεόν ἐστι πτηνόν . . . ὃς ἔχει δισκοειδὲς βασίλειον, ἥτοι στέφανον, ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου Cyran. 3. 10. 3. New meaning.

στηθιαῖος, α, ον, adj. = Lat. *mammosa*, *big-breasted, with swelling breast*: ἔχει δὲ γλυφὴν Σελήνην ὡς στηθιαίαν Cyran. 1. 10. 94. The adj. with this meaning is recorded in *LSJ*, but it was known to us up to now only through glossaries, which have preserved it without a context.

σύγκαυσις, εως, ἡ, medical techn. term, a kind of *eye disease, inflammation of the eye*: περὶ δὲ ὄλον τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, φλεγμονή . . . σύγκαυσις Cyran. 1. 16. 22. New meaning.

συληγούδι, τό, text. gloss on ξυλοβάτης and τοιχοβάτης, a kind of *domestic lizard resembling a small crocodile*: ξυλοβάτης οἱ δὲ τοιχοβάτην ὃ οἱ πολλοὶ συνήθως σαμαμίθην λέγουσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ συληγούδι Cyran. 2. 29. 3. New word. Non-Greek word of unknown origin. Ducangius *Gloss.* records with the same meaning the forms σιλλιγούδι and σιλίουρδον.

συνδρομή, ἡ, astrological techn. term, of stars, *assembling, gathering together*: ἰδίας ποιήσει συνδρομὰς πάντων τῶν φαινομένων ἀστέρων Cyran. 1. 24. 61. New meaning.

συνταριχεύω, trans., *to preserve together by drying or salting*: ὁμοίως δὲ τὸ ἦπαρ καὶ οἱ νεφροὶ καὶ ἡ καρδιά καὶ ὁ πνεύμων συνταριχευθέντα τὰ αὐτὰ ἰῶνται Cyran. 2. 13. 14–15. New word.

συντυχία, ἡ, *accidental encounter, meeting, social intercourse*: ἀξιόλογον καὶ προσφιλῆ συντυχίαις δυναστῶν . . . χάριν παρέξει Cyran. 1. 1. 173–74. New meaning.

Συριάς, ἄδος, ἡ, *from Syria, Syrian*: δευτέρα βίβλος ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης Ἀρχαϊκῆς Συριάδος οὕσα Cyran. prol. 71 and 77 (p. 17). This is a poetic formation concerning which cf. Ἀχερουσιάς, Ἐλικωνιάς, Ἰλιάς (adj.) and Αἰγυπτιάς, the last not recorded in *LSJ* but dealt with in the present author's "Addenda to the *LSJ* Greek-English Lexicon: Lexicographical Notes on the Vocabulary of the *Oracula Sibyllina*," *ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ* 38 (1987) 55.

συστέλλω, trans., *to protect something from exposure to open air, sunlight, etc.*, opposite of αἰθριάζω (see above): διὰ τὸ τὰς ἡμέρας συστέλλειν αὐτὸ (sc. τὸ φυτὸν) καὶ νυκτὸς αἰθριάζειν Cyran. 1. 24. 16. New meaning.

τεκνοσπορέω, intrans., of women, *to conceive, to become pregnant*: ἀναξηραίνει γὰρ τὰς φύσεις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ ποιεῖ τεκνοσπορήσαι Cyran. 1. 18. 23–24. New word.

τετράχρωμος, ον, adj., *of four colors*: αὐτὸ δὲ (sc. τὸ ζῷον ἔποψ) τετράχρωμον (v.l. τετράχροον) ὡς εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὰς τέσσαρας τροπὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ Cyran. 1. 7. 51. New word.

τμητήριον, τό, subst., *a cutting instrument*, e.g. a knife: λαβὼν τμητήριον σχίσον τὴν κορυφὴν Cyran. 4. 65. 11. New word, unrecorded in the lexica; nor is there in the lexica any adj. τμητήριος.

τοιχοβάτης, ὁ, a kind of *domestic lizard resembling a small crocodile*: ξυλοβάτης οἱ δὲ τοιχοβάτην . . . λέγουσιν, . . . εἶδός ἐστι κορκοδείλου μικροῦ Cyran. 2. 29. 2. For similar compound formations, see ξυλοβάτης above. Not in *LSJ*. Ducangius *Gloss.* and Steph. *Thes.* record the forms τοιχοβαύστης and τοιχοβάτης in the above sense but from a late source.

τριφύλλιος (sc. βοτάνη), ἡ = τρίφυλλον, *clover*, Bot. *Trifolium fragiferum*: τριφύλλιος βοτάνη ἐστὶν γνώριμος πᾶσιν Cyran. 1. 19. 3. New form. Hesychius records only the form τρίφυλλος (s.v. βάλλαρις).

τριχάιος, ὁ, subst., a kind of *sea-fish* (precise identification impossible): τριχάιος ἰχθύς ἐστὶ θαλάσσιος Cyran. 4. 63. 2. New word, unrecorded in the lexica except in Steph. *Thes.*, which records it s.v. τριχίς. Two other fish names deriving from the same base are recorded in *LSJ*, τριχίς and τριχιάς. It is likely that τριχάιος is a variant of one of these forms, signifying the same kind of fish ("anchovy").

τριχοποιέω, to cause hair to grow: καὶ τριχοποιεῖ αὐτή (sc. ἡ ἡλιακὴ ζαύρα) Cyran. 2. 14. 34. The single citation for this meaning in *LSJ*, Alex. Trall. 1. 1, is according to the same lexicon a *varia lectio* for τριχοφυεῖ. Thus our citation here is the first certain documentation of the use of the word with this meaning.

τριχοφυέω, to cause hair to grow: αἱ δὲ τρίχες αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ λαγωῦ) . . . τοῖς πυρκαύστοις ἔλκεσι καθαρὰν οὐλὴν ἐμποιοῦσι καὶ τριχοφυοῦσι Cyran. 2. 24. 28. Meaning absent from *LSJ*. Recorded, in this sense, in Soph. *Lex.* with a citation from Dioscorides.

τρογλίτης, ὁ, subst. = στρουθός, *sparrow*: Ξοῦθρος, οἱ δὲ στρουθον, ἡ πυργίτην, ἡ τρογλίτην τοῦτον καλοῦσιν Cyran. 3. 32. 2. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, who does not include Cyran. among his citations s.v. τρογλίτης (p. 292), is undecided between the meanings "wren" and "sparrow." In addition to the fact that Cyran. provides the definitive answer to the question, one may point out against Thompson's reservations that (a) not only the wren, but also the sparrow lives in τρωγλαί, which the latter, however, invariably digs into the external walls of houses in rural areas; (b) the sparrow is an edible bird and as such is referred to in Cyran., whereas the wren is not; (c) the sparrow was always regarded as a bird of Aphrodite and as such was associated with lasciviousness; for this reason it must be the *sparrow*, and not the *wren*, whose roasted flesh Cyran. (3. 32. 5) recommends as an aphrodisiac. The word is recorded in *LSJ*, but that lexicon is uncertain about its precise signification: "a bird, prob. = τρογλοδύτης II . . ." But the meaning s.v. τρογλοδύτης II, "*wren, Troglodytes europaeus*," is not applicable to the word τρογλίτης, which, as Cyran. explicitly says, is the same as στρουθός and πυργίτης, i.e. *sparrow*. The explanation, therefore, in *LSJ* s.v. τρογλίτης must be accordingly corrected.

ὕδριτης, ὁ = βάτραχος ὕδριτης, a kind of *frog*, a *water-frog* (different both from the amphibious, common frog and the χερσαῖος βάτραχος referred to also as σάκκος, for which see above): Τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄφεων γινόμενα δῆγματα ἰᾶται βάτραχος ὕδριτης ζῶν Cyran. 2. 30. 15. New word.

ὑποθυμιάω, trans., *to burn something for fumigation*: ἐὰν οὖν τις βραχὺ τῆς βοτάνης μετὰ κόπρου γυπὸς ὑποθυμιάσῃ ὑπὸ περσικίαν, φυλλοροήσῃ Cyran. 1. 10. 23. This construction, with the accusative denoting the substance burnt for fumigation, is new and unrecorded in the lexica. The regular construction is with accusative of the thing fumigated and dative of the substance with which the fumigation is performed. The verb occurs also with double accusative (Cyran. 3. 9. 29), another construction absent from the lexica.

ὑποκαπνίζομαι, passive, *to be used as a fumigation substance, to be burned for the purpose of fumigation*: ὑποκαπνιζόμενον δὲ καὶ καταχριόμενον μελισσῶν καὶ σφηκῶν δῆγματα ἰᾶται Cyran. 2. 6. 25; cf. 2. 17. 11–12, 2. 30. 12–13. New construction.

ὑπολαζούριος, ον, adj., *rather bright-blue*: Ἄλκυὼν στρουθίον ἐστὶν εὖμορφον πάνυ, ὑπολαζούριον Cyran. 3. 2. 2. New word. For the origin of the word, see λαζοῦριν above.

ὑποπικρίζω, intrans., of herbs, *to have a somewhat bitter taste*: Ζώηχος βοτάνη ἐστὶν ἐδώδιμος, ὑποπικρίζουσα Cyran. 5. 6. 2. New word.

ὑπορρώγιον, τό, subst., medical techn. term, *sore under the surface of the flesh as a result of injury, ruptured subcutaneous tissue*: καὶ πᾶσα δὲ ἡ βοτάνη (sc. ἄμπελος μέλαινα) ἀρμόδιος ἐπιληπτικοῖς . . . ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ὑπορρωγίων λόφους ἠλκωμένους Cyran. 1. 1. 122. New word.

ὑπόστυφος, ον, adj., *rather astringent*: Νάρθηξ βοτάνη . . . θερμαντικὴ μετρίως καὶ ὑπόστυφος Cyran. 5. 13. 2–3. New word.

φιλάγρυπνος, ον, adj., *fond of staying awake*: βοῦφον λέγουσίν τινες ὄρνεον φιλάγρυπνον Cyran. 3. 8. 2. The word is used here in its literal meaning, whereas the meaning in *LSJ* is figurative, “wakeful.”

φιλτροποιός, ον, adj., *functioning as a love-charm*: τὰ δὲ φὰ αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς κορώνης) . . . ἡδονικά ἐστιν ἄγαν καὶ φιλτροποιά Cyran. 3. 22. 8; cf. 3. 43. 8–9, 3. 55. 16. New meaning.

φλέβιον, τό, subst., dimin. of φλέψ, *a vein, streak, or stripe of different color on stone, marble etc.*: σάπφειρος λίθος . . . ἔχων καὶ φλεβία (scribe φλέβια) χρυσᾶ Cyran. 1. 18. 9. The word is used here without any diminutive force. Recorded in *LSJ*, but with different meanings.

φυλακτόν, τό = φυλακτήριον, *amulet*: εἰ καὶ ὄνυχα τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἐμβάλλῃς τῷ φυλακτῷ Cyran. 1. 21. 45; cf. 2. 23. 26. Recorded in *Steph. Thes.*, *Soph. Lex.* and *Ducangius Gloss.*, but not in *LSJ*.

φώκειον, τό, subst., *seal skin*: καὶ παῖδας τοὺς εἰς τὸ φώκιον (*scribe φώκειον*) ἐπαγομένους Cyran. 2. 41. 17. *LSJ* records only the adj. φώκειος.

φωκικός, ἡ, ὄν = φώκειος, *of a seal*: φωκικὸν φυλακτήριον Schol. marg. ad Cyran. 2. 41. 29. New word.

φωλεόκοιτος, ον, adj., of wild animals, *living in dens, sleeping in lairs*: πτηνῶν καὶ νεπόδων πάντων καὶ φωλεοκοίτων Cyran. 1. 7. 43 (= p. 51. 31). Poetic coinage. New word.

χαλκοῦς, ἡ, οὖν, adj., in the phr. χαλκῆ σαύρα, a kind of *lizard*, evidently owing its appellation to its copper-like color: ζαυρῶν δέ εἰσι γένη τρία. ἡ μὲν ἡλιακὴ λέγεται, ἡ δὲ χαλκῆ, ἡ δὲ χλωρά Cyran. 2. 14. 3. New meaning. Regarding the three kinds of lizards distinguished by Cyran., see ἡλιακός above.

χαριέντης, ὁ, adj. = χαρίεις, *graceful, charming*: ἀλλ' ἔσται ἐν πᾶσι χαριέντης καὶ ἡσύχιος Cyran. 3. 1. 11. New word (as noted already by Kaimakis).

χαριτήσιος, α, ον, adj., of amulets, *conducive to winning favor, conducive to making someone charming*: οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ . . . χαριτήσιοι εἰσιν Cyran. 2. 1. 11–12. New word. *LSJ* records only the neuter substantive form χαριτήσιον, in the sense "spell for winning favour." Cyran. uses both the adj. and the subst.: 2. 14. 12, 4. 67. 18.

χαριτόω, trans. = χαριτοποιέω, *to make someone graceful or charming*: ἡ δὲ χολὴ τῆς καμήλου . . . κοσμεῖ . . . καὶ χαριτοῖ Cyran. 2. 18. 5. New meaning.

χειραγωγικός, ὁ, subst., medical techn. term, *a person who suffers from gout in the hand*: τούτου (*sc. τοῦ ἰκτίνου*) ἡ κεφαλὴ ξηρανθεῖσα . . . ποδαγωγικούς ὠφελεῖ καὶ χειραγωγικούς Cyran. 3. 19. 4. *LSJ* does record χειραγωγικός, but only as an adj., and its only citation is actually a conjecture.

χειραγρός, ὁ, subst., medical techn. term = χειραλγός, *a person who suffers from gout in the hand*: ποδαγρούς καὶ χειραγρούς βοηθεῖ Cyran. 3. 1. 16; cf. 2. 24. 31, 2. 40. 54, 3. 1. 74, 3. 36. 42. The word was known up to now through glossaries, which have preserved it without a context. Note that the word is oxytone (cf. χειραλγός, ποδαγρός, ποδαλγός, γοναγρός), contra *LSJ*.

χελιδονία, ἡ, in the phr. χελιδονία βοτάνη, a plant name, *swallowwort, the greater celandine*, Bot. *Chelidonium majus*: μετὰ χυλοῦ χελιδονίας βοτάνης Cyran. 3. 3. 12. Apparently, this plant is the same as χελιδόνιον τὸ μέγα mentioned by Dioscor. *Mat. Med.* 2. 180 and cited in *LSJ s.v.* New meaning.

χελιδών, όνος, ή = χελιδόνιον, *bryony*, Bot. *Bryonia cretica*: ή μὲν πρώτη ἄμπελος λευκή, ήν τινες βρυωνίαν καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ χελιδόνα Cyran. 1. 1. 107. New meaning.

χηλός, ό, a kind of *sea-fish*: χηλός ιχθύς ἐστὶ θαλάσσιος Cyran. 4. 71. 2. New word. Etymological connection between this word and χηλή, χηλός is doubtful.

χλέμα, ατος, τό, a kind of *fish* (precise identification impossible): χλέματος ὀφθαλμοί Cyran. 4. 70. 2. New word.

χλωρός, ά, όν (I) χλωρά (*sc.* ζάυρα), a kind of *lizard* owing its appellation to its greenish-yellow color: ζαυρῶν δὲ εἰσι γένη τρία. ή μὲν ήλικακή λέγεται, ή δὲ χαλκή, ή δὲ χλωρά Cyran. 2. 14. 3. New meaning. The χλωρά ζάυρα is, of course, the same as the χλωροσαύρα, which occurs in the Scholia recentiora of Theocritus (2. 58, 7. 22) and is recorded from there in *LSJ*. (II) χλωρός (*sc.* ὄρνις), subst., a kind of bird known also as φρῦνος and ἕκτερος (Pliny *HN* 30. 94 identifies ἕκτερος with the bird *galgulus*, the *golden oriole*. The bird in question is most probably the same as χλωροστρουθίον, or better χλωροστρουθίον, known to us through glossaries.): Φρῦνος πτηνόν, οἱ δὲ ἕκτερον, οἱ δὲ χλωρὸν λέγουσιν Cyran. 1. 21. 6. New meaning.

χολοβοτάνη, ή, a kind of δρακόντιον, namely a kind of *edder-wort*, Bot. *Dracunculus vulgaris*, from the seeds of which a red juice is extracted: αὕτη δὲ λέγεται κρείττω ή χολοβοτάνη, ήτις ἔχει φύλλα πλατέα ὅμοια πλατάνοις Cyran. 1. 4. 6. New word.

χρηματικός, ή, όν = χρηματιστικός, *oracular, prophetic*: πολύχρηστον καὶ χρηματικόν ἐστὶ τὸ ζῶον Cyran. 3. 46. 5. New meaning.

χύμωσις, εως, ή, medical techn. term, a kind of *eye-disease*: περὶ δὲ ὄλον τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, φλεγμονή, φίμωσις, χύμωσις Cyran. 1. 16. 21. New meaning.

ψευδοδίκτηιον, τό, subst. = ἐλελίσφακος, the aromatic herb *sage*, Bot. *Salvia triloba*: ψευδοδίκτηιον ήτοι ἐλίφασκον (*scribe* ἐλελίσφακον) ή βίκιον ῥωμαϊκῶς σάλβια Schol. marg. ad Cyran 1. 23. 16. New word. For other Greek plant names with ψευδο- as the first component, cf. ψευδοβούνιον, ψευδοδίκταμνον, ψευδοκάρπασος, ψευδοκύπειρος, ψευδόναρδος, ψευδοσέλινον.

ψυαλία, ή, medical techn. term = Lat. *lumbago, lumborum dolores*, i.e. *ailment afflicting the male genital organs*: τὸ δὲ ἀπόζεμα . . . ψυαλίαις βοηθεῖ Cyran. 5. 15. 6. New word.

ψύδραξ, ακος, ό, subst. = ψυδράκιον, *pimple, pustule*: γίνεται ή κόπρος αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ ψάρου) ρυπτικὴ ὥστε καὶ ἐφήλεις ἀποσμήχεν καὶ φακοὺς καὶ ψύδρακας ὄψεως Cyran. 3. 53. 5. *LSJ* does record this

word, but only from *Etym. Mag.*, which has preserved it as an isolated lexical item without a context. Cf. also *Zonarae Lexicon* (Tittmann) c. 1875 and S. Epiph. *De Duodecim Gemmis* V p. 297 (PG XLIII). Soph. *Lex.* does record the word, with a citation from Galen.

ψύλλιος (sc. βοτάνη), ἡ = ψύλλιον, *flea-wort*: ψύλλιος ἐστὶ βοτάνη πᾶσι γνωστή Cyran. 1. 23. 3. New form.

ψυχρίς, ἴδος, ἡ, subst., a plant growing in the country of the Chaldaeans and possessed of cooling properties. Identification uncertain: ψυχρίς βοτάνη ἐστὶν ἐν γῆ Χαλδαιῶν φουμένη Cyran. 5. 23. 1. New word.

ῶκιμος (sc. βοτάνη), ἡ = ῶκιμον, the aromatic herb *basil*: ῶκιμος βοτάνη Cyran. 1. 24. 1; cf. 1. 24. 26 and 48. New form. The fem. form is attested also in Latin, *ocimos* (Ps.-Apul. *Herb.* Interpol. 120. 20), which *TLL* incorrectly regards as masculine.

ὠκύπτερος, ὁ, subst., *swallow*: ὠκύπτερος πτηνόν . . . ὃ ἐστὶν ἡ κοινῶς λεγομένη χελιδόν Cyran. 1. 24. 5. New meaning.

ὠκυτοκία, ἡ, of women in labor, *speedy delivery, quick childbirth*: ἐσθιόμενοι δὲ (sc. οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῆς χελιδόνος) . . . ὠκυτοκίαν παρέχουσι Cyran. 3. 50. 19–20; cf. 4. 28. 5. Recorded as a *hapax* in *LSJ* from Rhetor. in *Cat. Cod. Astr.* 8 (4). 133, as a “conjecture for ὀξυτοκία.” Thus the present lemma provides the first certain documentation of the existence of the word.

ὠμῖς, ἴδος, ἡ = μαινῖς, a tiny, edible sprat-like fish which was salted and dried, *Maena vulgaris*: ὠμῖς θαλασσία . . . ὃ καλοῦσι μαινίδα Cyran. 1. 24. 7. The word is recorded in *LSJ Suppl.* from Cyran., but it defines it only as “a sea fish.” Moreover, it incorrectly states that the genitive is “not known.” The genitive is found at 1. 24. 53 and 60, and the accusative at 1. 24. 70.

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Acedia in Late Classical Antiquity

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The sudden appearance during the fourth century of the enervating spiritual condition sometimes termed *acedia*¹ evokes abiding fascination.² Its appearance, however, raises more questions than can be satisfied: What was *acedia*? Was it a spiritual or psychological condition? Why was it so dangerous? Why was it treated as a sin rather than as a dangerous illness? Why does it so suddenly appear? Why did it become so contagious? Does it have classical antecedents?

The issue, for better or worse, has narrowed in on definitions: Does the condition represent a form of depression, or (without canvassing the grades in between) does it represent, simply, a type of boredom? Starobinski³ and the influential Kristeva⁴ see it as a type of depression. For Kuhn⁵ and Bouchez⁶ *acedia* is an enervating form of boredom, albeit one with

¹ The following works are cited by author's name and date of publication: M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins* (East Lansing, MI 1952) (= Bloomfield 1952); O. Chadwick, *John Cassian*² (Cambridge 1968) (= Chadwick 1968); S. W. Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression: From Hippocratic Times to Modern Times* (New Haven 1986) (= Jackson 1986); R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky, and F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art* (London 1964) (= Klibansky 1964); R. Kuhn, *The Demon of Noontide: Ennui in Western Literature* (Princeton 1976) (= Kuhn 1976); G. Rosen, *Madness in Society* (London 1968) (= Rosen 1968); J. Starobinski, *History of the Treatment of Melancholy from the Earliest Times to 1900* (Basel 1962) (= Starobinski 1962); F. Wemelsfelder, "Boredom and Laboratory Animal Welfare," in *The Experimental Animal in Biomedical Research*, ed. by B. E. Rollin (Boca Raton, FL 1989) (= Wemelsfelder 1989), and "Animal Boredom: Is a Scientific Study of the Subjective Experiences of Animals Possible?" in *Advances in Animal Welfare Science 1984*, ed. by M. W. Fox and L. S. Mickley (Boston 1985) 115-54 (= Wemelsfelder 1985); S. Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature* (Chapel Hill, NC 1967) (= Wenzel 1967).

² And in the most unexpected of places. See, for example, Aldous Huxley, *On the Margin: Notes and Essays* (London 1923) 18-25, or Evelyn Waugh's comments reproduced in D. Gallagher (ed.), *The Essays, Articles and Reviews of Evelyn Waugh* (London 1983) 538-41 and 572-76, or Alan Judd's recent novel, *The Noontide Devil* (London 1986), rev. *TLS* (June 26, 1987) 697.

³ Starobinski 1962, 31-34.

⁴ J. Kristeva, *Soleil noir: Dépression et mélancholie* (Paris 1987) 17.

⁵ Kuhn 1976, 39-64.

⁶ M. Bouchez, *L'ennui de Sénèque à Moravia* (Paris 1973) 31-34.

psychological ramifications. Klibansky, Saxl, and Panofsky,⁷ after seeming to describe acedia as a severe form of depression, refuse to name the state. Following their lead Jackson,⁸ who delivers the latest treatment of the problem, steers the middle course. Finally there is Siegfried Wenzel who, concentrating on the word "acedia" itself, maintains that there is no single definition.⁹

We cannot hope to cover all of the issues raised by the appearance of this strange mental state. It may be possible, however, to reexamine and to adjudicate some of the problems. I would like to concentrate here on two related questions: first, the difficulties involved in identifying and defining this condition (which will require a brief survey of the evidence), and second, the possibility of identifying classical antecedents for the condition.¹⁰

I

In 382 Evagrius (A.D. ?346–399)¹¹ quit Constantinople for the deserts south-west of Alexandria. Here he joined the hermit colonies gathered at Nitria, Scete, and the "Desert of Cells." During the seventeen years that Evagrius passed in these hermetic communities he developed a formulation of acedia which, to some extent, remains canonical. It is also a formulation which may respond to the conditions of this "Desert of Cells."

Acedia for Evagrius represents a "psychic exhaustion and listlessness."¹² On the face of things it seems probable that acedia was the product of the extreme monotony, the harshness, and the solitude of anchoritic life.¹³ Consideration of the conditions in which these North African monks lived gives a better idea of the likelihood of this contention. On Mount Nitria, for example, there were nearly 5,000 monks. Through the heat, the lack of sleep (acedia was the "demon of noontide"), the paucity of food, they lived in their separate cells. Their spiritual programme lacked elaboration. They practised a common form of work, probably shared meals, and on Saturday and Sunday shared worship. But apart from work and meals the day was silent, especially in Cellia and Scete.¹⁴ Small wonder that they fell into a state which produced symptoms of dejection, restlessness, dislike of the cell, resentment of fellow monks, a desire to quit the cell to seek salvation

⁷ Klibansky 1964, 75–78.

⁸ Jackson 1986, 67.

⁹ Wenzel 1967.

¹⁰ Some attempt at this may be found in Toohy, "Some Ancient Notions of Boredom," *ICS* 13 (1988) 151–64, and "Some Ancient Histories of Literary Melancholia," *ICS* 15 (1990) 143–63.

¹¹ Περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ λογισμῶν πρὸς Ἀνατόλιον (PG 40. 1271 ff.). The best discussion is by Wenzel 1967. See also R. Arbesmann, "The *Daemonium Meridianum* and Greek Patristic Exegesis," *Traditio* 14 (1958) 17–31.

¹² Wenzel 1967, 5.

¹³ The discussion of acedia in the Περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ λογισμῶν is quite explicit on this.

¹⁴ Chadwick 1968, 22–23.

elsewhere, and even a rejection of the value of anchoritic practices (PG 40. 1273). Wenzel, perhaps the best commentator on Evagrian acedia, observes that "in the end *acēdia* causes the monk either to give in to physical sleep, which proves unrefreshing or actually dangerous because it opens the door to many other temptations, or to leave his cell and eventually the religious life altogether."¹⁵

Counter-measures for acedia existed. Endurance, patience, a resolute refusal to quit one's cell, insistent prayer, the reading and recitation of psalms, the remembrance of, and meditation on relevant verses from Scripture, keeping to the fore the thought of one's death and heavenly rewards, even the shedding of tears were all felt to be helpful practices. Above all manual labour was believed to be a most powerful measure against the sin. In spite of the dangers there were decided benefits to be derived from an onslaught of acedia. The monk who was capable of withstanding it grew immeasurably in strength.¹⁶

In its earliest formulations, therefore, acedia gives the appearance of being the disease par excellence of the hermit. Indeed, the very conditions in which the hermit lived would be conducive to the illness. St. John Chrysostomos (A.D. ?347–407), also a North African but an erstwhile hermit, provides us with another important outline of the illness. In his *Exhortations to Stagirus*¹⁷ St. John attempts to assist an anchorite, Stagirus, who suffers a destructive spiritual condition. Although this is termed *athumia*, the condition is usually interpreted as acedia.¹⁸ Stagirus, after his entry into monastic life, began to suffer frightening nightmares, bizarre physical disorders, and a despair that bordered on suicide (PG 47. 425–26). What interests most in St. John's discussion is the extremity of the illness. The description of Stagirus suffering an attack is startling. Stagirus' symptoms were "twisted hands, rolling eyes, a distorted voice, tremors, senselessness, and an awful dream at night—a wild, muddy boar rushed violently to accost him."¹⁹

St. John's description modifies the Evagrian portrait in two important ways. First, *athumia*, or acedia, was far more violent than anything described by Evagrius. The second important modification concerns the epidemiology of acedia. The disease is not restricted to the anchoritic community. He compares the attack suffered by Stagirus to those suffered by individuals living *delicate* (in Greek they are τρυφῶντας) in the world: "Many, while they live in a debauched fashion, are taken by this plague. But after a little time they are freed from the illness, and regain perfect

¹⁵ Wenzel 1967, 5.

¹⁶ Qualities listed by Wenzel 1967, 5 f.

¹⁷ Λόγος παραινετικός πρὸς Σταγείριον ἀσκητὴν δαιμονῶντα (PG 47. 423 ff.), written in A.D. 380 or 381.

¹⁸ Klubansky 1964, 75.

¹⁹ PG 47. 426. See also Kuhn 1976, 47.

health and marry, and have many children, and enjoy all the benefits of this life" (PG 47. 425).

Acedia became the eighth of the vices in the famous list of John Cassian (A.D. c. 360–435). Cassian, born in Bethlehem but finally resident in Transalpine Gaul, is the key figure for the Western tradition of acedia.²⁰ In his work discussing monastic habits, *De institutis cenobiorum*, he stresses its dangers. He links it especially with the hermetic life: it is characterised by laziness and inertia, by an unwillingness to pursue spiritual exercises, by a desire to escape present circumstances, by tiredness, hunger, the slowing of time, by a desire to escape oneself through sleep or company (PL 49. 366–67). His cure is labour—which discussion occupies the largest part of *Instituta* 10.²¹ Cassian's use of the word acedia in *Instituta* 10 evinces a shift away from anchoritic dejection or depression to something more closely resembling idleness (*otium* or *otiositas*), even sloth.²² The reason for this, implies Chadwick and argues Wenzel, is the changed circumstances in the lives of the religious for whom he wrote.²³ Ascetics such as those addressed by Evagrius lived harsh lives, in spite of their community clusters in the North African deserts. Acedia, in their cases, is exacerbated by solitude and deprivation. Cassian created a new audience. After a period of wandering from Palestine to Constantinople to Egypt and finally to Marseilles, he established his own cenobitic community. Here the ascetic individualism of the North African hermit was tempered by the demands of a religious community. The individual must contribute to the whole. Idleness, therefore, is a particular danger. Work is of paramount importance—hence the stress of the *Instituta*. "It was basic to the cenobitic life," maintains Wenzel, "that the individual monastery be a self-sustaining unit for whose support the individual monk had to contribute his share."²⁴ Laziness endangered its existence.

Cassian's acedia may be described as a type of sloth. Another monkish vice, described in Book 9 of the *De institutis cenobiorum*, is *tristitia*. It bears a slight resemblance to Evagrius' and Stagirus' illnesses.²⁵ Cassian outlines the origins of this state as follows (cap. 13, PL 49. 360–61): it could arise from past anger, a loss of money, an unspecified disappointment,

²⁰ Cassian wrote *De institutis cenobiorum* (PL 49. 53 ff.), published in 425, a description of monastic life as he knew it from Palestine and Egypt; Books 5–12 treat the eight vices; Book 10 (PL 49. 359 ff.) is written "de spiritu acediae." Translations are: E. C. S. Gibson (trans.), in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd ser., XI (New York 1894) and Jean-Claude Grey (trans.), *Jean Cassien, Institutions cénobitique* (Paris 1965). Cassian also wrote the *Collationes patrum* (CSEL XIII—pretended reports of "conferences" with the most famous desert fathers). This was published about 426–28. Generally on Cassian there is Chadwick 1968.

²¹ Kuhn 1976, 50–54 provides a useful discussion of Cassian.

²² Wenzel 1967, 22.

²³ Chadwick 1968, 46; Wenzel 1967, 22.

²⁴ Wenzel 1967, 22.

²⁵ Cassian seems to have adapted Chrysostomos PG 47. 489. On the relation of Chrysostomos and Cassian, see Chadwick 1968, 9.

an unprovoked injury, irrational confusion of the mind, or the sorts of things such as cause one to despair of salvation and life itself (Cassian compares Judas). *Tristitia* can be cured simply by directing one's attention steadfastly on the afterlife. Cassian's category is, however, a jumble. That it was not well thought through is indicated, perhaps, by the brevity of this ninth book. *Tristitia* may signify mental derangement, although Cassian is more concerned with the other categories. These might best be characterised as frustration, although they may represent a frustration that can become so extreme as to be lethal. In general *tristitia* has none of the severity of Stagiri^{us}' *athumia*.

Rutilius Namatianus was a pagan, a contemporary of Cassian and also a Gaul.²⁶ In A.D. 416 or 417 he made his famous voyage home to a ravaged Gaul. North of Corsica, near the island of Capraria, he mentions passing a community of monks. He remarks (*De reditu suo* 1. 439 ff.): "As we crossed the ocean Capraria reared up in front of us. The island is polluted by a plenitude of men who flee the light. They give themselves the Greek name of *monachi* [monks] because they want to live alone, without a witness . . . Perhaps they seek their cells [*ergastula*] as punishment for their actions? Perhaps their mournful hearts are swollen with black gall? A superfluity of black bile was the cause Homer assigned to the troubles of Bellerophon [*Iliad* 6. 200 f.], for the human race is said to have displeased the young man after he was made ill by the attacks of cruel depression [*saevi post tela doloris*]."

It is uncertain whether Rutilius is describing a monastic community or a loose confederation of anchorites. He identifies the psychological state of these men as depression or, as he would have termed it, melancholia. The *nigra fellis* to which Rutilius refers is black bile (indicated in the next line also by *bilis*). This substance was believed in humoralist medicine (into which class falls Galenic medicine) to have been responsible for the condition of melancholia. Bellerophon, whose malaise is compared to that of the *monachi*, is said to have suffered from melancholia (Aristotle, *Problemata* 30. 1). For Rutilius, then, these monks were the victims of a clinically defined condition, melancholia. Even allowing for hostility and exaggeration, Rutilius' remarks test the veracity of Wenzel's East-West schema. Rutilius' descriptions seem to present us with an acedia of a destructiveness of the Evagri^{an} or Stagiri^{an} type. Its context may as well be Cassianic as Evagri^{an}.

St. Jerome (A.D. c. 348-420) gives us some idea of how severe was the malady alluded to by Rutilius. An inhabitant, as Cassian had been, of Bethlehem, Jerome observes amongst cenobites what can only be termed acedia. He is describing a community which more resembles that of Cassian than of Evagri^{us}. But the acedia he speaks of matches that of Evagri^{us} or Stagiri^{us}. Jerome does not use the circumlocutions of Rutilius.

²⁶ J. Vessereau and F. Préchac (edd.), *Rutilius Namatianus: Sur son retour*² (Paris 1961) v ff.

He defines the *acedia* as *melancholia*. It is, he avers, best treated by a physician: "There are those who, because of the humidity of their cells, because of excessive fasting, because of the tedium of solitude (*taedio solitudinis*), because of excessive reading, and because day and night they talk to themselves, become melancholic (*vertuntur in melancholiam*). They need Hippocratic treatments (*Hippocraticis . . . fomentis*) rather than our advice" (*Ep.* 125. 16 "ad rusticum").²⁷

Cassian seems to underestimate the force of *acedia*. This is surely indicated by the independent testimony of Rutilius and St. Jerome. Is it not likely that the *acedia* within Cassian's two monasteries may compare to that described by Chrysostomos—doubtless the severe melancholia which is discussed repeatedly in medical literature? A recent observation made of Stagirus' illness may also be made of that described in Cassian's *De institutis cenobiorum* 10: Stagirus' condition is termed *athumia* (despondency), "but quite apart from the fact that despondency had always been the main symptom of melancholy illness, both the aetiology and semeiology in this case (which gives us a deep insight into early Christian asceticism) agree so completely with the definitions in medical literature on melancholy that Johannes Trithemius was fully justified in rendering the expression *athumia* as it occurs in the epistle to Stagirus by 'melancholische Traurigkeit.'"²⁸

Why should Cassian have underestimated the force of the illness? At a guess there is more to the *Instituta* than mere practical advice for monks. Cassian, for personal reasons, may have been keen to advertise the salubrity of his own establishments. But perhaps too Cassian was selective in which attacks he sketched. An attack of *acedia*, that is, may have varied in intensity like many another viral onslaught. Cassian may have only been cognisant of or, more likely, have chosen to be cognisant of the milder forms.

Later witnesses to the *morbus* suggest that this second explanation is probable. Their sketches of the sickness veer wildly between the extremes of the Stagirian and the domesticity of the Cassianic. For example, Abba Isais (died c. 480)²⁹ believed that *acedia* was the most dangerous of all vices (PG 40. 1148). Yet elsewhere he could change his mind and nominate

²⁷ Elsewhere (*Ep.* 130. 17 "ad Demetriadem") St. Jerome discusses the mental derangement which arises from poor surroundings: "novi ego in utroque sexu, per nimiam abstinentiam cerebri sanitatem . . . fuisse vexatam . . . ita ut nescirent quid agerent, quove se verterent, quid loqui, quid tacere deberent."

²⁸ Klibansky 1964, 75 f. For discussion of medical knowledge in the early church see S. D'Irsay, "Patristic Medicine," *Annals of Medical History* 9 (1927) 364-78. Wenzel 1967, 191-94 provides a useful compilation of links between *acedia* and the Galenic humoral theories of the origin of illness; cf. p. 193: "That *acedia* is sometimes related to melancholy (1), sometimes to a phlegmatic disposition (2), illustrates the fact brought out repeatedly in our survey of its history: that by 1200 *acedia* comprised two essentially different vices, grief and indolence."

²⁹ Bloomfield 1952, 54 and 346 n. 87 has some useful comments on *acedia* in Isais.

avarice (PG 40. 1143).³⁰ Isais, like Evagrius, lived in the hermetic tradition. The comments of Nilus (died 450?), an early fifth-century abbot of a monastery near Ankara and an erstwhile pupil of St. John Chrysostomos, seem also to reflect both traditions. In one letter he responds to Polychronius, who requests advice on how to overcome demonic attacks of *acedia* and *athumia* (PG 79. 449: 3. 142). But Nilus can urge another young man to persist like a soldier, "for even those who have been wounded by the enemy, as long as they will not grow weary [verb ἀκηδῖαν] of the hardships of penance . . . will finally triumph" (PG 79. 112: 1. 67).³¹ Elsewhere he urges persistence and an avoidance of negligence in prayer (PG 79. 537: 3. 319). The verb used for "negligence" is ἀκηδῖαν.

Gregory the Great (A.D. c. 540–604) dramatically modifies the position of even Isais and Nilus. He may mark a new phase in the history of *acedia*. In Gregory's scheme of things, to judge from his language, *acedia* is an unimportant evil—notwithstanding his certain knowledge of it from Cassian. There were now only seven vices, likely, *vana gloria*, *ira*, *invidia*, *tristitia*, *avaritia*, *gula*, and *luxuria*. In the *Morals on the Book of Job* Gregory seems to have lumped together *tristitia* and *acedia* to call them the diseases of the solitary.³² Wenzel argues against simple merging or mere name changing: "It is possible, if Gregory knew Cassian at all, to think of his *tristitia* as a combination of traces from both the *tristitia* and the *acedia* of the Cassianic–Evagrius scheme of eight vices. The new concept should, however, be considered, not as the result of a simple fusion, following the mathematical rule that two and two make four, but rather a new creation from parts of the old vices."³³

Gregory offers the impression that *acedia*, though well known in theory, had as an illness lost its virulence. The disease has reached an epidemiological balance. Commentators subsequent to Gregory bear out this contention. For example Eutropius, a near contemporary of Gregory, provides a sin sequence which seems to blur the Cassianic and Gregorian tradition. Both *tristitia* and *acedia* appear. In his *De octo vitiis* the list is: *superbia*, *acedia*, *vana gloria*, *ira*, *tristitia*, *avaritia*, *gula*, and *luxuria*.³⁴ Similarly Isidore of Seville (born c. 560–70).³⁵ In the *De differentiis verborum et rerum* 2. 40 he reverts to the Cassianic octad: "The inclusion of *invidia* and the merging of *tristitia* and *acedia* under the former name,

³⁰ Kuhn 1976, 45.

³¹ The translation is from Wenzel 1967, 10.

³² *Moralia* 31. 87. Kuhn 1976, 54.

³³ Wenzel 1967, 24.

³⁴ Bloomfield 1952, 73. The text is PL 80. 10 ff. See also Bloomfield 1952, 358 n. 50 where, quoting Chadwick on Cassian, he notes that Eutropius may depend for his listing on Cassian's *Collationes* 5. 2. 10–16.

³⁵ According to Klibansky 1964, 76 n. 23, a discussion of his views on *acedia* may be found in F. Paget, *The Spirit of Discipline*⁷ (London 1896) 8 ff.

however, reveal the Gregorian influence."³⁶ Johannes Climacus³⁷ approves of Gregory's list of seven vices, but in all cases bar one follows the Cassianic octad.³⁸

II

Several conclusions may be drawn from this brief survey. First, acedia seems to have represented something of an epidemic.³⁹ The *morbis*, we could speculate from St. John Chrysostomos and from Gregory the Great, seems to have had an outbreak, a period of intense affectivity, then an increasingly dormant period. Acedia varied in intensity. It could range from a severe clinical depression to a milder form which more resembled boredom. Acedia (though not always designated by that name) seems in this early period to have been understood in at least two, possibly three ways. First there was the Evagrian condition—a specific, perhaps mildly depressive illness brought on by an excess of solitude and physical deprivation. This malaise seems not unlike an acute form of frustration (compare Cassian's *tristitia*). Second there was the state of—what we might term—malicious boredom. This is represented by the Cassianic conception of *otiositas*. Third there was the formulation of St. John Chrysostomos,⁴⁰ Rutilius Namatianus, and St. Jerome—acedia here was linked with the clinically defined notion of severe melancholia. It also appears probable that Cassian was correct in maintaining that the solitary life-style of the hermit exacerbated the malady.

But it is of crucial importance to note that acedia was not confined to the monastery. Monks were not alone in the predisposition to the illness. This is indicated by an aside of St. John Chrysostomos. He states that acedia is a condition also suffered by those living outside monasteries. But for them it was less dangerous (PG 47. 426). Thus the malady suffered by Stagirus has its parallel even in the comfortable world beyond the cave or the monastery. It is hard not to conclude that acedia represented something of a pandemic. It affected lay and religious, hermit and monk alike. The

³⁶ Bloomfield 1952, 77. The text is PL 83. 95–98.

³⁷ *Scala paradisi*, PG 88. 631 ff. (also translated: C. Luiheid, *John Climacus: The Ladder of Divine Ascent* [New York 1982]). Step 13 (PG 88. 857–61) provides an extended treatment of "despondency." According to Klibansky 1964, 76 n. 23, a discussion of his views on acedia may be found in F. Paget (above, note 35) 8 ff. Wenzel 1967, 18 maintains that although Climacus gives long descriptions of the vice, they are "mostly borrowed from earlier desert fathers."

³⁸ Bloomfield 1952, 76–77.

³⁹ John Chrysostomos calls it a λοιμός (or *pestis*) and an ιός (or *virus*, PG 47. 491) and compares it to a fever (πυρετός or *febris*, PG 47. 489).

⁴⁰ Chrysostomos, however, did not see it that way. He lists *melancholici* along with a variety of other sinners at PG 47. 451.

viral analogy of St. John Chrysostomos is indeed a useful one.⁴¹ It makes comprehensible that the force of the attack, like that of many diseases, could vary in intensity (Evagrius' acedia blurs into a clinical melancholia; Rutilius' melancholia blurs into Cassian's *otiositas*), and that the disease had periods when it was dormant (the Gregorian era) and periods when it was widespread (Chrysostomos' era).

Definitions, the first of the concerns of this essay, are therefore not easily formulated. Because the intensity of acedia could vary from region to region, from sufferer to sufferer, and from era to era no single set of symptoms will accurately sum it up. The disease is best represented on a sliding scale. Acedia could vary from a harmless, though debilitating frustration (Evagrius or Cassian's *tristitia*), through oppressive boredom (Cassian's acedia), to an acute, delusory melancholia (Chrysostomos). Acedia represents a continuum. It encompasses the conditions we would describe as frustration, boredom, and depression.⁴² It is also apparent that, as Wenzel suggests, the physical conditions of the sufferers may have some importance in regulating the severity of the malady.⁴³ But that will not explain why the pestilence broke out in this particular era. Explanation for that would require more knowledge of shared psychological states than we possess.⁴⁴

III

Were there classical precedents for the deadly condition of acedia? The claim is sometimes made, but frequently implied, that acedia lacked a parallel within the classical world—as if it sprang to birth fully formed in the deserts of North Africa, rather like Athena from Zeus' head. If, however, we adopt the type of definition I have urged above—that acedia represents a continuum embracing frustration, boredom, and depression—it will be apparent that the various aspects of the condition have ample parallels within the literature of classical antiquity. What was new in North Africa was a proper term for this *morbus*. The invention of this label, I suspect, is an indication of the ferocity of the onslaught.

⁴¹ W. M. McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (Harmondsworth 1976) is very helpful on the notions of pestilential infection and spread. For the viral analogy applied to psychological conditions there is E. Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830–1980* (London 1985).

⁴² The continuum is probably the result of the interconnection of the emotions themselves. This has been demonstrated with great force in the work of the Dutch researcher into animal behaviour, Dr. Françoise Wemelsfelder. Wemelsfelder convincingly explains the connections between frustration, boredom, and depression (termed "helplessness") in animal behaviour. The human analogy seems inevitable. See Wemelsfelder 1985 and 1989.

⁴³ So too St. Jerome (*Ep.* 125 "ad rusticum" and 130 "ad Demetriadem"), who alludes to the melancholy which arises from poor surroundings.

⁴⁴ Perhaps the incidence of acedia has parallels in such bizarre phenomena as Maenadism?

Precedents for the depressive condition suffered by Stagirius, or that described by Rutilius Namatianus and St. Jerome have been amply documented by Jackson, by Klibansky, Saxl, and Panofsky, and by Starobinski.⁴⁵ There is, in the classical period, a reasonably large medical literature on melancholia, depression, and related problems. For the sake of thoroughness I will mention a few outstanding examples.

Melancholia was the ancient medical term for depression.⁴⁶ In the earliest Hippocratic writers⁴⁷ it seems to be linked with "an aversion to food, despondency, sleeplessness, irritability, restlessness." (The Evagrius parallel suggests itself at once.) Sometimes it is also added that "fear or depression that is prolonged means melancholia."⁴⁸ These theorists were probably humoralists and believed that melancholy was the result of an excess of black bile.⁴⁹ (Thus the comments of Rutilius Namatianus.) Such an interpretation was followed, with only small modifications, by most of the later medical writers. Celsus interpreted it as such;⁵⁰ so did Rufus of Ephesus (who worked during the Trajanic and Hadrianic periods),⁵¹ Aretaeus of Cappadocia (fl. A.D. 150),⁵² and Galen (fl. A.D. 160).⁵³ The

⁴⁵ Respectively Jackson 1986, Klibansky 1964, and Starobinski 1962.

⁴⁶ The popular conception of melancholia seems to have followed a position first outlined by pseudo-Aristotle, *Problemata* 30. 1. According to the *Problemata* there are two kinds of melancholics: those in whom the black bile becomes very hot and those in whom the black bile becomes very cold. Where the black bile is cold one would expect depression. Where it is very hot one would expect mania (anger, volatility, violence, and destruction). The authority of the Aristotelian version seems to have held sway, in non-medical circles, as late as Plutarch.

⁴⁷ W. Müri, "Melancholie und schwarze Galle," *MH* 10 (1953) 21-38, is very helpful on Hippocratic notions of melancholy and black bile. Useful generally on the Hippocratics is W. D. Smith, *The Hippocratic Tradition* (Ithaca, NY 1979). For the larger view see M. Neuberger, *History of Medicine* I, trans. E. Playfair (London 1909).

⁴⁸ See Jackson 1986, 30-31, quoting from W. H. S. Jones and E. T. Withington, *The Works of Hippocrates* (Cambridge, MA 1923-31) I 236 and IV 185.

⁴⁹ Jackson 1986, 30 cites Jones (previous note) IV 3-41 in support of this view.

⁵⁰ Klibansky 1964, 45 f. for a discussion of Celsus and a bibliography. Klibansky et al. point out that Celsus bases his work on that of Asclepiades of Bithynia, who came to Rome in 91 B.C. and went on to become a friend of Cicero. Jackson 1986, 33 believes that Celsus may have been influenced by humoral theory.

⁵¹ Klibansky 1964, makes this statement as part of the general discussion (48-55) of Rufus of Ephesus. Rufus' work on melancholy is reconstructed from fragments and citations: see Klibansky 1964, 49. The text for the remains of Rufus of Ephesus is now H. Gärtner, *Rufus Ephesius: Quaestiones medicales* (Stuttgart 1970). Jackson 1986, 407 refers to the following translation: C. Daremberg and C. E. Ruelle, *Oeuvres de Rufus d'Éphèse* (Paris 1879).

⁵² Jackson 1986, 407 mentions the following translation: F. Adams, *The Extant Works of Aretaeus, the Cappadocian* (London 1856) and discusses Aretaeus on pp. 39-41. The Greek text by K. Hude is contained in *CMG* II² (Berlin 1958).

⁵³ Galen's comments on melancholy may be found in Book 3 of *On the Affected Parts*. The Greek text is contained in vol. VIII of C. G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, (repr. Hildesheim 1965). For a translation see R. E. Siegel, *Galen: On the Affected Parts* (Basel 1976). On Galen and melancholy see Jackson 1986, 41-45 and "Galen—on Mental Disorders," *J. Hist. Behav. Sci.* 5 (1969) 365-84, R. E. Siegel, *Galen's System of Physiology and Medicine* (Basel 1968) 300-04, and Klibansky 1964, 57 ff.

contemporary of Rufus, Soranus, agreed on the symptomatology, but differed on aetiology.⁵⁴ He rejected the humoralist interpretation.

An examination of some of the ways in which depression seems to have been depicted in classical texts indicates reasonable similarities between it and some of the versions suffered under the banner of *acedia*. Compare, for example, the following descriptions of melancholia (the first drawn from Aretaeus of Cappadocia, the second from Soranus) with those of St. John Chrysostomos or Evagrius above: "In certain of these cases, there is neither flatulence nor black bile, but mere anger and grief, and sad dejection of the mind; and these were called melancholics, because the terms *bile* and *anger* are synonymous in import, and likewise *black* with *much* and *furious*,"⁵⁵ or "mental anguish and distress, dejection, silence, animosity towards members of the household, sometimes a desire to live and at other times a longing for death, suspicion . . . that a plot is being hatched against him, weeping without reason, meaningless muttering and . . . occasional joviality."⁵⁶

Also of considerable significance may be the traditional link between the desert (the haunt of the early anchorite), uninhabited places, and melancholia and madness. This nexus has a distinguished medical parentage. In the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata* 30. 1 it is stated: "There are also the stories of Ajax and Bellerophon: the one went completely out of his mind, while the other sought out desert places [τὰς ἐρημίας] for his habitation; wherefore Homer says [*Iliad* 6. 200–02]:

And since of all the gods he was hated
Verily over the Aleian plain he would wander
Eating his own heart out, avoiding the pathway of mortals."⁵⁷

Aretaeus of Cappadocia, according to Rosen,⁵⁸ makes a similar parallel and links madness with the desert: "Aretaeus speaks of some madmen who 'flee the haunts of men and, going to the wilderness, live by themselves.' Also, in discussing melancholia, he refers to 'avoidance of the haunts of men' as characteristic of those severely afflicted with this condition." It is also doubtless correct to adduce the Gerasene demoniac in the Gospels. According to Luke, the demon who possessed this individual drove him into the desert after he had broken the bonds used to fetter him.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Soranus survives in a Latin translation made at the end of the fourth century by Caelius Aurelianus (*De morbis acutis et chronicis*). For a text see: I. E. Drabkin (ed. and trans.), *Caelius Aurelianus: On Acute Diseases and on Chronic Diseases* (Chicago 1950).

⁵⁵ The translation is drawn from Jackson 1987, 40.

⁵⁶ See Drabkin (above, note 54) 19.

⁵⁷ The translation is that of Klibansky 1964, 18 f.

⁵⁸ Rosen 1968, 98.

⁵⁹ Pointed out by Rosen 1968, 98. The New Testament references are *Luke* 8. 26 and 29, *Mark* 5. 3, and *Matthew* 8. 28.

Melancholics of the depressive variety, therefore, are not uncommon in ancient medical literature.⁶⁰ There seems to be every reason to assume that early Christian writers were familiar with the medical traditions,⁶¹ and, further, when they attempted to describe or to formulate aspects of *acedia*, that they utilised, consciously or unconsciously, these traditions.

There was more to *acedia* than melancholia. In the Cassianic scheme of things it resembles boredom. Does Cassian's formulation of *acedia* as *otiositas* have classical parallels? References to the notion of boredom are less easy to isolate than those to melancholia.⁶² (The difficulty is partly lexical. A variety of terms—nearly all of them metaphorical—may be used to describe the condition. Even then it is not easy to be sure whether unambiguous "boredom," "annoyance," or even "socially inept" is intended.) The use, however, of one of the Greek words for boredom, ἄλυσ, may offer some insights. In its earliest uses (nominal and verbal) it seems to mean "distracted" or "grieved." It can also, in its verbal forms, mean to wander. The first unambiguous use⁶³ of ἄλυσ with which I am familiar, to suggest "boredom," comes from Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 13. Pyrrhus, after becoming regent of Epirus and later of Macedonia, withdrew from the latter possession in disappointment at the disloyalty of his subjects. "Ἄλυσ or boredom—to the point of nausea—did not allow him to enjoy his retirement. He was only content, according to Plutarch, when doing or receiving mischief. To alleviate the boredom Pyrrhus launched himself on a new round of military activities at the end of which he lost his life. This is not quite Cassianic, perhaps, but the restlessness and dissatisfaction may offer some similarity. So too Pyrrhus' cure—activity, the very prescription of Cassian. Comparable references occur in Diogenes of Oenoanda (fr. 25 Chilton), Aelian (*VH* 14. 12), and Marcus Aurelius (*Meditations* 2. 7). Aelian repeats the theme of activity as a remedy for boredom—he mentions the king of Persia who, to avoid boredom when travelling, kept a knife and a piece of linden wood for whittling.

⁶⁰ Depressives in literature are less common. The first mild depressive with whom I am familiar is M. Annaeus Serenus, the addressee of Seneca's *De tranquillitate vitae*. While Serenus' condition is perhaps too mild to be described as full-blown depression, his symptoms do seem to match. Some of the terms describing his illness are: *displacentia sui*, *fastidium [vitae]*, *fluctus animi*, *inertia*, *maeror*, *oscitatio*, *taedium*, *tristitia*, and so forth. The addressee of Persius' third satire may suffer real depression. His condition, designated in v. 8 as *vitrea bilis*, may be interpreted as μέλαινα χολή. The cure, given in v. 63, is hellebore, a standard treatment for melancholy.

⁶¹ For discussion of medical knowledge in the early church see D'Irsay (above, note 28).

⁶² For a partial discussion of the history of the notion see Toohey, "Some Ancient Notions of Boredom" (above, note 10).

⁶³ The earliest uses of the word as "boredom" may be Hellenistic. But these could just as easily be taken to mean "annoyance." See Toohey, "Boredom" (above, note 10) 155.

An important aspect of Cassianic acedia is *horror loci*, a restless dissatisfaction which drives monks from their cells to annoy and to harass (and to pass on the infection to?) others.⁶⁴ There are ample references to this condition: in Lucretius 3. 1060–67 and in Horace, *Sat.* 2. 7. 28–29, *Ep.* 1. 8. 12, 1. 11. 27, and 1. 14.⁶⁵ Horace, however, does not seem to see anything especially sinister in this emotion. Seneca repeats this theme in *Ep. Mor.* 28 and at *ad Helv.* 12. 3. 4. Indeed it is Seneca who provides, as with depression, many of the most useful references to this emotion. He could almost be said to have “spiritualised” it. Typical of this tendency are comments such as those at *Ep. Mor.* 24. 26: of the sufferers he notes *multi sunt qui non acerbum iudicent vivere, sed supervacuum*. “Spiritualised” boredom verges on fully fledged acedia.⁶⁶

IV

The conclusions to be drawn from my discussion ought now to be apparent. The variety of definitions for acedia in scholarly literature is symptomatic of the actual nature of the affliction. Depending on the era, depending on the sufferer, depending on his or her health acedia could vary in intensity. It could resemble a mild form of frustration, a deeper form of boredom, or a psychotic type of depression. The disease affected religious and lay people alike. Its severity, however, seems to have been predicated upon historical, geographical, and physiological peculiarities. Perhaps the best analogy for acedia is that of a severe viral illness.

The variety of the forms which acedia could take, furthermore, allows a more satisfactory examination of its antecedents. The depressive manifestations of the illness and those manifestations exhibiting symptoms of boredom appear to have ample parallels in the literature of pagan antiquity. There was, then, little that was new in acedia, except perhaps the name itself. Its formulation may be the result of the severity of the epidemic in the fourth and early fifth centuries.

There remains one aspect of the problem which I have avoided. What is the aetiology of acedia? No satisfactory answer can be provided for this query. It may not be unreasonable, however, to offer a few tendentious speculations. There appears to be some scientific evidence for claiming that the emotions of frustration, boredom, and depression result from circumstances of confinement.⁶⁷ That such circumstances manifest

⁶⁴ *Instituta* 10, cap. 2: “qui [*sc.* acedia] . . . horrorem loci . . . gignit.”

⁶⁵ This topic is discussed in Kuhn 1976, 23.

⁶⁶ There remains a third aspect of acedia for which I have not offered parallels. This is frustration. It has been argued by Wemelsfelder 1989 that frustration precedes boredom. As far as the literary condition is concerned this is a less easy concept to pin down. To avoid the attendant imprecision I have omitted its consideration. It could be observed that *horror loci* may be as good an example of frustration as one is likely to find.

⁶⁷ Wemelsfelder 1989 and 1985.

themselves in the anchoritic and cenobitic world is obvious, notwithstanding the fact that the confinement was freely chosen: it cannot have been easy to abandon Rutilius' island of Capraria. But such an explanation, though useful for the religious, is less so in the example of the lay victim. My suggestion in this case is based upon a not entirely subjective observation that, in the classical period, boredom and depression, the congeners of acedia, seem particularly prevalent in the post-Senecan lay world. The "confinement" of that world is less physical (although we ought not ignore the dramatic increase in urbanisation within the period) than emotional (for the traditional elite in the early empire options, traditional certainties, and even physical freedoms were severely curtailed). Perhaps it was so for the lay person in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Was "confinement," of an emotional variety, ascendant in this era? The experience of Rome in 410 offers one corroboration. The rapid spread of Christianity itself may offer another.⁶⁸

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⁶⁸ My thanks to Dr. John Dearn for a variety of assistance.

Alchemy in the Ancient World: From Science to Magic

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“Alchemy” is the anglicised Byzantine name given to what its practitioners referred to as “the Art” (τέχνη) or “Knowledge” (ἐπιστήμη), often characterised as divine (θεία), sacred (ιερά) or mystic (μυστική).¹ While this *techné* underwent many changes in the course of its life of over two thousand years (and there are traces of it even in modern times, as I will discuss), a recognisable common denominator in all the writings is the search for a method of transforming base metals (copper, iron, lead, tin) into noble (electrum, gold or silver).² There is unfortunately no modern critical edition of any of these writings (the extant editions being old or uncritical or both), though the Budé has begun the process.³ In this essay I sketch the background and origins of the ancient alchemy, as well as its later transmutation into a mystical art of personal transformation. Finally I turn to the modern period and briefly examine the influence of this mystical tradition in our own world-picture.

Background

I begin with the first evidence of human chemical technology, which takes us back, well before the ancient period of merely 2,000 years ago, to the Palaeolithic Middle Pleistocene of 200,000 years ago—and the mastery of fire.⁴ The achievement of this first controlled chemical reaction marks a

¹ W. Gundel, “Alchemie,” *RAC* I (1950) 239–60, esp. 240–41; E. O. von Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie* (Berlin 1919) I 293–314; E. Riess, “Alchemie,” *RE* I (1894) 1338–55, esp. 1338–39.

² See for example Zosimus 3. 11 = M. P. E. Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* (= *CAAG*) II (Paris 1888) 145–48 Greek, 148–50 French; F. S. Taylor, “A Survey of Greek Alchemy,” *JHS* 50 (1930) 109–39, esp. 127; Riess (previous note) 1351–52; Gundel (previous note) 249–50.

³ For the judgement on the editions see Gundel (above, note 1) 239; the Budé begins with an edition of the Stockholm and Leiden papyri by Robert Halleux: *Les alchimistes grecs* I (Paris 1981); see H. D. Saffrey (therein) xiv–xv for their plans.

⁴ S. R. James, “Hominid Use of Fire in the Lower and Middle Pleistocene: A Review of the Evidence,” *Current Anthropology* 30 (1989) 1–26; M. Barbetti, “Traces of Fire in the Archaeological Record, Before One Million Years Ago?,” *JHumEvol* 15 (1986) 771–81; C. K.

radical break with prior technology, the significance of which remained part of human memory down to the first millennium B.C. as revealed in the Prometheus Myth of the Greeks (Hesiod and Aeschylus) and the fire-worship of the Persians.⁵

Fire was and still is used in religious and magical rites; it is also the source of the second major advance in chemical technology: the production of an artificial substance. No doubt (though we lack positive proof) fire was used for cooking food and hardening wood—themselves important and mysterious processes (why after all should destructive heat make things harder and more durable?). But 26,000 years ago (one cycle of the precession of the equinoxes), south of what is now Brno in Czechoslovakia our ancestors first produced a new material having properties entirely dissimilar to those of the parent material—I mean baked clay.⁶ But this new material was not to be used for pottery until a period more than twice as long as all of recorded history had passed—the people at Dolni Vestonice seem to have been chiefly interested in causing their molded animal figurines to explode on firing. This is relatively easy to accomplish with a sufficiently wet and thick clay body (though harder with loess, the raw material at Dolni)—potters must be taught (as I know by experience) to build or throw thinly. These explosions were probably ritualistic (the archaeologists often interpret the unknown as the sacred: *omne ignotum pro sacro*)—I am reminded of the fire-cracked Chinese oracle bones.

Fire hardened clay, and this miracle material came to be more common than stone, in the form of pottery vessels (the original form of which was probably clay-lined baskets). After the Agricultural Revolution fire was used not only to cook but to *bake*.⁷ This again marks a decisive step—that fire hardened and preserved wood, bone, clay and food had long been known. The new magic was leaven—the invisible yeast preserved by bakers in sourdough (as fire was in fennel-stalks)—which transformed clay-like dough into raised bread. Again the symbolism was powerful enough after millennia to lodge at the core of Christianity.

Doubtless Neanderthals like jackdaws collected shiny rocks. Among these were pyrites, the most valuable, the fire-stone, the fire-starter, as well as bits of copper and gold of no apparent value (*we* have come so far that pyrites is now called “fool’s gold”).⁸ At some point it was discovered that

Brain and A. Sillen, “Evidence from the Swartkrans Cave for the Earliest Use of Fire,” *Nature* 336 (1988) 464–66. I am indebted to Stan Ambrose (University of Illinois, Anthropology) for these references.

⁵ Cp. R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* (= SAT) VI (Leiden 1966) 1–13.

⁶ P. B. Vandiver, O. Soffer, B. Klima and J. Svoboda, “The Origins of Ceramic Technology at Dolni Věstonice, Czechoslovakia,” *Science* 246 (1989) 1002–08.

⁷ Cp. Forbes, SAT VI (1966) 58–67; W. Krenkel, “Vom Korn zum Brot,” *Das Altertum* 11 (1965) 209–23.

⁸ Forbes, SAT VIII (1971) 8–28, 157 and IX (1972) 29–34.

the latter stones were soft enough that they could be carved like tough wood or bone, later still that they could like stiff dough or clay with difficulty be pounded into shapes. This hammering hardens the copper. The thought must have soon occurred—perhaps this stuff could be further hardened like clay, wood, bone in the fire? It was tried—and the failure was a source of wonder. Copper does not, like clay or bone, fracture if heated and quenched, nor does it harden—but rather it becomes softer! This made it easier to hammer. These early discoveries seem to have occurred in Armenia or North Iran, about seven thousand years ago.⁹

The earliest copper finds in Mesopotamia are at Tepe Gawra (4000–3500 B.C.)—a site to which I will refer again.¹⁰ Just a bit later we have the earliest dated smelted copper (and copper slag) from Tepe Yahya in Iran (3800 B.C.), and at about the same time there is evidence of copper smelting in Egypt.¹¹ Smelting was probably discovered accidentally in a pottery kiln (kilns are first recorded by archaeologists at this time)—green malachite was reduced to red copper.¹² This was a magical transformation, like the firing of clay and the baking of bread, and represents the first artificial production or imitation of a natural substance—specifically the production of a valuable metal from something to which the metal has *no* resemblance or known connection.

Near Ur of the Chaldees at Al 'Ubaid have been found the earliest examples (from ca. 3500–3200 B.C.) of the deliberate production of tin-bronze.¹³ It is not clear just how this was done, but from an alchemical point of view the most significant fact is that it *was*. This was probably a Sumerian discovery, as only their language distinguishes clearly between copper and bronze: copper is *urudu* and bronze *zabar*.¹⁴ By doing something to a red metal the Sumerians produced a yellow metal (which was more

⁹ A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*⁴, ed. J. R. Harris (London 1962) 199–217 and Forbes, *SAT VIII* (1971) 20 and IX (1972) 29–34 on annealing of copper; R. F. Tylecote, *A History of Metallurgy* (London 1976) 1 and Forbes, *SAT VIII* (1971) 17–25 on locale.

¹⁰ Tylecote (previous note) 9.

¹¹ Tylecote (above, note 9) 5–9; see R. F. Tylecote and H. McKerrell, "Examination of Copper Alloy Tools from Tal Y Yahya, Iran," *BullHistMetallGroup* 5 (1971) 37–38.

¹² Forbes, *SAT VIII* (1971) 28; Tylecote (above, note 9) 5–6; H. H. Coghlan, "Some Experiments on the Origin of Early Copper," *Man: A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science* 39 (1939) 106–08; idem, "Prehistoric Copper and Some Experiments in Smelting," *TransNewcomenSoc* 20 (1939/40) 49–65; A. Lucas, "The Origin of Early Copper," *JEA* 31 (1945) 96–97; H. H. Coghlan, *Notes on the Prehistoric Metallurgy of Copper and Bronze in the Old World*, Pitt Rivers Museum, U. of Oxford, Occasional Papers on Technology 4 (Oxford 1951); George Rapp, Jr., "Native Copper and the Beginning of Smelting: Chemical Studies," in *Early Metallurgy in Cyprus 4000–500 B.C.*, ed. J. D. Muhly et al. (Nicosia 1982) 33–38.

¹³ Tylecote (above, note 9) 9.

¹⁴ Forbes, *SAT IX* (1972) 89, 115—cp. the Egyptian words, p. 55; see also M. P. E. Berthelot, "Sur le cuivre des anciens," *Annales de chimie et de physique* (6) 12 (1887) 141–43.

easily cast and could be made far harder).¹⁵ The further successes of prehistoric metallurgy cannot detain us here,¹⁶ though lead,¹⁷ tin,¹⁸ antimony¹⁹ and iron²⁰ were extracted and brass was invented.²¹ Two processes for producing gold and silver I must mention. Silver was rarer than gold in Egypt; by about 2000 B.C. it was being produced in the Near East from argentiferous galena by cupellation—that is the galena was roasted to produce lead, which was oxidised in a fired clay crucible leaving only the silver.²² By the fifth century B.C. the Egyptians had learned the long-known cementation process by which impure gold or electrum is heated with clay, sand and salt in a closed vessel to produce refined or purified gold. Both processes must have seemed magical and arbitrary.²³

I have discussed prehistoric and early metallurgy—the connection to alchemy is clear. Now I must make a detour into Egyptian and Sumerian chemistry—also connected with alchemy—to mention two other important artificial substances: glass and beer.

The first artificial stone was fired clay. The Egyptians were using a gypsum mortar (similar to our cement or concrete) from predynastic times, and it is they who invented faience (a fired ground-quartz paste).²⁴ We do not

¹⁵ T. T. Read, "Metallurgical Fallacies in Archaeological Literature," *AJA* 38 (1934) 382–89; J. R. Partington, "The Discovery of Bronze," *Scientia* 60 (1936) 197–204.

¹⁶ A. Neuburger, *Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients* (London 1930) 8–27; Lucas (above, note 9) 195–257; Forbes, *SAT X* (1972) 152–66; J. F. Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World* (London 1978).

¹⁷ Lead was smelted from galena: see Forbes, *SAT VIII* (1971) 196–266.

¹⁸ Tylecote (above, note 9) 14–29 and Forbes, *SAT IX* (1972) 134–52, 166 ff. discuss tin; W. Lamb, *Excavations at Thermi* (Cambridge 1936) 171–73, 215, Pl. XXV records an EBA pure tin bracelet (object 30. 24).

¹⁹ Cp. Pliny, *HN* 33. 33. 101–34. 104; Diosc. *MM* 5. 84 (99); M. P. E. Berthelot, "Métaux et minéraux provenant de l'antique Chaldée; sur les origines de l'étain dans le monde ancien," *Comptes rendues de l'Académie des Sciences* 104 (1887) 265–71 and "Sur quelques métaux et minéraux provenant de l'antique Chaldée," *Annales de chimie et de physique* (6) 12 (1887) 129–40, esp. 134–36 records the antimony bowl from Tello; for other antimony objects see: L. Cambi, "Sul metallo dei monili delle tombe del sepolcreto di Ponte S. Pietro," *Rend. Ist. Lombardo. Sci., Classe sci. matem. e natur.* 92 A, pt. 2 (1958) 167–72 "neolithic" (2500–2000 B.C.) antimony beads; L. Cambi and F. Cremascoli, "Sul metallo dei bottoni della tomba preistorica di Monte Bradoni presso Volterra," *ibid.* 91, pt. 2 (1957) 371–77 antimony buttons of "bronze age"; R. Virchow, "Neue Erwerbungen aus Transkaukasien, insbesondere eine Fenterume und Schmücksachen aus Antimon," *Verh. Berl. Gesell. Anthropol. Ethnol. Urgesch.* (1884) 125–31.

²⁰ On iron see Read (above, note 15); Tylecote (above, note 9) and Forbes, *SAT IX* (1972) 187–305.

²¹ See E. R. Caley, "Orichalcum and Related Alloys," *ANS NNM* 151 (1964). Zinc itself (alloyed with copper to make brass) was apparently also known: Str. 13. 1. 56 (610) calls it *ψευδάργυρος* and cp. M. Farnsworth, C. S. Smith and J. L. Rodda, "Metallographic Examination of a Sample of Metallic Zinc from Ancient Athens," *Hesperia* Suppl. 8 (1949) 126–29, Pl. XVI.

²² Tylecote (above, note 9) 38; Forbes, *SAT VIII* (1971) 196–266.

²³ Forbes, *SAT VIII* (1971) 180–81; Lucas (above, note 9) 224–35.

²⁴ Lucas (above, note 9) 74–79 mortar, 156–78 faience.

know where or when glass was first made, but it has been found in Egypt from 2500 B.C., in Mesopotamia a bit later, usually in the form of beads.²⁵ Popular in Egypt primarily during the New Kingdom, glass long remained a fixture of Mesopotamian technology—in fact the oldest extant glass recipe, from the seventeenth century B.C., is a Sumerian–Babylonian cuneiform tablet.²⁶ The writer “anticipates” the deliberate obscurity of later alchemical texts, but the recipe is recognizably that for a green glass. Later seventh-century B.C. recipes produce soda glass and crown glass equivalent to our modern glasses—but the recipes include the building of human embryos into the furnace walls. One of the Egyptian recipes found its way into the Greco-Roman tradition as *caerulium*: sand, green malachite, chalk and salt were fused at just the right temperature to produce a sky-blue glassy stone²⁷—without any embryos.

The fermentation of sweet fruit juices—wine—probably goes back to the Palaeolithic and occurs spontaneously due to the presence of the yeast of the mold family found on the fruit skins.²⁸ This miracle too was long remembered as such—the Greeks worshipped Dionysus as the bringer of wine, wine is symbolic of the blessings of God in the Hebrew Scriptures and wine is, with bread, one of the sacred substances of the Christian religion. The connection of wine specifically with alchemy I will address shortly. The invention of beer is often credited to the Egyptians—the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus (1. 20. 4) credits it to the god Osiris. The process of malting (soaking grain in water till it begins to sprout) generates the sugar necessary for fermentation—the whole process is far more complex than the production of wine.²⁹ A neo-Babylonian tablet of the fifth–fourth century B.C. preserves the Sumerian beer recipe:³⁰ we even know how the Sumerians and Egyptians drank it—through straws (Fig. 1). This beer process is also recorded for us in Greek writings—in the

²⁵ Lucas (above, note 9) 179–84; J. R. Partington, *The Origins and Development of Applied Chemistry* (London 1935; repr. New York 1975) 119–32; Neuburger (above, note 16) 152–64; A. C. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1908); M. L. Trowbridge, *Philological Studies in Ancient Glass*, U. of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 13. 3–4 (1928) 231–436.

²⁶ C. J. Gadd and R. C. Thompson, “A Middle-Babylonian Chemical Text,” *Iraq* 3 (1936) 87–96; R. C. Thompson, “Assyrian Chemistry,” *Ambix* 2 (1938) 3–16; idem, *Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology* (Oxford 1936) xxi–xxxvi, 194–97.

²⁷ Pliny *HN* 33. 57. 161–64; *Vitr.* 7. 11. 1; Theophr. *De Lap.* 70, 98–100; Diosc. *MM* 5. 91 (106); see Partington (above, note 25) 117–19; Forbes, *SAT* III (1965) 224–25.

²⁸ Forbes, *SAT* III (1965) 62–64, 72–74; Neuburger (above, note 16) 105–09; Lucas (above, note 9) 16–24.

²⁹ Forbes, *SAT* III (1965) 65–70; J. P. Arnold, *Origin and History of Beer and Brewing* (Chicago 1911) 41–184.

³⁰ L. F. Hartmann and A. L. Oppenheim, “On Beer and Brewing Techniques in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *JAOS* Suppl. 10 (1950). The figures of the beer-drinkers are drawn from their Plates I and II.

encyclopedia of alchemy written ca. A.D. 300 by Zosimus³¹—where it is explicitly connected with the alchemical transformation of base metals to gold.³²

Origin

The techniques of the Egyptians and Mesopotamians represent the foundation stones of the edifice we call alchemy. Built onto this *techne* was the Greek philosophy of nature. So far as we know these Near Eastern peoples were not inclined to seek explanations for these processes. But from the times of Thales (seventh century B.C.) the Greeks began to develop a natural philosophy, seeking to understand the world not in terms of the actions of anthropomorphic deities alone but also in terms of “natural” forces. The earliest of these thinkers were hylozoistic monists—they explained everything in terms of one thing, which was some material endowed with life-like properties. Thus Thales thought everything was originally water, out of which earth and living things grew; others suggested air or fire.

Empedocles, Plato and Aristotle contributed to the development of the “Four-Element” Theory which persisted down to the seventeenth century A.D. (Shakespeare and Milton). In this model everything was made of some combination of the four elements (Fire, Air, Water, Earth), related as in Fig. 2.³³ In this theory the two pairs of primary opposites Hot/Cold, Dry/Wet—themselves like our modern quarks never separately observable—combine to produce the four elements. Each element has its natural place and a natural motion towards that place (up/down). To explain the perpetual circular motions of the seven planets Aristotle added a separate and distinct material “first body” which he called *aither*, and a non-material “fifth substance” to explain the soul. Later in the third century B.C. these two concepts were blurred and merged under the name “quintessence.”³⁴

To this last point I shall return, but first I must explain the chemical theories which result from this four-element model. First, elements (*stoicheia*) may transform into one another by a change in their constituent opposites—thus Water becomes Earth when the Wet leaves and the Dry comes, a mixture of Fire and Water may become Earth plus Air by a kind of double decomposition reaction (Cold/Wet + Hot/Dry → Cold/Dry +

³¹ Lucas (above, note 9) 14; Forbes, *SAT* III (1965) 70 and Arnold (above, note 29) 85, all from Chr. G. Gruner, *Zosimi Panopolitani de zythorum confectione fragmentum* (Sulzbach 1814) *nondum vidi*.

³² See Berthelot, *CAAG* I. 2 (1887) 7 Greek (s.v. ζύμη) = 7 French (s.v. levain); Riess (above, note 1) 1352–53. Cp. n. 72 below.

³³ See esp. J. E. Bolzan, “Chemical Combination According to Aristotle,” *Ambix* 23 (1976) 134–44.

³⁴ P. T. Keyser, “Horace *Odes* 1. 13. 3–8, 14–16: Humoural and Aetherial Love,” *Philol.* 133 (1989) 75–81, esp. 76–77. Fig. 2 is taken from this article.

Hot/Wet), and (hardest of all) Water may become Fire if both Cold and Wet pass away and Hot and Dry come to be. So much for atomic physics—chemistry involves mixtures or blends of the four elements. Ever since Anaximenes had postulated that the elements transform into one another by rarefaction and condensation, the notion that mathematics might enter chemistry was about. Plato in the *Timaeus* tries to construct the elements from fundamental triangles grouped into four of the five “Platonic” solids (thus betraying his Pythagoreanism). Aristotle too allows arithmetic—there are differences in degree of the four elements and a compound will exhibit a certain ratio of combination: this is effectively Dalton’s “Law of Definite Proportions” of 1808.

This theory remained not without application.³⁵ For example we read that substances made of Earth plus Water are solidified by heat because it drives off the water, and by cold which drives out the natural heat—in this case (if Earth predominates) heat will again liquify them. The example of iron is given—it can be melted by extraordinary heat (and this is part of the making of $\chi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\psi$, steel).³⁶ Again, gold, silver and other metals are composed of water for they are all melted by heat. Aristotle wisely refrained, however, from assigning specific numbers to the compounds (cp. *Meteor.* 4. 10 [389a7–23]). Plato (who also made metals of water) did assign definite numerical ratios to the elemental transformations: 2 Fire = 1 Air, 2.5 Air = 1 Water (*Tim.* 56e).

Aristotle does not mean that ordinary water and earth combine to form substances such as gold or iron. In fact both stones and metals are formed by the agency of an ill-defined pair of “exhalations” ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$)—metals primarily by the moist exhalation, stones primarily by the dry. But all metals are affected by fire and contain some earth (from the dry exhalation)—only gold is not affected by fire.³⁷ Presumably the baser the metal the more earth or “dry exhalation” it contained. Plato too indicates that the water which forms metals is a special kind of which the best is gold (*Tim.* 58d, 59b): Pindar had already proclaimed water as best, together with gold which shines out (*Oly.* 1. 1, cp. *Isthm.* 5. 1–3).

Aristotle was president and chairman of his own university—his successor Theophrastus wrote a number of books in which he ventilated difficulties with the four-element theory (without suggesting a competing theory). For example he points out that fire is self-generating yet requires fuel, can be created but mostly by violence (i.e., not naturally: *De Igne* 1–5). More important for the rise of alchemy, he records a number of recipes for preparing artificial stones. He knows that yellow ochre ($\omicron\chi\rho\alpha$) when heated in closed airtight pots turns to red ochre ($\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\tau\omicron\varsigma$; *De Lap.* 52–54).

³⁵ See I. Düring, *Aristotle's Chemical Treatise: Meteorologica Book IV* (Göteborg 1944).

³⁶ Forbes, *SAT IX* (1972) 218.

³⁷ D. E. Eichholz, “Aristotle’s Theory of the Formation of Metals and Minerals,” *CQ* 43 (1949) 141–46.

Again he gives recipes for making white lead ($\psi\mu\acute{\omicron}\theta\iota\omicron\nu$) and green verdigris ($\acute{\iota}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) by exposing lead and red copper to vinegar (to make the acetates: *De Lap.* 56–57). Finally from red cinnabar is made quicksilver ($\chi\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ἄργυρος) by pounding the red sandy substance mixed with vinegar in a copper mortar with a copper pestle (*De Lap.* 60). I draw attention to the interest in the color transformation as well as to the transformations between stony or earthy substances (cinnabar, white lead, verdigris) and metals (lead, copper, quicksilver). This is the sort of thing in which the alchemists were greatly interested. Singled out for remark is the method of producing brass (with a beautiful color) by mixing a certain earth with copper (*De Lap.* 49)³⁸—Aristotle himself had already remarked of bronze production that the tin seems to disappear into the copper leaving only the color of the tin (*GC* 1. 10 [328b13–14]).

Physical Matters of Alchemy

Such scientific speculations continued throughout antiquity—theories were modified and reiterated. Alchemy proper began when a neo-Pythagorean writer applied magical notions of sympathy and antipathy to the Egyptian techniques sketched above.³⁹ This was the obscure but influential Bolus, who wrote under the name of Democritus about 200 B.C.⁴⁰ His treatise, *Physical and Mystical Matters*, is partly preserved in various alchemical MSS and contains recipes for imitating purple dye and a mystical vision whose message is, “Nature delights in nature, nature conquers nature, nature controls nature,” followed by recipes for the imitation of gold.⁴¹ These notions of sympathy were for the era very scientific—the Stoics believed in an all-pervasive *pneuma* (spirit) which bound the universe together in sympathy and this was used to justify astrology. The planets had been associated with metals by the Babylonians: Gold/Sun, Silver/Moon, Lead/Saturn, Electrum/Jupiter, Iron/Mars, Copper/Venus, Tin/Mercury (Fig.

³⁸ See the commentaries of E. R. Caley and J. F. C. Richards, *Theophrastus on Stones* (Columbus, OH 1956) and D. E. Eichholz, *Theophrastus: De Lapidibus* (Oxford 1965).

³⁹ See in general the references in note 1 above, and L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science I* (New York 1923) 193–99; H. Diels, *Antike Technik*³ (Leipzig 1924; repr. Osnabrück 1965) 121–54; A. J. Hopkins, *Alchemy, Child of Greek Philosophy* (New York 1934); F. S. Taylor, *The Alchemists* (Oxford 1949); E. J. Holmyard, *Alchemy* (Harmondsworth 1957); R. J. Forbes, *SAT I* (1964) 125–48; J. Lindsay, *The Origins of Alchemy in Greco-Roman Egypt* (New York 1970).

⁴⁰ Diels (previous note) 121–54; M. Wellmann, “Bolos (3),” *RE III* (1897) 676–77; idem, “Die Georgika des Demokritos,” *Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl.* (1921) no. 4; idem, “Die Physika des Bolos Demokritos und der Magier Anaxilaus von Larissa,” *ibid.* (1928) no. 7; idem, *Der Physiologus, Philologus* Suppl. 22. 1 (1930) esp. 81–111; W. Kroll, “Bolos und Demokritos,” *Hermes* 69 (1934) 228–32; idem, “Sympathie und Antipathie in der antiken Literatur,” *F&F* 10 (1934) 111–12; W. Burkert, “Hellenistische Pseudo-pythagorica,” *Philol.* 105 (1961) 16–43, 226–46; J. H. Waszink, “Bolos,” *RAC II* (1954) 502–08.

⁴¹ Berthelot, *CAAG II* (1888) 41–56 Greek, 43–60 French.

3, upper right). Later texts make Tin/Jupiter and Mercury/Mercury.⁴² The association of the planets with certain divinities is Babylonian, as the *Epinomis* attributed to Plato tells,⁴³ although Plato already in the *Timaeus* builds on the (probably universal) belief in the divinity of the planets (*Tim.* 38c–40d). And astrology is connected with alchemy from the beginning, for almost the earliest astrological text of which we have traces, that called Nechepso–Petosiris after the two Egyptian kings who allegedly wrote the thing (it is probably second century B.C.), quotes Bolus' mystical message, "Nature delights in nature, . . ." ⁴⁴ (note that the order of the planets in Fig. 3 is the astrological order). Much discussion has been generated over the place where alchemy originated—probably it was indeed Alexandria in Egypt.⁴⁵ In any case all our earliest traces of it come from Alexandria. While the number of recipes preserved is too vast easily to survey, a few high points must be mentioned.

Bolus gives recipes using arsenic, antimony or mercury for transforming copper to silver (*Phys. Myst.* 4)—thus coloring the surface—gold is produced by tinting silver with sulfur (*Phys. Myst.* 7). But we often do not understand just what the alchemist was about—obscurity seems to have been paramount for him—or her. Two of our earliest extant treatises are by women. One is very obscure indeed although we know the authoress, Cleopatra (not the queen) sought to make gold: Fig. 4.⁴⁶ Note the symbolism of the Ouroboros (tail-eating) snake, and the inner circle of Greek (εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἔχων τὸν ἰὸν μετὰ δύο συνθήματα) "one is the snake which has the *ios* (rust?) after two compositions"; note as well the

⁴² Berthelot, *CAAG* I (1887) 73–85, 92–106; for the later text see II (1888) 24–25 Greek, 25–26 French.

⁴³ *Epin.* 987a–d; J. R. Partington, "The Origins of the Planetary Symbols for the Metals," *Ambix* 1 (1937/38) 61–64; M. P. Nilsson, "Die babylonische Grundlage der griechischen Astrologie," *Eranos* 56 (1958) 1–11; G. L. Huxley, *The Interaction of Greek and Babylonian Astronomy* (Belfast 1964); B. L. van der Waerden, *Science Awakening II* (Oxford 1974) 186–87; cp. also J. L. E. Dreyer, *A History of Astronomy from Thales to Kepler* (New York 1953) 169.

⁴⁴ E. Riess, *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta magica* I (Bonn 1890), II = *Philol.* Suppl. 6 (1891–93) 325–94; cp. also Forbes, *SAT* I (1964) 134; Taylor (above, note 39) 51–56 and R. Halleux, *Le problème des métaux dans la science antique*, *Bibl. Fac. Philos. et Lettres. Univ. Liège* 209 (Paris 1974) 149–60. The other early astrological text is that of Berossus: P. Schnabel, *Berossos und die babylonische-hellenistische Literatur* (Leipzig 1923; repr. Hildesheim 1968).

⁴⁵ On Babylonian influence, see J. Bidez, "Les écoles chaldéennes sous Alexandre et les Séleucides," *Brussels, Université Libre. Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales. Annuaire* 3 (1935) 41–89; for Babylonian origin see R. Eisler, "L'origine babylonienne de l'alchimie," *Rev. Synth. Historique* 41 (1925) 5–17 and idem, "Der babylonische Ursprung der Alchemie," *Chemiker Zeitung* 49 (1925) 577–78. For China see H. H. Dubs, "The Beginnings of Alchemy," *Isis* 38 (1947) 62–86 and J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* V. 2 (Cambridge 1974) 8–36. For Egypt, see the authorities cited in notes 1 and 39 above, and G. Goldschmidt, "Der Ursprung der Alchemie," *CIBA Zeitschrift* 5 (1938) 1950–80, 1983–85, 1987–88.

⁴⁶ Berthelot, *CAAG* I (1887) 132.

symbols for (L to R) mercury, silver (with the "filings" squiggle below?) and gold. But what does it all mean?

In the lower right is a distillation apparatus, to which I will return after mentioning the second female writer on alchemy: Maria the Jewess after whom the bain-marie (or double-boiler) is named.⁴⁷ Note the bain-marie just below the mystic circle; the τρίβικος, "three-armed still," is explicitly given as Maria's invention.⁴⁸ Apparently numerous pieces of apparatus were her inventions, but it seems that the bain-marie itself was known to Theophrastus (*De Odor.* 22).⁴⁹ It is not impossible that she made some modification or improvement—stills had been known for ages as well (to this point I shall return). One of her procedures involved the use of "our lead" or "four-body" (*tetrasoma*), an alloy of copper, iron, lead and tin which is "killed," corrupted and then whitened and yellowed to produce gold; another involved "salting" the base metal (this procedure was called *taricheia*, which is the ordinary word for mummification). The notion of preliminary corruption and later ennobling is consistent with Aristotle's doctrine of elemental change (as noted already). She also mentions the standard alchemical "divine water" usually interpreted as sulfuretted water (i.e. a solution of hydrogen sulfide or calcium sulfides) which was used in the yellowing stage.

Maria's *tribikos* was based on earlier stills. Since it is not usually realised how early is the evidence of distillation, allow me to digress a moment. Earlier I warned that Tepe Gawra would be mentioned again. It is from this site that the world's oldest still comes—a 3500 B.C. Sumerian device (Fig. 5). This seems to have been used to distill botanical essences—which would collect in the double rim and would later be sponged out, so the texts tell us.⁵⁰ The stages in the evolution of the alchemical still are shown in Fig. 6.⁵¹ In the first century A.D. Greco-Roman writers record the distillation of mercury (Diosc. *MM* 5. 95 [110]) and pitch (Diosc. *MM* 1. 72. 3 [96]). Experiments have shown that the ancient styles of stills could easily have distilled the water off from vinegar to concentrate acetic acid, and, as well, could have been used to distill alcohol.⁵² Maria's early stills (the *tribikos*) were made of copper—late in the first century A.D. blown glass was invented and she preferred glass for her later apparatus. From the first century A.D. we have reports of flaming wine, which cannot

⁴⁷ R. Patai, "Maria the Jewess: Founding Mother of Alchemy," *Ambix* 29 (1982) 177–97.

⁴⁸ Berthelot, *CAAG* I (1887) 139.

⁴⁹ Forbes, *SAT* III (1965) 32; Lippmann (above, note 1) 50.

⁵⁰ M. Levey, "Evidences of Ancient Distillation, Sublimation and Extraction in Mesopotamia," *Centaurus* 4 (1955) 23–33.

⁵¹ F. Sherwood Taylor, "The Evolution of the Still," *Annals of Science* 5 (1945) 185–202, Fig. 14, repr. in Taylor (above, note 39) Fig. 43.

⁵² A. R. Butler and J. Needham, "An Experimental Comparison of the East Asian, Hellenistic, and Indian (Gandhāran) Stills in Relation to the Distillation of Ethanol and Acetic Acid," *Ambix* 27 (1980) 69–76.

happen unless it is distilled, i.e. brandy (Pliny, *HN* 14. 6. 62–63 and Suet. *Aug.* 95. 4: the report of Suetonius is localised to Thrace, the home of Dionysus god of wine).⁵³ Studies of the available literary evidence indicate that it was sometime in the first century B.C. or A.D. that alcohol was first distilled.⁵⁴ The recipe is preserved by an early Christian writer “exposing” the tricks of the Gnostics, and these tricks have been traced to the magician and neo-Pythagorean Anaxilaus of Larissa (in Thessaly near Thrace) who was expelled from Rome in 28 B.C.⁵⁵ (Another recipe of Anaxilaus is preserved in one of the two alchemical papyri we have.)⁵⁶ Bolus, the original alchemist, wrote under the name of Democritus⁵⁷ of Abdera, which is also in Thrace. Why are Thessaly and Thrace so often mentioned? Thrace was, in Greco-Roman thought, the land of the magicians,⁵⁸ as was Thessaly.⁵⁹

⁵³ M. P. Nilsson, *GGR* I³ (Munich 1967) 564–68; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* VII (London 1913) 2–3.

⁵⁴ H. Diels, “Die Entdeckung des Alkohols,” *Abh. K. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl.* (1913) repr. in *Kleine Schriften*, ed. W. Burkert (Hildesheim 1969) 409–41; and C. A. Wilson, “Philosophers, Isis, and Water of Life,” *Proc. Leeds Philos. Lit. Soc., Lit. Hist. Sect.* 19 (1984) 101–219.

⁵⁵ Wellmann 1928 (above, note 40) 56–62; cp. Wilson (previous note) 152–54 and Diels 1913 (previous note) 21–35 (427–41 of reprint).

⁵⁶ *PStock* 2; see E. R. Caley, “The Stockholm Papyrus,” *JChemEd* 4 (1927) 979–1002 and “The Leyden Papyrus,” *JChemEd* 3 (1926) 1149–66, and the recent edition of both papyri by Halleux (above, note 3).

⁵⁷ For Democritus as a magician, see Pliny *HN* 24. 99. 156, 102. 160, 25. 5. 13 and 30. 2. 8–11. For modern comment, see M. P. Nilsson, *GGR* II³ (Munich 1974) 534–35; J. E. Lowe, *Magic in Greek and Roman Literature* (Oxford 1929) 7 and E. Tavenner, *Studies in Magic from Latin Literature* (New York 1916) 20 n. 101, 56 n. 321.

⁵⁸ For Thrace as land of magic, see Cratinus Ἐρατραι (fr. 73–89 Kassel–Austin), Eupolis Βάρται (fr. 76–98 Kassel–Austin), Plut. *De def. orac.* 10 (415a), Horace, *Epode* 17. 56 (on Cotytto see A. Rapp, “Kotys,” *LexikonGRM* II. 1 [1890–97] 1398–1403), and Pliny *HN* 30. 2. 7. For modern comment, see G. Kazarov, “Thrace (Religion),” *RE* VI A (1936) 472–551, esp. 548–51. Lowe (above, note 57) 10 and A. M. Tupet, *La magie dans la poésie latine* (Paris 1976) 142. Tupet 156, suggests Hekate was originally Thracian—she seems to be following L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1896–1909) II 507–09, who adduces Str. 10. 3. 21–22 (473), but J. Heckenbach, “Hekate,” *RE* VII. 2 (1912) 2769–82, esp. 2780. 38–47 doubts and prefers SE Asia Minor on the evidence of the distribution of the cult sites.

⁵⁹ For Thessaly as land of magic, see: Menander, *Thettale* (cp. Pliny *HN* 30. 2. 7 and Kock, *CAF* III, Menander fr. 229–34); Plautus, *Amph.* 1043; Horace, *Epode* 5. 41–46, *Ode* 1. 27. 21–22, *Epistle* 2. 2. 208–09; Tib. 2. 4. 55–60; Prop. 1. 5. 4–6 and 3. 24. 9–10; Ovid, *Amores* 1. 14. 39–40 and 3. 7. 27–30, *Ars Amat.* 2. 99–104, *Rem. Am.* 249–52; Sen. *Phaedra* 420–23 and 790–92, *Medea* 787–811, *Her. Oet.* 465–72 and 523–27; Lucan 6. 413–830, esp. 434–91; Val. Fl. 1. 735–38, 6. 445–48, 7. 198–99, 7. 325–30; Pliny, *HN* 30. 2. 6–7; Statius, *Theb.* 3. 140–46 and 557–59, 4. 504–11; Mart. 9. 29. 9; Juv. 6. 610–12; Apul. *Met.* 2. 1; *Anth. Pal.* 5. 205. For modern comment, see W. H. Roscher, “Mondgöttin (Zauberei, Magie),” *LexikonGRM* II. 2 (1894–97) 3165–66, Tavenner (above, note 57) 20 n. 98, Lowe (above, note 57) 6–8 (she is a believer: “The spirit world is an established fact for all intelligent people; the desirability of communicating with it . . . is another matter,” p. 2), and Tupet (previous note) 143, 163, 196, 210.

Distilled vinegar probably comes into another device, found in a burial site in the first century A.D. Mesopotamia, and associated with magicians. This object consisted of a sealed copper tube down the middle of which was suspended an iron rod: Fig. 7. The tube once contained a liquid, probably vinegar, and seems to have been an ancient wet-cell or battery. Modern tests show that it could generate about one half volt at a few milliamps. What could the device have been used for? The first publication suggested electroplating and even the physicist George Gamow agreed, but the technological context is absent. I have suggested a connection to the attested use of living electric rays (*torpedines*) in the first century A.D. as a local analgesic in cases of gout and headache, and modern clinical practice (transcutaneous electrical nerve stimulation) confirms that about one half volt at a few milliamps is effective.⁶⁰

The plating of metals was practised in antiquity, by various more or less mechanical or thermal means: for example in Roman times a gold or silver amalgam was applied and the mercury boiled off (Vitr. 7. 8. 4; Pliny, *HN* 33. 20. 64–65, 33. 32. 100, 33. 42. 125, 34. 48. 162–63; *PLeydenX* 27 and 57). A more chemical process, called cementation or surface leaching, in which a base alloy of gold or of silver is attacked by substances which corrode away the base metal near the surface so that the object appears nobler, was also used: our earliest recipe for this is in Bolus, *Physical and Mystical Matters* 12.⁶¹ Archaeological evidence suggests that this or some similar method of coloring metals was practised from a very early date in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Two Egyptian examples are especially instructive. In King Tut's tomb were found numerous gold rosettes which were colored purple. The American physicist Wood was called in to solve the problem and he determined that the gold contained 1% iron and traces of orpiment (native arsenic sulfide: As_2S_3) and that when such an alloy is cold worked and then heated a bit below red heat, a purple or violet color is produced.⁶² To the empurpling of gold I will return in a moment. The second example concerns an Egyptian bowl and ewer of the V Dynasty in the Metropolitan Museum which have been shown to be arsenic plated, as well as an Anatolian bull figurine of the late third millennium B.C. similarly plated.⁶³ The alchemical texts speak of arsenic (or antimony) plating as a way of producing silver from copper: *PLeydenX* 23.

⁶⁰ P. T. Keyser, "The Purpose of the Parthian Galvanic Cells," *AIA Abstracts* 13 (1989) 46 and submitted. Fig. 7 is taken from this article.

⁶¹ Berthelot, *CAAG* II (1888) 46; cp. *PLeydenX* 15, 25 and 69. See H. Lechtman, "Ancient Methods of Gilding Silver—Examples from the Old and the New Worlds," in *Science and Archaeology* (Cambridge 1970) 2–30, and L. H. Cope, "Surface Silvered Ancient Coins," in *Methods of Chemical and Metallurgical Investigation of Ancient Coinage*, edd. E. T. Hall and D. M. Metcalf (London 1972) = *RNS Spec. Pub.* 8 (1972) 261–78, Pls. XIX–XX.

⁶² R. W. Wood, "The Purple Gold of Tut'ankhamun," *JEA* 20 (1934) 62–66, Pl. XI.

⁶³ C. S. Smith, "An Examination of the Arsenic-Rich Coating on a Bronze Bull from Horoztepe," in *Application of Science in Examination of Works of Art*, ed. W. J. Young

One widespread use of precious metals in antiquity was for coinage, a monopoly of the state.⁶⁴ Now it seems that in the first century B.C. the incidence of coin forging rose, judging by the Roman law passed against it.⁶⁵ The method of fakery in view seems to have been producing pewter (tin-lead alloy) coins. Either plated base metal or substitute alloys could be detected by their lower density, especially if gold was to be imitated. In the case of imitation silver, for which the alchemists give numerous recipes, including at least one involving arsenic,⁶⁶ the density problem would not have been so severe—though anyone willing to use Archimedes' method could detect the forgery. Yet coins of very low density made not only of pewter but even of an arsenic or antimony alloy have been found—the earliest examples are from Macedonia, not far from Thessaly and Thrace.⁶⁷ Perhaps these developments in the production of imitation silver by the alchemists prompted Menelaus to write his book on the density of alloys in the late first century A.D.⁶⁸

To the alchemical writers (Cleopatra, Maria, Zosimus, etc.) the most important aspect, even of the "scientific" alchemy I have been describing, was the production or imitation of gold. There are numerous recipes, some incomprehensible, some involving merely coloring the surface or debasing the gold with both copper and silver, to preserve the color. By far the most interesting involves another apparatus attributed to Maria the Jewess, the κηροτακίς.⁶⁹ Originally a device used by encaustic painters to keep their colored waxes soft, it was used by the alchemists to produce alloys, especially their most successful imitation of gold—a 13% mercury in copper alloy, used until recently by jewelers as a substitute gold. This alloy

(Boston 1972) 96–102, esp. 102 n. 5; and C. G. Fink and A. H. Kopp, "Ancient Antimony Plating on Copper Objects," *Met. Mus. Studies* 4 (1933) 163–67; Smith explains their error.

⁶⁴ Cp. T. R. Martin, *Sovereignty and Coinage in Classical Greece* (Princeton 1985).

⁶⁵ P. Grierson, "The Roman Law of Counterfeiting," in *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to H. Mattingly*, ed. R. A. G. Carson and C. H. V. Sutherland (Oxford 1956) 240–61; p. 242: Sulla's "lex Cornelia de falsis," of 81 B.C. from Ulpian 48. 10. 9.

⁶⁶ *PLeydenX* 85 for arsenic; for imitation silver see *PLeydenX* 5, 6, 8–12, 18, 19, 27, 30, etc.

⁶⁷ I. A. Carradice and S. La Niece, "The Libyan War and Coinage: A New Hoard and the Evidence of Metal Analysis," *NC* 148 (1988) 33–52, Pl. 7–12 (3rd century B.C. arsenic-alloy Libyan coins); Macedon: *SNG ANS* 8. 86 of Pausanias (ca. 399–93 B.C.) and *SNG ANS* 8. 89 of Amyntas III (ca. 393–69 B.C.) from an unpublished paper by W. S. Greenwalt (*ANS*, Summer 1987); my own work on the coins in the University of Colorado collection revealed a coin of specific gravity 6.933 ± 0.004 , which turned out (on microprobe examination) to be composed of a 38% Sb, 60% Sn alloy; the coin is No. 18 of the catalogue of W. and M. Wallace, "Catalogue of Greek and Roman Coins at the University of Colorado," *U. Col. Studies* 25 (1938) 237–80, a triobol of Philip II. Detailed results I hope to publish elsewhere.

⁶⁸ J. Würschmidt, "Die Schrift des Menelaus über die Bestimmung der Zusammensetzung von Legierungen," *Philol.* 80 (1925) 377–409.

⁶⁹ See Taylor 1930 (above, note 2) 130–38; idem 1949 (above, note 39) 46–50; A. J. Hopkins, "A Study of the Kerotakis Process as Given by Zosimus," *Isis* 29 (1938) 326–54.

cannot be produced by direct amalgamation, but if copper is heated on the palette of the *kerotakis* with mercury vapors below, it first blackens with oxide then whitens as the mercury amalgamates and finally yellows as the heat drives the alloying to completion.⁷⁰ In the alchemists' descriptions of the *kerotakis* procedure four changes of color are insisted upon: blackening, whitening, yellowing and "*iosis*." To the final stage I will return in a moment. Another variation, mentioned above, involved the use of tetrasomy ("four-body"), a copper-iron-lead-tin alloy (on which Maria improved by substituting a simpler copper-lead alloy), which was heated over sulfur. This produced a complex black sulfide. A similar process was known in Egypt from New Kingdom times, for making niello—a fused black copper-silver sulfide known to Pliny the Elder in the first century A.D.⁷¹ In any case the reduction of base metal to non-metallic "matter" was necessary, as Aristotle had taught, before any upward transformation was possible. I have mentioned Zosimus' interest in fermentation—this may be explained by reference to alchemical theories in which the black mass was converted to silver then gold by "divine water" whose action is explicitly compared to that of yeast.⁷² To this water I would compare Plato's water from which gold forms. Instead of mercury or sulfur, orpiment was sometimes used to act as the yellowing agent.⁷³

The final stage, after the yellowing to gold, was *iosis*—which word could mean corruption/rust or purpling. Usually commentators prescind from giving a precise chemical explanation, but the purple gold (containing orpiment) of Tutankhamon perhaps provides a parallel. Is it possible the alchemists were in fact trying to produce purple gold?

Mystical Matters

But we must turn to the *iosis* of alchemy itself—its mystical stage. Why did this occur? As humans we are distinct from the animals by our Faustian urge for the unattainable of which greed is the excess and contentment the defect. Again we are distinguished by our individuality—ape and dog packs show the evolutionary priority of the State (as Eduard Meyer has shown). Mysticism seems to me to be, as religion is, our attempt to deal with our helplessness (to borrow an epigram of Arthur Darby Nock), and in particular it is our ever-vain search for unity both internal and external. We seek the

⁷⁰ Cp. Berthelot, *CAAG* II (1887) 146 Greek, 148 French (= Zosimus 3. 1. 1 ff.) and see Taylor (above, note 2) 128, 132–33.

⁷¹ Pliny, *HN* 33. 46. 131 gives the recipe; for discussion see K. C. Bailey, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on Chemical Subjects* I (London 1929) 227; Lucas (above, note 9) 249–51 and A. A. Moss, "Niello," *Studies in Conservation = Etudes de conservation* 1 (1953) 49–62.

⁷² Cp. Berthelot, *CAAG* II (1888) 145, 248 Greek, 147, 238 French (= Zosimus 3. 10. 5 and 52. 4). Cp. note 32 above.

⁷³ Berthelot, *CAAG* I (1887) 67, 238–39, 264; II (1888) 44 Greek, 47 French (= Bolus, *Phys. Myst.* 7); II (1888) 163–64 Greek, 163 French (= Zosimus 3. 16. 11).

inner integration of our personality (as Freud and Jung meant) and the outer integration of our selves into society (the subject of countless works of sociology and the subtext of the Herodotean story of the tyrant knocking off the heads of all the outstanding grain: 5. 92. ζ. 2-η. 1)—that is we seek an impossible return to our bestial past. The current of this feeling is part (perhaps even one of the chief parts) of the transformation which overwhelmed Mediterranean culture between 180 and 280 A.D.—I mean (with Peter Brown, Alexander Demandt, Hans-Peter L'Orange and Samuel Sambursky) the change from the Classical or Greco-Roman world to the Late Antique world.⁷⁴ The Late Antique Period runs roughly from 280 to 640 A.D. and is characterised by the ascendancy of the transcendent. One can see this change in all aspects of life—religion (and Christianity did not cause but suffered from this change), philosophy (I need only mention neo-Platonism), government (the reforms of Diocletian imposed ca. 285 A.D. laid the foundation of the Middle Ages), architecture (the use of vast internal space in the basilica churches), and art. Perhaps in sculpture it is most clear: though I am not an art historian, I follow L'Orange here. Classical statues and busts are balanced and confident and gaze forthrightly at the viewer; one can sense their humanity. In the famous Delphic Charioteer of the early fifth century B.C. the face is modeled naturally, the lips are parted as if about to speak, the eyes are forward, focused on what must have been the horses. The portraits of Constantine are well known for their Late Antique characteristics and mark in a way the culmination of the trends: note the stark planes of the face, outlined with pure curves at the eyebrows and the face itself suffused with an otherworldly look while the eyes are directed towards heaven. Busts of the second and third centuries A.D. show pure curves in the face; all such seem to portray figures unaware of the viewer or his world.

I have tried to convey all too briefly an impression of this overwhelming paradigm shift in the ancient world—alchemy too underwent this shift and transformed from a scientific (if erroneous) search for transmutation into a mystical search for personal transformation. What were the internal roots of this, what background can we find for understanding chemistry as mysticism?

Democritus, the pre-Socratic philosopher to whom is attributed the ancient theory of atoms, the same under whose name Bolus wrote, connected the atoms making up the soul with those of fire or of the sun.⁷⁵ While

⁷⁴ H.-P. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* (Oslo 1933) and *Civic Life and Art Forms in the Late Roman Empire* (Princeton 1965); S. Sambursky, *The Physical World of Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1962); P. Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA 1978); A. Demandt, *Die Spätantike* (Munich 1989).

⁷⁵ D. L. 9. 44, Democr. fr. A74, A135 D-K. See also W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, tr. Edwin L. Minar, Jr. (Cambridge, MA 1972) 357-68; P. Boyancé, "La religion astrale de Platon à Cicéron," *REG* 65 (1952) 312-50; and F. Cumont, "Les noms des planètes et l'astrolâtrie chez les Grecs," *Ant. Class.* 4 (1935) 1-43.

Democritus was no atheist (they were a great rarity in the ancient world), other Greeks saw "danger" in Democritus' attempt to explain the world atomistically (it seemed to remove the gods too far). Yet this particular point was something of a commonplace—Plato in the *Timaeus* explicitly connects human souls and the stars⁷⁶ putting them into one-to-one correspondence, while other philosophers including Aristotle put forward hypotheses about the substance of souls and stars such that by the first century B.C. they were more or less equated.⁷⁷ Hipparchus the great astronomer who discovered the precession of the equinoxes in about 130 B.C. was praised because he proved that the stars are kindred with man and our souls are part of the heavens.⁷⁸ Instead of being made of this quintessence, the mind or soul could also be thought of as the mixing of the elements or atoms, and the perfection of the soul as the proper mixing or balancing by means of the stellar substance, the quintessence. In any case, the philosophic notion of perfecting the soul was that the soul's true divine nature must be brought out.

Plato had already compared the soul to gold in a famous passage in the *Symposium* (216d-17b)—the soul, that is, of a good man, Socrates. Gold was, since Babylon, the metal of what even Pindar had called the warmest star (*Oly.* 1. 6)—and most ancient Greeks knew that the stars were fiery. Thus it was only logical—the perfect soul is purified, made heavenly, made golden, as even Pindar in that same Victory Song had sung (*Oly.* 1. 1). The idea must be nearly universal, as it is even found in the Hebrew Scriptures, in the *Psalms*, where the Law of God, which perfects the soul, is better than gold, even much fine gold.⁷⁹ In *Proverbs* and in the prophets God working on the soul is compared to a refiner seeking to cleanse the noble metal of its dross.⁸⁰ And this salvation is explicitly compared to purification of gold and silver by fire when Paul writes to the Corinthians:⁸¹ "If anyone's work is burned up having been penalised he will be saved, but just as through fire."⁸² The prevalence of the worship of the Unconquered Sun⁸³—which went so far that Christians adopted the birthday of the Sun (the Winter Solstice) as the birthday of the Son of God—may have had an influence, since the Sun is the planet whose metal is gold. There is also no doubt some original connection to the Golden Age of Hesiod, from which the human race has subsequently declined through Silver (and Copper) to Black

⁷⁶ *Tim.* 41-43; see A. E. Taylor, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (Oxford 1928) 255-58.

⁷⁷ See above, note 34.

⁷⁸ M. P. Nilsson, *Rise of Astrology in the Hellenistic Age* (Lund 1943); Pliny, *HN* 2. 24. 95.

⁷⁹ *Psalms* 119; cp. also *Psalms* 66. 10.

⁸⁰ *Proverbs* 17. 3, 27. 21, *Wisdom* 3. 6; and *Isaiah* 1. 25, *Jeremiah* 6. 27-30, *Ezekiel* 22. 17-22, *Malachi* 3. 2-3. I am indebted to C. G. Estabrook (U. of Illinois, Religious Studies) for finding some of these passages for me.

⁸¹ *I Corinthians* 3. 11-15.

⁸² Cp. also *II Peter* 3. 10.

⁸³ See F. Cumont, "La théologie solaire du paganisme romain," *Mémoires. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 12. 2 (1909) 448-79; cp. even Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis* 4.

Iron.⁸⁴ Not surprisingly the alchemists, as had their philosophical forebears, sought to reverse this: black, white silver, yellow gold—and even to outdo it—with the transcending *iosis*.

In any event the transformation happened: what had begun as an experimental science founded on the best scientific thought of the age—Aristotle's four-element theory—became a search for personal transformation. Let me cite some highlights.

Zosimus in his vision sees the Man of Copper becoming the Man of Silver and thence the Man of Gold: again immortality is promised to souls capable of entering into the secrets of heaven.⁸⁵ Contemporary with Zosimus are two alchemical papyri, really recipe books (cited above), and found in a grave with other magical and Gnostic papyri.⁸⁶ A bit earlier the Christian Bishop Hippolytus had associated alchemical recipes, including that for distilled alcohol, with the magical tricks of the Gnostics. One group of Gnostics is even credited with obtaining gold from bronze.⁸⁷ Gnosticism was the first successful Christian heresy, in which the essence of salvation lay in learning the secret Gnosis—just as for the alchemist—by which the immortal and spiritual soul could shrug off the merely physical dross of the body and rejoin the purely spiritual Logos.⁸⁸ Usually this Gnosis is revealed in some vision or ritual—note the vision of Zosimus and the ritual enacted by Bolus to attempt to gain the secret knowledge of his dead master.⁸⁹ I have already suggested how some of these apparently alchemical ideas are to be found in the New Testament; later Christian thought was also sometimes influenced—in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (15. 2) we read how when he was burned he seemed as if he were gold in the refiner's fire (or bread baking). We may also note the prominence in both Gnosticism and alchemy of the snake Ouroboros.

Later we have writers who are explicitly Christian and explicitly alchemists—Stephanus of Alexandria in the seventh century A.D., for example.⁹⁰ He writes:⁹¹

⁸⁴ Hesiod, *W&D* 106–210; cp. *Daniel* 2. 31 ff.

⁸⁵ Berthelot, *CAAG* II (1888) 229 ff. (= Zosimus 3. 51. 8); cp. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* (Leipzig 1904) 103 ff.

⁸⁶ Forbes, *SAT* I (1964) 141; H. J. Sheppard, "Gnosticism and Alchemy," *Ambix* 6 (1958) 86–101, esp. 93–98.

⁸⁷ Wilson (above, note 54) 164.

⁸⁸ K. Rudolf, *Gnosis* (New York 1983) 55–56, 113–18; Thomdike (above, note 39) 360–84.

⁸⁹ A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d' Hermès Trismégiste* (Paris 1950) I 217–82; Sheppard (above, note 86) 86; idem, "The Redemption Theme and Hellenistic Alchemy," *Ambix* 7 (1959) 42–46; J. Scarborough, "Gnosticism, Drugs and Alchemy in Late Roman Egypt," *Pharmacy in History* 13 (1971) 151–57; M. Mertens, "Une scène d'initiation alchimique: La 'Lettre d'Isis à Horus'," *RHR* 205 (1988) 3–24 (a reference I owe to Maryline Parca).

⁹⁰ F. S. Taylor, "The Alchemical Works of Stephanos of Alexandria," *Ambix* 1 (1937) 116–39, 2 (1938) 38–49.

⁹¹ Taylor 1937 (previous note) 129.

"For the emanation of it is the mystery hidden in it, the most worthy pearl, the flame-bearing moonstone, the most gold-besprinkled chiton, the food of the liquor of gold, the chryso-cosmic spark, the victorious warrior, the royal covering, the veritable purple, the most worthy garland, the sulphur without fire, the ruler of the bodies, the entire yellow species, the hidden treasure, that which has the moon as couch, that which in the moon is gnostically seen as [here follows a series of 10 incomprehensible symbols] . . ."

What does this mean? Elsewhere Stephanus writes as a Pythagorean (Lecture 2):⁹²

"The multitude of numbers compounded together has its existence from one atom and natural monad; this which exerts a mutual tension comprehends and rules over the infinite as emanating from itself. For the monad is so called from its remaining immutable and unmoved. For it displays a circular and spherical contemplation of numbers like to itself, I mean a completion of the five numbers and of the six."

And (Lecture 1):⁹³

"You the whole are the one nature, the same by which the whole becomes the work. For by an odd number [preferred by the Pythagoreans] thy all-cosmos is systematised. For then you shall understand . . . then you shall discover . . ."

and so on. Elsewhere he writes as a Gnostic (Lecture 1):⁹⁴

"Put away the material theory so that you may be deemed worthy to see with your intellectual eyes the hidden mystery. For there is need of a single natural thing and of one nature conquering the all. Of such a kind, now clearly to be told you, that the nature rejoices in the nature and the nature masters the nature and the nature conquers the nature."

And he exhorts his hearers to a Christian alchemy (Lecture 1):⁹⁵

"Alone we are made friends with him by Love, and we receive from him the wisdom springing forth as an abyss from the abyss [so a Gnostic would say] that we may be enabled by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ to gush forth rivers of living water."

The connection is that "copper like a man has both soul and spirit"—air gives us our spirit, fire gives it to the copper.

A bit later the poet-philosopher Theophrastus (*fort.* eighth century A.D.) writes that the object of alchemy is to pour the unchangeable matter from the form of lead into the form of gold—he compares a sculptor working bronze, but I am reminded also of Paul's image in the letter to the

⁹² Taylor 1937 (above, note 90) 127.

⁹³ Taylor 1937 (above, note 90) 123.

⁹⁴ Taylor 1937 (above, note 90) 123.

⁹⁵ Taylor 1937 (above, note 90) 125.

Romans of the divine potter molding souls, and of the image of Plato in the *Timaeus* of the craftsman molding golden statues.⁹⁶

So much for mysticism—what has all this to do with us? We live in a scientific and post-Christian age, do we not? Not entirely—there is much pseudo-science about, and three great figures were heavily influenced by alchemy: I mean Newton, Goethe and Jung. Newton regarded alchemy as a part of his intellectual life as important as his work on gravitation, and tested recipes for obtaining gold from sulfur and mercury.⁹⁷ Goethe, though living in the age of Lavoisier and Priestley at the dawn of modern scientific chemistry, believed in alchemy in the sense of obtaining mystical substances with transmutative powers.⁹⁸ Goethe's belief was that "as Nature works in particular things, so also does she work in universal things," that there is a symmetry in all parts of Nature animated by one Spirit—this is wholly Stoic. Within this there are pairs of polar opposites and the goal of alchemy is to produce an incorruptible permanence embracing all opposites, achieved by a descent to death and corruption, followed by an ascent—the links to ancient (and medieval) alchemy are plain, but all that is left is the magical and mystical aspect. Jung's interest in alchemy and Gnosis extended to the purchase of one of the Nag Hammadi Gnostic codices; in his seventeen volumes of collected works, fully three are devoted to alchemy (only one to the collective unconscious). He translated and commented on the Visions of Zosimus cited above—he connects the symbolism of alchemy and the structure of the unconscious.⁹⁹ I do not pretend to understand it.

All three of these men have influenced our modern world, which itself shows evidence of mankind's continuing fascination with the mystical.¹⁰⁰ Not long ago an article appeared in the prestigious scientific journal *Nature* in which it was claimed that solutions of certain antigen-proteins diluted by such a factor that it was not possible that even one molecule of the protein

⁹⁶ C. A. Browne, "The Poem of the Philosopher Theophrastus Upon the Sacred Art: A Metrical Translation with Comments Upon the History of Alchemy," *Scientific Monthly* 11 (1920) 193–214; for date see H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantiner* II (Munich 1978) 280.

⁹⁷ Most recently, R. L. Gregory, "Alchemy of Matter and Mind," *Nature* 342 (1989) 471–73; see also: I. B. Cohen, "Newton," *DSB* 10 (1974) 81–83, 100; P. M. Rattansi, "Newton's Alchemical Studies," in *Science, Medicine and Society*, ed. A. G. Debus (London and New York 1972) II 167–82; J. E. McGuire, "Transmutation and Immutability," *Ambix* 14 (1967) 69–95; D. Geoghegan, "Some Indications of Newton's Attitude Towards Alchemy," *Ambix* 6 (1958) 102–06; A. R. and M. B. Hall, "Newton's Chemical Experiments," *AJHS* 11 (1958) 113–52; F. S. Taylor, "An Alchemical Work of Sir Isaac Newton," *Ambix* 5 (1956) 59–84; R. J. Forbes, "Was Newton an Alchemist?," *Chymia* 2 (1949) 27–36.

⁹⁸ I depend for Goethe's alchemy on R. D. Gray, *Goethe the Alchemist* (Cambridge 1952).

⁹⁹ See *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung* XIII: *Alchemical Studies* (New York 1968) 59–108 for Zosimus (vols. XII–XIV are concerned with alchemy).

¹⁰⁰ Cp. T. Hines, *Pseudo-Science and the Paranormal* (Buffalo, NY 1988); A. G. Debus, "Science vs. Pseudo-Science: The Persistent Debate," in *Chemistry, Alchemy and the New Philosophy* (London 1987) 1–18.

was present in a liter of solution yet continued to display antigen activity. This "naturopathic" claim was soon refuted (it seems the naturopath on staff had "subconsciously" fudged the statistics), but new naturopathic clinics spring up like mushrooms. Activists oppose the use of animals in research on the grounds that "a rat is a pig is a dog is a boy"—this is a Pythagorean argument. Belief in reincarnation, a cardinal Pythagorean tenet, is widespread (as Herodotus did in another connection, I omit to mention the name of the Californian well known for this). Alchemy, palm-reading, tarot cards and the like are no longer so popular—but "channeling" is, and need I mention that every newspaper feels obliged to publish horoscopes, read religiously by millions?

Our age has witnessed the old dream of the alchemists become a reality. Transmutation is possible, and I myself have used one such artificial element in my scientific chemical research—Technetium, element 43, with a half-life of some 200,000 years. It is unnerving, to say the least, to discover that American foreign policy has been directed by astrology in an age enlightened by nuclear fires, fires produced by the transmutation of Uranium (named after the first new planet to be discovered) into Plutonium (named after the third new planet). In such a context the scientific study of ancient alchemy may be very enlightening indeed. And so I end where I began, with the Promethean fire for having which the gods damn us, and:

"What shall I build or write
Against the Fall of Night?"¹⁰¹

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¹⁰¹ A. E. Housman, *More Poems* 45. 11–12. I am indebted to Sarah Wissemann for discussions on the history of metallurgy and several references (Rapp [above, note 12], Tylecote [above, note 9] and Vandiver et al. [above, note 6]), and to W. M. Calder III for critical readings and stylistic advice.



Fig. 1
 Sumerian and Egyptian Beer-drinking (note straws).
 (After Hartmann and Oppenheim, *JAOS* Suppl. 10 (1950) Pl. I.1, II.2)

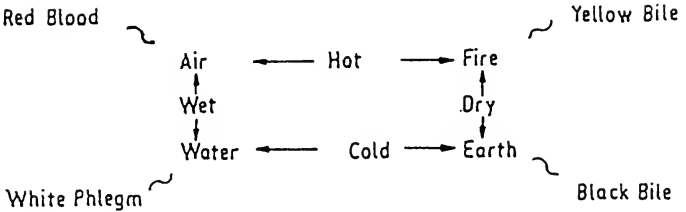


Fig. 2
 Table of the Four Elements and Humors.
 (After Keyser, *Philol.* 133 [1989] 79)

ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπιπέτησι τῶν ἡγεμονῶν ἐν τοῖς τεχνικοῖς
 ἐγγράμμασι τῶν φιλοσόφων ἰσχυρῶς ἐπισημαστικῆς
 πρῶτοις λεγόμενης φιλοσοφίας :-

<p> ⚔ χρυσεός ⚔ χρυσοῦρινημε ⚔ χρυσοῦπέταλα ⚔ χρυσοί κεκαυμένοι ⚔ χρυσήλεκτρον ⚔ χρυσοκοκκία ⚔ ψευδαχρυσόν Ⓞ αργυρός Ⓞ αργυροῦτη Ⓞ αργυροῦρινημε Ⓞ αργυροῦπέταλα Ⓞ αργυροχρυσόκοκκία Ⓞ αργυροκεκαυμένος Ⓞ χαλκοκύπριος Ⓞ χαλκοῦτη Ⓞ χαλκοῦρινημε Ⓞ χαλκοῦπέταλα Ⓞ χαλκοί κεκαυμένοι Ⓞ ἰσοχαλκόν Ⓞ ὀριχαλκός Ⓞ ἰαήρος ἄλλοι Ⓞ ἰαήροῦτη Ⓞ ἰαήροῦρινημε Ⓞ ἰαήροῦπέταλον Ⓞ ἰαήροῦ ἰός Ⓞ ἡμελιβός </p>	<p> Ⓞ ἡλιός χρυσεός Ⓞ ἑλληνή αργυρός Ⓞ ἡ κρόμος φλίνον ἡλιβός Ⓞ ζεύς φάετων ἡλεκτρος Ⓞ ἄρηστροῦ ἰαήρος Ⓞ ἀφροδίτη φως φερίχαλκοί Ⓞ ἑρμῆς ἡλβω ἡ κεκαυμένος Ⓞ ἡ ἡλιβότυτη Ⓞ ἡ ἡλιβόχαλκος Ⓞ ἡ ἡλιβόῦρινημε Ⓞ ἡ ἡλιβόκεκαυμένος Ⓞ ἡ κίε ἰήροι ἰαχὺ Ⓞ ἡ κίε ἰήροῦτη Ⓞ ἡ κίε ἰήροῦρινημε Ⓞ ἡ κίε ἰήροῦπέταλα Ⓞ ἡ κίε ἰήρος κεκαυμένοι Ⓞ ἡ ἰαήρος Ⓞ ἡ ἡλιβός Ⓞ ἡ λυκὴ ἡ παρῆσαν Ⓞ ἡ ζηνθή ἡ παρῆσαν Ⓞ ἡ λιβή ἡ αργυρός Ⓞ ἡ θιονότρον Ⓞ ἡ θιονό Ⓞ ἡ θιονό ἡ ἰκτων Ⓞ ἡ ἀφροῦ ἡ ἑλληνόν </p>
5	5
10	10
15	15
20	20
25	25

Fig. 3
 Planetary Symbolism in Alchemy (MS Marcianus 2327, f. 6).
 (After Berthelot, CAAG I [1887] 104)

ΚΑΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΗΣ ΧΡΥΣΟΠΟΙΙΑ

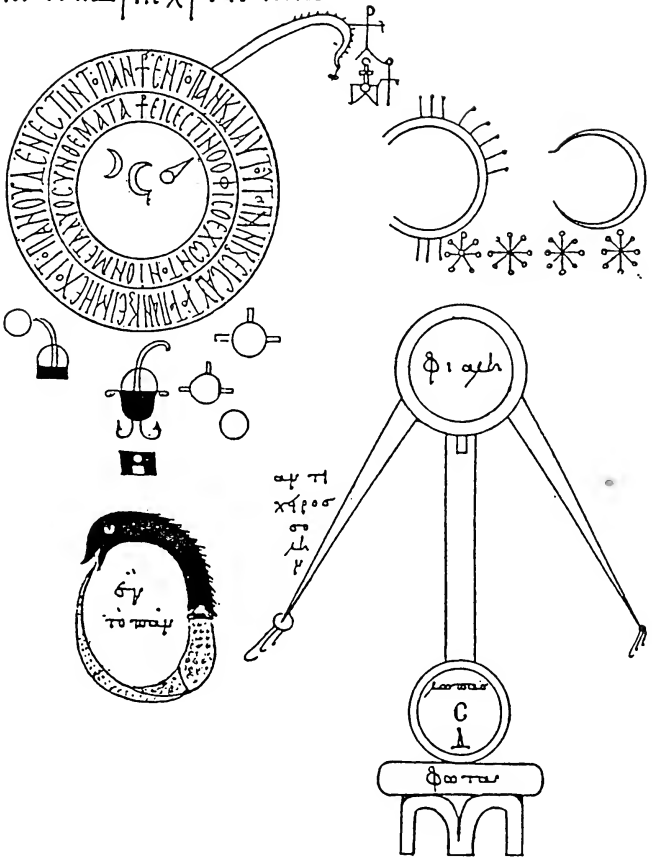


Fig. 4
Chrysopoeia of Cleopatra (*MS Marcianus* 2327, f. 188^v).
(After Berthelot, *CAAG* I [1887] 132)

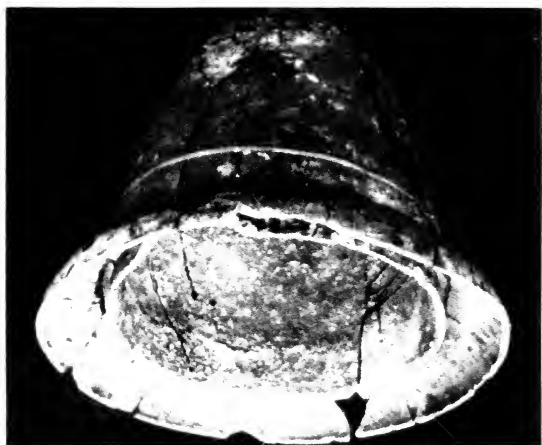


Fig. 5
Sumerian Still from Tepe Gawra (ca. 3500 B.C.).
(After Levey, *Centaurus* 4 [1955] Pl. facing p. 24)

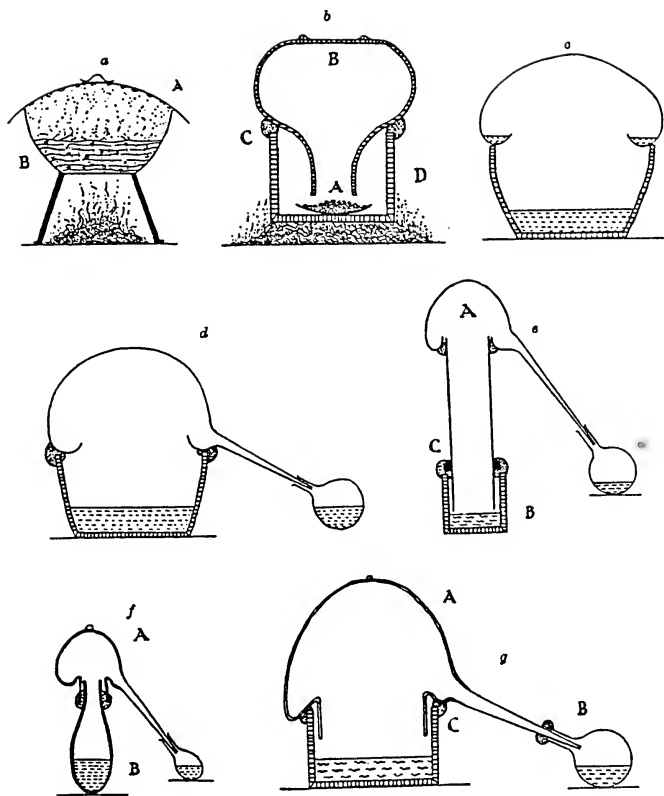


Fig. 6
 Stages (a through g) in the Evolution of the Still.
 (After Taylor, *Annals of Science* 5 [1945] 201, Fig. 14)

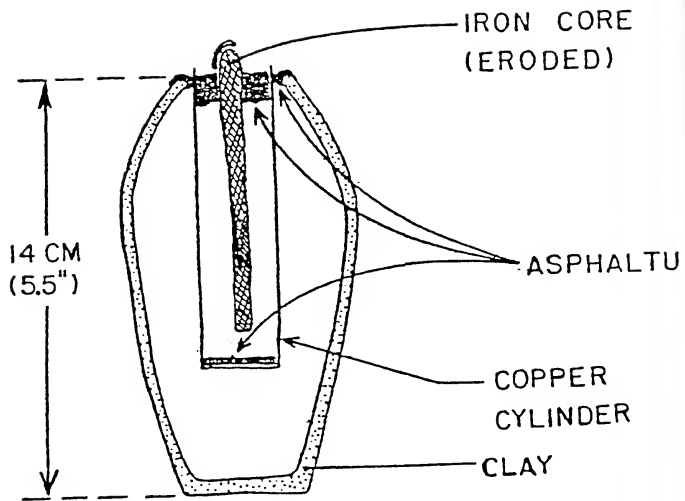


Fig. 7
Parthian Electric Battery (Copper-Iron Wet Cell).

Milton and the Pastoral Mode:
The Epitaphium Damonis

J. K. NEWMAN

The fates of Boethius and Thomas More alike have familiarized us with the picture of the scholar and humanist on the gibbet at the behest of some implacable despot.¹ John Milton (1608–74), who acclaimed the execution of Charles I in 1649, reversed these roles. Brilliantly gifted though he was, he is not therefore easily thought of as a humanist, certainly not as anything in the Erasmian mold, since he was too violent a partisan. Even claims that Milton was a “Renaissance” writer ring a little hollow. In the mid-seventeenth century, over a hundred years after the deaths of Leonardo (1519) and Raphael (1520)? Nevertheless, this article argues that the poet, even if an epigone, is not to be understood apart from the Classical tradition, and to that extent he is a humanist and even—perhaps—“Renaissance” author.² But the Classical tradition must not be interpreted in some woolly way. It offers a very precise yardstick against which deviations may be measured. Here, our concern is with the poet’s epic ambition.

Et quantum mihi restat ad Culicem! Lucan is supposed to have said (cf. Statius, *Silvae* 2. 7. 73), meaning perhaps that he had already attained brilliant success, while Virgil was still engaged on what were thought to be his *opera minora*—and perhaps more modestly that what he had done so far scarcely measured up to Virgil’s *juvenilia*. If Virgil established a pattern for the development of the European literary epic that was to become paradigmatic, it is clearly important to know what it was.

Virgil did not come to epic by an easy route. The *Life* by Donatus informs us (§19) that originally he toyed with a theme from Roman history. But he found it impossible to repeat what Ennius had done before him. He turned away—oddly, to a modern taste—to the pastoral. *Mox cum res Romanas incohasset, offensus materia ad Bucolica transiit*. He dropped these early epic plans, we also learn in one version of these remarks, because he was *offensus nominum asperitate*. It seems a curious reason, although since it is the reverse of what Quintilian (12. 10. 33) says about the *dulcedo* of

¹ *Io fei giubetto a me delle mie case*, says Dante’s Piero delle Vigne, *Inferno* 13. 151.

² English insularity should never be forgotten. Henry VII’s Chapel in Westminster Abbey, completed in a version of Gothic in the year of Leonardo’s death, is an amazing example.

Greek names, perhaps it is some indication that the exquisitely sensitive Roman felt again the incommensurability of the historical and the mythical already established by Aristotle in Chapter 9 of the *Poetics*.

Odd though this may be to modern taste, there is already here a replication of the precepts of Callimachus, who at the beginning of the *Aetia* (Book 1, fr. 1. 3–5 Pf.) had rejected the bombastic epic of war and history, and put forward instead the example of Hesiod, but of a Hesiod who was a shepherd (*Aet.* 1, fr. 2. 1–4):

ποιμῆνι μῆλα νέμονται παρ' ἴχνιον ὄξέος ἵππου
 Ἑσιόδῳ Μουσέων ἔσμῳς ὄτ' ἠντίασεν
 μ]έν οἱ Χάεος γενεσ[
]ἐπὶ πτέρηνς ὕδα[

To the shepherd tending his flocks by the hoofmark of the swift horse, Hesiod, when the swarm of the Muses met him . . . to him the origin of Chaos . . . of heel . . . water.

1. Cf. μῆλα νέμοντι, Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthom.* 12. 310. Even though scholars find that Quintus was a shepherd at Smyrna (!), all the conventional passage means is that, by this time, even the pseudo-Homeric manner has to take on the color of the Hesiodic/Callimachean if it is to enjoy literary respectability.

2. ἔσμῳς here appears to compare the Muses implicitly with bees: cf. Διοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι . . . *Hy.* 2. 110; μελιχρότεραι *Aet.* 1, fr. 1. 16; ἀλλ' ὀκνέω μὴ τὸ μελιχρότατον *Epigr.* 27. 2; *VRBANUM* . . . *mellifluis animatum Apibus*, . . . *fluent te mella canente*, Guidiccioni, *Ara Maxima Vaticana* (below, note 8) pp. 29–30; *As Bees / In spring time* etc, Milton, *P.L.* 1. 768–69.

Callimachus recommends therefore to the epic aspirant, not the versification of history to the glory of kings and great heroes which would become too common as the Hellenistic period advanced, but an epic under the patronage of Hesiod which would celebrate the origin of the world.

The stories of David and Amos show that there is already something religious about a shepherd who receives a revelation, as there is about the title Αἴτια; witness the many *aetia* dotting the Pentateuch. But “Hesiod” was also a stalking-horse, covertly enabling Callimachus to introduce a novel version of the Homeric. The first “Callimachean” epic we have, the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, looks therefore like a conventional heroic tale, but its conventionalism is only apparent. It follows Callimachus’ own example in the *Hecale* of exploring the flip side of the heroic ideal, and it even shows some debt to the philosophical tradition.³ And what could Callimachus’ other epic, the *Galatea* (fr. 378–79 Pf.), have made of the attack of the Gauls on Delphi in 279–78?—a heroic theme, but hardly handled conventionally, if we judge by its list of exotic fish. But

³ Newman, *The Classical Epic Tradition* (Madison 1986) 78.

there was always room in this manner for the more obviously Hesiodic, even for a *Theogony*. This explains Callimachus' strong defence of Aratus (*Epigr.* 27), the Callimachean allegiance of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, the plaintive admissions of *Georgics* 2. 475–84, and Book 6 of the *Aeneid*.

For Virgil then to adopt Callimachus' view of epic was no simple change of literary plan. The programmatic sixth *Eclogue* allows us to eavesdrop on the young poet's problems. In the poem, three points are relevant:

(a) It opens with a *recusatio*. This must be quoted:

cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthus aurem
vellit et admonuit: 'pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen.' 5
nunc ego (namque super tibi erunt qui dicere laudes,
Vare, tuas cupiant et tristia condere bella)
agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam.

When I wanted to sing of kings and their battles, Apollo plucked my ear, and added this advice: "A shepherd, Tityrus, should feed fat sheep, but thin-spun should be his song." For now I—since you will have a superfluity, Varus, wishing to celebrate your doughty deeds and fearful wars—I will rehearse my country music on the slender reed.

3. Cf. βασιλῆων (πρῆξιας? δῆριας?) Callimachus, *Aet.* 1, fr. 1. 3–4; *proelia / victas et urbes*, Hor. *Odes* 4. 15. 1–2.

4. τὸ μὲν θύος ὅτι πάχιστον *Aet.* 1, fr. 1. 23; παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορὸν Call. fr. 398; *pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter / ingenium*, Hor. *Sat.* 2. 6. 14–15; *pingui nil mihi cum populo*, *Catal.* 9. 64.

5. *deducta tunc voce leo*, Lucilius, 985 M.; *deducta mihi voce garrienti*, Cornificius, Buechner, *Frag. Poet. Lat.*, fr. 1, p. 116; *deducta . . . voce*, Prop. 2. 33. 38.

6. *super . . . erunt*: τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἄμαξαι *Aet.* 1, fr. 1. 25; οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ / χαίρω, τίς πολλοὺς ᾧδε καὶ ᾧδε φέρει Callimachus, *Epigr.* 28. 1–2; οὔτοι ὡς ἐν δη- | μοκρατία· ἐξουσία γ(άρ) (ἔστι) | πολλῶ(ν), Schol. Lond. ad *Aet.* 1, fr. 1. 44, Pfeiffer, I, p. 7, 59–60.

8. Μοῦσαν . . . λεπταλέην *Aet.* 1, fr. 1. 24; λεπταὶ ῥήσιες *Epigr.* 27. 3–4; *Callimachi Manes . . . exactus tenui pumice versus eat*, Prop. 3. 1. 1, 8.

(b) It outlines a theory of epic (31 ff.) so deeply dependent on metamorphosis that we seem to be hearing a sketch of Ovid's later poem rather than of anything Virgil himself actually carried out. This impression is deceptive. The *Aeneid* is also Virgil's *Metamorphoses*, a flickering, umbrageous screen (*fugit indignata sub umbras*) on which nothing is ever one thing long.

(c) It concludes with allusions to Hesiod and Orpheus (65, 70–71).

What we must not do therefore is think of the Virgil that we know as abandoning Alexandrianism for heroic poetry, since he had already abandoned such poetry (*res Romanae*) for the Alexandrianism of the *Eclogues*, and was unlikely to retrace his steps (how could he?). Virgil moved towards the *Aeneid* while profoundly modifying, but still in some sense remaining faithful to, these original ideas. The *Georgics* exorcised some of his preoccupation with the Hesiodic, and even, if we think of the concluding episode, Orphic, although the theme of heroic anthropomorphism in that poem is not yet sufficiently explored. In the *Aeneid* itself, metamorphosis, transposed into the tragic key, triggers a whole complex polyphony of literary allusion. Book 6 allows Anchises to develop a cosmology (724 ff.).

But, although the pastoral plays some role in the epic, for example in Books 7 and 8, its thematic is never dominant. Aeneas in Libya is what Aeschylus calls a *κακὸς ποιμήν* (*pastor agens telis* 4. 71), but he is never a love-lorn swain of Theocritean or Bionian vintage. He has too strong a sense of his own destiny for that.⁴

* * *

As a student of the Classical tradition, the Milton of *Paradise Lost* naturally exemplifies the Virgilian pattern, but his is a case of what may be called arrested development. This explains the unease which has been felt with his great epic ever since its publication in 1667. The elements which, in Virgil, are presented in clear and orderly succession, in Milton, are inchoate and commingled. We expect:

1. The abandonment of the pastoral, or at the very least its assumption into and transformation within a larger epic mold. It is this progression which enables the Hesiodic/Callimachean poet to relate the story of the origin of the world from Chaos, or to launch into cosmogony of some kind (Lucretius). This is why the supreme poet of this apocalyptic tradition is Dante, but a Dante who had defended his poetic program in an eclogue⁵ and who had been guided precisely by—Virgil.

2. The elevation of the satiric (comic, iambic) into the vatic. This was a sequence followed in lyric by Horace, and explains the satiric elements persisting, but not undigested, in the *Odes*. The Augustan poets' allegiance to the vatic ideal has been explored by me elsewhere. It is evident, for example, how much this side of their achievement appealed (again) to Dante.

⁴ An interesting study might be made of the elevation (and ultimately therefore disappearance) of the pastoral convention in the *Aeneid* into that of the Homeric/Stoic ποιμήν λαῶν.

⁵ *La corrispondenza poetica di Dante e Giovanni del Virgilio* etc., edd. G. Albinì and G. B. Pighi (Bologna 1965) 40–44.

3. The musical and tragic evocation of an inconstant world in which the hero, driven by destiny, pursues his stormy course towards a shadowy victory. The last word of the *Aeneid*, as of the penultimate line of the *Eclogues*, is *umbraslumbrae*. This epic tradition (the only genuine tradition of such poetry to survive from antiquity other than as a mere fossil) is inherently incapable of carrying a univocal message. This explains the tensions we feel in Lucretius.

But in Milton we find the impossible attempt to make the Hesiodic/Callimachean epic do duty as the purveyor of unchanging truths (to "justify the ways of God to men"). Since the means are incommensurate with the end, certain awkward consequences follow from the attempt to square the circle:⁶

1. The pastoral persists into epic, so much so that its model of ill-starred swain and inconstant nymph twists awry the Pauline theology of the Fall.
2. The satiric is pursued for its own sake (e.g. 3. 494, "the backside of the World;" cf. 10. 867 ff., on women, and below on the Barberini bees).
3. The inconstant world, which this style cannot allow itself to reflect as a mirror of the way things are, is treated at a comic level, in spite of assurances we receive (*P.L.* 9. 5–6) that tragedy is intended.⁷ Here, Milton's debt to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and to Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* must be given full value.

Finer tuning picks up from the poet many inconsistent voices, as if at one moment he understood fully the polyphonic instruments he has at his disposal, and then again believed they could be played to deliver an unambiguous message. Milton is often and rightly praised for his music. But it was Thomas Mann who defined music as "systematic ambiguity" (*die Zweideutigkeit als System*).

To understand all this, one has to begin with Milton's beginnings. Just like Virgil, he was early drawn to the pastoral and, predictably, his *Lycidas* (1637) contains a *recusatio*. But this is a refusal which sets, not the epic against lowlier poetic ambition, as in Virgil's allusion to *reges et proelia*, but pastoral against amorous dalliance:

Alas! What boots it with uncessant care	
To tend the homely slighted Shepherds trade,	65
And strictly meditate the thankles Muse,	
Were it not better don as others use,	
To sport with <i>Amaryllis</i> in the shade,	
Or with the tangles of <i>Neæra</i> 's hair?	
<i>Fame</i> is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise	70

⁶ The metaphor is drawn from *Paradiso* 33. 133–35.

⁷ Scholars sometimes note Milton's comedy, e.g. in Book 9, without troubling about the flagrant contradiction this implies with the "tragic" of 9. 6. This will not do for the reader who cares about theology, as Milton did.

(That last infirmity of Noble mind)
 To scorn delights, and live laborious dayes;
 But the fair Guerdon when we hope to find,
 And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
 Comes the blind *Fury* with th' abhorred shears, 75
 And slits the thin-spun life. But not the praise,
Phoebus repli'd, and touch'd my trembling ears;
Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
 Nor in the glistering foil
 Set off to th' world, nor in broad rumour lies, 80
 But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes,
 And perfet witnes of all judging *Jove*;
 As he pronounces lastly on each deed,
 Of so much fame in Heav'n expect thy meed.

66. Virgil, *Ecl.* 1. 2: *silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena*; 6. 8: *agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam*.

68. *Ecl.* 2. 14: *Nonne fuit satius tristes Amaryllidis iras* etc. Corydon is disappointed by Alexis, and wonders if he would not have done better to stay with Amaryllis. The English poet has reversed the image, while retaining the Virgilian structure.

71. Tacitus, *Hist.* 4. 6: *quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exiit*. This allusion to Helvidius Priscus seems rather to anticipate the anti-royalist sentiments of the mature politician.

77. Virgil, *Ecl.* 6. 3-4: *Cynthus aurem / vellit et admonuit*.

78. Virgil had courted some sort of poetic fame (*Geo.* 3. 8-9), but closer to Milton is perhaps a programmatic elegy of the Roman Callimachus (*Prop.* 3. 3. 17-20):

non hic ulla tibi speranda est fama, Properti:
 mollia sunt parvis prata terenda rotis;
 ut tuus in scamno iactetur saepe libellus,
 quem legat exspectans sola puella virum.

But, if Propertius is encouraged by Apollo to abandon epic for love elegy which will be a partner in the erotic game, the Christian poet is encouraged to pursue pastoral, rather than a life of dalliance, in hope of fame in heaven. What we expect if we follow the Virgilian analogue is that he would be encouraged to see pastoral and the Hesiodic as a stage on the road to epic. Already the Miltonic reluctance to abandon the pastoral mode, considered as somehow superior, less corrupt, is plain. Its alternative is outside literature altogether.

A fresh impulse towards the epic came when Milton visited Italy (1637-39), for which he had prepared carefully by learning Italian. This was no doubt part of the reason for his close friendship with Carolo Diodati, son of an Italian Protestant family who had migrated to London. Because of this excellent preparation, and the desire of Urban VIII to re-establish old ties

with England now that Charles I had succeeded to the throne,⁸ the poet was warmly welcomed.

Disturbed by the trial of Galileo, scholars are not always kind to seicento Italy, although Milton himself never doubted its central importance for him. The greatness of French classicism, as it would mature later in the century, is undeniable, but, in spite of the dazzle exercised by the Sun-King, it would be as foolish to conclude that the extraordinary creative power of the Italians had waned when Milton was among them as it would be to conclude that post-Augustan Rome had no aesthetic. Sometimes the imagination soars above and beyond the written page. Milton was the contemporary of Gianlorenzo Bernini, who, in succession to Maderna, completed work on the Palazzo Barberini in 1633, and who, when later invited by Louis XIV to work on the Louvre, is reported to have answered: "Non mi parlare delle cose piccole" ("Do not trouble me with little things"). By comparison with St. Peter's, it was *una cosa piccola*.⁹ He was the contemporary of Borromini, of Guarini. In painting, the varied holdings of the Palazzo—though not all of them of course could have been seen by the poet—give some notion of the widespread use in the art of the day of chiaroscuro, and, in Caravaggio's (†1609) *Narcissus*, of a mirror effect pleasing to the Mannerist. In music, the rich polyphony of Palestrina (†1594) was rivalled by new theories of operatic, dramatic monody, thought to be the revival of the Greek theatre. Monteverdi's *Orfeo* was produced in 1606, his *L'Adone* in 1639, the very year Milton visited Venice. The Barberini in fact were considerable patrons of music, and Domenico Mazzocchi's *La Catena d'Adone*, drawn from Marino, was produced under their auspices in 1626. Roman opera also drew upon the epics of Ariosto and Tasso. If a parallel for Milton's poetry were to be sought in contemporary art, it would be with these works and their essential staginess that he should be compared, as already his *Comus* and the eulogy of the London theatre in his *elegia prima* (27–28) suggest:

Excipit hinc fessum sinuosi pompa theatri,
Et vocat ad plausus garrula scena suos.

Next I wend my weary way towards the pageantry of the rounded theatre,
and the voices from the stage call my attention to the applause they
stimulate. (tr. N. G. McCrea, adapted)

⁸ Especially evident in the poem of Lelio Guidiccioni, *Ara Maxima Vaticana* (Rome 1633) 22: *Sed non ulla frequens magis, aut reverentior, Vrbi . . . quam . . . Anglia . . . etc.*

⁹ Bernini was also a literary artist. In 1644, while in Rome, the English diarist John Evelyn wrote: "Bernini . . . gave a public opera, wherein he painted the scenes, cut the statues, invented the engines, composed the music, writ the comedy, and built the theatre"; cf. R. Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Sculptor of the Roman Baroque* (London 1955) 1.

The whole passage to v. 46 deserves study. It is here, and not in the Italian occasional poetry of the day, that we should seek poetic congeners even for his epic. "Renaissance," if provisionally acceptable as a catch-all term, is ultimately quite inadequate for this complexity, as it is, for example, for the poetry of Giambattista Marino (†1625), whose old patron Milton met and impressed.

Milton was entertained in Rome by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the Papal *nipote*, whose epitaph is still seen on the right by the visitor to the *sagrestia* in St. Peter's,¹⁰ and the poet relates in a letter to the librarian Lucas Holsten¹¹ that, when it was announced that he had arrived at the door of the Palazzo to attend an evening reception, the Cardinal himself went out to escort his guest to join the party, a signal honor conferred by a Prince of the Church on a Protestant foreigner barely thirty years old. Milton paid repeated tribute to an Italian singer, "Leonora," whom he heard, and one may imagine what the effect of her arias and other *musica da camera* amid the candlelight of some splendid, frescoed *salone*, perhaps that on whose ceiling we still contemplate Pietro da Cortona's glorification of the Barberini family (1633-39), surrounded by the richly garbed audience of ladies, churchmen, diplomats, poets, scholars and soldiers, might have been on the impressionable and musically gifted poet. A *teatro* was attached to the Barberini Palace, where productions were noted for their spectacular effects. Bernini himself designed the sets for Rossi's *Erminia sul Giordano*, produced there in 1633.¹² Landi's pious *San' Alessio*, with libretto by Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi, later Clement IX, was put on in 1632. The year 1634 witnessed the same author's *Vita di Santa Teodora*. Milton himself attended Rospigliosi's comedy *Chi soffre, spera* in the Barberini theatre in 1639.¹³ Was it here that *Samson Agonistes* began to take shape in his mind? Is it a libretto for a score that was never written?

Elsewhere in Italy too he had enjoyed singular courtesy. The Florentine Antonio Francini wrote, for example:

¹⁰ Set up in 1682, it praises the Cardinal, *inter alia*, for his *beneficentia in omnes / etiam remotissimorum* [sic] *nationum homines*. Its mistake in gender has therefore endured in this public place for over three centuries.

¹¹ D. Masson, *The Life of John Milton* (London 1875) 634; cf. L. von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste XIII*. 2 (Freiburg im Br. 1929) 909. The energetic efforts devoted by Urban VIII to improving the accessibility of the Vatican Library are still appreciated by the scholars who use the Barberini Catalogue.

¹² The title-page of the 1637 edition of this work is reproduced in *Heritage of Music I*, edd. Raeburn and Kendall (repr. Oxford-New York 1990) 82, where a number of relevant remarks about the Barberini contribution to the development of Roman opera may be studied.

¹³ Von Pastor (above, note 11) 953.

Nell'altera Babelle
 Per te il parlar confuse Giove in vano,
 Che per varie favelle
 Di se stessa trofeo cadde su'l piano:
 Ch'ode oltr' all'Anglia il suo più degno Idioma
 Spagna, Francia, Toscana, e Grecia e Roma.

In proud Babel, so far as you are concerned, Jove confounded tongues to no purpose—Babel that, because of its different languages, fell to the plain as a trophy to its own defeat. Not only England, but Spain, France, Italy, Greece and Rome hear their most worthy utterance.

Here, we read *inter alia* a tribute to Milton's knowledge of Spanish. Naples was a Hapsburg (Aragonese) domain. Has the poet's possible debt to Spanish literature ever been investigated?

The epic ambition, or at least potential, must have been clearly visible to contemporaries. The Roman Ioannes Salsillus (Selvaggi) wrote:

Graecia Maeonidem, iactet sibi Roma Maronem,
 Anglia Miltonum iactat utrique parem.

Let Greece boast of Homer, and Rome of Virgil. England boasts of Milton, a match for both.

What had Milton done in 1639, what was he showing to fellow poets and to the world of letters in general that could possibly justify this kind of praise? Is something lost or suppressed—something in Italian?

Count I. B. Mansus, the former patron of Tasso and Marino, echoes the famous remark of Pope Gregory the Great:

Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, mos, si pietas sic,
 Non Anglus, verum hercle Angelus ipse fores.

If only your religious beliefs matched your intellect, your beauty, your grace, your appearance, your demeanor! You would be not an Angle but an Angel.

Milton's interest in Italian epic is clear. He translated Dante on the Donation of Constantine. At some point he came to admire Ariosto enough to quote from him at the start of *Paradise Lost* (1. 16, "Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rime" = "cosa non detta in prosa mai ne in rima," *O.F.* 1. 10), and he stayed with Manso in Naples. A Latin poem (1639) is evidence both of the admiration he felt for the old man, and of the epic pull:

O mihi si mea sors talem concedat amicum
 Phoebæos decorasse viros qui tam bene norit,
 Si quando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,
 Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem;
 Aut dicam invictae sociali fœdere mensae,
 Magnanimos Heroas & (o modo spiritus adsit)
 Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges.

Oh, if only my fate would grant me such a friend, who knows so well how to honor inspired poets, if ever I shall come to sing of my country's kings and Arthur who stirs war even beneath the earth; or to tell of the knightly fellowship of the unconquered Table and, if inspiration lasts, show the Saxon armies yielding to British arms.

83. *modo vita supersit*, *Geo.* 3. 10. See *Epitaph. Dam.* 168, quoted below. The relevant point is that this is the language of a *recusatio* used also by Tasso: *forse un diafia*, *Ger. Lib.* 1. 4. 7.

In this poem, his epic thoughts are still centred on history, on *reges et proelia*. Perhaps he was thinking of Tasso's two epics on the Crusades.

But Tasso was also the author of the pastoral *Aminta*, and Manso was also the former patron of Giambattista Marino (1569–1625), once the most famous poet in Europe. Marino's *Adone*, dedicated to Louis XIII of France and his queen Maria de' Medici,¹⁴ tells the story of the adventures of Adonis and Venus. Adonis is a countryman, a huntsman, a denizen of the Arabian forests (1. 45–46), reminiscent, when we first meet him, of the Aeneas of the first book of Virgil's epic. But Marino adds to the *Aeneid* a long rhapsody about his hero's physical beauty, a rhetorical topos with a lengthy history.¹⁵ It is in these elaborate personal descriptions that we find so much anticipated of this quite un-Virgilian aspect of Milton.

Adonis, who was worshipped with the offering of κήποι ("gardens," "flowerpots;" cf. *P.L.* 9. 440), is part of the Alexandrian pastoral (Theocritus 15, Bion, the Εἰς νεκρὸν Ἀδωνίον), and this aspect of the story explains why it had already attracted the youthful Shakespeare. Did it attract the youthful Milton, who certainly relates the tale in *Paradise Lost* (1. 446–53)? Is the possibility left out of account because the structural role of the pastoral in the lead-up to European epic (or, in the case of Shakespeare, epic drama) is ignored by critics unfamiliar with the Classical tradition—and with the crucial importance of Italian literature?

The invocation of Book 10 of the *Adone* is noteworthy:

Musa tu che del Ciel per torti calli
infaticabilmente il corso roti,
e mentre de' volubili cristalli
qual veloce, e qual pigro, accordi i moti,
con armonico piede in lieti balli
de l'Olimpo stellante il suol percoti,
onde di quel concento il suon si forma
ch'è del nostro cantar misura e norma:

5

¹⁴ It was placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* by Urban VIII in 1627 and 1628, but this does not seem to have had much effect on its influence. For Milton, it might have been an extra attraction.

¹⁵ Cf. Call. *Hecale*, fr. 274 Pf.

tu divina Virtù, Mente immortale,
 scòrgi l'audace ingegno, Urania saggia, 10
 ch'oltre i propri confin si leva e sale
 a spaziar per la celeste spiaggia.
 Aura di tuo favor mi regga l'ale
 per sì alto sentier sì ch'io non caggia.
 Movi la penna mia, tu che 'l Ciel movi, 15
 e detta a novo stíl concetti novi.

Muse, you turn the course of heaven unwearied through complex paths, you reconcile the movements of the luminous planets, one fast, another slow, and with rhythmic foot in joyful dances strike the ground of starry Olympus,¹⁶ giving rise to the sound of that harmony which is the measure and norm of our singing. Divine Virtue, Immortal Mind, guide the bold spirit, wise Urania, which above its ordinary bounds rises and ascends to walk through heaven's expanse. May the breeze of your favor guide my wings along so high a path, that I may not fall. Move my pinion-pen, you who move the heaven, and dictate to a new style new thoughts.

10. "Sing Heav'nly Muse . . . I thence / Invoke thy aid to my adventrous Song, / That with no middle flight intends to soar . . .", *P.L.* 1. 7, 12-14.

14. "Least . . . I fall," *P.L.* 7. 27, 29.

15. "If answerable style I can obtaine / Of my Celestial Patroness . . .", *P.L.* 9. 20-21.

In general, although the poet is clearly also thinking of Horace's *Descende caelo . . . Calliope* (*Odes* 3. 4. 1-2), one may compare:

Descend from Heav'n *Urania*, by that name
 If rightly thou art call'd, whose Voice divine
 Following, above th' *Olympian* Hill I soare . . . (*P.L.* 7. 1-3)

But, quite apart from all this, Marino's whole habit of resuming his Italian predecessors, and notably Boccaccio, his display of erudition, his Joycean (and Callimachean) awareness of language as a calculated instrument of fantasy and make-believe, his allegorization, his intrusion beneath the surface of the poem of his own personality coloring the narrative—these features put us in the presence of Milton, even if his leisurely, Ariosto-like pace does not. In general, it seems impossible to believe that this long conjurer's mantle wrapped by the Italian around the story of the seduction of a young and handsome hero in a garden of delights by the goddess of love had no influence on Milton's ultimate epic thought and conception.

While staying with Manso in Naples, Milton planned to visit Sicily. The visit never took place. It is alleged that he was forced to abandon his plans by news of the imminent Civil War in England, and there were stories that, if he lingered in Rome on his way back, the English Jesuits were

¹⁶ *Musae, quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olympum*, Ennius, *Ann. fr.* 1 Sk.

plotting to assassinate him. But he did linger in Rome, quite safely, for another two months, and then went on to visit Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Venice, eventually to return by way of Geneva.¹⁷ Perhaps then these excuses about the imminence of the Civil War are quite false, and there was a psychological reason hindering Milton from visiting Sicily. If he had confronted the reality, he might have been less able to treat it as a country of the mind which he did not need to visit because he was trapped there already. "Why, this is hell, nor am I out of it."

On his return to London, never to leave England again, he found Diodati dead. The *Epitaphium Damonis* which he wrote to commemorate his friend still lingers with the pastoral and because of that still reveals a preoccupation with conventional epic heroics:

Ipse ego Dardanias Rutupina per aequora puppes Dicam, & Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniae, Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum, Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos;	165
Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Jögemen Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlōis arma, Merlini dolus. O mihi tum si vita supersit, Tu procul annosoa pendebis fistula pinu Multum oblita mihi aut patriis mutata camœnis	170
Brittonicum strides, quid enim? omnia non licet uni Non sperasse uni licet omnia, mi satis ampla Merces, & mihi grande decus (sim ignotus in aevum Tum licet, externo penitusque inglorius orbi) Si me flava comas leget Usa, et poter Alauni, Vorticibusque frequens Abra, et nemus omne Treantae, Et Thamesis meus ante omnes, & fusca metallis Tamara, et extremis me discant Orcades undis.	175

I myself will tell of Trojan ships in Richborough's waters, of the ancient kingdom of Imogen, Pandrasus' child, of Brennus and Arviragus, our champions, of old Belinus, and at long last of the Armoric settlers adopting British laws. Next will be the tale of Igraine, Arthur's mother by fateful guile, the false disguise and assumed weapons of Gorlois, the trickery of Merlin. If life but lasts, my pipe, long forgotten by me, will hang from yonder old pine tree, or changed to native music will celebrate a British strain. Yet why, not all things are possible to one man, not all things one man may hope. Big enough my reward, great my glory—and then let me be unknown for ever, and wholly without fame in the world abroad—if fair-haired Ouse read me, the drinker of the Alan, the eddying Humber, all Trent's woods, and before all else my own Thames, the Tamar dark with ore, and if the Orkneys study me amid their distant waves.

¹⁷ Masson (above, note 11) 645–58, followed by W. R. Parker, *Milton: A Biography* I (Oxford 1968) 169–82. If the poet left Naples in December 1638, in June 1639 he was still at Geneva. —General information on the *Epitaphium Damonis* is found in D. Bush, *A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton* I (New York 1970) 282 ff.

168. *dolus* in the nominative has no construction: the poet is coasting rather than thinking. With the end, cf. *o mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima vitae, Ecl. 4. 53; modo vita supersit, Geo. 3. 10.*

169. *hic arguta sacra pendebit fistula pinu, Ecl. 7. 24.*

171. *non omnia possumus omnes, Ecl. 8. 63.*

175. *Rhodanique potor, Horace, Odes 2. 20. 20;]ου πίνοντες ἀφ' ὕδατος* Callimachus, fr. 186. 21 Pf.

One wonders what in fact contemporary Europe would have made of Trojan ships at Richborough (*Rutupium*), although in 1633, displaying an extraordinary knowledge of pre-Norman history (perhaps derived from Richard White's *Historiarum Britanniae Libri XI, 1597–1607*), Guidiccioni had certainly congratulated English kings on their loyalty to Rome (*Ara Maxima Vaticana*, p. 21):

Quot veniunt uno peregrino ab litore reges,
Lingentes Thulen? Hoc arsit Osuvius aestu,
Cnutus, Etelstanusque, Odoardus, Cedual, Ina,
Richardusque, aliique. Simul patria arva Britanno,
Arva Caledonio linquuntur . . .

How many kings came from a single foreign shore, abandoning Thule?
This passion inspired Osuvius, Canute, Ethelstan, Edward, Cedual, Ina,
Richard and their company. Briton and Scot together leave their native
lands . . .

It is in reading some of these Latinized British and Norse names that one begins to understand *offensus nominum asperitate* in the young Virgil's misgivings about historical epic.

But Milton's poem also shows something else. It begins as follows:

Himerides nymphae (nam vos et Daphnin & Hylan,
Et plorata diu meministis fata Bionis)
Dicite Sicelicum Thamesina per oppida carmen.

Nymphs of Himera, for you recall the tale of Daphnis and Hylas, the long-wept fate of Bion, sing a song of Sicily by the towns of Thames.

1. *Sicelides Nymphae, paulo maiora canamus, Ecl. 4. 1.*

2. *et meministis enim, divae, et memorare potestis, Aen. 7. 645* (repeated by the codex Romanus at 9. 529). This form of *memini* does not occur, for example, in Ovid or Lucan, making the Virgilian allusion all the more obvious.

3. *Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen, Geo. 2. 76.*

The *reges et proelia* in the background of line 2 are quite outflanked by the reminiscences of the pastoral and of Hesiod.

There is a jarring false quantity at the end of line 1 here. Milton knew as well as any man that *Hylas* has a short first syllable, if for no other

reason than because the word occurs three times in two consecutive lines of the *Eclogues* with the right quantity.¹⁸ An easy correction would have been to write *nam vos et Daphnin Hylanque*. This is not open to metrical objection. But in Milton's mind *Hylas* has become confused with ὕλη, "wood," which does have an initial *longum*,¹⁹ and that is evidence of a preoccupation with the "wild wood" (Marino's "Arabiche foreste") that may be traced all the way from *Comus* (312) to *Paradise Lost* (9. 910). Because the poet cannot get his relationship to the pastoral ("sylvan") straight, it even corrupts his memory of classical prosody.

In Milton's poem, *Daphnin* and *Himerides* are also telling. *Daphnis* occurs of course both in the *Eclogues* and in Theocritus, but his first introduction to Greek poetry seems to be owed to Stesichorus,²⁰ born at Maturus in Italy, and later active at Himera in Sicily. *Himerides* is not in fact found in any classical Latin author.²¹

The poet therefore, inventing an adjective to do so, evokes an ultimately Sicilian lyric predecessor, whom Quintilian (10. 1. 62) describes as *maxima bella et clarissimos canentem duces et epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem*. This predecessor sang the story of the shepherd *Daphnis* who was struck blind for infidelity (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 10. 18):

βουκολῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ὁ Δάφνις, ἠράσθη αὐτοῦ νόμφη μία καὶ ὠμίλησε καλῶ ὄντι . . . συνθήκας δὲ ἐποίησε μηδεμίᾳ ἄλλῃ πλησιάσαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπηπέιλησεν ὅτι πεπρωμένον ἐστὶν αὐτὸν στερεθῆναι τῆς ὄψεως ἐὰν παραβῆι. καὶ εἶχον ὑπὲρ τούτων ῥήτραν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον βασιλέως θυγατρὸς ἐρασθείσης αὐτοῦ οἰνωθεὶς ἔλυσε τὴν ὁμολογίαν καὶ ἐπλησίασε τῇ κόρῃ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ βουκολικὰ μέλη πρῶτον ἦισθη καὶ εἶχεν ὑπόθεσιν τὸ πάθος τὸ κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ. καὶ Στησίχορον γε τὸν Ἰμεραῖον τῆς τοιαύτης μελοποιίας ὑπέραξασθαι.

¹⁸ *Ecl.* 6. 43–44; cf. *Geo.* 3. 6. The Neapolitan poet J. Sannazaro has it right: *et vetus amissi cesserat ardor Hylae* (*Opera omnia latine scripta*, ed. Aldina [1535] 50). Giovanni Boccaccio, who certainly lived as a young man in Naples, and who in poem VI ("Alcestus"), line 148 (p. 60 in Janet Smarr's translation [New York 1987]) of his *Bucolicum Carmen* writes at the beginning of the hexameter *Ylas Spartanus*, is confusing *Hylas*, *Hercules' squire*, and *Hyllus*, *Hercules' son* and the ancestor of the Dorians. But who can believe that in scanning *Hylas' name* Milton followed Boccaccio rather than Virgil? However, when in this same passage Boccaccio tells the story of the two cups allegedly given to *Meliboeus* by *Hylas*, he says a great deal relevant to the two cups which Milton says he got from Manso (*Ep. Dam.* 181 ff.). Scholars have looked for these in his baggage rather than in the poems of Theocritus and Virgil. More on this in Bush (above, note 17) 318–19, who however overlooks this passage of Boccaccio. But if this was already a Renaissance topos? Manso after all was Neapolitan too.

¹⁹ As is shown in medieval Latin poetry, for example, where it enjoys its Aristotelian sense of "matter": Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis* 4. 182, 10. 11.

²⁰ D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1967) fr. 279.

²¹ It is not listed, for example, by D. C. Swanson, *The Names in Roman Verse* (Madison 1967).

When Daphnis was a shepherd in Sicily a nymph fell in love with him and became his mistress since he was so handsome. She made a covenant that he was to have no dealings with any rival, and threatened him with the doom of losing his eyesight if he should transgress. They had a mutual agreement about this. But later the king's daughter fell in love with him and in a drunken fit he broke his word and had intercourse with her. This led to the invention of pastoral song, whose theme was his loss of sight. It was Stesichorus of Himera who was the author of this genre of lyric.

But more than this. Stesichorus himself was also struck blind—for impiety, and for this tale Milton needed to look no further than Plato's *Phaedrus* (243a) or Horace's *Epodes* (17. 42–44):

infamis Helenae Castor offensus vice
fraterque magni Castoris, victi prece,
adempta vati reddidere lumina . . .

Castor, once offended by the fate of Helen besmirched, and mighty Castor's brother, yielded to entreaty and gave back to the poet the eyes he had lost.

So, although at the official, conscious level in his *Epitaphium Damonis* Milton speaks of his prospective epic in conventional terms, his vatic psyche knew something much more relevant to what he actually would do. Like Stesichorus, he would write an epic that was profoundly lyricized. Like Stesichorus, and like Stesichorus' pastoral hero Daphnis, he would go blind. Like Apollonius Rhodius' Hylas (*Arg.* 1. 1207 ff.), he would get into deep waters in a *hyle* (wood). And is it too cheap to add that some sort of personal confusion about sex (Mary Powell) would have something to do with it?

The pastoral eventually inspires much of the imagery associated with Milton's Eve. Milton is especially poignant when comparing Eve with Proserpina, raped by the infernal Pluto while busy with her flowers. In the famous passage, the introductory negative is fraught with *psychologisches Moment* (14. 268–72):

Not that faire field
Of *Enna*, where *Proserpin* gathering flours
Her self a fairer Floure by gloomie *Dis*
Was gatherd, which cost *Ceres* all that pain
To seek her through the world . . .

Negative comparisons are old, but dare one suggest that part of the heart-rending effect of the negative here reflects Milton's own failure to visit (to come to terms with) Sicily when he had the chance? An epic in which "pain" is a key word is not an epic of heroic action, but of profoundly subjective disquiet.

We can see how a Sicily held at mythopoeic level supplies in this way all the ingredients for a paradise that would be lost, even the fiery volcano (though Naples has its volcano too) that, already in Greek poetry, was the

woman and leaves the man to follow her action in a desperate act of love. But how can an act of love be the disobedience that ruins the human race?

In his French introduction to the *Adone*, Marino's contemporary Chapelain defends the poem as an epic of peace, rather than war, a thesis likely to be of interest to Milton,²⁴ even though the English poet takes rather a different view of the role in peace of the heroic. Chapelain also mentions Nonnus. The debt of Milton's seduction scene to Nonnus may now be re-emphasized. Two passages are particularly relevant:

Παρθένε Περσεφόνηια, σὺ δ' οὐ γάμον εὔρες ἀλύξαι, 155
 ἀλλὰ δρακοντείοισιν ἐνυμφεύθης ὑμεναίοις,
 Ζεὺς ὅτε πουλυέλικτος ἀμειβομένοιο προσώπου
 νυμφίος ἡμερόνεντι δράκων κυκλούμενος ὀλκῷ
 εἰς μυχὸν ὀρφναίοιο διέστιχε παρθενεῶνος,
 σείων δαυλὰ γένεια· παρισταμένων δὲ θυρέτρῳ 160
 εὔνασεν ἰσοτύπων πεφορημένος ὄμμα δρακόντων,
 καὶ γαμίαις γενύεσσι δέμας λιχμάζετο κούρης
 μείλιχος· αἰθερίων δὲ δρακοντείων ὑμεναίων
 Περσεφόνης γονόεντι τόκῳ κυμαίνετο γαστήρ,
 Ζαγρέα γειναμένη, κερὸν βρέφος, ὃς Διὸς ἔδρης 165
 μούνος ἐπουρανίης ἐπεβήσατο, χειρὶ δὲ βαιῆ
 ἀστεροπὴν ἐλέλιξε, νεηγενέος δὲ φορῆος
 νηπιάχοις παλάμησιν ἐλαφρίζοντο κεραυνοί. (6. 155–68)

Ah maiden Persephoneia! You could not find how to escape your mating!
 No, a dragon was your mate, when Zeus changed his face and came, rolling
 in many a loving coil through the dark to the corner of the maiden's
 chamber, and shaking his hairy chaps: he lulled to sleep as he crept the eyes
 of those creatures of his own shape who guarded the door. He licked the
 girl's form gently with wooing lips. By this marriage with the heavenly
 dragon, the womb of Persephone swelled with living fruit, and she bore
 Zagreus the horned baby, who by himself climbed upon the heavenly
 throne of Zeus and brandished lightning in his little hand, and newly born,
 lifted and carried thunderbolts in his tender fingers. (tr. W. H. D. Rouse)

158: "Curld many a wanton wreath in sight of *Eve*," *P. L.* 9. 517.

Since in Milton's epic Eve is compared with Persephone, Persephone's seduction by Zeus in the form of a serpent may have particularly worked on Milton's imagination.

The child of this union is Bacchus ("Zagreus"), son of Zeus, who, as Nonnus' story progresses, is done to death by the Titans and then rises again. But later in the poem, Bacchus discovers the intoxicating juice of the grape with the help of the serpent (12. 319–28):

²⁴ "Peace hath her victories / No less renown'd than warr": *To the Lord Generall Cromwell, May 1652*.

ἀμφὶ δὲ μιν σκολιῆσι δράκων δινωτὸς ἀκάνθαις
 λαρὸν ἔυρραθάμιγγος ἀμέλγετο νέκταρ ὀπώρης 320
 καὶ βλοσυραῖς γενύεσσι ποτὸν Βακχεῖον ἀμέλξας
 βότρυος οἰνωθέντος ἐπιστάζων πόμα λαιμῷ
 πορφυρῆ ῥαθάμιγγι δράκων φοίνιξεν ὑπήνην.
 καὶ θεὸς οὐρεσίφοιτος ὄφιν θάμβησε δοκεύων
 οἰνωπῆ ῥαθάμιγγι πεφυρμένον ἀνθερεῶνα· 325
 καὶ στικταῖς φολίδεσσι μετάρπρον ὄλκον ἐλίξας
 πετραῖν βαθύκολπον ἐδύσατο γείτονα χειρῖν,
 Εὖιον ἀθρήσας, ὄφιν αἰόλος . . .

A serpent twisted his curving backbone about the tree, and sucked a strong draught of nectar trickling from the fruit; when he milked the Bacchic potation with his ugly jaws, dripping the draught of the vine onto his throat, the creature reddened his beard with purple drops. The hillranging god marvelled, as he saw the snake and his chin dappled with trickling wine; the speckled snake saw Euaios, and went coiling away with his spotty scales and plunged into a deep hole in the rock hard by. (Rouse, adapted)

327: "Back to the Thicket slunk / The guiltie Serpent," *P. L.* 9. 784–85.

Dionysus then makes wine, and the satyrs get drunk on it. Here is the parallel with Eve's act in pagan mythology. The ancient motif of the serpent coiled around the tree, found in the classical world, for example, in a bronze fountain from the gymnasium at Herculaneum (Cardo V) showing a five-headed snake wound around a tree trunk, is still visible on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. In general, it may be urged that no proper understanding of Milton's epic is possible without a detailed study of the *Dionysiaca* (reprinted 1569, 1606). But can there be a *Dionysiaca* which justifies God's ways to man? At the start of Book 7, Milton had banished "the barbarous dissonance / Of *Bacchus* and his Revellers" (32–33), that is to say, the *komos* he had tried to assimilate in his early masque of that name. But, like all these suppressed ghosts, did *das Verdrängte* then return in unassimilated form to haunt him?

Tristi fummo ne l' aere dolce . . . (Inferno 7. 121–22). The unassimilated satiric and comic ("carnival") to which reference has been made, caused by the inability consistently to move beyond the pastoral mode into epic, is shown by the fact that even the bees, with which in *P.L.* 1. 768 ff. the devils are compared, are a hit at the Barberini device,²⁵ sculpted repeatedly on Bernini's canopy in St. Peter's, the model for Milton's Pandaemonium.²⁶ In Milton, we seem really to be on the track of a negative satirist rather than a *vates*. Dante, who made no bones about calling his own

²⁵ A book of poems dedicated to Urban VIII is entitled *Apes Romanae*, and is called by Masson "450 bees of the Barberini" (above, note 11) 630.

²⁶ Parker (above, note 17) 172. Some believe more charitably that Milton was thinking of the Flavian Amphitheatre: A. P. Quennell, *The Colosseum* (New York 1981) 110. But we must beware of ascribing motivations like this to Milton.

titanic poem a *commedia*, had addressed Virgil as “anima cortese mantovano” (*Inferno* 2. 58). Bees had been for Callimachus a positive symbol.

Milton, who read Apollonius’ *Argonautica* with his English pupils, might have written a different kind of epic. He knew Italian well enough to compose poetry in it, and it is those poems that show a more humane side to his genius, less censorious of women, of popish trumpery, less right about everything. If only he had settled down in Naples with Manso! But these might-have-beens, like the closer study of the Italian poems, are matter for another time.

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