

HARVARD STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

VOLUME 100



Harvard University Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts
London, England
2000

COPYRIGHT © 2001
BY THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

THIS BOOK IS PRINTED ON ACID-FREE PAPER, AND ITS
BINDING MATERIALS HAVE BEEN CHOSEN FOR STRENGTH
AND DURABILITY.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG NUMBER 44-32100

ISBN 0-674-00656-9

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

HARVARD STUDIES IN
CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

VOLUME 100

EDITORIAL NOTE

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology is published by the authority of the President and Fellows of Harvard College on behalf of the Department of the Classics. Publication is assisted by the generosity of the Class of 1856, as well as by other gifts and bequests.

To celebrate our centennial volume and one hundred and ten years of publication, the editors have decided that *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 100 would reflect the range and diversity of work in the Harvard Classics Department. We have, therefore, adopted a procedure somewhat different from normal and have restricted contributions to faculty and emeriti/ae of the Department and to graduate students enrolled in Departmental programs through 1999/2000. We have welcomed the essays of our younger contributors as indications both of the scholarly activities pursued in the Department and of the promise of classical studies in the third millennium. Subsequent volumes will follow the usual practice of accepting submissions from both Harvard and non-Harvard affiliates. An index for volumes 68 to 100 appears in this volume. An index for volumes 1–67, along with a table of volumes and years of publications, appears in *HSCP* 67 (1963) 313–342.

Editorial Board

José M. González, Editorial Assistant

Albert Henrichs

Nino Luraghi

Gregory Nagy

Charles Segal, Chair

Richard F. Thomas, *ex officio*

CONTENTS

A Distant Anatolian Echo in Pindar: The Origin of the Aegis Again CALVERT WATKINS	1
War Games: Odysseus at Troy CORINNE ONDINE PACHE	15
<i>Aithôn</i> , Aithon, and Odysseus OLGA LEVANIUK	25
Who is μακάριτος in the <i>Odyssey</i> ? STAMATIA DOVA	53
The <i>Parthenoi</i> of Bacchylides 13 TIMOTHY POWER	67
The List of the War Dead in Aeschylus' <i>Persians</i> MARY EBBOTT	83
"Dream of a Shade": Refractions of Epic Vision in Pindar's <i>Pythian</i> 8 and Aeschylus' <i>Seven against Thebes</i> GREGORY NAGY	97
The Ilioupersis in Athens GLORIA FERRARI	119
The Oracles of Sophocles' <i>Trachiniae</i> : Convergence or Confusion? CHARLES SEGAL	151
Drama and <i>Dromena</i> : Bloodshed, Violence, and Sacrificial Metaphor in Euripides ALBERT HENRICHS	173

Democracy in Syracuse, 466–412 B.C. ERIC ROBINSON	189
<i>Epos</i> as Authoritative Speech in Herodotos' <i>Histories</i> ALEXANDER HOLLMANN	207
Author and Audience in Thucydides' <i>Archaeology</i> . Some Reflections NINO LURAGHI	227
Darius III E. BADIAN	241
<i>Musai Hypophetores</i> : Apollonius of Rhodes on Inspiration and Interpretation JOSÉ M. GONZÁLEZ	269
Plautus' <i>Amphitruo</i> : Three Problems ZEPH STEWART	293
Politics and Religion in the Bacchanalian Affair of 186 B.C.E. SAROLTA A. TAKÁCS	301
Tragic History and Barbarian Speech in Sallust's <i>Jugurtha</i> CASEY DUÉ	311
Silenus and the <i>Imago Vocis</i> in <i>Eclogue</i> 6 BRIAN W. BREED	327
The Poet's Fiction: Virgil's Praise of the Farmer, Philosopher, and Poet at the End of <i>Georgics</i> 2 LEAH J. KRONENBERG	341
Well-Read Heroes: Quoting the <i>Aetia</i> in <i>Aeneid</i> 8 MICHAEL A. TUELLER	361
A Trope by Any Other Name: "Polysemy," Ambiguity, and <i>Significatio</i> in Virgil RICHARD F. THOMAS	381

Hylas and <i>Silva</i> : Etymological Wordplay in Propertius 1.20 DAVID PETRAIN	409
Propertius 2.32.35–36 WENDELL CLAUSEN	423
The Soldier in the Garden and Other Intruders in Ovid's <i>Metamorphoses</i> R. J. TARRANT	425
The Writing in (and of) Ovid's Byblis Episode THOMAS E. JENKINS	439
Nero Speaking CHRISTOPHER JONES	453
On Statius' <i>Thebaid</i> D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY	463
Juvenal, the Niphates, and Trajan's Column (<i>Satire</i> 6.407–412) PRUDENCE JONES	477
<i>Missio</i> at Halicarnassus KATHLEEN COLEMAN	487
Observations on a Byzantine Manuscript in Harvard College Library JOHN DUFFY AND DIMITER G. ANGELOV	501
Summaries of Dissertations for the Degree of Ph.D.	515
Index for <i>HSCP</i> 68–100	527

istic double nature of the *kursas* in Hittite religion and cult: it is at once a real and palpable physical object, and a mystical hieratic symbol identified with a divinity.

As an object, the hunting bag is usually made of leather, most frequently goatskin (KUŠ MÁŠ.GAL), and specified as “rough, shaggy” (*warḫui-*), i.e., a fleece with the long curling hair of an angora (= Turkish *Ankara*) goat still on it. The bag has a strap handle by which it can be hung on a peg, with the contents accessible. These cultic objects, goatskin bags, are periodically “renewed” (*āppa newaḫḫ-*) and recycled, a sort of immortality or symbolic rejuvenation, just as the king’s form or image is ritually “renewed” with the same verb in other early texts.

But the KUŠ*kursas* as a hieratic symbolic object in the Hittite realm of myth functions as a kind of cornucopia filled with a variety of abstract goods. The texts are familiar, and mostly from Old Anatolian vanishing god myths. The passages are clearly formulaic, and follow the same recurrent syntactic pattern and order. Each is narrated when the vanished god has returned and reestablished the harmony of the earth and the kingdom. From a version of the Telepinus myth, KUB 33.12 iv 2 ff.,

“Telepinus took account of the King:
Before Telepinus stands an *eya*-tree;
From the *eya*-tree a sheepskin hunting bag is hanging.

In it lies Long Years
In it lies Progeny, Sons and Daughters
In it lies Growth of Mortals, Cattle (and) Sheep,
In it lies Manhood (and) Battle-Strength,
In it lies Eternity [
In it lies *Integrity* (and) *Endurance*,
In it lies Assent (and) Obedience,
In it lies Satiety

Telepinus lifted it up for the King,
And he gave him all good things.”

Other versions differ only in detail, sometimes including Sheep Fat and Grain, Beast (and) Wine among the good things, and in the main text of

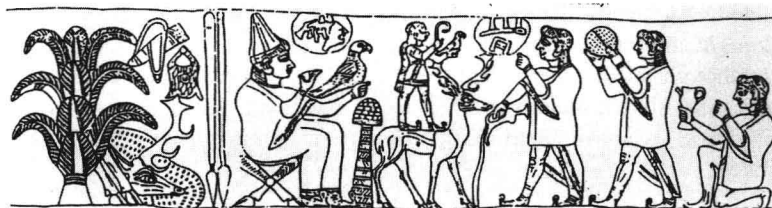


Fig. 1. Frieze on the Stag Rhyton, Norbert Schimmel Collection,
after *Perspectives on Hittite Civilization* (see n. 2)

the disappearance of Telepinus after “Long Years (and) Progeny” omitting “Sons and Daughters” and adding

In it lies the Gentle Message of the Lamb.

The linguistic structure of the verbal formulas is invariant:

n=ašta *ANDA* . . . *kitta*

connective + locative particle *IN* . . . lies.

The verb (= Greek κείται) is always singular, even with plural subject. The latter syntagma is of course known in Greek as the σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν. I suspect the Greek construction is diffused from Anatolian. With the same *IN* and the cognate of Hittite *kitta* compare Pindar’s *P.* 10.72 (the “envoi”): ἐν δ’ ἀγαθοῖσι κεῖται πατρώια κεδναὶ πολίων κυβερνάσεις.

The allegorical entities symbolically inside the sacred ^{KUŠ}*kursas*, the shaggy hunting bag, are mostly the good things which in the Hittite view follow from a just and righteous ruler; they are the good things of PEACE, of FERTILITY (DUMU^{MEŠ}-atar “progeny” a neuter abstract built on the word for “son”), and the characteristics of the victorious ruler in WAR, Manhood (^{LÚ}-natar = *pisnatar*) and Battle-Strength (*tarḫuili*[-]).

In earlier days in Hittite studies the ^{KUŠ}*kursas* was translated “skin, fleece” or “shield,” as still in E. Neu’s *Glossar* of 1983.⁴ Güterbock⁵ noted that “since it was mentioned together with weapons, it was thought that *kurša* might be a shield, an idea obviously influenced by the thought of the *aegis*.” But there is nothing wrong with the semantic and cultural identification of ^{KUŠ}*kursas* and αἰγίς, for the aegis or αἰγίς in Homer is not a shield. Kirk in his *Iliad* commentary (*ad* 2.447 ff.) states,

Exactly how the poets of the epic tradition imagined the aegis is a difficult question. . . . It is probably a goat-skin in some form, for that is its obvious etymology (so e.g. Chantraine, *Dict.* s.v.)(⁶); it is put round the shoulders . . . like a sword(-strap), 5x *Il.*, or a shield(-strap). . . . In classical art Athene’s aegis is a skin thrown over the shoulders like a small shawl. . . .⁷

Athena’s αἰγίς as depicted on the Amasis neck amphora (fig. 2) looks very like a bedjacket, except of course for the snakes (which are a Greek innovation, see below).

We first meet the αἰγίς in *Iliad* 2.446 ff., borne by Athena as she inspires the marshaled host of the Greeks:

αἰγίδ’ ἔχουσ’ ἐρίτιμον ἀγήρων ἀθανάτην τε,
τῆς ἑκατὸν θύσανοι παγχρύσειοι ἠερέθονται,
πάντες ἐυπλεκέες, ἑκατόμβοιοι δὲ ἕκαστος·
σὺν τῇ παιφάσσουσα διέσσυτο λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν
ὀτρύνουσ’ ἰέναι·

σὺν τῇ is the phrase for the WEAPON/COMPANIONS of the basic formula of the Hero’s great exploit; recall also σὺν τῷ of Agamemnon’s scepter borne by Odysseus in the same function in *Iliad* 2.187.

⁴ E. Neu, *Glossar zu den althethitischen Ritualtexten* (Wiesbaden 1983 [Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 26]).

⁵ Güterbock (above, n. 2) 138.

⁶ While the “obvious” relation of αἰγίς to αἶζ might be a folk etymology, it would still be synchronically valid. Etymology is a notoriously uncertain indicator of cultural phenomena like these, and I am not interested here in the etymology of either αἰγίς or ^{KUŠ}*kursas*.

⁷ G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary* 1 (Cambridge 1985).



Fig. 2. Athena wearing the aegis. Amasis Painter, c. 540 B.C.
Paris, B. Nationale

Note the expressive verb with intensive reduplication and the arresting phonetic figure in *Sun tēi paiphaSSouSa dieSSuto*: it is immortal like the “renewed” *kursas*. And the commonest Homeric formula for the aegis (5x *Il.*) is the hemistich αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσιν with the same word θύσσανος that Pindar will use in *P.* 4.230–231 of the tufts of the likewise immortal golden fleece:

ἄφθιτον στρωμνὴν ἀγέσθω
κῶας αἰγλᾶεν χρυσέωι θυσάνωι

The formulaic similarity of the aegis and the golden fleece might well argue for a common source for both (as long suspected). I do not insist. Suffice it to note the physical similarity of the shaggy (*warhui-*) *kursas* of goat or sheepskin with the fleece or tufted hair showing, and the goatskin αἰγίς or the deep-fleeced (βαθύμαλλον) sheepskin κῶας or νάκος with its tufts or tassels showing.

Another passage, *Iliad* 15.306–310, describes Hector leading the Trojan charge, while Phoebus Apollo went before him (πρόσθεν δὲ κί' αὐτοῦ) just as a Hittite god goes before (*peran huwai-*) the king in victorious battle. Apollo held the impetuous (θοῦρην), terrible (δεινὴν) aegis with shaggy fringe all around (ἀμφιδάσειαν), again like Hittite *warhui-*. The αἰγίς knows no sides: Hephaistos gave it to Zeus to put warriors to rout (ἐξ φόβον ἀνδρῶν), whether Anatolians or Greeks.

Like the Hittite ^{KUŠ}*kursas*, the αἰγίς has a double nature: it is at once a physical object and a symbolic container of allegorical entities. In *Iliad* 5.733–742 Athena sheds her gown onto her father's floor, dons her armor, and throws on the aegis; “A voluptuous gesture . . . the actions symbolize her transformation from peaceful goddess to goddess of war.”⁸

Αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίη, κόρυς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,
πέπλον μὲν κατέχευεν ἑάνον πατρὸς ἐπ' οὔδει,
ποικίλον, ὃν ῥ' αὐτὴ ποιήσατο καὶ κάμε χερσίν·
ἡ δὲ χιτῶν' ἐνδύσα Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο
τεύχεσιν ἐς πόλεμον θωρήσσετο δακρυόεντα.
ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὥμοισιν βάλετ' αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσιν
δεινὴν, ἣν περὶ μὲν πάντη Φόβος ἐστεφάνωται,

⁸ Kirk (above, n. 7) *ad loc.*

ἐν δ' Ἑρις, ἐν δ' Ἀλκή, ἐν δὲ κρυόεσσα ἰωκή
 ἐν δέ τε Γοργεῖη κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου,
 δεινὴ τε σμερδνὴ τε, Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο.

The passage is demarcated by the ring of the two occurrences of the epithet αἰγιόχοιο, equidistant from αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσιν and filling the slot between bucolic dieresis and line end like the epithet θυσσανόεσσιν.

In *Iliad* 5.733–742 we see for the first time the shaggy goatskin αἰγίς containing abstract allegorical symbols. The *phobos* “fear, panic, rout” which we saw above (*Iliad* 15.310) is now embodied in the aegis itself. Two images are interwoven in the description. One is modeled on a real shield, like that of Agamemnon in *Iliad* 11.35–37, with a picture of the Gorgon, and around it Terror and Fear.⁹ But the other is wholly abstract, the series of abstract allegorical symbols of battle and war which are IN Athena’s tasseled goatskin, and linked by anaphoric ἐν δέ. Compare also from the Shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.535):

Ἐν δ' Ἑρις, ἐν δὲ Κυδοιμὸς ὀμίλεον, ἐν δ' ὀλοὴ Κῆρ

In it were engaged Strife, **in it** Tumult, **in it** deadly Fate;

or especially from the Shield of Herakles of Ps.-Hesiod 154–156,

Ἐν δὲ Προΐωξίς τε Παλίωξίς τε τέτυκτο
 ἐν δ' Ὀμαδὸς τε Φόβος τ' Ἀνδροκτασίη τε δεδήγει
 ἐν δ' Ἑρις . . .

In it Attack and Counterattack **were wrought**,

In it Tumult and Panic and Slaughter **were ablaze**,

In it Strife . . .

where we find a plurality of conjoined abstract subjects but a singular verb (cf. *Il.* 6.329).

Though again I do not insist, it is hard not to hear the very echo of the repeated Hittite

⁹ Δεῖμός τε Φόβος τε, recalling the common Hittite pair *Naḥsaraz* and *Weritemas* “Fear” and “Terror.” For many examples see the Chicago Hittite Dictionary s.v. *naḥsaratt-*. Here independent creation is at least as plausible as borrowing or diffusion.

ANDA . . . ANDA . . . ANDA . . .

in the Greek

EN D(E) . . . EN D(E) . . . EN DE

Though they may be independent creations, the repeated anaphora in each is a descriptive fact.

We have seen in Hittite culture allegorical figures of PEACE, FERTILITY, and WAR which are symbolically IN (repeated anaphoric ANDA) a hieratic sacred object, the ^{KUŠ}*kursas*. We see here in Early Greek culture allegorical figures of WAR and battle which are symbolically IN (repeated anaphoric ἐν δέ) a hieratic sacred object, the αἰγίς. Yet another fundamental background theme intersects those of both WAR and PEACE in the *Iliad*, and that is SEX.¹⁰ In one other place in this epic we find allegorical figures of SEX, linked by the same anaphoric ἐν δέ, which are IN another hieratic, sacred object: Aphrodite's magic embroidered thong (κεστὸν ἱμάντα), which she loans to Hera in the Deception of Zeus (*Iliad* 14.216):¹¹

ἐνθ' ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἱμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστύς

Though the focus here is on pure seduction—love, desire, intimacy—the image is not far from the Hittite's 'ANDA lies progeny, sons (and) daughters.'

Greek tradition, both verbal-mythological and iconographic, knows that the Gorgon's head figures on Athena's aegis, as in Homer, or later on her shield. The same tradition knows how it got there, i.e., that it is a Greek innovation: Perseus gave the Gorgon's head to Athena, and she put it on her shield (Apollodorus 2.4.3). Now it is at least curious that in Greek mythology the Gorgon's severed head will first be put in a hunting bag, called the κίβισις, clearly a loanword, which the slayer Perseus got from the nymphs along with his winged sandals and his cap of invisibility. The word κίβισις is glossed as πῆρα, animal skin bag. In its first attestation, the *Shield* of ps.-Hesiod 224, the κίβισις is slung

¹⁰ Compare the formulaic *Il.* 1.490–491 οὔτε ποτ' εἰς ἀγορὴν πωλέσκετο . . . οὔτε ποτ' ἐς πόλεμον . . . with *h.Ap.* 329 εἰς εὐνὴν πωλήσομαι.

¹¹ Pace R. Janko in his *Iliad* commentary *ad loc.*, *Il.* 18.483 and 535 are not directly comparable, since they are verbal, not nominal, sentences.

over the hero's back (with the head in it), and it is described as silver, with golden tassels hanging from it. They are the same θύσανοι that hung from the aegis (and the golden fleece), and the Gorgon's head is physically IN the functioning hunting bag (κίβισις) in the myth just as it is symbolically IN the αἶγίς of Athena.

All this looks very much like an Anatolian, Hittite hieratic sacred object, the shaggy goat or sheepskin hunting bag *kursas* being borrowed or diffused, directly or indirectly, into the mythology and legend of a geographically contiguous culture, both in its literal sense of "hunting bag," the κίβισις, and in its symbolic sense of hieratic sacred emblem, container of abstract allegorical entities, the αἶγίς. The Gorgon's head is a later accretion of Greek tradition to the αἶγίς, however firmly established in literature and art from the earliest period. The arguments for a similarity relation between the second-millennium Anatolian facts and the first-millennium Greek facts rest on three independent variables: the formal-visual (shaggy, goatskin container), the functional (hieratic symbol or emblem of power, container of abstract allegorical entities), and the verbal (semantic coincidence of epithets; the transparent Greek name [even if a folk-etymology]; the repeated anaphora *andal'én δὲ* in each). Such detailed and systematic similarities can be explained only by universality, by common inheritance, or by borrowing/diffusion. There is no justifying evidence for either of the first two; we must assume the third.

Now Pindar provides two striking examples of "adverbial" *én δὲ* repeated in anaphora, as duly noted and cited in Slater and Hummel: *O.* 13.22–23 and *Dith.* 2.10–17 (fr. 70b.10–17).¹² But the unique character of the passages has not yet to my mind been adequately appreciated. Both of these two very careful and authoritative writers list the anaphoras in *én δὲ* together with examples of single, isolated adverbial *én* (*δὲ, τε*). All of the latter may also be and have often been explained as cases of tmesis, i.e., the disjunction of P(reverb) and V(erb) of a compound verb.

These facts point to a special character of the instances of adverbial *én δὲ* in anaphora in Pindar, twice in *O.* 13.22–23 and three times in *Dith.* 2.10–17, always in sentence or clause initial:

¹² William J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969) 174, and Pascale Hummel, *La syntaxe de Pindare* (Paris 1993) 174.

O. 13.22–23 ἐν δὲ Μοῖσ' ἀδύπνοος,
ἐν δ' Ἄρης ἀνθεῖ νέων οὐλίαις αἰχμαῖσιν ἀνδρῶν

Dith. 2.10–17 ἐν δὲ κεχλαδ[εν] κρόταλ' αἰθομένα τε δαῖς ὑπὸ
ξανθαῖσι πεύκαις
ἐν δὲ Ναίδων ἐρίγδουποι στοναχαί
μανίαι τ' ἀλαλαί τ' ὀρίνεται ῥιψαύχενι
σὺν κλόνωι.
ἐν δ' ὁ παγκρατῆς κεραυνὸς ἀμπνέων
πῦρ κεκίνη[ται τό τ]' Ἐνυαλίου
ἔγχος, . . .

In the first instance these might be Homerisms, recollections of the repeated ἐν δ(έ) of *Iliad* 5.740–741 and 14.216 cited above, of Athena's aegis and Aphrodite's embroidered thong (κεστὸν ἱμάντα). Yet it is remarkable that two of the four verbal sentences with ἐν δέ anaphora have the same “signature” Pindaric scheme as the Hittite-like ἐν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι κεῖται . . . κυβερνάσιες of Pindar's *P.* 10.71–72.

The presence of Athena with her aegis is not far from either passage. The first (*O.* 13.22–23) is preceded by the praise of the inventiveness of the Corinthians: their receipt from the Horai of ἀρχαῖα σοφίσματα “inventions of old” posed as three rhetorical questions:

ταῖ Διωνύσου πόθεν ἐξέφανεν
σὺν βοηλάται χάριτες διθυράμβωι;
τίς γὰρ ἱππέοις ἐν ἔντεσσιν μέτρα,
ἢ θεῶν ναοῖσιν οἰωνῶν βασιλέα δίδυμον
ἐπέθηκ' ;

The questions are thus: 1) whence (πόθεν) the delights of Dionysus with the ox-driving dithyramb? 2) who (τίς γάρ)¹³ added the curb (bridle) to the horse's gear? 3) or [who added] the “twin king of birds” (οἰωνῶν βασιλέα δίδυμον) to the temples of the gods? The answer to

¹³ B.K. Braswell, *A Commentary on the Fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar* (Berlin/New York 1988) *ad* 70–71, notes the “Epic” introductory use τίς there and *inter alia* in *O.* 13.20. I add that in these two passages with τίς γάρ Pindar's sequence rhymes with Homeric τίς ταρ (reading with the Venetus A [*ad Il.* 1.65 et passim] and Wackernagel) in comparable invocations (*Il.* 1.8, 2.761, etc.), on which see C. Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (Oxford 1995) 150.