

IN DEFENCE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS AT MOSCHUS, *EUROPA* 47 AND 60

IN the accompanying paper I have attempted a new collation of the manuscripts of Moschus' *Europa*, in order to correct some errors and omissions that may be detected in the critical apparatus of Winfried Bühler's excellent edition of this work (*Hermes, Einzelschrift* xii [1960]). Bühler's textual decisions, for instance, are refreshingly free from slavish preconceptions and inert prejudice. When he prints an emendation or opts for the daggers of despair, he is usually right. The occasions when he rejects the manuscript tradition without overriding justification are rare. At 77 there is probably no need to posit corruption in δὴ γάρ.¹ At 127 κόλπου foreshadows with typical Hellenistic ambiguity the verb κολπώθη in 129.² It is possible that there are two other places also where the manuscript tradition has wrongly been suspected: κυανῇ in 47 and ταρσὸν in 60.

I

- 44 ἐν μὲν ἔην χρυσοῖο τετυγμένη Ἰναχίς Ἰὼ
εἰσέτι πόρτις ἐοῦσα, φυὴν δ' οὐκ εἶχε γυναιήν.
φοιταλή δὲ πόδεσσιν ἐφ' ἄλμυρά βαῖνε κέλευθα
47 νηχομένη ἰκέλη· κυανῇ δ' ἐτέτυκτο θάλασσα.

κυανῇ (or -ῇ BF and probably t, -ῇ Mlv), the nominative feminine singular of the adjective κυανοῦς, is the united reading of the manuscripts in 47. In his first edition of Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, which appeared in 1825, Meineke printed in its place his conjecture *κῡάνου*. Since a word indicating material ('of dark-blue enamel') rather than colour ('dark blue') was clearly preferable here (to complement and balance the information of 44 that Io was χρυσοῖο τετυγμένη), editors since Meineke have generally accepted his sensible conjecture without comment. Among these editors is Bühler, who saw no need to defend in his commentary either an emendation that proclaimed its own virtues. If *κῡάνου* had been the transmitted reading rather than a modern idea, nobody would ever have questioned it. After all, the two preceding words end in *η* or *η*; homoeoteleuton corruption is so common . . .

But the question is not whether *κῡάνου* is so good, but whether *κυανῇ* is so bad. The original meaning of the adjective κυανοῦς was 'made of κύανος', with the more general meaning 'dark blue', which is virtually universal throughout Greek literature from Homer onwards, secondary. What evidence is there for any survival of the original meaning in Moschus and other authors of relevance? The answer lurks half-concealed, half-revealed behind LSJ's citation of four old epic passages, s.v. κύανος 1, to which the translation 'made of κύανος' is correctly attached. The passages are Homer, *Iliad* 11. 26 (cf. 39), 18. 564, and ps.-Hesiod, *Scutum* 141. At *Il.* 11. 26 Agamemnon's breast-plate has *κῡάνεοι δράκοντες* figured on it; at 11. 39 Agamemnon's silver baldric has a *κῡάνεος δράκων* inlaid in it. In both places the emphasis seems to be on the snake's

¹ Cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, *Gnomon* xxxiii (1961), 38; J. Fontenrose, *AJP* lxxxiii (1962), 306.

² Cf. G. Giangrande, *Eranos* lxiiv (1966), 24 ff.

material, not its colour.¹ The design of the shield of Achilles is the subject of *Il.* 18. 564: ἀμφὶ δὲ κυανέην κάπετον, περὶ δ' ἔρκος ἔλασσε / κασσιτέρου, where the contrast with κασσιτέρου makes a material—as opposed to a colour—interpretation of κυανέην overwhelmingly plausible.² Finally, in the *Scutum* at 141 Heracles' shield is endowed with a κύκλω κυανῶ, where the complementary references to ivory and electrum speak strongly for a parallel material reference in κυανῶ.

These four passages have one significant link. They are all ἐκφράσεις. All—and particularly the descriptions of Achilles' and Heracles' shields—exercised a great influence on the celebrated Hellenistic ἐκφράσεις, such as that of the κισσύβιον in Theocritus' first idyll. Bühler's commentary abundantly illustrates the epic phraseology in Moschus' own ἐκφρασις of Europa's τάλαιος. If Moschus ever intended to resurrect for Hellenistic poetry the early epic use of κυανούς as an adjective denoting material, it was likely to be in a Hellenistic ἐκφρασις parallel to those of his epic predecessors. Can one be certain that he did so resurrect this original meaning of κυανούς at 47? Before the question is answered, one final passage must be discussed. It comes again from a Hellenistic poet, again from the description of a divine work of art. The splendid ball with which Aphrodite hopes to bribe Eros in Apollonius, 3. 140, has a ἐλιξ . . . κυανέη. M. M. Gillies's paper³ unravels many of the problems raised by this ἐκφρασις without closely investigating the precise meaning here of κυανέη. The adjective may be ambiguous, or at least seem ambiguous, if this one passage is considered in isolation; the spiral of this divine artefact could be 'dark blue' or 'made of κύανος' or perhaps both at once. But any comparison with the epic parallels and with the passage of Moschus will force the judicious scholar to support here Mooney's cautious decision, 'probably of "κύανος"'.⁴

Can there be any doubt now that Moschus too wrote κυανῇ at *Europa* 47? Moschus was paying his debt to the epic tradition by revivifying the old use of κυάνεος. Revivification, however, was not quite enough for a Hellenistic poet, as G. Giangrande has recently reminded us;⁴ imitation must be joined to novelty. For this reason it is significant that the object represented by the dark-blue enamel on Europa's τάλαιος was not a Homeric serpent, or a ditch, but the sea. By an odd quirk of usage that Ebeling observes with his usual shrewdness, in Homer and the older epic the sea is never described as κυάνεος (-η, -ον). That obvious description first came in later poetry (e.g. Simonides 567 Page, *Eur. IT* 7, 392, *Andr.* 1011, *Hel.* 179, 1502, *Arat. Phaen.* 48).

2

- 58 τοῖο δὲ φονήεντος ἀφ' αἵματος ἐξανέτελλεν
ὄρνις ἀγαλλόμενος πτερύγων πολυανθεί χροίῃ,
60 ταρσὸν ἀναπλώσας ὥσεί τέ τις ὠκύαλος νηῦς
χρυσείου τάλαιοιο περίσκεπε χεῖλεα ταρσοῖς.

The text given is that of Bühler, except that in 60 I have preferred to retain

¹ Cf. F. H. Stubbings in Wace-Stubbings, *Companion to Homer*, 509.

² Cf. Ebeling's lexicon s.v., 'κυανέην significat non tam colorem quam materiam.' A further link between this passage of *Il.* 18 and Moschus, *Europa* 44–7, has been called to my attention by Professor J. Gould, who

writes, 'The μεταβολή of χρυσοῖο τετυγμένη (44) and κυανῇ ἐτέτυκτο (47) would correspond to and echo the similar wording in *Il.* 18. 564f. κυανέην κάπετον and ἔρκος . . . κασσιτέρου.'

³ *CR* xxxviii (1924), 50f.

⁴ *CQ* n.s. xvii (1967), 85 ff.

ταρσόν, which has the united testimony of all the manuscripts behind it. But the repetition ταρσόν . . . ταρσοῖς offends modern editors; Bühler and Gallavotti, for instance, substitute Maas's ingenious τὰς ὀ γ' for ταρσόν in 60. The talents of many emendators have been exercised here, but there has been no generally agreed solution. Nor is this surprising, for the emendators ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι: Moschus wrote ταρσόν . . . ταρσοῖς, as can be plainly demonstrated in different ways.

First, there is the question of meaning. Neither ταρσόν nor ταρσοῖς can be faulted here on this score. The most cursory investigation of the passages cited by LSJ s.v. ταρσός, π c 3, and succinctly discussed by Page on Meleager, cvi, will make this clear. Basically ταρσός means a flat (or curved) hurdle of basket-work. Its meaning, however, was extended to take in certain other surfaces which had analogously jutting extremities,¹ like the flat of the foot or the palm of the hand, the row of oars on the sides of ships, a Pan's pipe with its parallel tubes, the row of teeth in a saw, the edge of an eyelid with the eyelashes, and the surface of a bird's outstretched tail or wings. Thus we find ταρσὸς πτερύγων of Eros' outstretched wings (Meleager cvi, Gow and Page), τῷ ταρσῷ τῶν πτερῶν of a crane's wings in flight (Aelian, *NA* 2. 1); and, without any defining genitive, ταρσός in the singular of the outspread wings of a hawk (Apollonius, 2. 934), an eagle (Apollonides xxiii, Gow and Page), and ταρσοί in the plural of the outspread wings of vultures (Dion. H. 4. 63. 2), Eros (*Anacreontea*, 58. 3), or undifferentiated birds (Babrius, 72. 9; cf. *Anacreontea*, 37. 4). In Diod. Sic. 2. 50. 4 the ostrich is endowed with hairy ταρσοί, which may refer to the wings.

In 60-1 Moschus' bird, a peacock, spreads his ταρσός like the sail of a ship, and fills the rims of the golden τάλαρος with his ταρσοί. It may be repetitive, but it is not nonsensical; the reference in both cases will be to the bird's outstretched tail, viewed as a unit (ταρσὸν ἀναπλώσας) and as a collection of feathers covering the rim of the τάλαρος (ταρσοῖς).

Secondly, how far is such repetition tolerable in Moschus' *Europa*? The frequency with which Moschus repeats words consciously or carelessly within the space of a line or so is in fact a remarkable feature of the *Europa*. Often these repetitions appear to have no obvious point, other perhaps than a reluctance to succumb to the allurements of elegant variation: e.g. 39-40 πόρε . . . πόρεν, 43-7 τετεύχατο . . . τετυγμένη . . . ἐτέτυκτο, 75-6 ὑποδηθεις . . . δαμάσσαι, 113-17 δελφίς . . . δελφίς, 118-21 ὑπὲξ ἁλὸς . . . ὑπεῖρ ἁλὸς . . . ἁλὴς, 136-7 θάλασσαν . . . θάλασσα, 151-2 προκέλευθον . . . κέλευθα, 165-6 γένετ' αὐτίκα . . . αὐτίκα γίνετ' (but here cf. W. Ludwig, *Hermes* lxxxix [1961], 185 ff.).

From the above list I have excluded instances where the verbal repetition is inescapable and so unremarkable (e.g. 156-8 ταῦρος . . . ταύρω), and where the repetition has an emphatic significance of its own. This significance may be a small verbal point (e.g. 63-4 ἀνθεμόεντας . . . ἄνθει, followed by a list of named flowers; 162 ὡς φάτο . . . τὰ περ φάτο), or it may be major verbal legerdemain of a kind practised by virtually all the Hellenistic poets. The most interesting example of Moschus' word-play noted hitherto has been the ambiguous anticipation of κολπώθη (129) by κόλπου in 127.² But the repetition of ταρσόν . . . ταρσοῖς in 60-1 bids fair to run that one very close. In 60-1 we have reached the end of the ἔκφρασις of Europa's golden basket; the peacock's spreading tail is the final point in the description. To denote the tail Moschus chooses

¹ Cf. the *Thesaurus*, s.v.

² Cf. Giangrande, *Eranos* lxiv (1966), 24 ff.

a vivid but unexpected word, and emphasizes his choice by its repetition. What is his game?

The answer is supplied by the verse immediately following (62): τοῖος ἔην τάλαρος περικαλλέος Εὐρωπαϊς. Europa's τάλαρος was a golden basket for the flowers she went to the meadows to pick. But τάλαρος was originally a wicker-work receptacle used in cheese-making (cf., e.g., Gow on Theocr. 5. 86, on Antipater LXI). In *Od.* 9. 246–7 Polyphemus ἤμισυ μὲν θρέψας λευκοῖο γάλακτος / πλεκτοῖς ἐν ταλάροισιν ἀμυσάμενος κατέθηκεν. But these wicker-work crates have been mentioned shortly before (219) under a different name: ταρσοὶ μὲν τυρῶν βριθόν. Originally there would not have been much difference between wicker-work ταρσοί and wicker-work τάλαροι. What design then could have been more appropriate for a golden τάλαρος than a peacock with outspread sail, ταρσὸν ἀναπλώσας . . . περίσκεπε χεῖλα ταρσοῖς? If Moschus had not repeated the word ταρσός, would even a Hellenistic audience of *literarische Kenner* have been expected to get the point?¹

University of Leeds

GEOFFFREY ARNOTT

¹ Professor Bühler, who was kind enough to comment on an earlier draft of this paper, with his usual perspicacity drew my attention to what at first sight appears a major stylistic difficulty if one retains ταρσὸν in 60: 'das Asyndeton, das die Überlieferung enthält und das schon vor Maas zu Konjekturen geführt hat.' The difficulty may be faced in two ways. If asyndeton is admitted in 60, it will not be the only instance in this poem; vv. 1–9 contain a far harsher instance, wherever one posits the major pause (cf. Bühler, ad loc.). But must asyndeton be assumed in 60? Is it not possible that the τε of ὥσει τέ partly fills the role of connecting particle? Of course, the main function of τε in this and other similar

Homeric phrases is the universalizing one (cf. *δθι* τ' 35, *ἦ τε* 41, *οἶά τε* 130); but 60 may not be the only passage in the poem where Moschus appears to be playing on both the functions—connective and universalizing—of τε in phrases which at first sight are merely Homeric fossils. Cf. 103–5, δὴ γὰρ ἀπάσας / νῶτον ὑποστορέσας ἀναδέξεται, οἶά τ' ἐνηὴς / πρηῦς τ' εἰσιδέειν καὶ μείλιχος, where the first τε, despite its position, may also be a reminder that ἐνηὴς is the first item in a tricolon; and 146–8, ὦμοι ἐγὼ μέγα δὴ τι δυσάμμορος, ἦ ῥά τε δῶμα / πατρός ἀποπρολιπούσα καὶ ἐσπομένη βοὺ τῶδε / ξείνην ναυτιλίην ἐφέπω, where the τε undoubtedly combines connective and universalizing functions.