

lautete, Minos sei als Vertrauter des Zeus neun Jahre lang König gewesen⁴⁶). Das kann nach unserer Kontextregel nicht richtig sein, weil dann an Stelle des Imperfektes *βασίλευε* die Aoristform stehen müßte. Denn ein Inzidenzschema, welches neben einer Zeitdauerbestimmung „neun Jahre lang“ ein Imperfekt bedingen würde, ist in den benachbarten Versen nicht gegeben.

Kurioserweise hat u. a. das Scholion V z. St.⁴⁷) bei seiner (sachlich unzutreffenden) Erläuterung den erforderlichen Aorist eingesetzt: *ὅτι ἐπ' ἐννέα ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ὀμιλητῆς γενόμενος τοῦ Διός*. Eine inhaltlich falsche Auffassung wird also hier in angemessener Ausdrucksweise vorgetragen bzw. durch die sprachliche Modifikation gegenüber der zu kommentierenden Vorlage überhaupt erst möglich.

Nestor's Generations, Iliad I. 250–2

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*τῷ δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
ἐφθίαθ', οἳ οἱ πρόσθεν ἅμα τράφεν ἠδὲ γέγοντο
ἐν Πύλῳ ἠγαθέη, μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσαν.*

The translation of the above verses by Lang, Leaf and Meyers is as follows:

Two generations of mortal men already had he [Nestor] seen perish, that had been of old time born and nurtured with him in goodly Pylos, and he was king among the third.

This translation takes the *ἅμα* and the *οἳ* of line 251 together: “with him.” In doing so it agrees with all the modern commentaries and dictionaries I have examined,¹⁾ and *Od.* IV. 723 might be cited in support of this construction: *μοι ὁμοῦ τράφεν ἠδὲ γέγοντο* (the *ὁμοῦ* must be taken with *μοι*; Helen is here speaking of the women who were born and nurtured with her). We are thus however presented with the problem that the two earlier generations are described as both being born and nurtured along with Nestor, that is, at the same time that Nestor was born and nurtured.

⁴⁶) schol. V τ 179; Ap. Soph. p. 68 Bekker s.v. *ἐννέωροι*; EM p. 343, 26f.; Eustath. 1861, 31.

⁴⁷) Ebenso EM a.O.; Eustath. a.O. (Anm. 46).

¹⁾ For example, *LjgrE* 598. 30ff.

But this of course is impossible. One man can not be born and nurtured at the same time as two different generations. It is this difficulty which presumably has led Professor Lattimore to make the following interpretative translation:

In his time two generations of mortal men had perished,
those who had grown up with him and they who had been born to
these in sacred Pylos, and he was king in the third age.

Because of the problem of meaning that arises if we take *ἄμα* with *οἱ* I think it is better to take it with *ἦδέ* to mean “both . . . and” and translate *ἄμα τράφεν ἦδὲ γέγοντο* “they were both nurtured and born.” Thus *ἄμα* is the equivalent of the *ἦμέν* at *Od.* XIV. 201: *ἦμὲν τράφεν ἦδὲ γέγοντο*. It seems likely to me that the poet of *Il.* I. 251 knew *ἦμὲν τράφεν ἦδὲ γέγοντο* as a formulaic expression and that he easily adapted it to suit his metre by changing *ἦμέν* to *ἄμα*.²⁾ I have not been able to find other examples of *ἄμα . . . ἦδέ*, but there is the very similar *ἄμα . . . καί*, as at *Il.* I. 343: *ἄμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω*.

If *ἄμα* and *ἦδέ* go together, the *οἱ* in line 251 must be treated as a dative of interest. We can compare the *οἱ* of *Il.* XIII. 439f.: *χιτῶνα / χάλκεον, ὅς οἱ πρόσθεν ἀπὸ Χροῶς ἦρκει ὄλεθρον* (where however the *πρόσθεν* is spatial). As a dative of interest the *οἱ* of line 251 which refers to Nestor echoes the *τῷ* at the beginning of the preceding line which is also a dative of interest referring to Nestor.

I conclude that we should translate *Il.* I. 250–2 something like this:

For him (as king?) two generations of mortal men had already
perished, who for him (as king?) in the earlier time were nurtured
and born in holy Pylos, and he was king among the third.

This interpretation is not a new one. Eustathius says of the second generation that they were both nurtured and born under Nestor in the same way as those before them: *οἱ ἐπίσης τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ αὐτῷ ἦτοι τῷ Νέστορι, ὅντες ἄμα τράφεν καὶ ἐγένοντο*³⁾. His treatment of *οἱ* as a dative of interest is very clear, and he has substituted *καί* for the *ἦδέ* of the formula *τράφεν ἦδὲ γέγοντο* to give the more usual coordinates *ἄμα . . . καί*.

²⁾ The formula *τράφεν ἦδὲ γέγοντο* also appears at *Od.* X. 417: *ἵνα τε τράφεν ἦδὲ γέγοντο*. The *τε* here is usually taken with *ἵνα*, but I think it better to take it with *ἦδέ*.

³⁾ Eustath. on *Il.* I. 250, p. 97. 22f.

At *Od.* III. 245 Nestor is said to have been king over three generations of men: *τοὺς γὰρ δὴ μὲν φασιν ἀνάξασθαι γένε' ἀνδρῶν*. Perhaps Homer is here interpreting himself. Eustathius believes that the Poet is briefly summarizing at *Od.* III. 245 what he has stated at greater length in *Il.* I. 250–2.⁴) At any rate *Od.* III. 245 seems to me to show the most natural understanding of *Il.* I. 250–2, as we have construed it.⁵)

The Senate and the Essence: *γερονσία* and *οὐσία*

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The council of elders is a noteworthy component of the Lyncurgen constitution at Sparta, and there is no need here to rehearse modern discussions of it. By ancient writers subsequent to Xenophon it is called *γερονσία*, as is the ostensibly equivalent body in other states, Carthage, Rome, the Sanhedrin. It is obvious that the original Laconian form of the name, as long as the dialect retains any individuality, is something else—not merely in the sense that there, as elsewhere, the more common expression was *οἱ γέροντες* or its equivalent, but in that (for example) Plutarch's use of *γερονσία*, in speaking of the 'great rhetra' (or in declaring that Lyncurgus himself used this name for the Spartan council from the start),¹) is a reflex of atticized koine and nothing more.²) In Attic itself *γερονσία* occurs no earlier than *Rhesus*; in Laconian it occurs nowhere in any form, except in the attestations of outsiders like Aristophanes, Xenophon and ultimately Hesychius. It is likely that a whole series of oddities lies in wait for the Laconian etymologist.

To begin with, Hesychius's relevant entry, unpunctuated so as not to prejudice the argument, is rather curious:³) *γερονία γεροντία*

⁴) Eustath. on *Il.* I. 250, p. 96. 44f.

⁵) I wish to thank Leslie Bolding, Nell Duncan and Jane Ritter for discussing *Il.* I. 250–252 with me.

¹) Plutarch, *Lyncurgus* 5, 6; *Moralia* 789.

²) As with Lysimachus's council at Ephesus and its offspring at Athens (saec. 2–3 A. D.), the *ἰερά γερονσία*. See *CR* 1. 1887. 43; 56. 1942. 86; Oliver, 1941.

³) Latte, in his 1953 edition (no. 449), simply brackets *γερονία* and (after Ahrens) *καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους*, thus reducing the entry to a presentation of the