

ridiculum took on masculine and feminine endings as its originally incongruent functions as an attribute of persons became congruent. Inner word-form, in other words, is always the cause of outer and not vice versa. In such a way it may be that *πάσχω* came to be used in a number of ways that would have been incongruent in Homeric Greek, and here, perhaps, lies the key to the adoption of *πάσχω* by the philosophers, for example, for metaphysical purposes, beyond its simple sense of 'suffer' or 'having something done to one'.

ἄμβων/ἄμβη and Latin umbo

By ROBERT C. ROSS, Shorewood (USA)

When Scaliger commented on the word *umbo* that "Graeci vocant quicquid extumidum est et prominet, ut ventrem ampullarum Plutarchus Lycurgo. In montibus quoque ὑψηλούς τόπους ita vocant, itque quidam poeta vetus sic scripserat,—ἐπ' οὐρεος ἀμβώνεσσι sic quoque Latini umbonem in eam significationem usuparunt," he was almost certainly thinking of Varro, *De ling. lat.*, V, 24. 116: *umbonis a graeco, quod ambonis*, but he may well have considered that the connection was no more than a verbal association and that the words were in fact unrelated¹). Readers of Forcellini, *s. v. umbo*, will see that he has accepted Varro; Stephanus, at the end of the article ἄμβη, expresses some doubt, quite rightly, but Amar and Lemaire, "teste Varrone," have no hesitation in seeing the Greek ἄμβων behind Latin *umbo*²).

Were information forthcoming from the etymologists there would be no cause for speculation. But of modern researchers only those who concern themselves in what Puhvel once called "the treacherous everglades of pre-Hellenic linguistics" (*Glotta*, XXXIV, 1955, p. 40) have expressed much confidence in the once alleged connec-

¹) Scaliger in M. Ter. Varronis, *De Lingua Latina libri*, Vol. II, p. 82 (Biponti, 1788). Compare *C. G. L.*, V. 528 (Goetz): *umbonibus summitatibus vel altitudinibus cuiuslibet rei vel medietatibus scutorum unde derivatus est umbilicus*. I owe this reference and others, as well as most helpful comments, to Professor R. Renahan, who of course does not necessarily subscribe to my conclusions.

²) Amar and Lemaire, note at Statius, *Theb.*, I, 377 (Vol. II of their edition, Paris, 1825). Cf. *Glossaria Latina*, III, p. 88.

tion between *umbo* and ἄμβων³), while only Chantraine⁴) shows any positive interest in the ancient etymology for ἄμβων, namely ἀναβαίνω⁵). Independent evidence in support of the ancient etymology is meager; two fragments of Sophocles, 406 and 1093⁶), are all that can be found. Fragment 406 (Pearson) may be cited: ὀπισθαμβώ, glossed by [Plut] *Prov. Alex*, I, 3, ταύτην Χρύσιππος τάττει κατὰ τῶν χειρῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι προβαινόντων παρὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ὀπίσω βαίνειν.⁷) But though it is not possible to contradict the tradition that this

³) For the older Indo-European view see Curtius, *Grundzüge der Griech. Etym.* (Leipzig, 1873), p. 295 and, more refined, R. Meringer in *W. und S.*, V (1913), pp. 43–91. The consensus of scholarly opinion sees ὀμφαλός etymologically related to *umbilicus* (an *l*-stem; for the suffix, see Ernout, *Philologica* II, Paris, 1957, p. 63) and *umbo* (an *n*-stem). According to J. Pokorny, *I. E. W.*, I (Bern/Munich, 1959), pp. 314–315, another (postulated) Indo-European root *enebh produced νεφέλη/nebula (thus Meringer, *op. cit.*, p. 84 is not acceptable—see also Kretschmer, *Glotta*, VII, 1916, p. 355). In all this there is no mention of ἄμβων. See for Greek, Boisacq, *Dict. Etym.*², Paris, 1923, p. 702, and H. Frisk, *Griech. Etym. Wört.*, II, fasc. 15 (Heidelberg, 1965), p. 391; for Latin, Walde-Hofmann, *Lat. Etym. Wört.* II, Heidelberg, 1954, p. 814 and Ernout-Meillet, *Dict. Etym.*⁴, Paris, 1959, p. 745. For the “Pelasgianists”, see below, note 9.

⁴) *Dict. Etym.*, I, Paris, 1968, p. 73.

⁵) E. G. Cramer, *Anec. Graec. Paris.*, IV, p. 110: παρὰ τὸ βῶν βῶν καὶ ἀνάβων, καὶ κατὰ συγκοπήν ἄμβων. As in the case of βαμβαίνω the ancient tradition records two possible etymologies; but unlike ἄμβων, the tradition may record the real etymology when it relates βαμβαίνω to βαίνω (as *E. M.*, 187: 36, Apoll. Soph., 50. 210) or calls it an onomatopoetic word (compare *Iliad*, X, 375 and Bion, frg. 6. 9), Frisk, *op. cit.*, I, p. 217, believes the latter; Schwyzer, *G. G.*, I: 647, the former. ἄμβων is a good deal more opaque—that is the point of the comparison with βαμβαίνω—and neither etymology is possible. „Die Anknüpfung an ἀναβαίνω (Prellwitz) ist ebenso anfechtbar wie der alte Vergleich mit lat. *umbo*“ (Frisk, *op. cit.*, I, p. 90; cf. Boisacq, *op. cit.*, p. 51).

⁶) For Soph., frg. 1093, see Pearson, Vol. III, p. 160. Compare Lykophr. 98 and Tzetes, ad. loc. “Das Stammelement” (of ἄμβιξ, a κῶλιξ described by Semonides, frg. 240³, as φοξίχειλος, εἰς ὃξὺ ἀνηγγμένη) may well be “wahrscheinlich auch in ἄμβη, ἄμβων” (so Frisk, *op. cit.*, p. 89), but the shape of the cup is unknown, not to mention the meaning of the words. See Diehls, ad loc., and now, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliaden*, ed. H. Erbse, Berlin, 1969, at B 219, p. 230 for references. Hesychius, ἀνάβωνες· βαθμοῦ εἶδος (4212 S) is Lobeck’s emendation (*Para. Gram. Graec.*, Leipzig, 1837, p. 543; cf. Phryn., Bekker, *An. Gr.*, I, 12. 4) for ἀναβῶδες (Musurus’ supplement to the MS), and does not confirm anything (see Chantraine, *loc. cit.*).

⁷) *C. P. G.*, I, p. 321 (Leutsch and Schneidewin), with references; v. Arnim, *S. V. F.*, III, p. 202.

peculiar word was connected with *ἀναβαίνω*, as Pearson points out, "it is not clear how it is related, if at all, to *ἄμβων*." In any case, the ancient tradition does not help to establish a scientific etymology; specifically, the origin of the termination *-ων* remains obscure, so that the precise relationship between *ἄμβων* and *ἄμβη*, its Ionic form⁸⁾, is lost in a haze⁹⁾.

The indecisive results of etymological speculation mean that for the moment the question of the relationship, if any, between *ἄμβων/ἄμβη* and *umbo* is a subject of literary history. This article is a brief examination of the history of these words, showing in part that *ἄμβων* and *ἄμβη* cannot be synonyms and that though the meaning "protuberance" is embedded in the Latin lexical tradition¹⁰⁾, the astonishing appearances of *umbo* in Statius can be best explained by comparing the Greek *ἄμβων*.

⁸⁾ Galen, XVIII: 1, 340 K; Demokritos, *F. V. S.*⁵, 68: 29, quoted by Apoll. Kit., I, 7–8, p. 28 (Kollersch-Kudlein, Berlin, 1965) = Schöne, p. 6, 29, cited in the text below. Listed as Ionic by Bechtel, *Die Griechischen Dialekte*, III (Berlin, 1924), p. 275. Cf. further, Lobeck, *Sermonis Graeci Prolegomena*, Leipzig, 1843, p. 35, n. 36.

⁹⁾ The apocope offers no difficulties; Kühner-Blass, I: 1, p. 180—it is rare, mostly appearing in the tragic poets. On the lack of a suitable (Indo-European) explanation for *-ων*, see Schwyzer, *G. G.*, I: 487, 4. The efforts of the "Pelagian" scholars, most of whom have entertained the candidacy of *ἄμβων/ἄμβη*, to connect a doublet "Grundform" *ōmbhon/*ombhā with Greek *ὀμφαλός*/Latin *umbron* with a pre-Greek *ambon/ambā and produce an "Entlehnte form" *ἄμβων/ἄμβη* (this from O. Haas, *Ling. Balk.*, I, 1959, p. 30; *alii, alia*) are not provable. For other attempts see A. J. van Windekens, *Le Pélasgique* (Louvain, 1952), p. 67, a strange *mélange* of fact and fiction, and V. Georgiev, *Vorgriechische Sprachwissenschaft*, I, Sofia, 1941, p. 68 (phonology Idg. *ō* vorgr. *ǎ*, but compare D. Hester, *Lingua*, XVIII, 1967, p. 176). On "Pelagian" scholarship as a whole, see the article by D. Hester *Lingua*, XIII (1965), pp. 335–384, with its *Nachleben: Lingua*, XVI (1966), pp. 263–273 (Georgiev), pp. 274–278 (Hester), *ibid.*, XVIII (1967), pp. 144–167 (W. Merlingen), pp. 168–178 (Hester). I withhold all comment on this continuing controversy. Still, if the root of these words is *-βα(βαίνω)* there is no satisfactory explication of their history in Greek which will account for both terminations. I once considered that *ἄμβων/ἄμβη* were nominalized forms of *-αμβος* (as in *ἴαμβος*, *θρίαμβος*, skt. *aṅgam*, I. E. *anguo* "limb"), but there are real difficulties in isolating a suffix—see W. Brandenstein, *IF*, LIV (1936), pp. 34–38 and J. Puhvel, *Glotta*, XXXIV (1955), pp. 37–42 with references; Boisacq, *op. cit.*, pp. 701–702 and Frisk, *op. cit.*, I, p. 704.

¹⁰⁾ See note 1, above, and compare *Mulomedicina Chironis* (Oder, p. 217. 25): quodcumque iumentum umbone renali super vertebulum coxae eminens

Basically *umbo* appears to mean "boss [of a shield]": *rauco quod protinus aere repulsum / et summo clipei nequiquam umbone pependit* (Verg., *Aen.*, II. 546)¹¹). In Statius, however, there are seven remarkable passages where *umbo* appears which can conceivably be explained as usages by synecdoche or metaphor, but which deserve a closer look (the Oxford text by Garrod is used for *Thebaid* and *Achilleis*; for the *Silvae*, Phillimore):

- Theb.*, II, 671–2: tardatique gradus, clipeum nec
sustinet umbo / †mutatum spoliis†
- Theb.*, VI, 256–8: . . . hispida circum
stant iuga, et obiectus geminis umbonibus agger
campum exire vetat
- Theb.*, VI, 352–3: olim omnis exuta comas, hinc saxeus umbo
arbiter agricolis;
- Theb.*, VII, 15–6: . . . atque omne quod Isthmius umbo
distinget et raucae circumtonat ira Maleae:
- Ach.*, I, 407–8: . . . bimari quos Isthmia vallo
claustra nec undisonae quos circuit umbo Maleae
- Sil.*, III, 1, 110–1: ne te, quod solidus contra riget umbo maligni
montis
- Sil.*, IV, 3, 47–8: tunc umbonibus hinc et hinc coactis
et crebris iter alligare gomphis.

The word was obviously attractive to Statius, and one wonders if there is more behind his unparalleled use of *umbo* than a mere stylistic quirk. Parallels for *Thebaid*, II, 671 do in a way exist. Here the *umbo* is specifically the *cubitum*, a meaning which appears in Martial, III, 46. 5 and Suetonius, *Caesar*, 68, but by extension practically means "arm", a sense which cannot be found elsewhere¹²).

aliquid habuit; Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXVII; 88. *Umbro* meaning *cubitum* is discussed below, n. 12.

¹¹) See, e. g., Forcellini; s. v., *umbo*, The use *pars pro tota* appears e. g. at Vergil, *Aen.*, VII, 632, Claudian, *de laud. Stil.*, I, 127–8. The Greek synonym to which *umbo* may be also cognate, is ὀμφαλός (on which, see the article by Stephanus): the adjective ὀμφαλοεὶς is frequent in the *Iliad*, always with ἄσπις; the single *Odyssey* use (I. 50) is interesting: νήσω ἐν ἀμφιρῦτῃ, ὅθι τ' ὀμφαλός ἐστι θαλάσσης. The material has been gathered by Meringer, *op. cit.* (n. 3); for the etymology, see Frisk.

¹²) "cubitum" holds in spite of Barth, at *Theb.*, II, 671 (citing Isidore, XI, 1. 99 and XVIII, 12. 2) and Alton, *C. Q.*, XVII (1923), pp. 178–9; on this meaning see H. M. Mulder in his edition and commentary of Book II of the *Thebaid* (Groningen, 1954), pp. 338–9. Both R. Lunderstedt, who is looking for such things, *De Synecdochae apud P. Papinum Statium usu*, Weidae, 1913, p. 50 and H. W. Fortyens (in *P. Pap. St. de Oph. Funere*

Of the other examples, all but *Sil.*, IV, 3, 47–8 refer to land projections—in size ranging from a *saxeus umbo arbiter agricolis* (a boundary stone) to the *Isthmius umbo* (Acrocorinth, in this writer's view). I hope to show that Statius may well have had in mind the Greek ἄμβων and that his use reflects the actual meaning of that word. The demonstration will involve an explication of the words ἄμβων and ἄμβη by means of which it should become clear that though these words are the same and of the same origin, there appears very early on a dichotomy in usage which can be substantiated.

Hesychius, 3536 Latte (= 3538S), cites ἄμβωνες as αἱ προσαναβάσεις ὄρων. Αἰσχύλος Κερκῶνι καὶ Σισύφῳ. The Aeschylean reference had been noted by Aristophanes Byzantios, the pupil of Callimachus, as reported in Erotian, *Gloss. Hippocr.*, 53. 8 N: οἱ Ρόδιοι ἄμβωνες καλοῦσι τὰς ὄρυνώδεις τῶν ὄρων ἀναβάσεις· μέμνηται τῆς λέξεως καὶ Αἰσχύλος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν ταῖς Ἄττικαῖς λέξεσι. The reference is to Aeschylus, fragment 150, Mette (Nauck, *T.G.F.*, II, frg. 103). But a more elaborate discussion, and one more detailed than that provided by Erotian, is found in Apollonius Kitiensis' commentary to Hippocrates' *De Articulis*, VII¹³): ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἐμβολῆς τὴν ἰσχυροτάτην ἀνάγκην περιεχούσης ὁ Βακχεῖος τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ μοχλοειδοῦς ξύλου λεγομένην ἄμβην ἐν τοῖς Περὶ τῶν Ἱπποκρατεῖων λέξεων ἐξηγεῖται, ὅτι “ἐν ταῖς λέξεσιν ἀναγράφεται, ὡς Ρόδιοι ἄμβωνας καλοῦσιν τοὺς τῶν ὄρων λόφους καὶ καθόλου τὰς προσαναβάσεις.” καὶ διὰ τούτων φησὶν πάλιν· “ἀναγράφεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ὁ Δημόκριτος εἶη καλῶν τῆς ἴντος τὴν τῷ κοίλῳ περικειμένην ὄφρυν ἄμβην.” ἔχει[ν] δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ οὕτως· “ἀναγράφεται δὲ ὁμοίως· ἄμβων τῆς λοπάδος τὸ περικείμενον χεῖλος. Ἀριστοφάνης· ὁ πολλῶν λοπάδων τοὺς ἄμβωνας περιλείξας.” ταῦτα <τὰ> κομιζόμενα μαρτύρια παντελῶς ἐστὶν ἐνήθη[ς] κηχωρισμένα τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν συμβαινόντων χρείας. ἔδε<ι> δὲ ἱστορηκότα τοῦτο κατακεχωρικέται, ὅτι Κῶοι τοὺς τῶν κλιμάκων ἀναβαθμοὺς ἄμβωνας καλοῦσιν, ὥστ' εἰρησθαι τὴν ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ ὑπεροχὴν τοιαύτην εἶναι . . . The immediate problem is to determine

Carmen Epicum, *Theb. Lib.* VI, 1–295, Zutphania, 1934, p. 128) accept the meaning “cubitum”. Amar and Lemaire, *loc. cit.* (n. 2) and at *Theb.*, II, 672 believe the word specifically means “bracchium vel manus”; this is probably from Lipsius, cited in Barth's note at *Theb.*, II, 671. Readers will note that I have omitted *Ach.* II, 1 41; see, *ad loc.*, O. Dilke, *Statius Achilleid*, Cambridge, 1954 (p. 150), S. Jannaccone, *P. Papino Stazio L'Achilleide*, Florence, 1950.

¹³) IV, 88–94 L. For Apollonius, see n. 8. Cf. Chantraine, *op. cit.*, *s. v.* ἄμβη, for Apollonius' statement beginning ταῦτα <τὰ>.

if the Demokritean ἄμβη — τῆς ἴτιος ἢ τῷ κοίλῳ περικειμένη ὄφρῦς — is in fact the same thing as the Rhodians' ἄμβωνας — τοὺς τῶν ὀρῶν λόφους καὶ καθόλος τὰς προσαναβάσεις. The definition given by Demokritos of ἄμβη is "the overhang of the rim which runs around the hollow area," that is, the inward curving lip or edge, a definition consistent with the medical writers. The ἄμβη (always in the singular) is a specific device for the reduction of fractures, and the origin as well as a more precise definition of the ἄμβη appears in Galen's commentary on this same passage of Hippocrates (XVII: 1. 340 Kühn): τὸν ἕκτον τρόπον τῆς ἐμβολῆς . . . τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ ξύλου γράφων σαφῶς, ὃ κατὰ τὸ πέρασ ἐπικειμένης ὄφρῦος ἄμβωνι παραπλησίας ὄλον αὐτὸ προσαγορεύουσιν ἄμβην οἱ ἰατροί. τοιαύτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἢ ὄφρῦς, οἷη κατὰ τῶν λοπάδων πέρασ τὸ ἄνω γίνεται πρὸς τὴν ἐντὸς ἐστραμμένην κοιλότητα. καὶ τις τῶν κωμικῶν ἐπεῖπεν ἐπισκώπτων τινὰ δὴ τῶν λοπάδων τοὺς ἄμβωνας περιλείχειν¹⁴). Galen is quite specific that the whole tool is called the ἄμβη, κατὰ τὸ πέρασ ἐπικειμένης ὄφρῦος ἄμβωνι παραπλησίας, a phrase which, in this writer's opinion, does *not* mean that it (the ὄφρῦς) "resembles" the ἄμβων, but rather is "near to" the ἄμβων¹⁵). Ἄμβη is a medical term which doctors, very likely in the fifth century, B.C., if it is accepted that the *De Articulis* is either the work of Hippocrates or at least quite early, used to describe as a particularly efficacious contrivance for setting bones: Ἄμβην δὲ ἐχέτω μικρὸν ὑπερέχουσαν ἐπὶ τῷ ὑστάτῳ τοῦ περιφερέος (*De Art.*, VII; IV, 90L). Whatever else, the fragment of Demokritos quoted above provides evidence of the existence of the word in the fifth century, B.C.

Outside medical contexts the only notices of ἄμβη this writer has noted have been in the etymologists and Demokritos. Although Hesychius makes a clear distinction between ἄμβη and ἄμβων¹⁶), the lexical tradition as a whole shows that it has been influenced by the meaning, and indeed the context itself, of fragment 52K

¹⁴) Cf. Galen XVIII: 1, 747 Kühn for a comparison of the Ἰπποκράτους βάρθρον and the μηχανικὴ ἄμβη. Hippocrates *De Art.*, 80 (= IV, 318 L), ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τῆς χώρης, οὗ ἐκβέβηκεν, ὡσπερ ἄμβη ἐστίν should be read with *De Art.*, 7 and 80, ὅταν δὲ δὴ δοκῇ σοι ὑπερβεβηκέναι τὴν ἄμβην (for γραμμῆν, with Kühlewein).

¹⁵) Compare, in Stephanus, Erotian's τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἄμβωνας χεῖλη: Θέρσις [*Ἐπιθέρησις*] δ' ἐν β τῶν Λέξεων ἄμβωνά φησι χεῖλος εἶναι σκεύους καὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος τὸ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἰτύ. Full discussion is given by Dindorf, in Vol. II, pp. 499–500 of his edition of Aristophanes (Oxford, 1835).

¹⁶) Ἄμβη, 3500 L (3502 S): ἢ τῆς ἴτους ὄφρῦς τῶν κυλλῶν ἀσπίδων. Schmidt's note refers to Thersinus, "ubi pro ἄμβωνα lege ἄμβην."

of Eupolis (ascribed by both Apollonius and Erotian to "Aristophanes"):

A. ἐπὶ καινότερας ἰδέας ἀσεβῶν βίον, ᾧ μοχθηρός, ἔτριβες

B. πῶς ᾧ πολλῶν ἤδη λοπάδων τοὺς ἄμβωνας περιλείξας;

to which one may compare at once *E. M.*, 81. 7: ἄμβη, τὸ χειλὸς τῆς λοπάδος, παρὰ τὸ ἐν ἀναβάσει εἶναι, the same definition given for ἄμβων (81. 8–10, with the second line of Eupolis, frg. 52)¹⁷). The λοπάς seems to have been the usual pot for licking out; so Aristophanes, *Equites*, 1033–4 (compare, *Vespaе*, 904):

ἐσφοιτῶν τ' ἐς τοῦπτάνιον λήσει σε κνηδὸν
νόκτωρ τὰς λοπάδας καὶ τὰς νήσους διαλείχων.

where the scholiast to 1034 D notes: ὅτι τοὺς φόρους τῶν νήσων καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀφήραζεν. ὡς οἱ κύνες οἱ εἰς τὰ μαγειρεῖα εἰσιόντες περιλείχουσι τὰς λοπάδας καὶ τὰς χύτρας, οὕτως ὁ Κλέων . . . But there is no telling what the meaning of λοπάδων τοὺς ἄμβωνας is in the fragment of Eupolis, for there is no context¹⁸).

But Ehippos frg. 4K (= 18A–19 Ed.; from Ath., VIII, 347b) takes place in a mammoth λοπάς:

περιπλεῖν δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄμβωσιν ἄνω
πέντε κέλητας πεντασκάλμους . . . (16–17)

Now in both fragments (of Eupolis and Ehippos) the meaning may well be nothing more than "lip" or "rim". If one is inclined to accept this definition, one must perforce explain Aeschylus' meaning, as elucidated by Hesychius, as a case of synecdoche, and

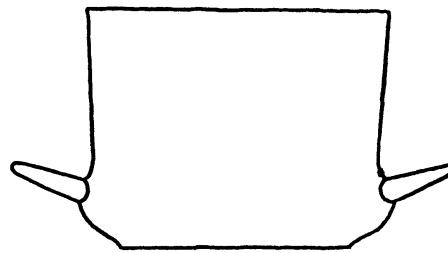
¹⁷) 81. 11–14 expands on this, as is made clear below.

¹⁸) Koek's note reads: "rixari inter se duo homines pravos et abiectos et sua sibi facinora exprobare sententia est Bergkii, cui ita adsentitur Meinkius ut λοπάδων ἄμβωνες dici putat τὰ χεῖλη τῶν αἰδοίων, conl. Arist., *Eq.* 1285. Eustath. 1539, 33: τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον ἄμβων τε λέγεται καὶ χοῖρος καὶ ἐσχάρα . . . (v. 43). hoc si verum est ut videtur, τὸ περιλείχειν τοὺς ἄμβωνας ipsa illa καινὴ ἰδέα est . . ." For χοῖρος, cf. Arist. *Ach.*, 750ff.; ἐσχάρα, *Eq.*, 1285; ἄμβων only here. Edmonds, though he refers to Eustathius, relies on the text of Erotian: 'Ἐπιθέρησης δ' ἐν . . . (see above, n. 15). By translating "ἄμβων is used of the lip or rim of a crock . . ." he gives the interpretation "i.e. plagiarised other poets, like a slave who licks the edges of savoury dishes as he brings them to the table?" This begs the meaning of σκεῦος, and, I might add, gives too much credit to Erotian. For the obscenity, see also J. Taillardat, *Les Images d'Aristophanes*, Paris, 1962, p. 76 (no. 116) and 77 (n. 122). Perhaps Varro's *Satire εὔρεν ἡ λοπάς τὸ πῶμα*, either *περὶ καθηκόντων* (*ap. Non.* 399.31 M) or *περὶ γεγαμηκῶτων* (*ap. Non.* 478.2 M and 526.16 M) may be included in this sense.

I should admit that this is possible. But in fact the truth is probably precisely the opposite.

When Plutarch discoursed on the reforms of Lycurgus, he mentioned his requirement that the Spartan hoplite use the kothon; and he referred to Kritias (Plut., *Lyc.*, 9. 5 Bekker) in a passage which is quoted by Athenaeus, XI, 483 B (D.-K., *F. V. S*⁵, 88. 34): κώθων Λακωνικὸς ἔκπωμα ἐπιτηδειότατον εἰς στρατείαν καὶ εὐφορότατον ἐν γυλιῶ· οὗ δὲ ἔνεκα στρατιωτικόν, <δηλώσω· στρατιώτη> πολλάκις ἀνάγκη ὕδωρ πίνειν οὐ καθαρὸν· πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὸ μὴ λίαν κατάδηλον εἶναι τὸ πόμα· εἶτα ἄμβωνας ὁ κώθων ἔχων ὑπολείπει τὸ οὐ καθαρὸν ἐν αὐτῷ. The usefulness of the kothon was two-fold. First the water held in a kothon could not be clearly seen, and, second, because the kothon had ἄμβωνες, the impure residue was held in the cup. Plutarch himself expands on Critias: τὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαίως πινόμενα τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ δυσωποῦντα τὴν ὄψιν ἀπεκρούπτετο τῇ χροῆ, καὶ τοῦ θολεροῦ προσκόπτοντος ἐντὸς καὶ προσισχομένον τοῖς ἄμβωσι καθαρώτερον ἐπλησίαζε τῷ στόματι τὸ πινόμενον. The distinctive characteristic of the kothon was its ἄμβωνες which, as the present participles show, prevented the mud from being drunk while the cup was in use.

E. Kirsten has already presented the argument for identifying the kothon with the cup called by modern archaeologists the "lakaina"¹⁹). His argument, well presented and amply documented, does not, however, explicate the meaning of the ἄμβωνες²⁰). The "lakaina" has this shape²¹):



¹⁹) "Kothon in Sparta und Karthage", in *Charites: Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft* [Festschrift Langlotz], Bonn, 1957, pp. 110–118.

²⁰) The kothon is one of the κεράμια ποτήρια: Athen., XI, 480 B; Hermonax, *op. Athen.* XI, 480 F (cf. Athen., XI, 477 E). So is the lakaina: *λακαιναὶ κυλικῶν εἶδος οὕτως λεγόμενον ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κεράμιον ὡς τὰ Ἄττικὰ σκεύη, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ἐπιχωριάσαντος ἐκεῖ* (Athen., XI, 484 F): on this passage, which gives moderns the name lakaina, see Rumpf, *Festschrift Langlotz* (n. 19), p. 134 and *αἱ Ἀργεῖαι (κύλικες)*, Athen. XI, 480 d; Pollux, X. 66. Cf. Walters, *op. cit.* below (n. 22), p. 182: *Λάκαινα* "a cup made of Laconian clay". But Pollux also classifies it as one of the *πίθοι ἀμφορεῖς* (VII, 162); if the text at Athen. XI, 483 E (cf. V, 179 F) = Kallixenos, *F. G. H.*, III: C, 1, no. 627,

Influenced, one supposes, by ἄμβη, archaeologists have assumed that the ἄμβωνες of the kothon are in some way connected with the rim or lip of a vase²²). This explains the difficulty that has stood in the way of general acceptance of the lakaina-kothon identification, for there is nothing exceptional about the lip of the "lakaina", nothing really to support the epithets παχύστομος and βραχύωτος (Heniochus, *ap. Athen.*, XI, 483 F). But even a cursory reading of the traditional view that ἄμβων refers to the "lip" or "rim" should cause hesitation; the kothon as described by Plutarch and Kritias requires a functional shape which will keep the impurities away from the mouth. This must mean that either the cup is squat and small with an overhanging (or inner) lip or that the impurities are not allowed to rise very far in the cup as it is in use. A *drinking cup* of the size and general shape of the phiale mesomphalos with an overhanging lip, a shape resembling what Burrows and Ure call a kothon, is not known to me²³):



p. 171 is correct, kothons which were διμέτρητοι did exist. One might compare for this *Odyssey*, II, 340: ἐν δὲ πίθοι οἴνοιο παλαιοῦ ἠδυνότοιο. With this single exception all agree that the kothon is a drinking cup: cf. Scholia in *Pacem Aristophanis*, 1094 D, in *Equites*, 600 D, Photius, *Lexicon*, p. 364 N; Psellos, *Stichoî Pol.*, in Boissonade, *Anec. Graec.*, III, p. 214, line 274. The literary evidence goes against making the kothon anything but a drinking vessel: *περὶ κώθωνα διατρίβειν* (Plut., *Tim.*, XV, 77), *ἀκρατοκώθων* Hyp., V a Ken., *Athen.*, VI, 246 A, *κωθωνίζεσθαι*, *Athen.* XI, 483 F.

²¹) Cf. R. M. Dawkins, *Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia* (London, 1929), pp. 102–103, etc. (see index, p. 195); for a definition of the lakaina, see J. Droop in Dawkins (*op. cit.*), p. 58, n. 12; for a photograph and reconstruction, see Dawkins, p. 76 and plates VII and VIII (with E. A. Lane, "Lakonian Vase-Painting", *B. S. A.*, XXXIV, 1933–4, pp. 99–189, especially pp. 134–5); for a profile, see Lane in *B. S. A.*, p. 109, fig. 5H (transitional).

²²) Cf. H. B. Walter, *History of Ancient Pottery*, London, 1905, I, p. 187, text and note 2 with references; Leonard, *P. W.*, XI: 2, 1517–1520. Compare most recently, S. Oppermann, *Kleine Pauly*, III, 318. D.-K., *F. V. S.*⁶, "breite Ränder" makes no sense to this writer; "Umgang" in the Nachtrag, p. 423. 45 is better.

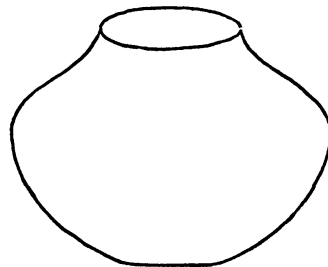
²³) *J. H. S.*, XXXI (1911), pp. 72–99; shape is from p. 73. The shape is especially associated with Corinth.

Such a drinking cup with a sufficiently effective lip (that is, one with a wide enough overhang) would be hard to clean and very difficult to drink out of without spilling. Skeptics should employ their potters' hands in throwing such a "cup"—one with an inner lip too wide and deep to be practicable—and then they should try to use it.

The kothon makes its appearance in Greek literature in fragment 7. 6T (= 12. 5LB, *Pap. Oxy.*, 854, and Athen. XI, 483 D) of Archilochos, a fragment which K. J. Dover has aptly described as "a vigorous exhortation to drunkenness"²⁴). Its proverbial meaning has already been noted (n. 20). Sir J. Beazley published in *A. J. A.*, XXXI (1927), pp. 350–351 an Attic red-figure column crater with a framed picture, Naples inv. 116116 (= *A. R. V.*², 112) with the inscription *σύμμικτ' ἔνεσι πάντα καὶ κωθώνια*. He dates this crater to ca. 430. Aristophanes mentions the kothon in reference to the Athenian cavalry, *Equites*, 600 and in a parody of Homer, *Pax*, 1094. Xenophon says that the Persian nobility used the kothon (*Cyrop.*, I, 2. 8). Finally Oscar Broneer has published the base of a drinking cup found at the Isthmia with its name inscribed, *κώθων*²⁵). It is beyond question that these all refer to the *εἶδος ποτηρίου ποτήριον Λακωνικὸν στρατιωτικὸν* (Photius).

Pollux, VI, 97 makes the statement: *Περσικὸν δ' ἦν τὸ ἔκπωμα, ὡς κώθων Λακωνικόν. τοῦ δὲ κώθωνος αἱ ἐκατέρωθεν πλευραὶ, ὅσπερ καὶ χύτρας, ἄμβωνες*. This connection between the kothon and the chytra is worth some further attention.

That the chytra was not a drinking vessel is as certain as such things can ever be: Pollux, VI. 88 (cf. X, 95, 106), *τὰ δὲ μαγεῖρου σκευή χύτρας*, etc. It came in all sizes and its shape has now been identified (cf. D. A. Amyx, *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 211–2, pl. 48h):



²⁴) In Fondation Hardt, *Entretiens X* (Vandoeuvres-Genève, 1964), "The Poetry of Archilochus", p. 184.

²⁵) *Hesperia*, XXVIII (1959), p. 335 (Pl. 70, i). Cf. *ibid.* XXIV (1955), pp. 133–4 (Pl. 52, a). It is not possible to discern the entire shape of the

Amyx verbally describes the chytra as having "no foot, round potbelly, wide mouth, two handles set vertically opposite each other." The editors of *Corinth XIII* describe the rim of the chytra as "narrow, out-turned," a rim definitely not suitable to function of the ἄμβων in the kothon. And since there are one-handled and two-handled chytrai, the ἄμβωνες are probably not the handles, as for instance E. Saglio wanted²⁶).

If the ἄμβωνες are not the handles, then what does the phrase αἱ ἐκατέρωθεν πλευραὶ mean? A literal translation—considerably worse in English than Greek—would be "the sides on either side," not a very illuminating phrase, but, as readers of Pollux know, a standard effort on his part. The vulnerability of the identification of the lakaina with the kothon must increase with my use of Pollux. Most readers will accept the lakaina-kothon identification at least provisionally; but that the phrase "the sides in either side," that is, all around, actually makes sense, or that its sense can be fathomed, many will find difficult to accept. Pollux refers to the bulge of the cup—the belly, as it were—but in relation to the placing of the two handles. He views it strictly ἐκτός (compare χεῖλος/χείλη); that is, he describes the cup as it would be picked up by somebody actually drinking out of it. True, carefully picked up, the cup could be used with the handles alone; more likely, just as a mug is often held in both hands, the drinker grasped the cup about the bulge itself and used the handles as a grip for his thumb and middle finger. Pollux runs into difficulties when he tries to describe the cup at the moment of its use²⁷).

cup from the photographs; it is worth noting in passing that the latter cup is single-handled and dated to the end of the VIth century B.C. (Attic red-glaze). See now the addendum.

²⁶) One handled chytrai: *Thorikos*, IV (1966–7), pp. 123–4, figs. 150, 151; *Corinth*, XIII (Princeton, 1964), Pl. 35, 250–13 (cf. p. 118); *A.E.*, 1958, p. 79, fig. 136; *Hesperia*, XVIII (1949), p. 335 (n. 97); *ibid.*, VII (1938), p. 597 (n. 161, fig. 21). Saglio's statement, which is in *D.-S.*, 1: 2, p. 1140, has good precedent: see Eunikos, ap. Pollux, X, 100 and Plato's description of an ideal chytra, *Hipp. Maj.*, 288 D: εἴπερ ἡ χύτρα κεκεραμευμένη εἴη ὑπὸ ἀγαθοῦ κεραμέως λεία καὶ στρογγύλη καὶ καλῶς ὀπτημένη, οἶαι τῶν καλῶν χυτρῶν εἰσὶ τινες δῖωτοι, τῶν ἕξ χοᾶς χωρουσῶν, πάγκαλαι, εἰ τοιαύτην ἐρωτώη χύτραν, καλήν ὁμολογητέον εἶναι.

²⁷) For the general shape, see Galen, *De causis morb.* VII, 29 Kühn: ἀλλὰ καὶ θλασθέντα μόρια καθάπερ ῥίς, ἧ καὶ περιθραυσθέντα καθάπερ οἱ ἄμβωνες

Amyx (in *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 166) has made the pertinent observation that "we are likely, in our zeal for accuracy, to demand a much more exact image of the designated object than was really intended by the word. Especially in the use of vase-names, the ancient Greeks often meant something far more general and inclusive than we should like to believe". It is worth recalling these words when taking up the question of the distinctive characteristic of the chytra. Nothing subtle is required. The rim and handle(s) have already been disqualified. This leaves only its bulge, its pot-belly, which, in fact, was distinctive enough to lend itself to a proverb which appears in Lucian, *Ad. ign.*, 23: *Ἡραλκία εἶναι αὐτόν; οὐκ, εἴ γε μὴ χύτρας λημῶντες, i. e. to have bulges or pips in the eyes as large as pumpkins*²⁸). Since the only other feature common to a kothon and a chytra is a wide mouth, the conclusion must be that Pollux uses the word ἄμβωνες to describe the bulge roughly common to the kothon and chytra.

Scaliger saw the meaning "bulge" or "rise" in Callimachus, to whose *Aetia* (Frg. 75, III, lines 33–35 Pf.) he refers in passing:

. . . αὐτὰρ ὁ Κεῖος
γαμβρὸς Ἀρισταίου [Ζη]γὸς ἀφ' ἰερέων
Ἰκμίου οἴσι μέμ[η]λεν ἐπ' οὖρεος ἀμβώνεσσιν
προηδνεῖν χαλ[ε]πήν Μαῖραν ἀνερχομένην,

Pfeiffer in a note to this passage quotes a fragment (an. 70) which Schneider (and apparently Meineke) thought genuine Callimachus, but which he thinks may be a gloss by Methodius: *κυρίως τὸ χεῖλος τῆς λοπάδος . . . λέγονται δὲ καὶ οἱ ὄρεινοι καὶ ὑψηλοὶ τόποι, οἶον "ἐπ' — ἀμβώνεσσιν"*. Whoever wrote this had the comic fragments, Aeschylus and, assuming the reading of Diogenes at *Θ*, 441 (cf. Pfeiffer) to be incorrect, very likely Callimachus in mind. If we take the earliest notice of ἄμβων (Aeschylus), which means, according to Hesychius, about the same as ἐπ' οὖρεος ἀμβώνεσσιν (that is, the heights of the mountains) and the meaning "bulge"

τῶν κοτυλῶν (for *κοτυλαί*, see Hipp. *De Art.*, VII and Galen, XVIII: 1, 744 K). This shape may be what Aretaeus, IV, 13. 6 (Hude, *C. M. G.* II, pp. 86–87) is thinking of, when in reference to the elephant he says: *ἐπήν δὲ πλήρη ὄκως κώθωνα τὴν εἶνα, τῷ στόματι ποταμηδὸν ἐγχείει*, but who can tell?

²⁸) Compare Aristophanes' *Nubes*, 327 and scholiast (with van Leeuwen's note); so also, Hesychius, s. v. *λημῶν*, 862 L (= 867 S), *χύτρας λημῶν* 8455 S; Diogenian, V. 63, in Leutsch and Schneidewin, *C. P. G.*, I, p. 263 (with references), Photius, p. 385 Naber.

or "rise", which is yielded by both the literature concerning the kothon and the archaeological evidence, the history of this word is more likely to follow these lines: originally ἄμβων denoted a bulge or rise in the widest sense (the "Rhodians" and Aeschylus); used by the potter in a transferred sense to describe a particular type of bulge of the kothon (lakaina), chytra, and lopas (and others about which evidence is not forthcoming), the word became associated with the potter's craft; in a manner which cannot be traced, but which perhaps represents the influence of the ἄμβη of the doctors²⁹), the term came to refer not only to a "bulge", but also to the "rim" or "lip" of a lopas (perhaps in similar reference to other pots as well). In any case, in later Greek the word came to be virtually synonymous with ἄμβη; so the *Etym. Magn.* (p. 81. 7): Ἄμβη, τὸ χεῖλος τῆς λοπάδος παρὰ τὸ ἐν ἀναβάσει εἶναι, an exquisite summation of the conflation of ἄμβων and ἄμβη, the application of the false etymology, and the various accretions (τῆς πέτρας, the Suda) recorded in the later lexicographers. Ἄμβων, which was probably not in common use in the time of Callimachus, appears in literature after Callimachus only in the contexts I have discussed above—medical, ceramic and lexicographical³⁰). On the basis of

²⁹) It would help to know the shape of a λοπάς. The Suda (s.v. lopas) equates the word with κόθρα (χύτρα), as does Pollux, VI. 88 (cf. X, 95, 106). I would certainly like to believe that Amyx, *Hesperia*, XXVII (1958), plate 49e, has correctly identified it; at least his suggestion fits my interpretation. If he should prove correct, the transference of ἄμβων from the bulge to the lip would be easy to see, as would the "confusion" recorded in Stephanus: τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἄμβωνας χεῖλη. Modern potters know of and throw what they call an "English lip"; by that they mean a lip which curves inward just above a small bulge; used carefully, a cup thrown with this lip will certainly help to keep large impurities away from the mouth, but it will not be nearly so effective as the kothon (lakaina). Holden, in his note to Plutarch, *Lykourgos* XV, calls the ἄμβων "a double raised bottom", by which he means, I think, the bulge described herein. A similar shape may be indicated by A. G. Tsopanakis in *Αἱ Γλῶτται* (Rhodos, 1949), p. 25 as reported by Risch, *Glotta*, XXXV (1956), p. 56 ("Felskanzel": vorspringender Felsen?), especially if Tsopanakis refers to Hesychius, 3535 L, ἀμβώνιον χωρίον τῆς Ζελείας. Finally, for the same bulge and, *mutatis mutandis*, support of a peculiar sort, see P. Ure, "Kothons and Kufas", *A. E.*, 1937, pp. 258–252, picture on p. 262.

³⁰) And Demokritos, whose description is a non-medical version of the ἄμβη of *De Art.*, VII, which reads ἔστω (i.e. ξύλος πλάτος etc.) δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα τὸ ἄκρον περιφερές καὶ στενότερον ταύτῃ καὶ λεπτότατον· ἄμβην δὲ ἐχέτω σμικρὰν ὑπερέχουσαν ἐπὶ τῷ ὑστάτῳ τοῦ περιφερέος . . . the latter part of which is

my argument, Callimachus must have used a *recherché* word to which he assigned a meaning in keeping with that suggested by his study of Aeschylus. In turn, his pupil Aristophanes provides the earliest definition of the word.

Though the meaning protuberance seems well-attested in the Latin lexical tradition (note 1), *umbo* nevertheless had a specific meaning, and it did not correspond to that of ἄμβων/ἄμβη, not even metaphorically. Scaliger, then, is not quite accurate; the same may be said, in fact, for other lexicographers. *Umbo* is used *pars pro toto* for *clipeus* (note 11) and *cubitum* (note 12), but only Statius describes, for instance, a bulge of land as an *umbo*.

This imaginative use may be a remarkable product of Statius' creative genius, but as a point of style it is too noteworthy to warrant description as an example of simple synecdoche. A more instructive and relevant example of Statian style is *Theb.*, IX, 501: "passa virum subitae vallavit ponte ruinae." Garrod notes "quippe male intellexit Statius Hom. *Il.* XXI, 245 γεφύρωσεν δέ μιν αὐτόν." To the contrary, Statius has understood quite well; he interpreted γεφύρω in the Homeric sense of γέφυρα, a "dam" (cf. *Il.*, V. 88), and simply translated it into Latin *pons*. The result is arresting, but hardly inexplicable or even displeasing. As with γέφυρα/*pons* so Statius took over ἄμβων and, *teste Varrone* perhaps, connected it with *umbo*. In that event he used *umbo* in the classical sense of ἄμβων. Thus in *Silvae*, III. 1, 110–111 *umbo maligni montis* may well have its literary ancestor in ἐπ' οὐρεος ἀμβώνεσσι, but this need not be overly pressed³¹). It seems to me quite likely, however, that Statius consciously returned to a moribund meaning of *umbo*; it may not be necessary to go back to the Greek to explain this antiquarian sense of the word, but in view of the influence of Varro (which would assure that we need not assume any especially esoteric learning on the part of Statius) and stylistic curiosities such as those mentioned above, it is not unreasonable to suppose that a Greek prototype, as it were, of this meaning of *umbo* existed. It

translated by Jones "and at the extremity of the rounded end let it have a slightly projecting rim (*ambé*) . . ."

³¹) The word does not appear in the many examples cited by A. Leroy-Molinghen (in *Byzantion*, XXXV, 1965, pp. 208–220) from post-classical Greek literature where a κώθων or κωθώνιον appear. This indicates, as Miss Leroy-Molinghen would probably agree (see p. 211), that the object is no more than a goblet with no distinctive shape. The later Greek meaning of ἄμβων, "pulpit", is beyond the scope of this paper.

is probably an accident—for Statius can tell us nothing about the etymology or original meaning of ἄμβων—that the seven passages cited above correspond so well to the meaning of ἄμβων³²).

Addendum, May 1971:

Professor Amyx has informed me by letter that the vase published by O. Broneer inscribed κώθων (n. 25 above), inventory no. IP 2047, has been put together and proves to be “a standard ‘oinochoe shape VIII’ or ‘Phidian Mug.’” Amyx observes that “it does have a sharp contraction at the top of the body—at least as conspicuous, in its way, as the corresponding feature of a lakaina.” A good many of these vases were found at Isthmia, both black glaze and red-figure, and are of the fifth century B.C.; most are Attic. I observe that this discovery does not in itself disprove the identification of the Spartan lakaina with the Spartan kothon, as any student of the history of the shapes and names of Greek vases will know. The last word on this, as he observes in his letter, has not been heard as yet.

In addition Professor Amyx has drawn my attention to a exchange between Paolino Mingazzini (“Qual’era la Forma del vaso chiamato dai Greci Kothon?”, *A. A.*, 1967, pp. 344–361) and Ingeborg Scheibler (“Kothon-Exaleiptron: Addenda,” *A. A.*, 1968, pp. 389–397). Mingazzini argues that the “pilgrim flask” shape is that of the kothon; this he bases on the *a priori* argument that the kothon, being military issue for carrying water, must be of this particular shape (p. 345; I do not believe this does an injustice to his position). This identification cannot consist with my view of the ἄμβωνες, which he interprets (in reference to Pollux) as “i fianchi . . . (per ‘fianchi’ intendo non il cerchio sottile, ma le pareti a disco),” which he explains in these words: “è chiaro che impurità scivolavano giù sino al fondo, dove restavano senza giungere alla bocca, nemmeno quando la bottaccia era rovesciata, e non vi tornavano sino

³²) Lunderstedt, *op. cit.*, note 12, p. 50, note 1, cites Lactantius at *Thebaid*, VII. 15: “umbonem montis dixit, quia eius pars erectior imminet mari”, which is, once again, a projecting bulge of rock, Felskanzel (see note 28).—Part of this paper was orally presented at the National Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in San Francisco on December 29, 1969. I wish to thank Professors J. K. Anderson for his comments and help on the vases and R. A. Swanson for comments on the whole of the paper. I would like to dedicate this paper to the memory of a friend and a scholar, Professor H. R. W. Smith.

a quando non venisse sciacquata." (p. 347). Since he can make no sense of the passage in Pollux (p. 360) in reference to his own view of the shape of the kothon, his interpretation is dependent entirely on inference. He appends a useful synopsis of the ancient testimony. Miss Scheibler has no trouble contesting Mingazzini's "pilgrim flask" kothon (see pp. 391–392), but I find her discussion of the "Exaleipton" just as unsatisfying. Until the ἀμβωνες are better accounted for—indeed Miss Scheibler has nothing to offer there, I can see no possibility on a philological basis for accepting any existing drinking cup other than the lakaina as the Spartan kothon.

Petronius C. 50 and a gloss in Hesychius

By G. G. BETTS, Clayton (Australia)

One of Trimalchio's more gauche outbursts in the Cena occurs when he discourses on his Corinthian brass-ware. After an insipid joke on the subject he goes on:

et ne me putetis nesapium esse, ualde bene scio, unde primum Corinthea nata sint. cum Ilium captum est, Hannibal, homo uafet et magnus stelio, omnes statuas aeneas et aureas et argenteas in unum rogom congressit et eas incendit; factae sunt in unum aera miscellanea. ita ex hac massa fabri sustulerunt et fecerunt catilla et paropsides <et> statuncula. sic Corinthea nata sunt, ex omnibus in unum, nec hoc nec illud (Müller's text).

The odd thing about this passage is not that it is absurd—we would expect this from Trimalchio—but that it seems to have no point whatsoever. Confusion of history, mythology, and anything else causes no surprise, but why should Trimalchio say that he really knows the origin of the term *Corinthea* and then proceed to give an account which appears to explain nothing? If his words are to have any meaning he must have connected the word *Corinthea* with some feature of his ridiculous story about Hannibal and the capture of Troy; this connection seems to be hinted at in the words *sic Corinthea nata sunt, ex omnibus in unum, nec hoc nec illud*, but, as far as I know, no explanation has been attempted by modern commentators.

It is curious that Hesychius has a gloss which would explain the passage. This is κόρνινθος· μάζης ψωμός i.e. a piece of μάζα. We have no means of telling whether Hesychius (or rather his authority)