

wohl nicht mehr für sich „mit ganz abweichender Bedeutung“. Frisk gibt ja selbst zu, daß die (schon früher) angenommene Bedeutung von ὄρκος 'Einschränkung, Band, Verpflichtung' „tatsächlich in ὄρκοι· δεσμοὶ σφραγιδὸς H. vorhanden (ist)“. Ich habe a. a. O. auf diese und andere verwandte Glossen ausdrücklich hingewiesen und trage noch nach, daß ἔρκος auch 'Netz' oder 'Schlinge' zum Vogelfang bei Homer χ 469 bedeutet.

Ich sehe nunmehr kein Wagnis darin, πολιορκέω (seit Herodot) über *πολιορκος 'Stadtumfassung, -einschließung u.ä. > Belagerung' hier anzuschließen. Wenn *πολιορκος als unmittelbare Grundlage nicht belegt ist, so bleibt zu erwägen, ob es unbedingt vorhanden gewesen sein muß; tatsächlich belegt ist nur πολιορκία, -ίη (seit Herodot, Andokides, Thukydides usw.). Nun kann πολιορκέω rein analogisch gebildet sein nach Mustern wie εὐορκέω (seit Gorgias): εὐορκία (seit Pindar), ἐπιορκέω (seit Homer): ἐπίορκος (seit Homer): ἐπιορκία (seit Xenophon, Demosthenes, Platon), ψευδορκέω (Aristoteles): ψευδόρκιος (Herodot), -ος (Euripides): -ία (Philo). Dabei ist keine Sicherheit zu gewinnen, ob im Bewußtsein der Sprecher noch ein semantischer Zusammenhang von ὄρκος 'Eid als ursprüngliche Einschließung' mitbestimmend war, oder ob allein bloße Klangassoziation πολιορκέω ohne *πολιορκος neben πολιορκία nach den genannten Mustern bilden half. Das letztere dürfte wahrscheinlicher sein.

Terms for "Brown" in Ancient Greek

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Did ancient Greek possess a term for the color brown? If so, what was it?

If we examine dictionaries in common use, several nominees emerge, including: *φαιός*, *ὄρφνινος*, and the pair *μέλας/ξανθός* (for dark brown and light brown shades respectively).¹⁾

The first two of these, at least, are unacceptable.

¹⁾ C. D. Yonge, *An English-Greek Lexicon*, ed. H. Drisler (New York 1870); G. M. Edwards, *An English-Greek Lexicon* (Cambridge 1912); S. C. Woodhouse, *English-Greek Dictionary*² (London 1932).

It is certain that *φαιός* is *gray* rather than brown. Plato *Timaeus* 68c: *φαιὸν δὲ [γίγνεται] λευκοῦ τε καὶ μέλανος*. There are several other equally plain definitions of this term.²⁾

The evidence is also fairly strong that *ὄρφνιος*³⁾ is more likely to be gray than brown. Pseudo-Aristotle *De Coloribus* 794b5: *τὸ καλούμενον ὄρφνιον εὐανθέστερον γίνεται τῶν μελάνων ἢ τῶν λευκῶν*. This establishes the two constituent elements, black and white; the use of the comparative refers to differences in brilliance observable among grays.

Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 8.3.3 distinguishes *ὄρφνίων ἱματίων* from robes of several other colors, including *καρκίνων*, “gravy-colored”, evidently brown.⁴⁾

The passage of Plato (*Timaeus* 68c) on which is based the interpretation of this term as “brown” reads as follows: *ὄρφνιον δὲ [γίγνεται], ὅταν τούτοις [sc. τῷ ἐρυθρῷ τε καὶ τῷ λευκῷ καὶ τῷ μέλανι] μειγμένοις καθέϊσιν τε μᾶλλον συγκρατῆ μέλαν*. But the reference to the increasing admixture of *black* to a combination of colors makes it likely that the passage refers simply to a shift in brilliance. Such a shift would bring us closer to a gray than to a brown.

Moreover, the related terms *ὄρφνη* and *ὄρφναῖος* are used simply to mean “darkness” and “dark,” without hint of any connection to brown.

The suggestion that classical Greek had no special term for brown, but rather divided up the range of browns, describing some as *μέλας* and some as *ξανθός*,⁵⁾ commands serious attention. We should not presuppose that every language must have a special term for brown.

Certain pieces of evidence present support for this hypothesis, especially in comedy. Aristophanes *Acharnians* 1047, of frying a

²⁾ Plato *Republic* 585a; Aristotle *Categories* 12a11, *Physics* 224b34, 229b17; Pseudo-Aristotle *De Coloribus* 792a7. These and other passages are collected by Charles Mugler, *Dictionnaire Historique de la Terminologie Optique des Grecs* (Paris 1964 = *Études et Commentaires* 53) 414–15. Mugler glosses *φαιός* as: “Fuscus, gris, grau, grey.”

³⁾ The MSS often read *ὄρφνιος*, either an alternate spelling or else a common error.

⁴⁾ LSJ takes the term *καρκίνων* as meaning “dark-red” here; but it is more likely that the range of reds has already been satisfied by the use of both *πορφυρίδων* and *φοινικίδων* earlier in the list.

⁵⁾ Woodhouse (above, n. 1) gives *ξουθός* as a variant for *ξανθός* in this sense; but the meaning of *ξουθός* is elusive, and, of the three citations for this sense of the term in LSJ (Empedocles fr. 128.7; Oppian *Cynegetica* 3.297; and, where “red” is possible, Oppian *Haliëutica* 2.452), all have some form of *ξανθός* as v. l.

fish: *ὀπτᾶτε καὶ καλῶς ξανθίζετε*; *ibid.* 1106, the flesh of a roast pigeon is *ξανθόν*. Antiphanes fr. 217.22, *ξανθαῖσιν αὔραις ἀγάλλεται*: a fried fish exults in its *ξανθός* aroma, plainly an instance of synesthesia.⁶⁾

Most of the evidence, however, is of an ambiguous nature. Thus *ξανθός* is commonly applied to human hair:⁷⁾ this could signify either blond or brown. It is applied to horses: are they palomino or sorrel? Again, it refers to rivers: but is the picture that of the river as a "strong brown god," or that of a "yellow river" (as in China)?

Similarly, *μέλας* occurs frequently in such expressions as *γαῖα μέλαινα*, where "brown earth" is certainly a possible meaning (though not necessarily preferable to "black earth"), and *νῆα μέλαιναν* and related phrases, where "black ship" is traditional but "brown ship" cannot be excluded.⁸⁾

Consequently, the suggestion that dark browns are expressed by *μέλας*, light browns by *ξανθός*, should be regarded as possible, but not firmly proven by the evidence.

Recently P. G. Maxwell-Stuart⁹⁾ has argued that the term *χαροπός*, sometimes taken as "blue" and sometimes as not a color term at all,¹⁰⁾ should be correctly understood as "amber" or "light brown." This is possible. But since, as Maxwell-Stuart emphasizes, its range is very narrow (for example, it is *never* applied to human hair),¹¹⁾ this analysis, even if completely correct, does not shut the door on the search for a broader term for brown.

Can a new suggestion shed any light on this question?

I suggest that a fresh examination of the term *αἶθων* gives reason to believe that it was in regular use as equivalent to "brown" in ancient Greek. Its relatives, such as *αἶθουρ*, frequently bore this meaning as well. Although such a meaning has long been acknowledged, the standard works consistently give priority to its supposed

⁶⁾ Cf. also Nausicrates fr. 2.7.

⁷⁾ Instances of *ξανθός* in poetry are collected and categorized by A. E. Kober, "The Use of Color Terms in the Greek Poets" (diss. Columbia [New York] 1932) 55–58.

⁸⁾ For instances of *μέλας*, cf. Kober 25–36.

⁹⁾ *Studies in Greek Colour Terminology II: ΧΑΡΟΠΙΟΣ* (= *Mnemosyne* Supp. 67, 1981).

¹⁰⁾ LSJ: "The word did not at first denote any definite colour . . . later, however, it denoted *light-blue* or *grayish colour* . . ." Kober 78: "The adjective *χαροπός* . . . is not a color term."

¹¹⁾ Maxwell-Stuart 61.

primary meaning of "shining," resorting to color only when brightness (literal or metaphorical) seems excluded by context.¹²⁾

Let us now examine the evidence upon which the traditional view is based.¹³⁾

In general, the range of applications of this term may be divided into six categories: 1. metal objects; 2. animals; 3. human beings; 4. smoke; 5. sources of light; 6. metaphorical use.

1. *Metal objects*. In Homer the term is applied to cauldrons (*Iliad* I 123, I 265, T 244) and to tripods (Ω 233). These are made of bronze, and, if *αἶθων* is primarily a color term, it is the color of bronze: brown. In Bacchylides we find *αἶθων χαλκός* (13.50–51); but in Homer the formulaic system insists upon *αἶθοσι χαλκῶ* (ten times in *Iliad*, once in *Odyssey*; also at Hesiod *Shield* 134).

Of course brazen objects can also shine; and the connection of the epithet with the noun *σίδηρος* will receive consideration in a special section below.

2. *Animals*. In Homer the term is applied to horses (*Iliad* B 838–39 = M 96–97; it is the name of one of Hector's horses, Θ 185, and cf. *Αἶθνη*, a mare of Agamemnon's, Ψ 295, 409, 525), to lions (K 23–24, 177–78 [where 24 = 178], Λ 548, Σ 161), to cattle (*βόες*, *Odyssey* σ 371–72; *ταῦρον*, *Iliad* II 487–88), and to the eagle (O 690). Tyrtaeus

¹²⁾ H. G. Lidell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*⁹ (Oxford 1961) s.v.: "[I] fiery, burning . . . II. of burnished metal, flashing, glittering . . . III. of animals or birds . . . probably of colour, red-brown, tawny, since sleek, shining or fiery, fierce do not suit all cases . . . IV. metaph. of men, hot, fiery . . ." Thus or similarly E. Boisacq, P. Chantraine, R. J. Cunliffe, F. Passow⁵, G. Autenrieth, C. Mugler (above, n. 2; s.v. *αἶθοψ*), and most recently H. J. Mette in B. Snell et al., *Lexicon des Frühgriechischen Epos* (Göttingen 1955–) I 299–301 s.v. *αἶθοπ-*, *αἶθων*. Kober goes farther, *op.cit.* (above, n. 7) 106: "It is highly probable that *αἶθων* contains no color idea at all."

¹³⁾ The evidence is assembled by H. Dürbeck, *Zur Charakteristik der griechischen Farbenbezeichnungen* (Bonn 1977) 177–86, 314–17. Of value also are Kober (above, n. 7) 105–07 and E. Handschur, "Die Farb- und Glanzwörter bei Homer und Hesiod, in den homerischen Hymnen und in den Fragmenten des epischen Kyklos" (diss. Vienna 1968) 135–40. Of particular note are K. J. McKay, "Studies in *Aithon* I," *Mnemosyne* 4th ser. 12 (1959) 198–203, and *idem*, "Studies in *Aithon* II: Theognis 1209–1216," *ibid.* 14 (1961) 16–22; McKay's part 3, *ibid.* 323–24, does not bear directly on the present question. My efforts to secure a copy of G. Reiter, "Die griechischen Bezeichnungen der Farben Weiß, Grau, und Braun" (diss. Innsbruck 1962) have been unavailing. It is regrettable that *αἶθων* falls outside the scope of E. Irwin's valuable study, *Colour Terms in Greek Poetry* (Toronto 1974).

applies it to the lion (fr. 13 West = 10 Diehl³), Pindar to the fox (*Olympian* 11.19), and Bacchylides to the boar's hide (5.124; cf. *αἰθᾶν* applied to the spider, fr. 4.31–32). Lycophron subsequently applies it to the hawk (*Alexandra* 530–31), to the dog (925), to wolves (246, 1248), and again to the lion (1439–41). And Oppian repeats the application to the lion (*Cynegetica* 3.54) and to bulls (2.100–02).

It is in this list of animals that the traditional view of *αἰθων* encounters its greatest difficulties. What do all these creatures have in common—horse, lion, ox (and bull), eagle, fox, boar, hawk, dog, wolf (and even the spider)? It is in vain to attempt to construe all of them as “shining” or even as “fiery-spirited.” Plough-oxen are not fiery-spirited, neither do they shine. There is, I submit, only one thing which all members of this list have in common: all of them are, or can be, brown in color.

One unusual application of this term to animals (by Plato) will be considered immediately after the next section.

3. *Human beings.* This is a common use of the term. “My name is Aithon,” says Odysseus (*Odyssey* τ 183). One may easily cite instances of its use as an adjective applied to men, such as *αἰθων ἀνῆρ* (Euripides *Rhesus* 122), *ἀνδρὸς αἰθωνος*¹⁴ (Sophocles *Ajax* 222), *αἰθων ὑβριστής* (*ibid.* 1088), *αἰθων ἐπακτῆρ* (Lycophron *Alexandra* 109; cf. 432, 1439–41).

Until recently it could be inferred that such references eliminated all possibility that *αἰθων* could be solely, or even primarily, a color term, because: (a) all the persons to whom the epithet is applied are Europeans, and therefore they are white, not brown; (b) all of them are of a vigorous and manly nature—hence the analogy to fire.¹⁵)

But E. Irwin has shown, both from literature and from parallels in ancient art, that: “The Greeks thought that a dark complexion

¹⁴) v.l. *αἰθοπος*.

¹⁵) In objection to the generalization about manliness one could cite Eupolis fr. 364, *κεραμέως αἰθωνος* (presumably in reference to Hyperbolus: cf. J. M. Edmonds *F. A. C.*, *ad loc.*), and Hermippus fr. 46.8, *δηχθεῖς αἰθωνι Κλέωνι* (apud Plutarch *Pericles* 33.7). But the former of these is surely sarcastic, and the latter admits of two explanations: it could refer to Cleon's fierce and violent disposition (cf. Thucydides 3.36.6, *βιαιότατος*), or, as McKay suggests (above, n. 13 [1961], 20), there could be a pun on *Κλέων/λέων* in view of the term's frequent association with the lion (note *δηχθεῖς*, “bitten”). But the norm is that expressed by Aeschylus *Seven* 448, *αἰθων . . . λῆμα Πολυφόντου*, where the application is virtually to Polyphontes himself.

signified manliness, including virility and such manly virtues as courage and the ability to fight well. A fair complexion, on the other hand, signified effeminacy in men.”¹⁶) Greek heroes are called not merely brown but frequently black (*μέλας*), in praise of their manliness. White and black are relative terms (especially in skin color). Aristocratic women were supposed to remain indoors and hence become “white-armed” (*λευκώλενοι*); men, on the other hand, were expected to be outdoors fighting, adventuring, and turning brown in the Mediterranean sun. To call a man “white” was a slur upon his manliness. And, since manliness implies strength and vigor, it is easy to see that the application of this term *αἶθων* to men implies bravery and force *directly from the color itself*. There is, then, no need to posit a separate meaning such as “fiery-spirited”.

Accordingly, we are now in a position to understand Plato’s use of the term in reference to wild animals: *αἶθωσι θηροσί* (*Republic* 559d), usually translated “fierce animals,” since there is no hint of a color reference here. Given the use of this term to refer to vigor and spiritedness in human beings, and especially because *these* animals are mentioned precisely in order to compare them to a certain type of *human* companions, it is very easy to take Plato’s language as a natural analogous extension of the term’s application to people.

4. *Smoke*. Smoke is sometimes *αἶθων* (as at Pindar *Pythian* 1. 22–23), sometimes *αἶθωψ* (as at *Odyssey* κ 152).¹⁷ I suggest that translators have sometimes encountered needless difficulties here: smoke itself does not shine, but it can be brown.

5. *Sources of light*. At the head of the list stand two expressions of Pindar, *αἶθων δὲ κερανός* (*Pythian* 3. 58) and *αἶθωνα κερανόον* (*Olympian* 10. 83). These are often cited by the authorities (see note 12) as evidence that the term’s primary meaning is “shining” or “blazing.” But the situation is not so simple.

Pindar himself writes *Αἷα τε φοινικοστεροπάν*, “Zeus of the red lightning” (*Olympian* 9. 6). Moreover, he also writes *πολόεντα κερανόον*, the “smoky thunderbolt” (*Nemean* 10. 71).¹⁸ Consequently,

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* (above, n. 13) 129–35; cf. 112–16. Quotation is from 129.

¹⁷ The definition of *αἶθωψ* in Passow as “dunkelfarbig” when applied to smoke is defended by O. Hoffman, “*Ἀλέξανδρος*,” *Glotta* 28 (1940) 21–77 at 66.

¹⁸ Pindar is here following epic usage: cf. *Odyssey* ψ 330, ω 539, *Hymn to Aphrodite* 288, *Batrachomyomachia* 285 v.l., Hesiod *Theogony* 515 (cf. 72 v.l.), *Shield* 422, fr. 51.2 Merkelbach-West.

when Pindar applies an adjective such as *αἶθων* (of whose true meaning we should regard ourselves for the moment as ignorant) to the lightning, we must, on the strength of these parallels, allow the possibility that it may mean "smoky" (see 4, above) or may be a true color term (even one surprising to us, as is "red" applied to lightning¹⁹).

On the other hand, stronger evidence for the "brightness" hypothesis is provided by Pindar at *Nemean* 7.73, *αἶθωνι . . . ἄλλω*. There is no objection to "blazing sun" here, though I venture to say that the metaphor "brazen sun" (brass-colored sun) should not be considered out of the question.²⁰

6. *Metaphorical use*. The principal metaphorical application of the term is in regard to *hunger*: *αἶθωνα λιμόν*, Hesiod *Works and Days* 363;²¹ *λιμόν αἶθωνα*, Callimachus *Hymn* 6.66–67; *λιμόν τ' αἶθωνα*, Cimon's Eion inscription (*apud* Plutarch *Cimon* 7.4 and Aeschines *Against Ctesiphon* 184). The epithet here is commonly taken as "burning hunger" (cf. Germ. "Heißhunger"). But must the source of the metaphor be fire? In view of the adjective's application to strong and vigorous men (see 3, above), it would be quite possible to transfer the epithet from "strong warrior" to "strong hunger" without ever thinking of fire.

Moreover the Callimachean phrase refers to the hunger sent upon the Thessalian Erysichthon by Demeter. Now Hesiod evidently had said that Erysichthon was also named Aithon.²²) Either this name (not remarkable in itself, cf. Odysseus' assumed name in 3, above)

¹⁹) It may refer to the after-image produced by the flash. Several authors refer to the thunderbolt using "fire" epithets, which may imply light or heat or the color red or some combination of these: Pindar *Olympian* 10.80 (*πυρ-πάλαμον βέλος*), Aeschylus *Prometheus* 667–68 (*πυρρωπόν κεραυνόν*), Cleanthes 1.10 (*πυρόεντ' . . . κεραυνόν*), Aristophanes *Birds* 1746–47 (*πυρώδεις Διὸς ἀστεροπάς*), Bacchylides 17.56 (*πυριέθειραν ἀστραπάν*), Nonnus 1.500, 25.96 (*πυρόεντι βελέμνω; πυρόεντι κεραυνῶ*). Cf. Ovid *Heroides* 3.64, *rutilo . . . fulminis igne*, and Horace *Odes* 1.2.2–3, *rubente dextera* (of Jupiter Tonitrus).

²⁰) Elsewhere Pindar refers to the color of sunlight in a "metallic" metaphor, *σθένος ἀελίου χρύσεον* (*Pythian* 4.144). One thinks of Stephen Crane: "The red sun was pasted to the sky like a wafer" (*The Red Badge of Courage* [1893], chapter nine).

²¹) The MSS read *αἶθοπα λιμόν*, which is retained by Solmsen. Bergk proposed *αἶθωνα*, which McKay supports persuasively (above, n. 13 [1959]).

²²) Fr. 43b Merkelbach-West (Tzetzes); cf. fr. 42a. 37 and the proposed restorations at 42a. 5–6. This is discussed at length by K. J. McKay in *Erysichthon: A Callimachean Comedy* (= *Mnemosyne* Supp. 7, 1962), 8–33.

made it all the easier to transfer the epithet to his hunger; or, conceivably (according to the testimony of one scholiast)²³, it was his personal name which was made an epithet of remarkable hunger (“Aithonian hunger”) because of this very story.

In this generalized sense of “strong” the epithet is applied to a strong wind by Lycophron, *Alexandra* 27.

There remains (postponed from 1, above) a consideration of the association of *αἶθων* with metal in such expressions as *αἶθωνι σιδήρῳ* and *αἶθωνα σίδηρον*.²⁴ *Σίδηρος* is iron or steel; its color range is established by its other Homeric epithets, *πολιός* (gray) and *ἰόεις* (dark, possibly dark blue).²⁵ If *αἶθων* is a color epithet, it is virtually impossible to find a common denominator between bronze and steel. Handschur has attempted to do so by supposing that the epithet refers to the brownish color of rusted iron.²⁶ This solution had been considered previously by H. L. Lorimer,²⁷ who noted some of its incongruities. It would require us, for example, to believe that at *Iliad* Y 371–72 Hector tells the Trojans that he will go to meet Achilles, even though his (Achilles’) eyes be like fire and his spirit like rusty iron!

But a better solution can be proposed after consideration of Lorimer’s observations that “Homer is in fact inconsistent in the matter of axes, representing them now as of iron, now as of bronze” and “[t]hrice in narrative parts of the *Iliad* the poet uses *σίδηρος* as he elsewhere uses *χαλκός*, i.e. to denote the metal in ordinary use . . .”²⁸ I suggest that this inconsistent shifting between iron and bronze has produced a formula (in two case-variants, accusative and dative) in which a natural epithet of bronze has come to be applied to steel.

If this suggestion is sound, then the data reveal only one strong piece of evidence for “shining” or “blazing” as the preferred meaning of *αἶθων* (*Nemean* 7. 73; see 5, above); and even there a reason-

²³) The scholiast of the Laurentian codex of Aeschines, at *Orat.* 3.183 in Schultz’ Teubner edition of 1865; cited by McKay (above, n. 13 [1959], 203).

²⁴) There are ten such references: *Iliad* Δ 485, *H* 473, *Y* 372, *Odyssey* α 184, *Hymn to Hermes* 180, Hesiod *Works and Days* 743, Sophocles *Ajax* 147, Aristophanes *Peace* 1328, Sibylline Oracles 13.146, Nonnus 17.180.

²⁵) For *πολιός*, *Iliad* I 366 = Ψ 261, *Odyssey* φ 3 = φ 81 = ω 168. For *ἰόεις*, *Iliad* Ψ 850.

²⁶) *Op.cit.* (above, n. 13) 139.

²⁷) *Homer and the Monuments* (London 1950) 119.

²⁸) *Ibid.* For the former, she cites *Iliad* Δ 485, *N* 180, Ψ 118, and *Odyssey* ε 234–35; for the latter, *Iliad* Δ 123, Σ 34, Ψ 30–31.

able alternative is conceivable. In all other instances, the meaning of "brown" or "bronze-colored" has been found to be equally good or preferable. Of course, some objects can be both "bronze-colored" and "shining" simultaneously (see especially 1, above); but this does not justify the conclusion that "shining" is the primary meaning of the term. If it did, we should be obliged to list "shining" as the primary meaning of most Greek color terms, for nearly all include in their range of applications a number of shiny objects.

Even if this suggestion in regard to *σίδηρος* is thought too bold, the conclusion will remain that our lexica ought not to list "shining" as the *first* meaning of *αἶθων* solely on the strength of *one* phrase of Pindar and *one* epic formula (even if the latter evoked later imitations).

This argument is not intended to deny the obvious etymological connection between *αἶθων* and the verb *αἶθω* ("burn"). But etymology is not meaning; only actual use establishes meaning. *Αἶθων* is clearly not a simple participle of the verb.²⁹) Occam's Razor applies to lexicography as much as to philosophy: we do not posit two meanings for a term if one will satisfactorily account for all the data. Moreover, a similar etymological relationship exists in a number of other languages between the word for "burn" and the word for "burnt-colored," e.g. Eng. burn/brown, Germ. brennen/braun.

It should be conceded that *αἶθωψ*, on the other hand, does not always exhibit consistent use as a color term. Thus at *Odyssey* μ 19 we have *αἶθοπα οἶνον ἐρυθρόν* (however, cf. *Iliad* I 365, *χαλκὸν ἐρυθρόν!*). And, though most instances of its use admit of satisfactory interpretation along lines similar to those advanced above, it would be unwise to force a color meaning upon such phrases as Euripides *Suppliants* 1019, *αἶθοπι φλογμῶ* (the fiery blaze of Capaneus' funeral pyre), or Aratus *Phaenomena* 697, *αἶθοπος Ὕδρης* (the shining constellation Hydra). Nevertheless, there are no grounds for insisting that *αἶθων* and *αἶθωψ* must have been necessarily synonymous in every instance of their use.

Consequently, this examination of the data suggests a new format for this entry in our lexica, along the following lines: *αἶθων*. I. red-brown, color of bronze. II. strong, vigorous; orig. of sun-

²⁹) Dürbeck (above, n. 13) 179–80 rightly corrects Handschur (above, *ibid.*) on this. The true participle referring to something ablaze is of course *αἰθόμενος*, as in *πυρὸς αἰθόμενοι* (8 × *Iliad*, 3 × *Odyssey*, 4 × Hesiod). Cf. Oppian *Cynegetica* 1.327, *αἰθόμενῳ χαλκῶ*.

browned heroes, then transf. to animals and the like. III. possibly blazing, shining.

What a difference this will make for our translators, especially of Homer! Obedient to the dictionaries, they have persisted in referring to "shining iron," "flashing eagle," "sultry bull" (thus Robert Fitzgerald), or to "blinkendes Eisen," "funkelnder Adler," "feurig[er] Stier" (thus J. H. Voss),³⁰ when firm grounds for believing that such was Homer's actual intent have in fact been lacking.

Adea-Eurydike

By WALDEMAR HECKEL, Calgary (Canada)

E. Badian, in a gentle rebuttal of my views on "Eurydike" as a dynastic name, remarks on Adea, the daughter of Kynnane: "Her name was almost certainly not Macedonian or Greek — perhaps Illyrian, like her mother's; and even if Greek, as has been authoritatively claimed, by no means fit for a queen."¹) The authority in question is O. Hoffmann (followed closely by H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* [Munich, 1926] 2.12, no. 23), who reads Ἀδέα instead of the Ἀδέα of the mss.,²) and derives the name from Ἡδέα or Ἡδεῖα. And I sympathise with Badian who is "not easily convinced that a Macedonian princess would be given a name we can most closely render as 'Honey'".³) But surely this is not the only Greco-Macedonian interpretation

³⁰) Paul Mazon translates it "faivre" when used as an animal epithet (*Iliad*, tr. 1937), and Victor Bérard gives "boeufs roux" for βόες αἴθρονες (*Odyssey* σ 371–72, tr. 1933²); but both are loyal to "fer luisant." Samuel Butler stands almost alone in his treatment of αἴθρον; in his translations (*Iliad* 1898, *Odyssey* 1900) he usually translates it as "dark," "black," or (for horses) "bay," or sometimes omits it entirely.

¹) E. Badian, "Eurydice," in *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage*, edited by W. L. Adams and E. N. Borza (Washington, D. C., 1982) 101. Badian responds to my views in "Kleopatra or Eurydike?" *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 155–158, and to those of A. B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1980) 282–283. I avoid here the contentious issue of whether Kleopatra took the name Eurydike.

²) Arr. *Succ.* 1.23 = *FGrHist* 156 F 9, s. 23.

³) Badian (n. 1) 101, n. 9.