

denn der Streitwagen spielte im Griechenland des 2. Jahrtausends eine ähnlich bedeutende Rolle wie zur gleichen Zeit in Ägypten, im Mitanni-Reich oder bei den Hethitern. Daß ein Wort aus diesem Vokabular dann in die Sprache des Epos geriet, wäre bei der Kontinuität der mythischen Überlieferung in prosopographischer und topographischer Hinsicht nicht merkwürdig. Wenn es dabei zwar seine technische, nicht aber seine allgemeine Bedeutung einbüßte, entspräche das dem kulturellen Bruch und dem sprachlichen Zusammenhang zwischen Mykene und Homer.

Daß technische Ausdrücke sowohl in der epischen wie auch in der fachgebundenen Sprache aus der mykenischen in die geometrische Epoche übergehen konnten, ohne ihre Gestalt zu ändern, hat A. Leukart (M. Helv. 35, 1978, 198/201) an zwei Termini der Bauernsprache (*γύης, ίστοβοεύς*) wahrscheinlich gemacht, die sich bei Hesiod finden (Erg. 427; 431).

## **Λειριόεις κτλ. in Homer and Elsewhere**

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The traditional view that the adjective *λειριόεις/λείριος* means "lily-like", is challenged on the grounds that all of the poetic contexts of the adjective indicate that its meaning should be something like "moist, fluid, dewy".

*τεττίγεσσιν εοικότες, οί τε καθ' ὕλην  
δενδρέω ἐφεζόμενοι ὅπα λειριόεσσαν ίείσιν* (Il. 3. 151 f.)

*αἶ κε ταλάσσης  
μεῖναι ἐμὸν δόρυ μακρόν, ὃ τοι χροά λειριόεντα  
δάψει* (Il. 13. 829 ff.)

Virtually every interpretation of either of these passages from the *Iliad* is premised on *λειριόεις* meaning "lily-like."<sup>1)</sup> In the second one this has presented no problems since, as the reasoning goes, *λει-*

<sup>1)</sup> See e.g. M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* (Basel 1950) 27 f.; LSJ s.v.; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1974) s.v. *λείριον*; H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1960–1972) s.v. *λείριον*. For one different view see F. Bechtel, *Lexilogus zu Homer* (Halle 1914) 213.

ριόεις is a derivation of λείριον which means "lily" (as it possibly does, sometimes), lilies are white (as some of them really are), therefore λειριόεις connotes whiteness and thus appropriately describes the skin of Ajax. The notion that Hector is referring to the whiteness of his adversary's skin is held with such assurance that the second passage has actually been used to corroborate the belief that the word λείριον designates a white lily.<sup>2)</sup> In other words, the conclusion about the meaning of λειριόεις is used to support one of the terms upon which that conclusion is itself based. Such circular argumentation is sometimes, given the paucity of data, the best available means of dealing with Greek lexical problems, but the resultant conclusions must not be regarded as firm and independent data. With that reservation in mind I shall later challenge the traditional interpretation of λειριόεις in *Iliad* 13, refraining in the meantime from entertaining that passage as evidence bearing upon any others, including the one cited from *Iliad* 3. In that passage, where the adjective is used to describe the voice of the cicadas, the problems have always been more conspicuous and intractable, there being no obvious point of similarity between the sound of the insects and white flowers. Nevertheless, most explanations rest on an attempt to relate the cicada's voice to a large white flower such as the Madonna lily or the *Lilium candidum*.

One of the more recent attempts to solve the enigma of the "lily-like" voice was made by W. B. Stanford who noted that earlier scholars had suggested that the adjective might have had some other, but undetermined, meaning. Concluding, however, that if such were the case we would be at an impasse in trying to understand the metaphor involved in this passage, he accepts the traditional view that the reference is to the *Lilium candidum*, or at least to a large white flower. Stanford then proceeds eloquently to explain the adjective as a synaesthetic metaphor in which visual qualities are transferred to the audible. In corroboration of this he adduces other examples of adjectives that describe clarity, both visual and auditory.<sup>3)</sup> If all of his premises are sound, Stanford offers as satisfactory an elucidation as we are likely to get for this difficult piece of imagery. But some of those premises are rather dubious. For one thing, Stanford relies on the authority of the 9th edition of LSJ which strongly suggests that

<sup>2)</sup> See Olck, „Gartenbau“, *RE* 7 (1912) 795.

<sup>3)</sup> W. B. Stanford, "The Lily Voice of the Cicada (*Iliad* 3.152)", *Phoenix* 23 (1969) 3–8. Cf. M. Kaimio, *Characterization of Sound in Early Greek Literature* (Helsinki 1977) 48 f.

the main and original sense of *λείριον* is as a synonym for *κρίνον*, the more common word for "lily". Now while it is true that *λείριον* and *κρίνον* are, in certain instances, synonymous, the view of the relationship as presented by LSJ is less than accurate. As the lexicon records, *λείριον* is indeed used of some kind of flower as early as the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (i.e. by 600 B.C.?) and in the 2nd Hippocratic treatise *On the Diseases of Woman*, but there is nothing in either passage which specifically identifies the *λείριον* as a lily, a *κρίνον*, or anything else except some kind of flower. The same must be said of those passages cited by LSJ from Theophrastus (*HP* 9.19.6 where, moreover, the *λείριον* is present by virtue of a textual conjecture) and Apollonius Rhodius (1.879). It is not in fact until Nicander (Fr. 74.27) that we find a text identifying the *λείριον* with the *κρίνον*, and even then the identification of either with a white lily is not secured, because Nicander, like Theophrastus, also uses the word *κρίνον* to designate flowers which were either not lilies or not white. In the vagueness, variety, and inconsistency with which they use *κρίνον*, moreover, these authors have plenty of company among our ancient informants.<sup>4)</sup> Given all of the uncertainty as to what *κρίνον* itself means it is most hazardous to conclude that *λείριον* designates a white lily simply because it is sometimes synonymous with *κρίνον*. The hazards are strikingly demonstrated by a passage of Dioscorides (3.106) in which *λείριον* is identified with *κρίνον* but is said to have purple flowers. All of this undermines any explanation of the synaesthetic imagery of *λειριόεις* which requires equating whiteness with clarity.<sup>5)</sup> In addition, there are a number of other passages of Greek literature in which *λειριόεις* or some variant, despite the assumptions or assertions of translators and lexicographers, does not clearly, unambiguously, or literally have to mean "lily-like". This is not to deny that such a sense can lend itself well to some contexts of the word, nor that there are also contexts in which such a sense would be merely enigmatic, is not impossible. There is, though, no instance in which the environment of the word dictates or requires that sense. And so, in the following paragraphs, I shall

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<sup>4)</sup> On the inconsistency and imprecision with these floral terms are used see e.g. N.J. R. Richardson, ed., *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974) 292; A.S.F. Gow & A.F. Scholfield, edd. & tr., *Nicander, the Poems and Fragments* (Cambridge 1953) 212 f.; 407 f.; Olck (above, note 2) 793 ff.

<sup>5)</sup> Stanford (above, note 3) 7 f. Cf. the interpretation of J. Waern, "Synästhesie in griechischer Dichtung", *Eranos* 50 (1952) 19 f.

advance an alternative to the view that *λειριόεις* means "lily-like" in *Iliad* 3 as well as in several other passages.

A scholiast (T) offers the earliest extant comment on the ὄψ λειριόεσσα of the cicada (*Il.* 3. 152):

*ἀνθηράν. παρὰ τὰ λείρια. ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρωμένων ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκουόμενα. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐκ δρόσου ἀνθοῦσαν ὡς βοτάνην.*

This states that the voice of the cicada is "flowery, florid, flourishing, or blooming" because the adjective used to describe it is chosen for its association with *λείρια*. The implication must be that *λείρια*, perhaps by synecdoche, means "flowers" in general (as Pollux 6.106 f. says *λείριον* does in Homer). The resultant definition does seem intrinsically more appropriate than any of the later explanations, if only because metaphors of "flowering" or "florid" voices or music are familiar in several European languages besides Greek. Problems arise, though, if we try to apply the Homeric scholiast's gloss to the same adjective in some of its other contexts, particularly those in which it does not refer to voices or music. At any rate, the scholiast clearly recognized a floral image here, and he has left a well-respected precedent for explaining the imagery in synaesthetic terms. Yet he also notes that others had suggested that the same imagery had something to do with dew. The floral component of his explanation has survived in thriving condition until the 20th century, while the reference to dew has lapsed into oblivion, there being no mention of it in any subsequent comments on the passage, not even in Eustathius' prolix elaboration of the floral imagery. Ironically, however, it is the reference to the dew that reflects, as I shall herein argue, the real meaning of the adjective. There are grounds for suspecting that what the scholiast says about the dew as the link between the lily and the cicada is a garbled remnant, or a rationalization, of an earlier explanation which the scholiast himself perhaps did not understand.

My argument must involve not only lexical data but also information pertaining to the habits and attributes, real and putative, of the cicada. There is copious evidence both from literature and from the visual arts to show that the Greeks proverbially associated the cicada with musical skill and inspiration. It is of course their loud and incessant "singing" that suited them for their role as symbols and exemplars of the musical arts.<sup>6)</sup> Among singers, the cicadas of Homer

<sup>6)</sup> Numerous references in E. K. Borthwick, "A Grasshopper's Diet—Notes on an Epigram of Meleager and a Fragment of Eubulus", *CQ* 89 (1965) 103–112;

are the first to bear the epithet *λειριόεις* which, in one form or another, they share with other storied vocalists in Geek literature: the Muses of Hesiod's *Theogony*, the Sirens of Apollonius Rhodius, Orpheus in the *Orphic Argonautica*, and the Hesperides of Quintus Smyrnaeus.<sup>7)</sup>

· γελᾶ δέ τε δώματα πατρὸς  
Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούποιο θεᾶν ὀπὶ λειριοέσση  
σκιδναμένη (Hes. *Th.* 40–2)

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ φόρμιγγα τιταίνόμενος μετὰ χερσὶν  
μητρὸς ἐμῆς ἐκέρασσ' εὐτερπέα κόσμον ἀοιδῆς,  
καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ στήθεων ὄπα λείριον ἐξελόχευσα. (Orph. *Argon.*  
253 ff.)

ἀπληγέως δ' ἄρα καὶ τοῖς  
ἴεσαν ἐκ στομάτων ὄπα λείριον (A. R. 4. 902 f.)

ὄν ἔκτοθι λειριοέσσαι  
Ἑσπερίδες θρέψαντο παρὰ ῥόον Ὠκεανοῖο (Q. S. 2, 418 f.)

A variant of the same word is also used of the cicada's song in a verse inscription from the 2nd century after Christ which will be discussed later.

Before considering those contexts of *λειριόεις* or *λείριος* that do not involve voices it will be best to introduce some pertinent facts about another conspicuous aspect of the behavior of cicadas. These insects congregate on trees from which they draw liquid in vast quantities, allowing some of it to ooze from the holes which they have punctured in the plant. They almost immediately excrete most of the ingested juice in similar quantities after having altered its physical and chemical properties somewhat. Observers speak of a fine mist descending from the trees and of a sweet viscous substance dampening the leaves and branches of the tree and the ground below. The substance excreted by the cicada (and by other species of

Steier, "Tettix", *RE*, 2nd ser., 5 (1934) 1111–1119; T. Smerdel, "Dva Priloga o Antickom Pjesnistvu. II Epiteti i Onomatopeje o Cvrcku", *ZA* 5 (1955) 289–292; A. Sauvage, "Les insectes dans la poésie romaine", *Latomus* 29 (1970) 289–292; P. Antin, "La cigale dans la Spiritualité", *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 3 (1961) 486–492 and, revised and expanded in *Recueil sur Saint Jerome* (Brussels 1968) 83–290; "Cigales littéraires", *BAGB*, 4th ser., 1 (1962) 338–346.

<sup>7)</sup> *λειριόεις* also occurs in a fragment of Timon of Phlius (Fr. 30 Diels = Diog. Laert. 3.7), a clear imitation of *Il.* 3.152. Another poetic occurrence (PTrinity College Dublin inv. 193 a = *Supplementum Hellenisticum* Fr. 937) has insufficient context to be of any value to this discussion.

Homoptera) is known as "honey-dew", a poetic term which happens to be the normal scientific one as well.<sup>8)</sup> As a matter of fact, a considerable amount of poeticizing has for centuries surrounded this basically prosaic activity of the cicada. For, although it is rarely acknowledged in the philological literature on the cicada, it must surely be the honey-dew in its environs that gave rise to the notion, expressed ubiquitously in Greek literature from Hesiod on down through the Byzantine period as well as in Latin literature and various vernacular literatures of modern Europe, that the cicada's diet consisted entirely of dew or of dew supplemented only by air.<sup>9)</sup> A corollary to this belief is that the dew is associated with the musicality of the insect.

With a view to linking the honey-dew production of the cicada and the semantics of the adjective *λειριόεις* I now introduce some other passages in which that adjective occurs.

*Μοῖσά τοι*

*κολλᾶ χρυσὸν ἔν τε λευκὸν ἐλέφανθ' ἄμᾳ  
καὶ λείριον ἄνθεμον ποντίας ὑφελοῖσ' ἔέρσας.* (Pind. N.  
7.77 ff.)

*ἦρως θόρεν πόντονδε, κα-  
τὰ λειριῶν τ' ὀμμάτων δά-  
κρυ χέον* (Bacch. 17.94 ff.)

*ἀπὸ τῶν δὲ τεγῶν ὀχετοὶ βοτρύων μετὰ ναστίσκων πολυτύρων  
ὀχετεύσονται θερμῷ σὺν ἔτνει καὶ λειριοπολφανεμώναις*  
(Pherecrates F.130)

In each of these passages too the word *λειριόεις*/*λείριος* is customarily interpreted in terms of the lily. Thus in Greek poetry we would have not only lily-like voices and lily-like skin (Homer), but also a lily-like flower from the sea (Pindar, where the "flower" is usually

<sup>8)</sup> On the cicada and honey-dew see Steier (above, note 6) 1117; W. Linsenmaier, *Insects of the World*, trans. L. E. Chadwick (New York 1972) 89–91; A. Maurizio, "How Bees Make Honey", in E. Crane, ed., *Honey: a Comprehensive Survey* (New York 1975) 93–95; W. Kloft, "Die Honigtauerzeuger des Waldes" in W. Kloft et al., edd. *Das Waldhonigbuch, Herkunft und Eigenschaften des Waldhonigs* (Munich 1965) 36; 94; J. H. Fabre, *Souvenirs entomologiques* (Paris 1924) vol. 5, 235 f.

<sup>9)</sup> Only Steier (above, note 6) 1117 appears to advance this etiology for the belief. The earliest reference to the cicada's consumption of dew is Hes. *Scut.* 395. Many others are noted in the literature cited in note 6 above.

taken as a metaphor for coral), lily-like eyes (Bacchylides), and a lily-like gruel or paste made from anemones (Pherecrates, unless it is a gruel made of anemones and other flowers<sup>10</sup>). In all of these instances the presumed lily imagery might be more plausibly reconciled semantically with the objects concerned than it is in those cases where it refers to singing voices. Despite that, not one of these passages just cited offers any independent evidence that *λειριόεις/λείριος* actually has that presumed meaning. There is, moreover, one feature which all of these passages have in common and which points to another, at least equally appropriate, meaning for *λειριόεις/λείριος*. Apart from the passage from *Iliad* 13 all of the “non-vocal” contexts of the word have an obvious association with fluids or liquidity. In Nemean 7 the coral is taken from the “dewy sea”, no doubt dripping wet and glistening; the eyes of the companions of Theseus in Bacchylides’ dithyramb are weeping; and the exotic gruel in the fragment of Pherecrates is to be poured. Bearing in mind the liquidity which is a common feature of these three passages, consider also the compound *λειριόπρυμνος* which occurs in a fragment (*PHib.* 2.172.114) of what its editor calls a “poetical onomasticon” from the 3rd century B. C. The adjective occurs, without context or definition, in a section containing a number of words used to describe ships.<sup>11</sup> “Lily-like” sterns or poop-decks are perhaps no more beyond the powers of poetic imagination than are “lily-like” voices, yet the nature and normal circumstances of the object described by the adjective, when considered together with the liquid features of the other three passages, suggest the possibility that *λειριόπρυμνος* could mean something like “with wet or dripping stern or poop-deck”. In the same vein the proper noun “Liriope” can also be plausibly construed as having something to do with fluid, for this was the name of the mother of Narcissus (Ovid, *Met.* 3.341 ff.) or of the nymph of the stream into which Narcissus was drawn (Vibius Sequester 2.14). While the name could mean something like “lily-voice” or “narcissus voice” (*λείριον* = *νάρκισσος* at e.g. Theophr. *HP* 6.6.9), it could at least as appropriately, in view of the myth, mean “fluid voice” or “liquid voice”.<sup>12</sup> In any event it is clear by this

<sup>10</sup>) LSJ define the word as “omelet made with lilies, etc.”

<sup>11</sup>) E. G. Turner, ed., *The Hibeh Papyri Part II* (London 1955) 1 ff.

<sup>12</sup>) Another proper noun, *Ποδαλείριος*, is often introduced into discussions of the meaning of *λειριόεις*, usually with the conclusion that it means “lily-foot” or “White-foot”, although Bechtel (above, note 1) offers a different explanation. Since there is nothing in the characteristics or actions of its bearer to corroborate

point that both cicadas and the word Homer used to describe their voices in the *Iliad* have associations with fluids. This is a fact of prime importance for the conclusion toward which this essay is leading, and it is underscored by another piece of poetry, an epigram dating from the second century after Christ and including the following lines.

πωτᾶται δὲ πέριξ λιγυρῆ μινυρίστρια ἀηδῶν  
καὶ τέττιξ γλυκεροῖς χεῖλεσι λειρὰ χέων  
καὶ σοφὰ τραυλίζουσα χελειδονὶς ἢ τε λιγύπνους  
ἀκρις ἀπὸ στήθους ἠδὺ χέουσα μέλος (IG 14.1934)

Here a variant of *λειριόεις* is used substantivally with reference to the cicada's song. If anything, the meaning "lily" or "lily-like" would be even more problematic here than in the Homeric passage or in any of those others having to do with singing voices. For however we might attempt to explain "lily-like voices" it is even more difficult to comprehend the image of the cicada "pouring" lilies, even metaphorical ones, from its lips. Might the cicada of the epigram, then, be pouring droplets of honey-dew from its sweet lips?

If some such meaning as "liquid, flowing, fluid, dewy, etc.," is appropriate in a special sense for the sound from the cicada, it is metaphorically appropriate for other famous singers. It is worth noting in this regard that not only in the case of the epigram, where the verb *χέω* is used, but in the passages from Homer, Hesiod, and Apollonius the verbs used (*χέω* and *σκίδνημι*) normally have reference to the pouring or dispensing of liquids. Furthermore, there are other Greek words pertaining to dew or moisture which are used as metaphors for song or poetry. Several instances of this are in the odes of Pindar: *μεγαλᾶν δ' ἀρετᾶν / δρόσω μαλθακᾶ / ῥανθεισᾶν κόμων ὑπὸ χεύμασιν* (P. 5.98 ff.); *θρηνον ... λειβόμενον* (P. 12.8–10); *μεμιγμένον μέλι λευκῶ / σὺν γάλακτι, κίρναμένα δ' ἔερσ' ἀμφέπει, / πόμ' αἰοίδιμον* (N. 3.77 ff.); *τὰν Ψαλυχιαδᾶν δὲ πάτραν Χαρίτων / ἄρδοντι καλλίστα δρόσω* (I. 6.63 f.).<sup>13</sup>) Hesiod provides another example.

τῶ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσση γλυκερὴν χεῖουσιν ἔερσην,  
τοῦ δ' ἔπε' ἐκ στόματος ῥεῖ μείλιχα (Th. 83 f.)

any etymology of the name, I do not entertain the possibility that it means "Moist-foot" in my arguments here, although I do acknowledge that possibility. For various etymologies proposed for the name and the earlier literature thereon see H. Kenner, "Podaleirios", *RE* 21 (1951) 1135 f.

<sup>13</sup>) Cf. J. H. Waszink, *Biene und Honig als Symbol des Dichters und der Dichtung in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Opladen 1974) 8 f.



Here the Muses pour sweet dew upon the king's tongue with the result that honeyed words flow from his mouth. The presence of dew and honey in this same sentence is witness to the ancient beliefs that both dew and honey had properties which imparted eloquence or musical skill. Waszink has suggested that the two beliefs are connected by virtue of the fact that the ancients also believed that dew from heaven, i. e. honeydew, was the source of honey.<sup>14)</sup> What now seems like the obvious next step is to introduce the cicada with its associations with dew, honeydew, and music as the unifying ingredient in the cluster of beliefs. If the bee literally dispenses honey, and if poets, singers, or eloquent speakers such as Nestor (*ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή*, *Il.* 1. 249) metaphorically pour it from their tongues, so too the cicada, the servant and mouthpiece of the Muses, literally dispenses sweet dew as it sings, while the Muses, Sirens, Hesperides, and Orpheus do so metaphorically.

Thus sweet singing and dew, both associated with the cicada because of observable phenomena, also became conjointly identified with other singers, and this development is reflected in the use of *λειριόεις/λείριος* in the earlier set of passages cited above, (i. e. Hes., *A. R.*, *Orph. Arg.*, *Q. S.*; add *IG* 14.1934). It is, then, the liquidity of their voices that accounts for the fact that all of the renowned singers are described with words that are also applied to the weeping eyes of Theseus' companions, coral newly lifted from the sea, the stern of a ship, the anemone gruel, and the water nymph Liriope. We can now ask how, or whether, the skin or the flesh (i. e. *χρῶς*) of Ajax threatened by the spear of Hector (*Il.* 13.830) fits into such a scheme. As noted above, we can make satisfactory sense of "lily-like" or "white" in this case, although the context does not dictate that sense here either. Could the skin (or flesh) of Ajax, then, have been called "moist" or "fluid" or "dewy" by Hector? There are any number of imaginable reasons for answering that question in the affirmative—the reference could be to perspiration, for example or (proleptically) to the blood which the spear will draw, or to the moistness of the flesh which the spear will "bite",—but it might be most simple and instructive to consider the following two passages in which an adjective that is known to have the sort of meaning here suggested for *λειριόεις* is used with reference to human flesh.

*οἶον ἔερσήεις κεῖται, περὶ δ' αἶμα νένιπται  
οὐδέ ποθι μιαρός.* (*Il.* 24.419 f.)

<sup>14)</sup> Waszink (above, note 1) 6 f.

νῦν δέ μοι ἐρσήεις καὶ πρόσφατος ἐν μεγάροισι  
 κεῖσαι, τῷ ἴκελος ὄν τ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων  
 οἷς ἀγανοῖσι βέλεσσιν ἐποιχόμενος κατέπεφνε. (Il. 24.757 ff.)

From the foregoing it is apparent that some such meaning as "moist, dewy, dripping" is either appropriate or plausible for all of the poetic contexts of *λειριόεις/λείριος* (while also being consonant with the one poetic context for the substantive *λειρόν*) from Homer to Quintus Smyrnaeus. The question now arises as to how this might be reconciled with the fact that the substantive *λείριον* with its derivative adjective *λείρινος* designates flowers, whether specifically or generically. One possible answer is that we have an instance of homonymy with two originally unrelated terms undergoing semantic confusion or convergence. An alternative is that the two are in fact related and that the meaning "flower, lily, etc." has developed from the other one. Given the capriciousness of semantic evolution and the absence of direct documentation, it is impossible to be definite about how, or if, this took place; but there are some possibilities worthy of speculation. So, for example, *λειριόεις/λείριος*, meaning "moist, dewy, dripping", could have been used as a qualifier for some floral term (such as *κρίνον*, *νάρκισσος*, or *ἄνθεμον* as at Nem. 7.79) with the neuter only secondarily becoming a substantive. This could have happened because of some visual or tactile characteristic of the flowers or because of some feature of their environment. Consider, for example, a passage of Sophocles which indicates that the narcissus, one of the flowers elsewhere (Thphr. 6.6.9) identified as *λείριον*, was believed to thrive on dew:

θάλλει δ' οὐρανίας ὑπ' ἄ-  
 χνας ὁ καλλίβοτρυς κατ' ἤμαρ αἰεὶ  
 νάρκισσος ... (OC 681 ff.)

Here compare the phrase *ὑδατίνη νάρκισσος* (IG 14.2508). Also Apollonius Rhodius writes of *λείρια* in the same context as a dewy meadow, perhaps suggesting an etymological and semantic connection between *λείρια* and *λειμών*:

ὡς δ' ὅτε λείρια καλὰ περιβρομέουσι μέλισσαι  
 πέτρης ἐκχύμεναι συμβληίδος, ἀμφι δὲ λειμών  
 ἐρσήεις γάνυται (A. R. 1. 879 ff.)

Another possible point of departure for the evolution from the adjective *λείριος* meaning "moist, flowing, dripping, etc." to the sub-

stantive meaning "flower, κρίνον, etc." is the fact that the κρίνον was noted for exuding tear-like drops of fluid.<sup>15)</sup>

It would be pointless to insist on one of the foregoing suggestions as the key to the relationships of the adjective λειριόεις/λείριος to the substantive λείριον. I cite them simply to lend plausibility to the proposal that the former, even if it belongs in a semantic field having to do with moisture, could have a common origin with the floral term λείριον.

The possibility (or, as I would say, the strong likelihood) that λειριόεις/λείριος has a different meaning from that traditionally assigned to it means that questions of its etymology need not be circumscribed by conjectures about the non-Greek origin of τὸ λείριον.<sup>16)</sup> I shall not pursue etymological matters in detail here, but only note that the new semantic picture at least justifies a search for a Greek or Indo-European etymology. One tentative suggestion is that λειρόν and λειριόεις/λείριος are to be connected with the "moisture" words λειμών, -λειμος (as in βαθύλειμος), λιμὴν, λίμνη, etc. We would thus have another example of the *r/m* heteroclisis shown in the suffixation of several other Greek or Indo-European pairs.<sup>17)</sup>

### †εἰσάρας† Anacreon fr. 381 (Page)

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Zu den nur mit bedauerlichen Korruptelen in ihrer jeweiligen Sekundärüberlieferung erhaltenen Fragmenten aus der Dichtung des Anacreon gehört auch das bei Page als fr. 381 PMG folgendermaßen wiedergegebene Stück:

a) εἶμι λαβὼν †εἰσάρας†,

...

b) ἀσπίδα ῥίψας ποταμοῦ καλλιρόου παρ' ὄχθας,

...

<sup>15)</sup> Thphr. 6.6.8; 9.1.4; Olck (above, note 2) 793.

<sup>16)</sup> For the various suggestions and literature thereon see Chantraine (above, note 1) s.v.; Frisk (above, note 1) s.v.; B. Hemmerdinger, "Noms communs grecs d'origine égyptienne", *Glotta* 46 (1968) 240.

<sup>17)</sup> See F. Bader, *Suffixes grecs en -m-*; *recherches comparatives sur l'heteroclisis nominale* (Genève 1974) 107 f.; 121 ff.