

THE 'FLOWER OF THE ARGIVES' AND A NEGLECTED MEANING OF ἄνθος

πνοαὶ δ' ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μολοῦσαι
κακόσχολοι, νήστιδες, δύσορμοι,
βροτῶν ἄλαι,
ναῶν τε καὶ πεισμάτων ἀφειδεῖς,
παλιμμήκη χρόνον τιθεῖσαι
τρίβῳ κατέξαινον ἄνθος Ἀργεί-
ων . . .

Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 192–8.

ALONG with Pindar, Aeschylus is doubtless the user of the most spectacular and colourful imagery among classical Greek authors, and like Pindar he is not afraid to mix his metaphors. These lines from the *Agamemnon* would probably be placed in such a category by most readers who attend to the combination of images, ἄνθος Ἀργείων being taken as the rather commonplace and 'dead' metaphor of the 'flower of the host', etc., found elsewhere in Aeschylus¹ and other writers before² and after³ him; and I have the impression that none of the commentators seems to have thought it worth asking in what sense a flower could be spoken of as 'carded by rubbing'. Now I do not think Aeschylus chose his words so carelessly—or with such deliberate incongruity—as this, and propose that with ἄνθος he was at the same time alluding to another sense of the word which more effectively sustains the image when juxtaposed to the words τρίβῳ κατέξαινον. Although this sense is not well attested, nor recognized in the lexica, it seems that ἄνθος might be used of the flock or nap on wool, like ἄωτος.⁴ As Buttman⁵ (most notably) pointed out—referring to λίνιοιο ἄωτος of *Il.* ix 661, etc.—ἄωτος is often taken to be merely 'a more poetical word for ἄνθος' (i.e. flower, blossom), but 'without doubt was used to mean also the downy pile or nap of cloth, that delicate λάχνη which constitutes the fineness and beauty of cloth, and which proves its newness, as on the other hand *deflocatae vestes* in Latin are the same with *detritae*, clothes which by wear have lost their nap and consequently their freshness and beauty.'⁶ The reference to λάχνη reminds one of the description of Nestor's cloak in *Il.* x 134 οὐλὴ δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη, and that (rightly or wrongly) this obscure verb (ἀνήνοθε, ἐνήνοθε, etc.) was supposed in antiquity to be etymologically associated with ἀνθεῖν.⁷ Homer also uses εὐανθῆς λάχνη of down covering the cheeks (*Od.* xi 320), just as ἄνθος too is used of hair flecked with white (*Soph. OT* 742 λευκανθῆς κάρα, *El.* 43 ἠνθισμένον, *Suid.* ἄνθος· λευκὴ θρίξ), and ἐπανθεῖν of human hair compared to swan down (*Ar. Vespr.* 1065), or the down on the skin of fruit (*id. Nub.* 978, etc.).

¹ *Pers.* 59, etc.

² Or at least contemporary: it is uncertain whether Pindar's ἠρώων ἄωτοι (*Nem.* viii 9: cf. *fr.* 111a7), in an ode which has been dated as early as 491 and as late as 457, precedes the earliest Aeschylean example. Pindar also has ναυτῶν ἄωτος (*Pyth.* iv 188), but I should not be surprised if the metaphor were not older than fifth century. On ἄωτος = ἄνθος, however, see below.

³ Even in prose (*Thuc.* iv 133).

⁴ The striking effect of using metaphorically words associated with so humble a trade as wool-carding in conjunction with a proud, heroic host was earlier employed by Aeschylus in *Pers.* 576, where we find γναπτόμενοι (on this occasion by the *waves*) of the *βασιλεία ἰσχύς* (590) of the Persian armament. 'Carding' comes close to literalness with the following phrase πεισμάτων ἀφειδεῖς. Aeschylus seems to have

favoured the notion of 'lacerating' winds, to judge also from *fr.* 407 N., where it appears from Hsch. that αἰγίζεω (ἐκ μεταφορᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν καταγίδων) was used = διασπᾶν.

⁵ *Lexilogus* (trans. Fishlake), p. 187.

⁶ Eustathius in a comment on ἄωτος in Homer (*cf.* οἶδς ἄωτος *Il.* xiii 599, imitated by *Theoc.* ii 2) calls it τὸ ἐξ ἐρίων ἀνηρόν ὕφασμα, and wool δέρματος οἶον ἄνθος (1429.10–17). *Com. fr. adesp.* 1309 has ἐσθῆς δὲ προβάτων ἄνθος. I am incidentally reminded of Hesiod's (*Erg.* 504 ff.) preoccupation with the penetrative power of Boreas, which cuts through oxhide, goatskin, animal fur, but fails only against the ἐπιεταναὶ τρίχες of sheep.

⁷ See Hsch., *Suid.* s.v. ἐπενήνοθεν· ἐπήνθει, *Et. M.* 354.41 (with Gaisford *ad loc.*), *Eust.* 1600.42, etc., and the lengthy discussion in Buttman, *op. cit.* pp. 110–41.

A cloak which has lost its nap through rubbing (or, because it was a cheap garment, was not characterised by a full nap in the first place) is called a *τρίβων*, and one recalls Pheidipides' joke in *Nub.* 870 *αὐτὸς τρίβων εἴης ἄν, εἰ κρέμαιό γε*—referring to the fuller's practice of hanging up garments on a frame to be scoured or carded (*cf.* *τρίβω κατέξαινον* of *Ag.* 197) to clean and raise the nap⁸—for which see the passages assembled by Headlam on *Herod.* iv 78, also *Il.* xiv 179 where, as Leaf observes, *ἔξυσ' ἀσκήσασα* means 'scraped so as to produce either a smooth surface or a nap (like the fuller)'. According to Eustathius (1770.64), a *τρίβων* which has lost its nap (*ἀποβεβληκὸς τὰς κροκύδας*) was sometimes called *στημονίζων*, presumably because the stronger threads of the warp (*στήμονες*) were left bare when the softer threads of the woof (*κροκύδες*) had perished. One may compare, too, Euripides' famous description (*fr.* 282.12) of worn-out athletes as *τρίβωνες ἐκβαλόντες κρόκας* with Philostratus' similar use of *ἀπανθεῖν* of athletes' exertions in *Gym.* 48.

It was the practice to use thicker, softer and more pliable wool for the woof in the making of warm cloaks: *cf.* *Hes. Erg.* 537 *στήμονι δ' ἐν παύρῳ πολλὴν κρόκα μηρύσασθαι* (where Proclus comments *οἱ μὲν γὰρ στήμονες ἄτε στερεώτεροι ὄντες, ἐὰν ᾤσι συνεχεῖς, δερματώδες τὸ ὕφασμα ποιοῦσιν· ἡ δὲ κρόκη πλείον ἐγκαταμιγνυμένη διὰ τὸ εἶναι χαινοτέρα τοῦ στήμονος ἀναδίδωσι κροκύδα, δι' ἧς πολλῆς οὐσης καὶ τὸ σῶμα περιπτυσσομένης, ἀλεαίνεται ὁ φορῶν*)⁹; also Plato's analogy in *Leg.* 734c *καθάπερ οὖν δὴ τινα ξυυφήν ἢ καὶ πλέγμ' ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν οἶον τ' ἐστὶ τὴν τε ἐφυφήν καὶ τὸν στήμονα ἀπεργάζεσθαι, διαφέρειν δ' ἀναγκαῖον τὸ τῶν στημόνων πρὸς ἀρετὴν γένος· ἰσχυρόν τε γὰρ καὶ τινα βεβαιότητα ἐν τοῖς τρόποις εἰληφός, τὸ δὲ μαλακώτερον καὶ ἐπιεικεῖα τινὶ δικαίᾳ χρώμενον.* The woof would be packed or beaten up more closely (*cf.* *schol. Ar. Nub.* 53 *σπαθᾶν, τὸ ἄγαν κρούειν τὴν κρόκην . . . ἰσχυροτέραν δὲ ἀπεργάζεσθαι τὴν ὕφην*), and cloaks so made were called *συγκρουστά* (*Hsch.* *ιμάτια, ὧν ἡ κροκὶς ἀνατέτριπται*¹⁰), and sometimes the surface thus formed might be left uncarded and uncropped for extra protection in cold weather, as in the comment of the *schol.* on *Pind. Nem.* x 44 (*ἐκ δὲ Πελλάνας ἐπιεσσάμενοι νῶτον μαλακαῖσι κρόκαις*) *τίθεται δὲ παχέα ιμάτια ἐν Πελλάνῃ ἀγναφα· δυσχειμεροὶ δὲ οἱ τόποι.*

The contrast of warp and woof threads is made similarly in *Sen. Ep.* xc 24 *deinde quemadmodum tela suspensis ponderibus rectum stamen extendat, quemadmodum subtemen insertum, quod duritiam utrimque comprimentis tramae remolliat, spatha coire cogantur et iungi.* So Persius (vi 73–4 *mihī trama figurae | sit reliqua*) described himself as reduced 'to a mere skeleton' (as we might say) in an image of the warp threads left bare and exposed after the nap has been rubbed off—*cf.* *στήμων ἐξεσμένος* of *Ar. fr.* 738, also probably used of a thin person.¹¹ In *Plt.* 309b Plato constructs an elaborate image of the way in which the Royal Art weaves the different natures of the citizen body into a unified web, *τούτων τὰς μὲν (sc. φύσεις) ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν μάλλον ξυυτεινούσας, οἶον στημονοφνὲς νομίσασ' αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ ἀτερεὸν ἦθος, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κόσμιον πῖονί τε καὶ μαλακῶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα κροκῶδει διανθήματι (sic BTW) προσχρωμένας, ἐναντία δὲ τεινούσας ἀλλήλαις, πειρᾶται τοιόνδε τινὰ τρόπον ξυυδεῖν καὶ ξυμπλέκεν.* Here it has become traditional to accept Cornarius' *διανθήματι* (a word nowhere attested), presumably the *δια-* describing the *cross*-threads or *inserted* threads of the woof, but it would be possible to retain the *ms.* reading¹² as describing the fluffy nap or efflorescence which collects as the soft threads of the woof are drawn down the warp and close packed by the strokes of the *σπάθη* in weaving. The fluff which gathers during this process is called *ἄνθεα*¹³ in *Philostr. Im.* ii 28, where in a description of a loom it is said *στήμοσι τε ἰκανῶς ἐντέταται καὶ ἄνθεα κεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν*

⁸ For a similar image in Aristophanes, see *fr.* 651 *ἀνήσω κροκύδα μαστιγομένη.*

⁹ *Cf.* also *Alciph.* iii 41.2.

¹⁰ That *ἀνατρίβω* is not used here of rubbing the nap away altogether, but means literally 'rub up' is shown by *Dsc.* iii 33 *ἀνάτριπτα ιμάτια* 'with rough, raised pile' *LSJ.* *Κρούω* and its compounds are commonly used of beating up with the *σπάθη* (*AP* vi 283.3, *Hsch.* *σπάθημα, σπαθητόν*, etc.). In *Hsch.* *συγκρούει, συναθροίζει ἢ συνευφραίνεται*, the latter verb should surely be *συνυφραίνεται* (for the former *cf.* *Ar. Lys.* 584–5 *τὸ κατάγμα λαβόντας / δεῦρο ξυνάγειν καὶ*

ξυναθροίζειν εἰς ἓν, and *coire et iungi* in the Senecan passage quoted above).

¹¹ *τὸν ἰσχνόν καὶ λεῖον* *Poll.* vii 32. Plato (*Phdr.* 268a) uses a metaphor from an *ἡπρίον διεστηκός.*

¹² *νήμα* itself is used of the *warp* threads in *Plt.* 282e—*cf.* *Poll.* vii 30 *τὸν στήμονα νήμα (sc. Πλάτων καλεῖ)*—and in *AP* vi 285.2.

¹³ *Jacobs*, in the only note on this passage that I have seen, compares the embroidering of flowers called *θρόνα* in *Il.* xxii 44.1, but it is difficult to see how such flower patterns could be said *κεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν μίτων.* On *θρόνα, τρόνα*, see below.

μίτων, 'it is stretched tight by the threads of the warp, and an afflorescence gathers under the threads' (*sc.* of the woof).¹⁴ This fluff was removed by *shearing*,¹⁵ to produce an even pile, as described in Luc. *Fug.* 28, which provides another clear instance of ἄνθος associated with the nap on cloth: ἀπέκειρε γὰρ ἐν τῷ γραφείῳ καθημένος ὅποσον περιττόν τοις ἱματίοις τῶν κροκῦδων ἐπανθεῖ,¹⁶ or by *plucking*, to remove individual flocks of loose wool, an action described¹⁷ in Philyll. *fr.* 22 τὸ κάταγμα κροκιδίζουσαν αὐτὴν κατέλαβον, 'they found her plucking the fluff¹⁸ from the thread (of the woof?)', and I suspect that a similar situation is referred to in Pher. *fr.* 46 (text dubious) ταχὺ τῶν ἐρίων καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τῶν παντοδαπῶν κατάγωμεν, although both *An. Bekk.* p. 404.24, which cites the line, and schol. Eur. *Hec.* 471, which refers to it, have the same gloss on ἄνθος, that it means τὸ βάμμα τοῦ ἐρίου.¹⁹ The partitive genitive is of the sort which occurs in two lines similarly describing wool-carding, ἕξαινε δὲ τῶν ἐρίων (*Ar. fr.* 717) and Μίκκυλον . . . τῶν ἐρίων ξαίνοντα (*Crates fr.* 2 Wachsmuth).

There are a number of passages where ἄνθος, etc., occurs in connection with clothes or weaving, where it has been taken to refer to *colour* only, but I suspect that in Plat. *Rep.* 429e ἢ πλύσις οὐτ' ἄνευ ῥυμμάτων οὐτε μετὰ ῥυμμάτων δύναται αὐτῶν τὸ ἄνθος ἀφαιρεῖσθαι,²⁰ ἄνθος is not simply the *colour* of the dye, but the whole 'bloom' or 'sheen' which results from the dye's total penetration of the cloth. So in Plut. *Mor.* 352d φορεῖν δὲ (*sc.* τοὺς ἱερεῖς) τὰ λινὰ διὰ τὴν χροάν, ἣν τὸ λίνον ἀνθοῦν ἀνίησι, the actual *colour* and the ἄνθος of the cloth are distinct.²¹ Uncertain in meaning—LSJ give 'embroidered flowers on garments'—are two lines of Hermippus quoted without context,

καιροσπάθητον ἀνθέων ὕφασμα καινὸν ὥρων (*fr.* 5)

and λεπτοὺς διαφαίρουσα πέπλους ἀνθέων γέμοντας (*fr.* 6).

But in the latter fragment, the verb suggests the action of lightly stroking with the finger the smooth pile or nap of the cloth.²² In the former, both text and meaning are doubtful: Edmonds translates 'a web' of flowers close-woven, new stuff the Seasons have made' but the construction of ἀνθέων is difficult, and the relevance of the *Horae* unclear, and for the last word in the line Bothe proposed the non-Attic form of the verb ὤρων (= ἑώρων), with καιροσπαθήτων agreeing with ἀνθέων.

Now, it is curious that four of the seven fragments from, or testimonia to, this play of Hermippus, his Ἰαθηνῶν Γοναί, concern weaving and its terminology, including the evidence of schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 497a (= *fr.* 7) that the story of the proverbially foolish Acco was referred to, presumably in the outline given in the *schol. vet.* which tells how ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰστοῦ τοῖματιον καβελομένην ἡμίεργον ἀμφέεσθαι, and how she then talked to her own image in a mirror. Schol. Arethas, however, gives the details differently and in a rather puzzling fashion: πέπλασται δὲ ἢ λέξις ἀπὸ Ἀκκοῦς τινὸς μωροτάτης, ἣ τὸν τε ἰστὸν διελοῦσα τοὺς στήμονας, ἐπεὶ ὑφ' ἐτέρας ἐκαλεῖτο, ἰστουργοῦσα προῆλθεν καὶ ἡμιτέλεστον ἄλλον ἱμάτιον πεποιήται, μέρος τοῦ ἱματίου²³ γυμνοὺς τοὺς στήμονας ἀφορίσασα. The verbs *διαρεῖν* and *ἀφορίζειν* may refer to

¹⁴ *μίτοι* need not be only the *warp* threads (LSJ)—see Gow/Page on *AP* vi 285.1 (*Gk. Anth.*, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 2737).

¹⁵ Cf. the *tonsilia tapetia* of Plaut. *Pseud.* 147.

¹⁶ Cf. Hipp. *Diaet.* 1.14 (γραφέες) κείροντες τὰ ὑπερέχοντα, Eust. 603.20 ἐπανθοῦν τι γυνώδες ἐν τῷ γραφεύεσθαι (of the fringe or tassels of the aegis). Note also Aeschylus' metaphorical use of *κείρω* in *Suppl.* 666 κέρσειεν ἄωτον, where the shearing of a whole surface (e.g. of a meadow) by Ares the harvester (637) follows a metaphor of plucking individual blooms (663). In the metaphor of Eur. *HF* 875 ἀποκείρεται σὸν ἄνθος, it is noteworthy that the compound *ἀποκείρω* is almost exclusively used of the close cropping of either human hair or animal fleece.

¹⁷ Poll. vii 29 explains the action ἐκλέγουσαν τὸ τραχύ.

¹⁸ Sophocles uses *κάταγμα* of a shred of wool or fluff (*Trach.* 695).

¹⁹ Note also the expression ἐπανθεῖν ἐριον in Str.

xv 20 (693).

²⁰ Cf. the proverbial ἀφαρεῖν κροκίδας (*Aph. Prov.* i 42: cf. *Ar. fr.* 657, *Theoph. Char.* 2.3, etc.) of flatterers who ostentatiously remove shreds of fluff from the clothes of those they fawn on.

²¹ There may be a reminiscence of Homer's *λίνοιο λεπτόν ἄωτον* (*Il.* ix 661).

²² There seems no very good reason for understanding *αὔρα* as subject (Meineke, etc.), simply because *διαφαίρειν* is so used in *Ar. Av.* 1717. The verb (glossed *διακαθαίρειν* or *διασύρειν* by the lexicographers) is used in Opp. *Hal.* ii 115 *λάχνην δὲ διαφαίρουσι πόδεσσιν* of birds' ineffectual tearing at a fox's fur. The simple verb is used of gentle scrubbing in Eun. *VS* p. 486B.

²³ Presumably μέρος τοῦ ἱματίου is adverbial here (unless it is a casual gloss on στήμονας—cf. Poll. vii 64 κρόκως δὲ μέρος ἐσθῆτος). In the earlier part of the sentence, something seems to have been omitted, e.g. τὸν τε ἰστὸν <στρησαμένη καὶ> διελοῦσα . . .

the separation of the warp threads prior to weaving in the weft,²⁴ but the mention of 'the bare threads of the warp' of Acco's half-finished garment suggests to me a simple emendation of *fr.* 5 το καιροσπάθητον ἀνθέων ὕφασμα κενόν²⁵ ἐώρων, 'they (or I) saw the web of cloth formed of threads (καῖροι) beaten with the σπάθη²⁶ devoid of ἄνθεα' (in the sense of the ἄνθεα ὑπὸ τῶν μίτων of Philostratus cited above). And if the conjecture of Wilamowitz²⁷ was correct, that this play of Hermippus contained a weaving competition between the expert Athena, patron goddess of the art, and the incompetent and stupid Acco,²⁸ the pair of lines quoted would contrast the superb finish of Athena's πέπλους ἀνθέων γέμοντας and Acco's half-finished product ἀνθέων κενόν.

In a lyric of Euripides' *Hecuba* which happens to refer to the most famous πέπλος woven for Athena, the Panathenaic robe, the chorus of Trojan captives imagine the task which lies in store for them as they weave it, ἐν δαιδαλέασι ποικίλλουσ' ἀνθοκρόκοισι πήναις (470-1), where LSJ renders the latter adjective (from κρέκω) 'worked with flowers', and the schol. interprets κροκωτοβαφέειν 'of saffron dye'—that is, taking ἄνθος = βάμμα. But there can be little doubt that, as Pindar's φοινικόκροκος (*Ol.* vi 39) is derived from κρόκη and means 'with purple woof', so ἀνθόκροκος means 'with flowery woof', i.e. with threads forming a thick, downy nap. To be noted also is the Hesychian gloss ἐπίκροκον·ἐπανθητόν.²⁹

The passages so far cited seem cumulatively to show so well that ἄνθος and its derivatives were used of the nap on cloth or yarn that I will add two rather uncertain ones. (I) The second entry in the *Suda* s.v. ἀνθεινός·ὁ ἐξ ἀνθέων·καὶ ὁ καιρός is very curious, and I propose καῖρος, meaning a fluffy type of thread.³⁰ This is presumably the meaning of the gloss ράμματα ἄνθηνα in *Hsch.* s.v. τρόνα (*cf.* τρόνοι·στύππιοι, στήμων, ἀρπεδόνη)—apparently the same word as θρόνα found in *Il.* xxii 441 ἐν δὲ θρόνα ποικίλ' ἔπασσε where, comparing Helen's pattern-weaving similarly worded in iii 126, the technique of working in coloured yarn, perhaps of different texture to 'stand out' from the basic surface of the finished cloth, is described. Leaf, *ad. loc.*, writes of 'inserting tufts of coloured wool as in Indian carpets', and the Hesychian πάσμα·ἐνιοι μαλλὸν ἐρίου, and κατάγματα·μηρύματα ἐρίου ἢ καταπάσματα may glance at such a technique.³¹

(II) In *Plat. Gorg.* 465b, the deceptive tricks of κομμωτική are said to extend to σχήμασιν καὶ χρώμασιν καὶ λειότητι καὶ † αἰσθήσει (BTW), where Dodds and other modern editors read ἐσθήσει, conjectured by Canter and also the reading of F,³² λειότητι referring 'probably

²⁴ *Cf.* διακρίνω *Plat. Crat.* 388b, *Plt.* 282b, *Soph.* 226c, *Arist. Phys.* 243b, *AP* vi 174.6, (δια)χωρίζω schol. *Ar. Lys.* 577, 581, διαχωριστικά *Hsch.* s.v. καιροσσεών, διαμερίζω *Et. Gen. B*, s.v. διάσμα, *Theogn. Cap.* 25.8 οἱ γὰρ ὑφαίνοντες τὰ διηρημένα καὶ κεχωρισμένα εἰς ἐν ἄγειν μάλιστα σπεύδουσιν.

²⁵ For confusion of κωνόν, κενόν, see *Jacobs, Animadversiones in Ach. Tat.* p. 15.7, *Classen on Thuc.* iii 30, *Luc. Fug.* 13.

²⁶ *Cf.* *Hsch.* σπαθητόν. τὸ ὀρθὸν ὕφος σπάθη κεκρομμένον, οὐ κτενί.

²⁷ *Hermes* vii (1873) 141.

²⁸ It is worth noting that the citation of the Hermippus lines in *An. Bekk.* 404.28 includes a third reference to the Μαμμάκθοος of Aristagoras, this being the description in *Ar. Ran.* 990 of Melitides, the proverbial male counterpart of Acco, about whom there may have been some similar tale.

²⁹ See *R. Renehan, Glotta* I (1972) 46. Latte's emendation σπαθητόν is uncalled for.

³⁰ I do not know what the received text is supposed to mean: καιρός would scarcely be used of the period of flowering youth (*Plat. Rep.* 475a τῶν ἀνθούτων ἐν ὄρῳ, *Callistr. Stat.* 6.4 τὴν ἐπανθοῦσαν ὄραν, etc.), and I am doubtful if ἀνθεινός ὁ καιρός would be used as an equivalent metaphor to our 'the time is ripe', although *cf.* *AP* x 100.3 (*Antiphanes*) ὄτ' οὖν χρόνος ὄριος ἡμῖν, *Callistr. loc. cit.* πᾶν εὐκαιρον τὸ ὄρατιον,

where, however, he is describing a statue of Kairos personalised, ἐπανθῶν τὸ τῆς ἡβῆς ἄνθος (6.1).

³¹ The latter gloss suggests to me that the other Hesychian gloss on τρόνα·ἀγάλματα may be an error for κατάγματα, which is used also as a gloss word on μήνυμα, μίρσιμα. Lawler's rendering of ἀγάλματα in *PhQ* xxvii (1948) 81 'figures or flowers sewed on (a garment)' seems to confuse weaving with embroidery on a finished woven product—see the strictures of *A.J.B. Wace in AJA* lii (1948) 51, on Homeric commentators' confusion about the two passages referred to above.

³² Although the witness of F is in general of primary importance (*Dodds, intro.* 41 ff.), the authenticity of its reading in this particular word is thrown into some doubt by the fact that Olympiodorus, with whose text F is otherwise often in agreement (*ib.* 59-60), can be shown to have had αἰσθήσει, like BTW, which he makes the best of with the curious interpretation βλέμμα (ἢ γὰρ κομμωτικὴ κελεύει καὶ σχήματος καὶ χρώματος καὶ τοῦ λείου τοῦ προσώπου καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βλέμματος φροντίζειν, οὕτω κάκεινος εἶπεν τῷ σχήματι, τῷ βλέμματι, τῇ φωνῇ· ταῦτα οὖν ἀσκεῖται ἢ κομμωτικῇ.) F's ἐσθήσειν may represent an intelligent attempt—before Canter did the same—to emend this already corrupt word, for which *cf.* *Luc. Am.* 53 where ἐσθήτων *recc.* (here no doubt the true reading) corrects αἰσθητῶν of *Γ.Ε.* In

to the use of depilatories'. Ast, however, proposed ἀνθήσει (in the sense *splendor*), and further light on the text and its interpretation is shed by the scholia on Aristides (iii p. 438 Dind.) who quotes from this passage of the *Gorgias*, and which glosses κομμωτική by τὴν κοσμητικὴν, τουτέστι τὴν κουρικὴν καὶ τὴν ὑφαντικὴν· καλλωπίζουσι γὰρ αὐταί, φησί, τὸ σῶμα. It seems that this commentator at least took σχήμασιν καὶ χρώμασιν as referring to κουρικὴ, and λειότητι καὶ? as referring to ὑφαντικὴ, i.e. both denoting beautification of things other than the actual skin or complexion of the body, viz. the hair and the clothes,³³ the latter with reference to the actual weaving of the fabric.

With regard to the first pair, σχῆμα (which Dodds takes to refer to 'stays, padding, etc.') could well be used of hair styles—cf. Eur. *Med.* 1161 σχηματίζεται κόμην, Plut. *Pel.* 34 κούριμον σχῆμα,³⁴ and χρώμα of hair dyeing, which is frequently referred to, both of women³⁵ and men;³⁶ and as regards the scholiast's assumption that the second pair refers to the adornment of the person with woven clothing—and the duties of the κομμωτρία were chiefly concerned with matters of dress (cf. Ar. *Ec.* 737 and Κομμώ as the name of the dresser of the Athena statue in her Panathenaic robe), in addition to hair styling (cf. Poll ii 31, Epict. ii 23.14, where the comparison of hair ornamentation to ornate language resembles the theme of the *Gorgias*)—one might compare Plato himself (*Plt.* 310e) λείων καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον εὐήτριον ὕφασμα, Thuc. ii 97 ὅσα ὑφαντά τε καὶ λεία, AP vi 247.2 λειομίτους κάμακας (of the weaver's comb?) IG ii² 1514.30 χιτωνίσκιον κτενωτὸν λείων; and with Ast's ἀνθήσει (though not in the sense intended by him) one would get a characteristic enough pair of words contrasting clothing of smooth, light texture, and clothing with thick nap left unshorn. I observe that in one of the two uses of ἄνθησις recorded in LSJ, Plut. *Mor.* 647 f, Bernardakis records the corruption of ἄνθησιν to αἴσθησιν, precisely as may have happened in *Gorg.* 465b.

It is incidentally interesting how closely the range of subsidiary meanings of ἄνθος, other than specifically of the blossom of a flower, corresponds to the meanings of two other words, ἄχνη and χνοῦς, most commonly used of froth and down respectively, but including the sense of nap on cloth as well. The unifying idea of all three is the *superficies* of the material or object,³⁷ and the parallelism is so marked that it would almost be surprising if ἄνθος were not occasionally found of cloth. (See table on p. 6.)

In his book on 'The Style of Aeschylus', F. R. Earp writes 'Thus ἄνθος is so constantly used in poetry for 'the prime' or 'flower' of a thing that unless the metaphor is further developed or applied in an unusual way, it is hardly felt. . . . But on the other hand, Aeschylus often uses a familiar metaphor in a new way.' In another metaphor in the *Agamemnon* (659), it seems to me that Aeschylus alludes to two alternative senses of ἄνθος when the Aegean is said to 'flower' (ἀνθοῦν πέλαγος) with the corpses of the same 'flower of the Argives' on their disastrous return voyage,³⁸ for of course ἄνθος is not seldom used of the froth or spume of the sea;³⁹ and it is over-simplifying the breadth of poetic imagination to categorise the word as Paley does ('the metaphor is from a field spotted over with flowers'). As in the combination with καταξαίνω, a Greek familiar also with ἄνθος = froth would automatically respond to the double meaning which enlivens the image.⁴⁰ The same effect is achieved by Pindar in

Meno 76d, F again reads ἐσθήτος (absurdly) for αἰσθητός BTW, whereas in Artem. iv 2 (p. 244, 18) αἰσθητά is an erroneous variant for ἐσθήτα.

³³ Cf. κομμωτριῶν, κουρέων together in *Rep.* 373c.

³⁴ Especially as the deception of false hair is a theme continually referred to from fifth-century comedy to Lucian (*Crat. frr.* 282, 319, Ar. *frr.* 320.2, 321, Philostr. *Ep.* 22, Athen. 523a, Luc. *D. Mer.* 11.3, 12.5, etc.), and in the Cratinus citations the verb (δια)πηρηκίζειν is actually used as a synonym for ἀπατᾶν.

³⁵ Eub. *fr.* 98.7–8, Men. *fr.* 679 Koerte (610 Kock), Alciph. *fr.* 5, Plut. *Mor.* 771b, Ael. *VH* xiii 1, Luc. *Am.* 40, *D. Mer.* 11.3, *id.* AP xi 408.1, Palaeph. 43 (who attributes the invention to Medea!), and in general Poll. ii 35.

³⁶ Ar. *Ec.* 735–6 and schol. on the proverbial Lysicrates (cf. Apost. x 97, etc.), Duris *ap.* Athen. 542d, Ael. *VH* ix 9; cf. Plat. *Lys.* 217d.

³⁷ See Stanford, *Greek Metaphor*, 111–4. More recently in *Glotta* xli (1963) 271–8, J. M. Aitchison in a paper on ἄνθος in Homer, has proposed that the basic meaning is 'upward, visible growth'.

³⁸ The fact that the same Θρηκίαι πνοαί (654) again harry the unlucky Argives is another significant link between the two passages.

³⁹ See examples above. So too Callimachus uses κίματος ἄκρω ἄνω (fr. 260.57).

⁴⁰ Verrall claims to see 'a last glimpse of the metaphor from the herd'. Page, not uncharacteristically, finds it 'an exceptionally incongruous metaphor'. W. B. Stanford, *Greek Metaphor* 111–14,

Meaning	ἄθος	ἄχνη	χνοῦς
Scum on wine ^a	λευκῶ πεπυκασμένον ἄνθει Archestr. <i>ap.</i> Athen. 29b: <i>cf.</i> Gal., <i>Gr.</i> refs. in LSJ, and πίσσανθος Gal. xi 520.	οἴνωπὸν ἄχνην Eur. <i>Or.</i> 115	
Froth on sea, etc.	κύματος ἄθος Alc. 26.3 (<i>cf.</i> Alciph. i 1.1): ἄλμην ἐπανθέουσιν Hdt. ii 12 (<i>cf.</i> Sotad. Com. 1.21, Paus. x 31.1): ἄλες ἐξανθοῦσι Artist. <i>fr.</i> 218: ἀνθοῦν πέλαγος Aesch. <i>Ag.</i> 659, ἄνθεσιν ἄχνας Ep. <i>Gr.</i> 1028.75K.	ἄλός ἄχνην Il. iv 426, etc.	ἄλός χνόον Od. vi 226: <i>cf.</i> Archil. <i>fr.</i> 79a7.
Smoke, fire, etc.	πυρός ἄθος Il. ix 212 (v. l.), <i>cf.</i> AP xii 39. 1-2: Λευκανθέα καπνόν Pind. <i>N.</i> ix 23: σκοτεινὸν ἄθος λιγνύος Theodect. <i>fr.</i> 17: φλογός ἄνθεα AP v 264.7.	ἄχνη πυρός Aesch. <i>fr.</i> 336.	τὸν χνοῦν τῶν ἀνθράκων Poll. x 111: <i>cf.</i> Suid. s.v. μαρίλη.
Nap on cloth, etc.	(<i>Cf.</i> above)	ἄχνην Λυδῆς κερκίδος Soph. <i>fr.</i> 45; ὀθονίου Hp. <i>Mochl.</i> 2: = λεπτόν ξύσμα App. <i>Prov.</i> i 44.	χρός: ξύσμος (= ξύσμα?) Hsch. <i>Cf.</i> Poll. x 38; Gal. xii 850. (χνοῦδι in Mod. Gk.).
Down on fruit	<i>Cf.</i> ἐπανθεῖν of apples, etc. in Ar. <i>Nub.</i> 978, <i>Ec.</i> 903, etc.	μῆλον . . . λεπτῇ πεποκομένον ἄχνη AP vi 102.3.	Theoph. <i>CP</i> vi 10.7, etc., and <i>cf.</i> on ἄθος: χνοόοντας ἰούλους A.R. ii 43.
Human hair, animal down	εὐανθεῖ λάχνη Od. xi 320: χαιτα . . . ἐπανθεῖ Alc. 1.53: χροάζων λευκανθές κάρα Soph. <i>OT</i> 742: <i>cf.</i> Ar. <i>Vesp.</i> 1065: ἄθος = λευκὴ θρίξ Suid.	<i>Cf.</i> Schol. Eur. <i>Or.</i> 115 οἱ δὲ ἀκίρωσ τὴν οἰνόχροα τρίχα (ἄχνην) φασί.	<i>Cf.</i> Soph. <i>OT</i> 742 cited on ἄθος: χνοόοντας ἰούλους A.R. ii 43.
Chaff	ἀπανθεῖν (of καλαμῆ in Od. xiv 213) Ar. <i>Rhet.</i> 1410b15.	ἄχνας . . . κατ' ἄλωσ Il. v 499, Luc. <i>Anach.</i> 25, etc.: = τὸ λεπτομερές τοῦ στᾶχνος Schol. Ar. <i>Vesp.</i> 92.	εἰς ἄχνην καὶ χνοῦν Ar. <i>fr.</i> 76: = τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν ἀχέρων Hsch.
Verdigris, patina on metal ^b	ἄνθει χαλκόν Nic. <i>Theor.</i> 257: <i>cf.</i> Alex. 529, Hp. <i>Mul.</i> 1.104, Theogn. 452, Plut. <i>Mor.</i> 395b.	ἄχνη χαλκίτιδος Plut. <i>Mor.</i> 659c.	= πίνος D.H. <i>Dem.</i> 5, 38.

^a For ἄθος of the bouquet of wine also, see R. Renehan, *Glotta* xlvii (1969) 222, quoting Alc. *fr.* 92, Xenoph. *fr.* 1.5-6D., etc.

^b Philostr. *Iun. Im.* 5 has ἐξανθεῖν of the gleam on a serpent's scales.

combining implicitly the 'flower of youth' and 'sea froth' sense of ἄνθος, when Pelias says to Jason in *Pythian* iv 158 σὸν δ' ἄνθος ἦβας κυμαίνει. Bowra (*Pindar*, p. 269) refers to this as a mixed metaphor, but surely ἄνθος is used for a double purpose, alluding also to the poetical use of κύματος ἄνθος?⁴¹ Similarly, in *AP* xii 39, ἀπέπτατο πᾶν ἀπὸ χροίης / ἄνθος (as I have shown elsewhere⁴²), the verb ἀπέπτατο which Gow *ad loc.* finds 'incongruous' is a deliberate echo of the Homeric πυρὸς ἄνθος ἀπέπτατο,⁴³ the clue being provided at the outset by the verb ἐσβέσθη, and the fire image being sustained in this allusive fashion: which brings one to a final observation on the *Agamemnon* passage. It has often surprised me how readily editors, who strain at many a gnat in the exegesis of this troubled text, have swallowed the traditional explanation that βροτῶν ἄλαι (194) means 'wanderings of men', or '(winds which) scatter men, keep them wandering', etc.⁴⁴ Neither as a vague apposition, nor in the causative meaning hypothetically deduced, does it seem a very likely expression, and I have some sympathy for Housman's protest⁴⁵ that 'a less happy name for winds which prevented the Greeks from sailing and kept their fleet on the shore it would need some ingenuity to devise'. If Housman was right to derive the noun not from ἀλάσθαι but ἀλεῖν, 'winds that wear men away', one can trace in this stanza a consistent train of thought in which the 'wearing away' of men, ships and equipment is expressed with allusions first to the grinding of meal, then to the scouring and carding of cloth.⁴⁶ For the metaphorical grinding of men, of course, the parallel which springs to mind is Aristophanes' concept of Cleon and Brasidas as the ἀλετριβανοί of the war-weary citizens of Athens and Sparta in *Pax* 259 ff.; and indeed, the comic poet also happens to provide a more humorous example of a wool-destroying wind when he pretends that the Greek hurricane (ἐριώλη) is etymologically combined from ἔριον, δάλλυναι!⁴⁷ But it must be admitted that ἄλαι here, if sound, remains quite uncertain in meaning, and may belong to a group of words relating to physical or mental distraction or anguish—*cf.* ἀλεός = ἡλεός, attested for Aeschylus (*fr.* 410 N.), ἀλεόφρων, etc.

E. K. BORTHWICK

University of Edinburgh

while sensitive to the different aspects of meaning in ἄνθος, perhaps goes too far in the opposite direction from Paley in saying 'the notion of blossoms must have been the least prominent meaning' in the poet's mind here, for it undoubtedly lends much pathos to the image.

⁴¹ Pindar's association of youth and effervescence may be illustrated also by comparing his use of καχλάζω (on which see Barrett's note on Eur. *Hipp.* 1211) in *Pyth.* iv 179 κεχλάδοντας ἦβρα and *Ol.* vii 1-2 φιάλαν . . . ἀμπέλου καχλάζοισαν δρόσω.

⁴² *Fire Imagery in two poems in the Anthology* (*Class Phil* lxiv [1969], 114-15). In the other poem treated there (*AP* v 62) Rufinus also plays on two meanings of ἄνθος. *Cf.* also Ar. *Ec.* 1121 τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἀπανθήσαντα πάντ' ἀπέπτατο, where, although the metaphor is of the afflorescence of perfume, there may be a half-conscious Homeric echo, as the epic form of verb (read in mss.) suggests (*cf.* Cobet, *Var. Lect.* 305). In his recent edition, Ussher refers to Alexis *fr.* 45.4, where I note yet another example of a double ἄνθος allusion—to the age of men and the bouquet of wine; and I have made a similar point about ἄνθος in *AP* vii 718.2 (Nossis) in *CQ* xix (1969) 308-9.

⁴³ This phrase was an ancient alternative for the reading of *Il.* ix 212, which in the traditional version

ends καὶ φλόξ ἐμαράνθη. As μαράνω is basically a fire word, note also the probable metaphorical implications of Philo ii 264 = *spec. leg.* i 282 ἀπομαρνωθείσης ὥσπερ τινῶν ἀνθῶν τῆς ἀκμῆς (οἱ ἐξωροὶ ἐταῖροι).

⁴⁴ Although it is fair to add that perhaps Aelian understood it so—at least his *fr.* 130 presents an almost incredible verbal coincidence with key words in the *Agamemnon* passage, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐκτριβέντες διεξάνθησαν ἀλήται δαῦρο καὶ ἐκέισε τὸ ζῆν διατελοῦντες.

⁴⁵ *JPh* xvi (1887) 290.

⁴⁶ For the association of ideas, *cf.* Plutarch's consecutive anecdotes involving ξάλνεω, ἀλεῖν in *Mor.* 830c.

⁴⁷ *Vesp.* 1148; *cf.* Dion. *Trag. fr.* 12.

Additional Note: When this article was already in proof, a note was published in *Glotta* liii (1975), 195 ff. by R. A. Raman, who independently discusses the meaning of ἄωτος (and more briefly of ἄνθος) on the same lines as I have done, and writes 'We are left with the inevitable conclusion that ἄωτος is the "nap" that lies on the surface of cloth, as well as the fleece that grows on the surface of sheep'.