

NOTES

Two Notes on Heliodorus

1. *Charicleia's Girdle: Heliodorus ii 31.3, x 13*

At *Περὶ φυγῆς* 20.2 Favorinus¹ introduces an unusual exemplum: if an Ethiopian king wishes to honour one of his subjects he takes off one of his own belts (ζώματα) and gives it to him: αὐτὴ γὰρ Αἰθίοπων στολή. As long as the recipient wears this, the king's subjects will show him respect; the moment he is deprived of it, he loses his authority. Barigazzi *ad loc.*² notes that the anecdote is otherwise unknown. But this royal belt of the Ethiopians does emerge elsewhere in a slightly different guise. Charicleia, the heroine of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, has a silk ταινία³ exposed with her, embroidered with an inscription which explains her royal birth and the circumstances of her exposure (ii 31.3, *cf.* iv 8.6). On her return to Ethiopia she deliberately wears the belt. When about to be sacrificed, she presents it to her mother Queen Persinna, and her royal birth is conveniently established at the eleventh hour. The parallel in Favorinus is a new illustration of one of Heliodorus' characteristic techniques: he is fond of investing an obscure piece of paradoxography with a key role in the plot. A portrait of the white Andromeda determines Charicleia's skin colour at conception (iv 8.5), and makes her exposure necessary in the first place; and among her other birth-tokens is no less a stone than the Pantarbe itself (v 14). Thanks to the papyrus of Favorinus we can conclude that the most important of her inevitable γνωρίσματα is in fact an unusual but attested 'Ethiopian' detail of the same order.

2. *Ὁμηρος, ὄμηρος, ὁ μηρός: Heliodorus iii 14.4*

Homer's thigh has occasioned rather less dispute than his birthplace: but it still remains the most puzzling of the many contrived surprises in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*: the Egyptian priest Calasiris claims that the poet was an Egyptian, son of Hermes, with a divine mark on his thigh: hence *Ὁμηρος* > *ὁ μηρός*. His companion Cnemon declares himself suitably enlightened, but scholars have found little to add to the double exclamation mark with which Rohde's footnote records Calasiris' theory. Rohde himself dismissed this nonsense as nothing more than a schoolmaster's erudition, characteristic of the sheer perversity of Heliodorus' paradoxography;⁴ Merkelbach hails it as proof that jokes in Heliodorus must have a mystical basis, which in this case happens to elude us;⁵ Rattenbury-Lumb compares Lucian's clearly jocular claim (*Ver. Hist.* ii 20) that Homer was a Babylonian hostage (*ὄμηρος*).⁶ What has not been seen is that the

sacred joke in Heliodorus and the secular one in Lucian are two halves of the same pun, and are both imitations of a classic enigma in Teiresias' monologue in the *Bacchae*. There the prophet is talking not about the birth of Homer, but of Dionysus: the god's *eidolon* seems to have been given as a hostage to Hera, while Zeus makes arrangements to have him hidden.⁷ But the tradition that Dionysus was inserted into the thigh of Zeus is dismissed as a mere human fabrication: χρόνῳ δέ νιν / βροτοὶ ῥαφήναι φασιν ἐν μηρῷ Διός, / ὄνομα μεταστήσαντες, ὅτι θεᾶ θεός / Ἥρα ποθ' ὠμήρευσε, συνθέντες λόγον (294 ff.). Now Heliodorus shows a special interest in levels of religious interpretation, and seems to derive satisfaction from citing a popular explanation for a religious phenomenon, then rejecting it in favour of something more mystical and esoteric (e.g. the traditions concerning the Nile, ix 9.5); in the present case he has found just such a piece of priestly one-upmanship in Euripides, and it can be no accident that he completely reverses Teiresias' revelation. The thigh is now the *correct* explanation of the word ὄμηρος (τῶν δὲ ἐγνωκότων τὸ περὶ τὸ σῶμα πάθος εἰς ὄνομα κροτησάντων iii 14.3) applied, it seems, by those in the know: the popular and silly explanation has become the sacred, mystical and esoteric one known only to Egyptian priests! Calasiris has a hint of Plato's Egyptian priest before Solon (*Tim.* 22b ff.: *Aeth.* ii 21 ff.), and of Proteus before Menelaus (*Aeth.* ii 24.4); a touch of Teiresias enriches his elusive character still further—all the more so when Teiresias' Theban explanation is calmly turned upside down in *Egyptian Thebes* (ii 14.2). Cnemon is elsewhere shown as superstitious to the point of gullibility: this subtle parody of Euripides dupes him as usual. Nineteenth-century editors of the *Bacchae* were ill at ease in dealing with sacred puns and their implications for the taste and intentions of their author;⁸ there should be little doubt about the taste or intention of Heliodorus. This subtle tragicomic novelist has started from the priestly sophistries of the most ambiguous tragedian, and manipulated the manipulator a stage further—not without a wink to the reader.

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⁷ What is actually done with Dionysus, or how precisely he is made a hostage, is far from clear: I accept Dodds' lacuna, and the tentative interpretation offered in his edition (Oxford 1943) *ad* 292 ff. The important point for my argument is that ὠμήρευσε in 296 clearly implies ὄμηρον in 293.

⁸ See Dodds *ibid.* *ad* 286–97.

¹ Favorino di Arelate, *Opere, Introduzione, testo critico e commento a cura di Adelmo Barigazzi* (Florence 1966) 396 f.

² *Ibid.* 477. Barigazzi takes the Αἰθίοπων τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς to be Indians; but confusion between the two races was commonplace, and Heliodorus does in fact make Hydaspes τῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ δυσημῶν Αἰθίοπων . . . βασιλεὺς (ix 6.2).

³ The ταινία is not a bra, as Rattenbury-Lumb explain *ad* ii 31.4: (Budé i p. 90); at x 13.1 ff. she has been wearing it ὑπὸ τῆ γαστρῆ!

⁴ *Der griechische Roman und sein Verläufer*³ (Leipzig/Berlin 1914: repr. with Kerényi's additions, Darmstadt 1974) 486 f., 487 n.1.

⁵ *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* (Munich/Berlin 1962) 296 f.

⁶ In the first volume of their Budé edition (Paris 1934) *ad loc.*

The Karchesion of Herakles

Athenaeus (474e) quotes the description of the karchesion cup by Kallixenos of Rhodes, a third-century B.C. author: 'a tall cup, slightly contracted at the middle with handles which extend down to the base'. Scholars have easily recognised in this a variety of kantharos, a cup with

two vertical handles and either with a low foot or the footless *sessile*, both types current in Kallixeinos' day.¹ The ordinary kantharos in its Classical form, with a stem and high-swung handles, may have derived its name, shared with the scarab beetle, from the wing-like appearance of the handles rather than from its overall similarity to a boat, which is one of the other meanings of the word (Ath. 473d–474c). It is doubtful whether Greek usage was ever very precise in these matters but 'karchesion' was probably reserved for the footless variety regardless of handle shape.

Athenaeus records a second use of the word and the description by Asklepiades of Myrleia, a first-century B.C. philologist: 'the part at the top [of a mast] is the karchesion. It has *κεραίας* (yards?) sloping down at each side and on it is fixed the crow's-nest (*θωράκιον*) which is rectangular on all sides except top and bottom which protrude a little in a straight line'. The description, of course, is in terms of the object familiar to the first century and need not match exactly the appearance of the object in earlier days or when the name was first applied (a consider-

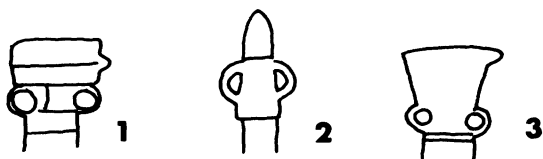


FIG. 1. Examples of the karchesion (see n. 8).

ration not always remembered in identifications of words in Athenaeus). The description of the cup has a better pedigree, in the third century.

Some scholars have taken the nautical term to refer to the crow's-nest itself,² *Mastkorb*, and this has led Langlotz, for instance, to apply the word as a vase shape to vessels like the Chian chalice.³ But this has horizontal handles, which contradict Kallixeinos. Morrison and Williams get it right⁴ and see that it applies only to the mast-top fitting through which the halyards are passed. Only Langlotz has kept in mind, though misleadingly, the two uses of the word but nineteenth-century scholars spotted the physical relationship between them quickly enough, and in 1878 Graser illustrated a kantharos to demonstrate how it might resemble a mast-top.⁵ The item was apparently a cast bronze or iron sleeve with side loops slipped on to the top of the mast. No original Greek examples survive, so far as I know, but similar objects are found in Egypt in the form of tall cones with several loops

at each side⁶ and something of the sort appears also in the Greek Bronze Age on the ships in the Thera frescoes.⁷

For Classical representations of the karchesion we can turn to vase paintings, especially those of Odysseus and the sirens where the boat is drawn in detail. I sketch examples in the figure.⁸ It is very easy to see how these, detached, could look like mugs with vertical handles. It would be natural to assume that the less common object, the mast-top, was named after the probably more common, the cup, and this, rather than philological exigencies, may discourage attempts to associate the word with Carthaginians (Karchedones) who might well have given their name to such specialist equipment. Athenaeus (475b) explains the word by the cup's *τραχύσματα κερχνοειδή*, 'bead-like roughnesses'. The suggestion is worthless but revealing, since the term must refer to the gadroons or fluting on Classical and Hellenistic metalwork and kantharoi, and this treatment is not unknown on kantharoi even before 800 B.C.⁹

Karchesion appears first for a cup in Sappho, and on a ship in Pindar.¹⁰ The stemless or low-footed kantharos has a very long history in Iron Age Greece and earlier still in Anatolia. When the term was first applied for objects of either function is not easily determined, but it was probably not before the late eighth century (even if the nautical use comes first) and could be later.

One variety of footless kantharos of some importance in the late Archaic and Classical periods is the so-called 'Sotadean'. It has a rounded bowl and usually high-swung handles. In Athens the shape is met from about 480 to 420 but there are both earlier and later representations of it and later metal examples. In vase scenes it is often associated with Herakles.¹¹ 'The "Sotadean" shape of kantharos can hardly have any special connexion with Herakles, to whom all kantharoi are appropriate', remarks Beazley. Of course the kantharos was a shape especially favoured in Boeotia and Herakles was a Boeotian by birth. But Athenaeus' sources, and notably Pherecydes, quoted by the Scholiast to *Od.* xi 266, tell a story to make us think again about the special association. Amphitryon left Thebes on a punitive expedition against the Teleboans whom he defeated, taking booty which included a karchesion, a gift of Poseidon's to Teleboans. While he was away Zeus impersonated him and slept with Alkmene for a *νύξ μακρά*, which he trebled in length so that Herakles could be conceived, and he gave her a karchesion, which she took for Amphitryon's Teleboan booty.¹² The story, using the word karchesion for the present, was told by fifth-century authors, Pherecydes, Herodorus and

⁶ *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1905, pl. 4 and cf. B. Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs* (1970) 154.

⁷ S. Marinatos in D. Gray, *Seewesen* (1974) 140, fig. 26, 149.

⁸ (1) Athens 1130, Attic black figure lekythos by the Edinburgh Painter (E. Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi* [1936] pl. 29.3). (2) London E 440, Attic red figure stamnos by the Siren Painter (*ARV* 289, 1; E. Pfuhl, *MuZ* fig. 479; Morrison and Williams, *op. cit.* pl. 21c). (3) Berlin F 4532, Paestan crater (A. D. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery* [1936] pl. 24b, Python no. 130). The artists, of course, turn the loops 90°, as they do sails, so that they appear to run fore and aft.

⁹ J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (1968) 18, 50 f.

¹⁰ *Fr.* 141 LP; the gods use them for libations at a feast. *Nem.* v 52 (J. Péron, *Les images maritimes de Pindare* [1974] 49 ff.).

¹¹ All this is well discussed by Beazley, especially in *Etruscan Vase Painting* (1947) 72 f. (whence the quotation above) and *AntK* iv (1961) 52 f. He also mentions a bronze example in the Thebes Museum, found on Mount Oeta, presumably from the pyre site (perhaps the cup mentioned in *ADelt* v [1919] *parartema* 30).

¹² Pherecydes, *FGrH* 3 F 13. C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* ii (1921) 612 f., for the story and sources.

¹ Alan Johnston draws my attention to a *sessile* kantharos (Berlin 2621, from Nola) and one with a low foot (E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciathi* [1912] pl. 54, 109), each inscribed *καρ*. A recent study of the shape is by Iris Love in *Essays*... Karl Lehmann (*Marsyas Suppl.* i: 1964) 204–22, and cf. L. Talcott and B. A. Sparkes, *Athenian Agora* xii (1970) 116 f.; J. M. Hemelrijk, *BABesch* l (1975) 29. In its early history we may distinguish the broad shape, derived from north Greece in the early Iron Age, and the slim 'depas amphikupellon' of Anatolia (for which see now P. Z. Spanos in *IstMitt* Beiheft vi 1972).

² These appear at an early date, mistaken for ships' lanterns by S. Loeschke, *Bonn.Jb.* cxviii (1909) 372; corrected in S. Laser, *Hausrat* (1968) 97. In use, but not detailed, on the Aristonothos crater, E. Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung* fig. 65.

³ In *Arch. Anz.* 1969, 382 and *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst* (1975) 180, n. 12. E. Walter-Karydi observes in *Samos* vi. 1 108, n. 186, that the Chians called this shape a kylix (among other things, no doubt).

⁴ J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships* (1968) 199.

⁵ *Philol. Suppl.* iii 234 n. 72; and cf. A. Cartault, *La Trière Athénienne* (1881) 178 f.

Charon of Lampsakos (cited by Athenaeus).¹³ The cup had appeared in art on the Chest of Kypselos at Olympia where Pausanias (v 18.3) saw Zeus giving a cup (kylix) and necklace to Alkmene. And in the sixth century Anaximander had called Alkmene's cup a skyphos, as imprecise a word as kylix.¹⁴ Charon says that the cup itself was still shown in Sparta.¹⁵ It seems likely that it was the fifth-century identification of the famous cup as a special variety of kantharos, the karchesion, that prompted, or was prompted by the representations of Herakles with his 'Sotadean' kantharos. It had been his mother's, and it showed him to be his father's (or fathers') son.

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¹³ *FGrH* 31 F 16; 262 F 2.

¹⁴ *Ath.* 498c; *FGrH* 9 F 1.

¹⁵ Perhaps a Mycenaean gold or silver vessel like the gold stemless kantharos from Mycenae Shaft Grave IV (D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* [1966] 38 fig. 9 and cf. pl. 2b and 60, fig. 14a, a late Archaic silver cup).

Androtion F 6: τότε πρώτον

Androtion, *FGrH* 324 F 6, and Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 22, seem to differ about the date when ostracism was introduced in Athens. But the words τότε πρώτον in the text of Androtion have been attacked as unsatisfactory Greek. I hold that, on the contrary, they are perfectly acceptable and idiomatic.

For reference, I cite the text of Androtion, which is quoted in the lexicon of Harpocration, and of Aristotle.¹

Harpocration, s.v. Ἰππαρχος: . . . ἄλλος δέ ἐστιν Ἰππαρχος ὁ Χάρμου . . . περὶ δὲ τούτου Ἀνδροτίων ἐν τῇ β' φησὶν ὅτι συγγενὴς ἦν Πεισιστράτου τοῦ τυράννου καὶ πρῶτος ἐξωστρακίσθη, τοῦ περὶ τὸν ὄστρακισμὸν νόμου τότε πρῶτον τεθέντος διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν τῶν περὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὅτι δημαγωγὸς ὦν καὶ στρατηγὸς ἐτυράνησεν.

τότε πρῶτον PABG; τότε πρώτου QMKRVXZ Ald.; νόμου τὸ τεθέντος N; τοῦ . . . τεθέντος om. Ep.

Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 22.1: καινοῦς δ' ἄλλους (sc. νόμους) θεῖναι τὸν Κλεισθένη . . . ἐν οἷς ἐτέθη καὶ ὁ περὶ τοῦ ὄστρακισμοῦ νόμος.

22.3: τότε πρώτον (488/7) ἐχρήσαντο τῷ νόμῳ τῷ περὶ τὸν ὄστρακισμὸν, ὃς ἐτέθη διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ὅτι Πεισίστρατος δημαγωγὸς καὶ στρατηγὸς ὦν τύραννος κατέστη. (4) καὶ πρῶτος ὠστρακίσθη Ἰππαρχος κτλ.

The chief modern attack on τότε πρώτον in the text of Androtion was launched by G. V. Sumner.² He objected

¹ For the apparatus to Harpocration I rely on J. Keaney, *Historia* xix (1970) 1.

² *BICS* xi (1964) 79–86. H. Bloch, *Gnomon* xxxi (1959) 493, also objected that 'the description of the law in Harpokration as "then given for the first time" is senseless'. Some critics also cite G. Kaibel, *Stil und Text der Pol.* *Ab.* (Berlin 1893) 174, as having condemned F 6 as an 'clendes Excerpt' from Aristotle; but Kaibel did not object to τότε πρώτον as meaningless, rather as lacking a chronological reference. Other criticisms of the text of F 6 are listed by Busolt-Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde* ii 884 n. 2, and by Jacoby, *FGrH* Suppl. ii 115 n. 7.

to the statement that 'Hipparchus was the first man to be ostracized, the law on ostracism having been passed τότε πρώτον'. For Sumner, τότε πρώτον ought to mark the beginning of a series of occasions or of a process of change or transformation. But in Androtion, τότε πρώτον does not refer to the beginning of a series of occasions on which a law on ostracism was passed (much less the beginning of a process of making such a law). Androtion's words had been confused through faulty condensation; the text of F 6 was corrupt. Accordingly—and this is the important conclusion—we have no evidence for the often-stated view that Aristotle and Androtion differed on the date of the law.³

John Keaney accepted Sumner's belief that τότε πρώτον does not make sense.⁴ Rudi Thomsen agreed that τότε πρώτον τεθέντος was meaningless and that we do not know what Androtion wrote.⁵

But three passages in Plato use these words with the meaning that they evidently have in the usual text of F 6, namely 'that was the moment when', 'only then', 'exactly then'.

a. *Parm.* 127c: Socrates and others attend a reading from the writings of Zeno, τότε γὰρ αὐτὰ πρῶτον ὑπ' ἐκείνων κομισθῆναι, 'for they (Zeno and Parmenides) had just then brought his works to Athens'. This was not the first of a series of occasions on which Zeno and Parmenides brought Zeno's writings to Athens.

b. *Tim.* 53b: The four elements are mentioned; οὕτω δὲ τότε πεφυκότα ταῦτα πρῶτον διεσχηματίσατο [ὁ θεός] εἶδει τε καὶ ἀριθμοῖς, 'only then did God mould them in shapes and numerical relationships'. God did this, as the aorist may also show, at some certain time—for the first time, indeed, because down to then the elements had not been so conformed; but this is not the first of a series of occasions on which God shaped the elements.

c. *Pol.* 271d: τότε γὰρ αὐτῆς πρῶτον τῆς κυκλήσεως ἤρχεν ἐπιμελούμενος ὁ θεός, 'God began at that moment to look after this entire revolution'; but this was not the first in a series of occasions when he began to do so: rather, the exact moment when he took this action.⁶

We might now look again at some of the passages that Sumner analysed. Thucydides (i 96.2) reports that, when the Delian League was founded, the office of the *Hellenotamiai* τότε πρῶτον Ἀθηναίους κατέστη ἀρχή, 'was then

³ Androtion in fact differed with the *communis opinio* in the fourth century: Philochorus (see Jacoby on 328 F 30) and Ephorus (in Diodorus xi 55) seem to have shared Aristotle's view, that the law was passed by Cleisthenes, presumably c. 508 (for we may pass over the attempts to bring Cleisthenes out of retirement, or back to life, in order to enable him to pass the law c. 488). K. J. Dover, *CR* xiii (1963) 256, produced another argument against the usual theory (*viz.* that Aristotle and Androtion disagreed). Dover shows that they *need not* have disagreed, although they may have done so: if Androtion, like Aristotle, wrote that the Athenians made Hipparchus the first victim of a law ὃς ἐτέθη διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν κτλ., Harpocration may not have realized that Androtion intended ἐτέθη to have a pluperfect meaning; and he may have paraphrased Androtion wrongly, making him say that the law was passed just at the time of Hipparchus' ostracism. If Dover's reconstruction is accepted, the responsibility for the phrase τότε πρῶτον τεθέντος (to which Dover made no objection) lies with Harpocration. I prefer, however, to accept that Harpocration quoted or paraphrased Androtion without distorting his meaning.

⁴ *Loc. cit.* (n. 1). Keaney discussed reactions to his article, *Historia* xxv (1976) 480–2.

⁵ *The Origin of Ostracism* (*Humanitas* iv: Copenhagen 1972) 51 ff.

⁶ It is worth noticing that words meaning 'first' in some other languages by no means always imply that an action or state of affairs will be repeated. *Cum primum ueni* means 'just as I arrived', and *Ich bin erst jetzt gekommen*, 'I've only just now got here'; compare *er ist erst zwanzig*, 'he's only twenty'.