

the forces of celibacy and sexuality are in conflict, for prospective brides and bridegrooms can readily be seen as poised between the two, the marriage ceremony being a rite of passage from the one to the other. In this connection we may note that at the end of the play Artemis prophesies a cult of Hippolytus in which brides-to-be would dedicate their hair to him (1423–30).<sup>8</sup> Less explicitly, Hippolytus himself dedicates a garland from Artemis' uncut meadow to that goddess (73–87): as Barrett notes elsewhere, luxuriant vegetable growth and hair are commonly interrelated metaphorically.<sup>9</sup> In a sense, then, Hippolytus dedicates 'hair'. It becomes tempting to suggest that the audience is expected to be aware not only of the cult *title* of Artemis Eukleia but also of the *practice* of her cult, concerning which we are all but totally ignorant today.

D. C. BRAUND

Churchill College,  
Cambridge

<sup>8</sup> With Barrett *ad loc.* and 3–6; *cf.* lines 1140–1.

<sup>9</sup> *Ad* 210: *cf.* Segal (n. 5) 122.

### The Athenian Treaty with Samos, ML 56

#### PLATE IV

There have been several recent discussions concerning the text of the Athenian Treaty with Samos (*IG* 50+102, ML 56, *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 48) and the reconstruction of its fragments.<sup>1</sup> The discussions have dealt largely with inadequacies of the restoration offered '*exempli gratia*' by Wade-Gery in 1931,<sup>2</sup> but too little attention has been paid to the stones and the evidence they offer the historian. Three of the four stones associated with the Treaty were edited in *IG* i<sup>2</sup> 50+102; the fourth was there mentioned but not identified until Wade-Gery's article.<sup>3</sup> Wade-Gery's transcription of the stones has become the foundation of all recent discussion and only Bradeen and McGregor<sup>4</sup> have contributed observations on the stones themselves.

An examination of the fragments conducted in June 1978 and in April 1979<sup>5</sup> uncovered in Wade-Gery's transcription an error which served as the basis for his reconstruction of a list of generals attributed to the year 439/8 B.C. The incorrect reading is the next-to-last letter of the word presumed to be *Κεκροπίδ)ος* in line 31 of the ML text. Wade-Gery presented in his article first a dotted *omicron* in that space and later an undotted one; in his commentary he stated 'The first letter in line 2 [line 31 *cf.* fragment *d* in the ML text] is almost certainly *O*'.<sup>6</sup> He did not mention that this contradicted the readings of both

editions of *IG*,<sup>7</sup> nor did he state any grounds for deciding the letter to be *omicron*. Bradeen and McGregor placed the *omicron* in brackets, thus disagreeing over whether the letter had ever been readable on the stone, but they retained Wade-Gery's restoration, presumably to declare their approval.<sup>8</sup>

There is no trace on the stone of an *omicron* before the *sigma* (see PLATE IV*a*). There is preserved, however, the right part of a horizontal stroke at the bottom of the letter space. The mark in question is faint but appears best in PLATE IV*b*; it is deemed to be a stroke on account of its straightness and regularity, its depth, colour, and position. In the first publication of the stone Lolling<sup>9</sup> showed a horizontal stroke at bottom with the beginning of a vertical rising on the left; this vertical stroke may have been on the stone but was perhaps confused with a pit in the broken edge, visible in the photographs, which angles upwards from the horizontal stroke and away from the face of the stone. Epigraphically the horizontal stroke may belong to *epsilon* or *zeta* or, if misplaced, to *sigma* or *lambda*. Of these possibilities *epsilon* alone is likely since the letter precedes a *sigma* at the end of a word.

The change required in the transcription of the stones shows that Wade-Gery's reconstruction of the strategic list relied upon false evidence and must be rejected; it lends weight to the linguistic arguments against his restorations to the oath included in the Treaty.<sup>10</sup> With Wade-Gery's strategic list challenged, the relation between the two stones presumed to belong to the bottom of the Treaty once again becomes an issue. One should note that the join alleged in ML<sup>11</sup> to exist between two fragments of the document is in fact the 'textual join' restored by Wade-Gery between the bottom two stones.

C. W. Fornara has recently called into question the relation of the four stones attributed to the Treaty.<sup>12</sup> He attacked the association of the bottom two pieces (fragments *c* and *d* in ML) with the top two (*a* and *b*) on both historical and epigraphical grounds: 'The board of generals, *per se*, does not belong in the decree . . . On the other hand, tribal designation of the *strategoí* makes some sense in a purely internal document, where the affiliation retained local significance.'<sup>13</sup> He also stressed the differences in punctuation and letter shapes between *a-b* and *c-d*.

Fragments *b* and *d* must, however, belong to the same stele. The similarity of the stone of the fragments, of the traces of chiselling on their preserved sides, of their lettering and stoichedon patterns, and of the wear on their damaged backs<sup>14</sup> indicates a probable connection between them; and the pattern of fractures shows the connection to be close. The bottom right edge of *b* continues the top left edge of *d*, and the bottom left of *b*

<sup>1</sup> C. W. Fornara, 'On the chronology of the Samian War', *JHS* xcix (1979) 14–18; A. S. Henry, 'Negative coordination in Attic decrees', *JHS* xcvi (1977) 156; H. Wankel, 'Zu Eidesformeln in athenischen Urkunden des 5. Jh.', *ZPE* xv (1974) 250–4.

<sup>2</sup> H. T. Wade-Gery, 'Strategoí in the Samian War', *CPh* xxvi (1931) 309–13.

<sup>3</sup> *IG* i<sup>2</sup> 50: '*d non vidi*'; *cf.* Wade-Gery (n. 2) 309.

<sup>4</sup> *Studies in fifth-century Attic epigraphy* (Norman, Okla. 1974) 120–1.

<sup>5</sup> My sincere thanks go to Mrs D. Peppas-Delmouzou and to Mrs Ch. Karapa-Molizani for their assistance and hospitality in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, as well as to the capable technicians Panayiotis Diakoumis and Takis Diakoumis; I am grateful to Prof. E. Vanderpool, Prof. C. N. Edmonson, J. S. Traill, and J. McK. Camp for examining the stones with me and offering their opinions. They bear no responsibility for the views expressed in this paper.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 2) 310.

<sup>7</sup> *IG* i suppl. p. 125 no. 557 line 2; *IG* i<sup>2</sup> 50 *fr.* a line 2.

<sup>8</sup> Letters once certainly read, such as the last three in line 33 of the ML text, but now disappeared through subsequent damage stay unbracketed; Bradeen and McGregor did not see fit to bracket them.

<sup>9</sup> *IG* i suppl. *loc. cit.* (n. 7).

<sup>10</sup> Henry (n. 1); Wankel (n. 1).

<sup>11</sup> ML 56, p. 151.

<sup>12</sup> Fornara (n. 1).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 15.

<sup>14</sup> Wade-Gery referred (311) to the 'distinctive and identical' appearance of workmanship on the backs of *b-d* which he considered, with the identity of letter-spacing, as conclusive evidence for the association of the stones (312 n. 1). Though he erred in thinking the backs original (a conclusion absolutely ruled out by Epigraphical Museum technicians; *cf.* ML p. 152), he correctly inferred from the markings on the backs that the stones belonged with each other.

resembles the top right of *d* (see PLATE IVc and *d*). The breaks between the two pieces from front to back also align.

We can discover the relative positions of the two stones from the fact that on three sides—on the faces, the preserved right sides, and the backs—oblique veins or wear-marks continue from one piece to the other. The evidence of the backs is clearest: a pair of shallow grooves runs almost vertically near the middle of the stones and a larger, parallel groove lies nearer the preserved edge (see PLATE IVd); the grooves on both stones lie at an identical angle to the edges. On the faces, one can trace on the top stone (*b*) a greyish, sugary streak, running downwards and to the right (at the same angle as the grooves on the backs), which tapers off near the bottom of the fragment; on the bottom stone no such sugary streak appears but an extremely faint vein is evident as a line of ‘rust’ in the flaked area near the top edge and appears inside the rock when a light is shined through the bottom, broken edge of the stone. On the preserved right side of the lower stone (*d*) there is a thin band of greyish excrescence, related to the sugary streak on the face of *b*, which runs from face to back as it descends the stele. At the bottom the band protrudes slightly from the side but higher on the fragment it tends to subside. On the upper stone (*b*) only several faint lines of excrescence continue at the same angle. The vein which both the sugary streak and the excrescence probably represent sinks into the stone from the face and runs to the right towards the bottom of the stele.

When the pieces are moved about vertically (fixed laterally by the preserved right edge) the grooves on the backs, the vein on the faces, and the excrescence on the sides align at a point where the gap below the part of a letter preserved in line 26 of the ML text and above the letter reported as undotted *iota* in line 30 is equivalent to the height of three lines. We can thus establish a probable three-line lacuna separating *b* and *d*.<sup>15</sup>

Fornara rightly called attention to the variation in letter shape and in punctuation among the fragments, but the considerable variation in letter shape found within individual pieces (consider, for example, the forms of *lambda* on *d* and of *kappa* on *b* in PLATE IVc, as well as those of *nu* on fragment *a*<sup>16</sup>) weakens his argument. Fornara contrasted the distinctive two-dot punctuation on fragment *a* with the three dots of *c* and *d*, but several examples may be cited of inscriptions with both two- and three-dot punctuation.<sup>17</sup> The existence of two different types of punctuation would accord with different functions: on fragment *a* it appears to separate clauses whereas on *c-d* the interpuncts divide a series of names.

Despite misgivings on other grounds, physical considerations thus establish the relation of *b* and *d*. What, then, of the other stones? The working of the preserved left side of *c* resembles that of the right sides of *b-d*, and the angle of veining on the side of *c* is approximately the same as the angle of the excrescence on the sides of *b-d*. Though far from conclusive, this at least allows the possibility that *c* belongs with *b-d*, and other evidence must be taken into

<sup>15</sup> *ATL* ii D18 p. 73, following Meritt (and Thompson) in *AFD* 54, proposed a fourteen-line lacuna calculated on the measurement of a supposed taper in the fragments; since the backs are not original a conclusion based on taper is groundless.

<sup>16</sup> Photographs of all four fragments are in *ATL* ii pl. xi; in *AFD* frag. *a* (numbering as in ML) is in fig. 8 while *b*, *c*, and *d* are in figs 9, 5, and 6 respectively.

<sup>17</sup> Compare, for example, *IG* i<sup>2</sup> 1, 44, 108, 110, 186/7, 188.

account. The sizes of the letters and the stoichedon measurements are virtually identical, and the shapes of the letters are very similar. Fragment *c* appears to list names of generals and tribes, and employs three-dot interpuncts; *b* bears what may be part of the name of a general, while *d* contains part of the name of an Athenian commander and employs the same type of interpunct.<sup>18</sup> Physical, stylistic, and textual indications thus point to a connection between *c* and *b-d*.

Piece *a* remains to be considered. Among the four stones this seems the odd one out: in addition to the distinctive punctuation noted by Fornara (although we have seen that this does not preclude association), there is one minor discrepancy in letter shape which may be significant. On all the clearly preserved examples of *tau* on *a* the vertical stroke rises perceptibly above the horizontal; this occurs in no *tau* of the other stones. Otherwise the lettering is generally very similar: note the parallel variation of the shapes of *nu* on *a*<sup>19</sup> and on *b* (PLATE IVc). The general veining of *a* approximates to that of *b-c-d* but is not consistent enough for comparison: although the back offers no helpful evidence, it is notable that the axis of greatest thickness of the stone follows the same direction and angle as the veins and grooves on the front and back of *b-d*. The sizes of the chequer-unit and of the letters of *a* correspond closely to those of *b-c-d*. There is also a plausible link between the texts of *a* and *b-c-d*: while *b* carries part of an oath or oaths binding the Samians and the Athenians and *c* and *d* bear names of Athenians active in the siege of Samos during the revolt,<sup>20</sup> *a* refers to Lemnos and the Peloponnese, both of which figure in historical accounts relating to the Samian Revolt.<sup>21</sup> On account of all these considerations there is good reason to link *a* with the other stones even if we lack definite proof of their association.

We thus see that *b* and *d* are certainly connected, with a probable three-line lacuna separating their texts; *c* and *a* are associated with these central fragments by good circumstantial evidence. Until firm evidence appears to dissociate either *c* or *a* from *b-d* we should continue to consider all four pieces as belonging to the Samian Treaty.

It would be useful here to present transcriptions of the stones, with brief remarks:

Fragment *a*

]απ[  
 ]ικε[  
 ]Λεμν[  
 ]καθα[  
 5 ]οι κατασ[  
 Πελο]ποννησ[  
 ]δε εν τε[  
 ]εοι δε κα[  
 ]χρον ου πα[  
 10 α]γτος Αθε[ν  
 α]ντων:ηοσ[  
 ]ν αποδ[  
 ]σ[

<sup>18</sup> Frag. *c*: σ]ρατεγο[ί with names Περικλ]ές, Γλαύκων, and (?) Χρ]ενοφόν (this in line 5); frag. *b*: Σο]κράτε[ς; frag. *d*: Τλεμπ]όλεμος. For refs see below.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. n. 16 above.

<sup>20</sup> Androtion (*FGRH* 324 F 38, Schol. Aristid. xlv. iii, p. 485) records among generals at Samos Perikles, Glaukon, and Xenophon; Thucydides (i 117.2) adds Tle(m)polemos.

<sup>21</sup> Lemnos as site of Samian hostages: Thuc. i 115.3; the Peloponnesians voting on intervention in aid of Samos: Thuc. i 40.5.

2: The fourth letter has the bottom of a vertical stroke at the left side of the letter space; the surface to the right is damaged but may have had a rising stroke belonging to *lambda*.

4: The fifth letter has a vertical stroke, preserved except at the top, just left of centre in the letter space.

Fragments *b-d*

]αι α[γ]αθον . . . .  
 Α]θεναιον ουτε λ[ο  
 ]χουμμαχον τον Α  
 τ]οι δεμοι τοι Αθ  
 ]ασο και ερο και  
 ]Σαμιον ηοτι αν  
 ]ιον κατα ηα.  
 ]Αθεναιον . .  
 ]κρατε . . . .  
 ] . . . .<sup>6</sup> . .

Fragment *c*

στ]ρατεγ[  
 χθειδος:Δεμ[  
 υδιονιδος:Χ[  
 ες:Γλαυκον Α[  
 . - 1 0 0 - 1 - -

5

] . . . .<sup>10</sup> . .  
 ] s:Τλεμπ[ολεμος  
 ]s:βολε ερχε . .  
 ]ος εγραμματαυε Ρα  
 ] vacat  
 vacat

15

Fragments *b-d*

7: The first letter has a falling diagonal stroke on the right preceded by the top part of a rising oblique stroke; it probably belongs to *mu* rather than *alpha* (or *delta*) because of the position of the apex of the two strokes.

10: Only the top of a vertical stroke is preserved, at the left-hand side of the letter space.

11-13: Supposed lacuna.

14: The bottom of a vertical stroke is clearly preserved at the centre (or perhaps slightly to the left) of the letter space.

15: The right part of a bottom horizontal stroke remains, running from the broken edge at left; see p. 185 above.

16: The letters recorded after the *chi* are reproduced on the authority of Lolling (*IG* i suppl. *loc. cit.*); the letters have flaked off since Lolling's reading. The reading of *ATL* iv p. x n. 17 is undiscoverable by me on the stone.

17: Only the vertical of the *upsilon* is extant; it and the following letters are reproduced on Lolling's authority.

Fragment *c*

5: The traces of letter spaces 2-6 (1 is unreadable) are compatible with *-ειδος*, *-τιδος*, or *-πιδος*; between spaces 6 and 7 is a mark which may be the top dot of a three-dot interpunct (how does one dot it in a text?). In space 7 is a mark compatible with the top of the falling diagonal of *chi* and in 8 is a small mark along the break which might correspond to the top stroke of *sigma*, but these two marks are very dubious strokes.

Given the association of all four fragments, one should examine where pieces *a* and *c* might belong in relation to *b-d*. Since the inscription ends on *d* we may place *b-d* at the bottom right corner of the inscribed text. Frag. *a*, with no preserved edge, must belong higher up the stele, for there is little likelihood of joining its text into the same lines as the text of any of the other stones. Frag. *c* offers a tempting possibility. With a preserved left side it must

belong to the left side of the stele, but where could it fit vertically? Frags *b-d* have in lines 9 and 15 parts of names and a three-dot interpunct; perhaps the list of names with the same interpunct on *c* belongs in the same vicinity. If one aligns line 1 of *c* with line 9 of *b-d*, one can see evidence for Sokrates, the general from Erechthis attested by Androtion<sup>22</sup> as serving at Samos, followed by his tribal which continues from line 9 of *b-d* to line 2 of *c*. Wade-Gery had restored lower on the stele what he could have found fitting perfectly higher up.<sup>23</sup> In line 10 of *b-d* is a stroke recorded in ML (line 26) as a dotted *lambda*. Only the top part of a vertical stroke at the left side of the letter space is extant, and it is compatible with either a *kappa* or an aspirate as well as a *lambda*. If the letter is in fact *kappa*, we may here have the name of Andokides, whom Androtion in the same passage records as a general from Pandionis. Here also there is the exact number of letter spaces for his name and the beginning of his tribal, which continues to line 3 of *c*.<sup>24</sup>

The alignment of line 1 of *c* with 9 of *b-d* is thus an attractive idea, but is far from certain. If it happens to be the case, it would seem impossible to fill almost eight full lines with names of only ten individuals and their tribes, and it would be inevitable that the list at the bottom of the Samian Treaty incorporates more than ten names. We already have as many as nine names preserved: ?Sokrates, Dem ----, ?Andokides/?Kallias, Kh----- or X-----, ?Perikles, Glaukon, ?Xenophon (reading *Xσ* among the marks on line 5 of *c*), ---- es, and Tlempolemos. Any plausible reconstruction of the fragments would require room for several more names.

What is this list? Although *στ]ρατεγ[* in line 1 of *c* accompanied by a series of names in tribal order implies the sort of list Wade-Gery sought to reconstruct, more seems to be involved. Androtion (see n. 20) gives a list of eleven names which purport to belong to 'the ten generals at Samos'. His list is confused; that it agrees only partially with the list on the stones raises difficult questions, as does the fact that we have on the stones a likely greater number of names. Our list may contain names both of generals and of other officers such as taxiarchs; perhaps there are separate lists together on the stones. The names could belong to generals of more than one year, incorporating both those who handled the Revolt from the beginning and those who succeeded them. If Tlempolemos was a general, as has been assumed, and if we were to have here a list of generals from a single year, the newly revived reading of *ες* before his name on fragment *d* would presumably belong to the name of another general. Since the two names are not separated by a tribal, we would then have two cases, with that of line 4 of *c*, of double representation of tribes in the general-list; if, as seems likely, we are dealing with more than a simple strategic list and Tlempolemos was not a general (and he is not attested as one: Thuc. i 117.2 merely records him as a commander) but belongs to a separate list of officials, perhaps not catalogued by tribes, we are then free to draw some other conclusion.

A secondary issue, raised by D. M. Lewis in an appen-

<sup>22</sup> Cited in n. 20 above.

<sup>23</sup> ML, following Wade-Gery, restore at line 27 what is on the stone (and unrestored) in 25.

<sup>24</sup> Lewis, *JHS* lxxxii (1961) 118, suggested Kallias as belonging to the list; his name could fit but there is no evidence linking him with the command against Samos nor any direct indication that he belonged to Pandionis.

dix to Fornara's article,<sup>25</sup> concerns the possibility that the same mason cut the texts of the Samian Treaty and of the Chromon decree, to be published as *IG* i<sup>3</sup> 145, which preserves little more than the name of its proposer.<sup>26</sup> Fornara suggested in passing that the Chromon decree might in fact belong to the same inscription as the top stones of the Samian Treaty. Quoting the forthcoming *IG* entry, Lewis asserted 'Lapidaria idem n. 48 [the Samian Treaty] incidit', and he stated that the stoichedon pattern and letter-forms of the two documents were indistinguishable. The poor condition of the Chromon stones obscures physical evidence useful for comparison: the marble appears similar but the patterns of veining and fracture are not clear.

As for stoichedon pattern and letter-forms, there seems to be a noticeable difference between the two documents. Most striking is the horizontal compression and expansion of the letter spacing in the Chromon decree (see PLATE IVc) which does not match the more regular appearance of the Samian Treaty; in line 3 of the Chromon decree, for instance, the width of the chequer-units (averaged over groups of several letters) varies remarkably from 13.3 to 15.5 mm. An occasional errant letter would cause no concern but the disarray on the Chromon stones seems systematic and unlike the comparative neatness of the Samian Treaty. The letters also have a different aspect. On the Chromon decree *mu* is more squat, less balanced, and more floating; *pi* and the aspirate are more squat; and *omicron* is generally much larger. The troughs carved by the chisel also seem much larger, though the difference in appearance may be due to varied circumstances of preservation.

Although one cannot disprove Lewis's claim of the identity of the mason of the two sets of stones, we should regard it with scepticism. We have too little evidence, and what we have is too poor to sustain the assertion. Fornara admits: 'Unfortunately I can find nothing in the (meagre) text of these fragments [the Chromon decree] that ties them into the Samian decree.'<sup>27</sup> With no clear epigraphical evidence to link the two decrees, the epigraphist and historian must continue to regard them as separate documents.<sup>28</sup>

ANDREW PHILLIP BRIDGES

Merton College, Oxford

<sup>25</sup> *JHS* xcix (1979) 18–19.

<sup>26</sup> The text of the decree is given in the *IG* i<sup>3</sup> entry reproduced in the appendix cited in n. 25; its two pieces were originally published as *IG* i<sup>2</sup> 141/2 d and *Hesp.* xiv (1945) 94–7 no. 8 (*SEG* x 51).

<sup>27</sup> *JHS* xcix (1979) 17 n. 53.

<sup>28</sup> I should like to thank the Rotary Foundation, the Lancelyn Green Fund (Merton College), and the Charles Oldham Classical Scholarships Fund (University of Oxford) for financial assistance enabling me to study the inscriptions in Greece; I am grateful also to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and to the British School at Athens for sponsoring my work in the Epigraphical Museum. I am indebted to C. W. Fornara for graciously providing me with a copy of his article before publication and to D. M. Lewis for discussion regarding issues raised by the stones.

### AΙΓΑΙΩΝ in Achilles' Plea to Thetis

When Achilles asks Thetis to plead his cause before Zeus, he urges her to remind the god of her past favours towards him (*Il.* i 396–406):

πολλάκι γάρ σεο πατρός ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἄκουσα  
εὐχομένης, ὄτ' ἔφησθα κελαυνεφεί Κρονίωφι

οἷη ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀεικέα λοίγον ἀμύναι,  
ὅππότε μιν ξυνηῆσαι Ὀλύμπιοι ἤθελον ἄλλοι,  
Ἥρη τ' ἠδὲ Ποσειδάων καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη·  
ἀλλὰ σὺ τὸν γ' ἔλθοῦσα, θεά, ὑπελύσαο δεσμῶν,  
ὡχ' ἑκατόγχειρον καλέσασ' ἐς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον,  
ὃν Βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες  
Αἰγαίων'—ὁ γὰρ αὐτε βίην οὐ πατρός ἀμείνων—  
ὅς ῥα παρὰ Κρονίωφι καθέζετο κύδει γαίων·  
τὸν καὶ ὑπέδεισαν μάκαρες θεοὶ οὐδ' ἔτ' ἔδησαν.

A major problem attends the phrase ὁ γὰρ αὐτε βίην οὐ πατρός ἀμείνων (*Il.* i 404). It has been suggested that the name *Αἰγαίων* represents a patronymic in *-ίων* based on *Αἰγαίος*.<sup>1</sup> The suggestion is unexceptionable in itself, in view of the close connexions between Poseidon and Aegae;<sup>2</sup> but it does nothing to resolve the difficulty of supposing that Poseidon was Aegaeon's father and, above all, it does not tell us how the name *Αἰγαίων* is explained by the phrase ὁ γὰρ αὐτε . . . In a note on these words, M. M. Willcock accepted the common view that they give an 'etymological' explanation of the name *Αἰγαίων*, but suggested that they would be more easily intelligible as an explanation of the giant's other name, *Βριάρεως* (after *βριαρός* etc.).<sup>3</sup> Willcock was right to raise this objection. There is no reason to suppose that the father of Aegaeon/Briareos was different from the father of the other giants, and Hesiod specifically says that his father was Uranus (*Th.* 147–9). The paternity of this giant might therefore be a scholarly invention; and not a happy invention, for however strong Aegaeon may have been he could hardly be said to be mightier than Poseidon.<sup>4</sup>

It seems self-evident that the words ὁ γὰρ αὐτε . . . have no significant meaning unless they provide an etymological explanation of what precedes. While, as Willcock says, they would appear to go better with *Βριάρεως*, there must be some way in which they account for the form *Αἰγαίων*. The reason may be that *Αἰγαίων* is a variant of \**αἰγίων*,<sup>5</sup> a comparative adjective with a meaning similar to that of *ἀμείνων* or *ἀρείων*, which has been altered under the powerful influence of *Αἰγαί* and *Αἰγαίος*.

What grounds are there for postulating the existence of a form \**αἰγίων*? A. Thumb discerned in such words as *αἰγανέη* and *αἰγίς* a stem *αἰγ-* which he thought must have meant originally 'swing' or 'toss'.<sup>6</sup> He considered that this stem had no connexion with that of *αἶξ*, 'goat'. But Thieme discovered a way of reconciling the two stems: he proposed that the original meaning of *αἶξ* was 'creature which moves nimbly' (the stem being cognate with Sanskrit *ej-*).<sup>7</sup> If this suggestion is regarded as plausible, it seems possible that *Αἰγαίων* (<\**Αἰγίων*) means 'the

<sup>1</sup> *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, s.v.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Schachermeyr, *Poseidon und die Entstehung des griechischen Götterglaubens* (Bern 1950) 21.

<sup>3</sup> *PCPS* clxxxiv (1956–7) 25–6.

<sup>4</sup> I am not, however, convinced by Willcock's subsequent argument that the episode is an invention of the poet. On the contrary, I see it as a fragment of a poetical tradition represented elsewhere in the *Iliad*: cf. E. Hedén, *Homeric Götterstudien* (Uppsala 1912) 43–4; W. Krause, *WS* lxxiv (1949) 10–54; A. Heubeck, *Gymnasium* lxxii (1955) 519; W. Schadewaldt, *Iliasstudien*<sup>3</sup> (Darmstadt 1966) 118.

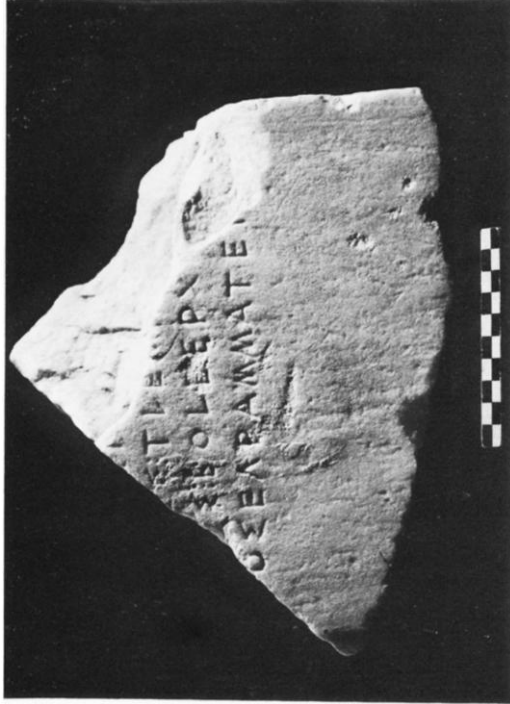
<sup>5</sup> For the formation of personal names in *-ίων* see C. J. Ruijgh, *Minos* ix (1968) 141–7.

<sup>6</sup> *Indogerm. Forsch.* xiv (1903) 345.

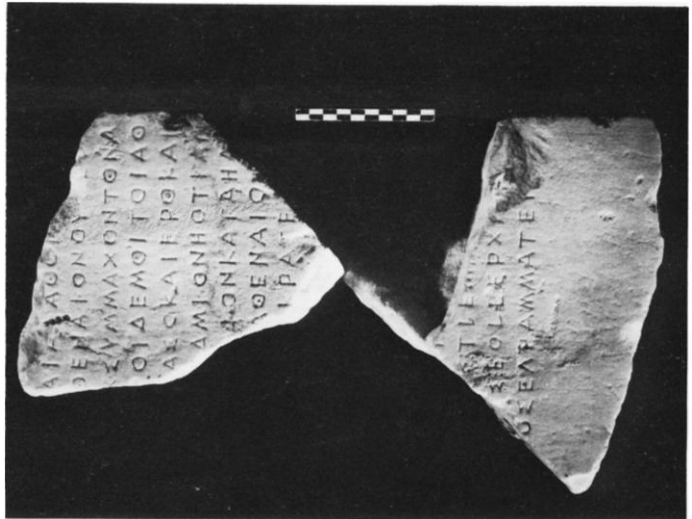
<sup>7</sup> *Die Heimat der indogermanischen Gemeinsprache* (AAW Mainz xi 1953) 43. It remains true, as Thumb saw, that both *αἰγανέη* and *αἰγίς* have the underlying sense of 'that which is swiftly-moving'. That fits *αἰγίς* not only in its Homeric meaning ('shield of Zeus and Athene') but in its post-Homeric meaning ('rushing storm'): cf. H. Schrader, *Götter und Menschen Homers* (Stuttgart 1952) 82–3.



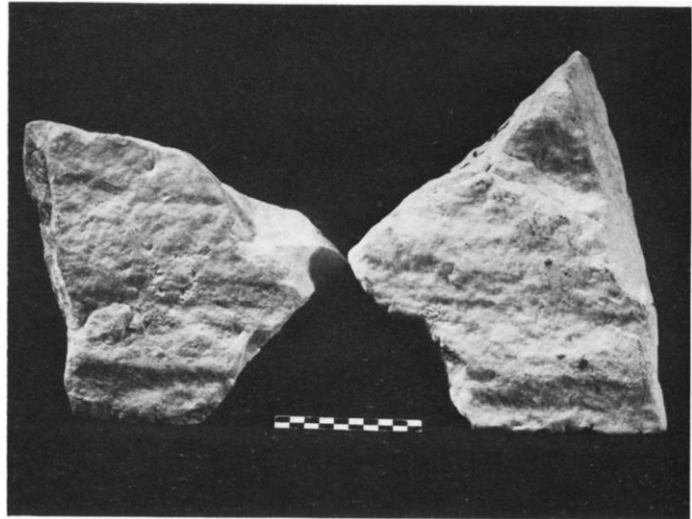
(a) ML 56d (IG i<sup>2</sup>50<sup>a</sup>; IG i<sup>3</sup>48; EM 6623<sup>a</sup>)



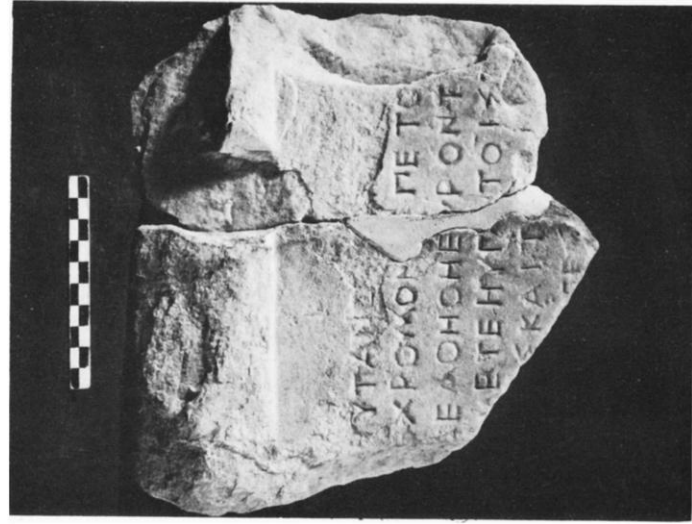
(b) ML 56d



(c) ML 56b+d (IG i<sup>2</sup>50<sup>c++</sup>; IG i<sup>3</sup>48; EM 6623<sup>b++</sup>)



(d) ML 56b+d



(e) 'The Chromon Decree' (JHS xcix [1979] 18-19; IG i<sup>3</sup>145; EM 13370+5197).