

of the Roman empire (or emperors) in Greek need hardly occasion comment. In fact, from the first century onward Roman history had become the exclusive domain of Greek historians. All the (surviving) histories which were composed in the course of the third century were written in Greek, presumably for a Greek audience in the first place, but also for a western public familiar with the language. The presence of such a public in the west seems clear from the fact that nearly all the third century fragments attributed to Dexippus, for example, come from the *Historia Augusta*.<sup>37</sup>

It is further possible to envisage Eusebius either as one who elected to write in a language which was not his mother tongue, or as a Greek who settled in Gaul. There are precedents for both possibilities. In the first case, the best-known example is Favorinus of Arles (second century) who wrote in Greek many works, including some of an historical character, although his mother tongue was Latin.<sup>38</sup> In the second, a contemporary of Eusebius, Eumenius of Autun, was the grandson of a Greek orator who had first taught in Rome and then settled in Gallic Autun.<sup>39</sup> In fact, we know of a number of Greek or 'Syrian' communities in Gaul throughout the imperial centuries, and some of the Greek settlers were literate enough to embark on literary compositions in their original tongue.<sup>40</sup> It is not unlikely that Ausonius himself belonged, on his father's side, to a family which originated in the Greek east and immigrated to Gaul some time in the course of the third century.<sup>41</sup>

One more link connects Ausonius with the historian Eusebius (of Nantes). In his *Parentalia*, a series of poems commemorating dead relatives, Ausonius refers to a Eusebius as an ancestor of Veria Liceria, the wife of Ausonius' nephew.<sup>42</sup> Ausonius' words further imply already made the connection between Evagrius' Eusebius and that had Eusebius still been living, he would have been able to commemorate his great-granddaughter himself. Such a reference, both to a specific ancestor and to his literary talent, is exceptional. Nowhere else in this work does Ausonius mention any ancestor, erudite or ignorant, of any of those commemorated. So with this unusual acknowledgement Ausonius discharged a double debt, as a relative of the dead Eusebius, and as his imitator.

In sum, the importance of placing the work of Eusebius within a western context cannot be exaggerated. It shows that the tradition of Greek historiography was carried on in the west, with a possible emphasis on western events. When the tradition of Latin historiography was finally resumed by Ammianus in the late fourth century, the Greek-speaking historian was composing in Latin for a western audience.

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<sup>37</sup> Millar, *op. cit.*, 23.

<sup>38</sup> Aulus Gellius, *NA* xx 1.20; *PW* vi.2 (1909), 2078f.

<sup>39</sup> *Pan. Lat.* v 17 3-4.

<sup>40</sup> Leclercq in *DACL* iii 2.2273 f. for Gaul (colonies d'orientaux en occident).

<sup>41</sup> *Epicedion in patrem* 9-10: 'sermone impromptus Latio, verum Attica lingua/ suffecit culti vocibus eloquii'.

<sup>42</sup> *Par.* 16. 5ff.: 'nunc laudanda forent (Liceria's virtues)

procul et de manibus imis/ arcensenda esset vox proavi Eusebii./ qui quoniam functo iam pridem conditus aevo/ transcripsit partes in mea verba suas...' Green, *CQ* xxxi (1981) 230, has the Eusebius of Ausonius, but not between these testimonies and the fragments here discussed.

### 'Bloom of Youth': a labelled Syro-Palestinian unguent jar

The inscribed miniature jar shown in the photograph (PLATE VI (c)) and drawing FIG. 1) is part of a collection of artifacts purchased many years ago in Palestine that was recently donated to Ashland University in Ohio (United States) by Professor and Mrs. Delbert H. Flora.<sup>1</sup> Only 5.2 cm. in height and 5.5 cm. in diameter, the vessel has a biconical, wheelmade body and a string-cut base. The ware, which appears to be Syro-Palestinian, is moderately well levigated and fired light brown.<sup>2</sup> Inclusions, so far as they can be discerned, consist predominantly of quartz and chert particles in various sizes, both angular and round, as well as of some small limestone and unidentified rock fragments. The upper portion of the exterior and the interior of the rim display remnants of a dark brownish-black slip imitating black gloss ('glaze'); in places where it was thinly applied, the slip has become pale brown or has disappeared entirely. The vessel stands firmly within the international tradition that dominated pottery of the eastern Mediterranean region during the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods.<sup>3</sup> Similar specimens, though not necessarily made in the same potter's shop, have been found at such diverse places as Tarsus, Dor, Jerusalem and Masada.<sup>4</sup> The form and ware indicate a date in the second or first century BC with a possible extension into the early first century AD.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. and Mrs. Flora for permission to study this vessel prior to its donation to Ashland University. I also wish to express my appreciation to Herbert S. Long, Charlotte R. Long, Frank L. Koucky, Ruth E. Palmer and Ingrid Ebner for assistance rendered at various stages of my research.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that the jar was purchased in Jerusalem does not necessarily warrant the conclusion that it had its provenance in that city or its vicinity, since in modern times antiquities have sometimes been taken from southern Syria to Jerusalem because of the relatively strong market there.

<sup>3</sup> Miniature pots, with or without handles, were extremely popular during these periods, both as trade items and as local fabrications at many sites. Some sense of the remarkable variety of shapes and wares that such vessels could have at a site can be gotten from the types excavated at Seleucia on the Tigris (N. C. Debevoise, *Parthian pottery from Seleucia on the Tigris* [Ann Arbor, Michigan 1934], Figs. 38-56, 58-59, 63-71, 75-76, 239, 241-245, 251-253, 264-265, 273, 307-316, 319-322, 324, 326-328, 330 and 337).

<sup>4</sup> M. Hershkovitz has compiled a corpus of small Palestinian jars of the Hellenistic-Roman period ('Miniature ointment vases from the Second Temple period', *Israel Exploration Journal* xxxvi [1986] 45-51). She groups the specimens into four types and notes comparative materials from elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean region. The vessel under discussion here is of her Type B, a distinctive and infrequent form which is described as having well-levigated pink to buff ware, a biconical body 4-5 cm. high, a wide mouth, a rim ranging from vertical to everted, and a brownish-red slip on the upper body and interior of the mouth. Handles are not present.

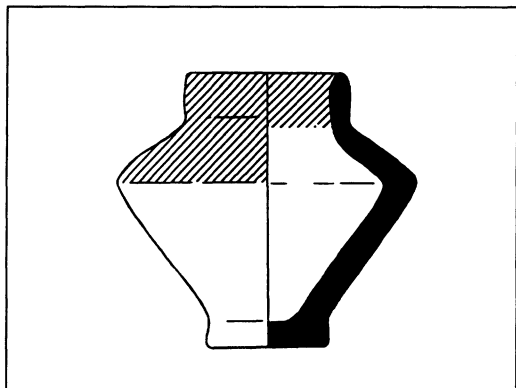


FIG. 1



FIG. 2

At some time subsequent to the vessel's manufacture a label had been written in carbon-black on the body, immediately below the carination (FIG. 2). Deterioration of the surface, as well as ancient and modern abrasion, have worn the dipinto to faint, though still distinct, legibility. The text consists of the continuous letters ΩΡΑΣ ΑΝΘΟΣ.<sup>5</sup>

The letter Α at the right end of the dipinto, which is followed by a dot, is to be understood as a number. The dot may have been perfunctorily added as an indication that the symbol was to be read as 30 rather than 3000. The text can thus be read:

Ωρας άνθος 30

The fact that ωρας άνθος is followed by a number strongly suggests that the label identifies the contents of the jar rather than giving the name of the manufacturer, retailer or owner. Although the great majority of ancient vessels were unlabelled as to contents, some small vessels that could be used for a variety of oils and un-

<sup>5</sup> The accuracy of the transcription was verified by examination of the surface of the vessel at 20x and 40x magnification. Immediately to the left of these letters, and occupying a space roughly equivalent to two Greek letters, are some minute bits of the same ink, sparsely scattered in the normal microscopic depressions of the surface; these are flecks too few and small to be reproduced in a photograph. If two letters did precede ΩΡΑΣ, the only plausible Greek word would have been ὀπωράς (see further in n. 34), but the few flecks are not positioned so as to warrant any such hypothetical reconstruction.

guents were occasionally so marked, most often in black ink but sometimes with incised or stamped letters. Among the extant labels are ΛΥΚΙΟΝ (lykion, a nostrum), ΝΑΡΔΙΝΟΝ (nard), ΙΠΙΝΟΝ (iris perfume) and ΠΥΘΗ (rue, a medicinal extract).<sup>6</sup>

If '30' refers to weight, the implied noun must be the smallest common Hellenistic unit of measurement, the ὀβολός. Thirty obols constituted approximately an ounce (22-31 grams, according to which measure was in use), and the jar in fact has a capacity for contents weighing that amount.<sup>7</sup> If the number designates the price, it probably alludes to the coin ὀβολός, since thirty of the next larger numismatic unit, the δραχμή, would constitute an extremely high price.<sup>8</sup> Although it would be somewhat unusual to find a price expressed as 30 obols rather than as five drachmas (the drachma generally being worth six obols), there is evidence in commercial papyri that amounts of obols above six were by no means always converted to drachmas.<sup>9</sup>

The meaning of ωρας άνθος can best be elicited by commencing with a brief consideration of a closely related expression, ωρας άνθεα, which appears a number of times in ancient Greek texts. This term can have the meaning 'flowers in season';<sup>10</sup> usually, however, it alludes to spring flowers. Sometimes that season is specifically mentioned along with ωρα, as when Gregory of Nazianzus alludes to τὰ άνθεα εΐαρος ωρη<sup>11</sup> or John Chrysostom speaks of τῆς τῶν εαρινῶν άνθέων ωρας.<sup>12</sup> Even when εαρ is unexpressed, as is usually the case, it is clearly implied, since flowers

<sup>6</sup> Several such vessels, having several different forms and ranging widely in provenance and date, are discussed by C.H.E. Haspels, *Attic black-figured lekythoi* (Paris 1936) 124-6 in connection with a labelled lekythos from Athens. See further in n. 38.

<sup>7</sup> As Galen's writings show, Greek-speaking physicians customarily specified the ingredients of medicines according to drachmas and obols (see his *De antidot.*, *De comp. med. sec. loc.* and *De comp. med. per gen.*).

<sup>8</sup> Although it is difficult to determine the purchasing power of ancient coinage, particularly for a specific geographical region, the value of a drachma during the Hellenistic period was approximately a day's wage for a skilled labourer (M. Rostovtzeff, *The social and economic history of the Hellenistic world* [Oxford 1941] 1600-1); even a highly-compensated physician received only 1000 drachmas per annum (W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic civilization*<sup>2</sup> [London 1930] 100). By the first century AD the daily wage in Palestine apparently had undergone only moderate inflation; the Gospel of Matthew (20:2) states that a denarius (comparable to a drachma) was a day's wage for an unskilled labourer.

<sup>9</sup> For example, the numbers of obols that appear in itemizations for expenditures in the accounts from the Tebtunis Graphieion, although usually low when representing small change that accompanies drachmas, rise upon occasion to several dozen obols (in one instance as high as 52) when drachmas do not figure in the itemization (A. E. R. Boak, *Papyri from Tebtunis, Part I* (Ann Arbor 1933) 105; see also, *inter alia*, entries on pp. 167 [28 obols, 106 [36 obols] and 199 [42 obols]).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Arist. *HA* 554b and Longus *Daph. et Ch.* i 32.2. (Texts and paginations are cited here according to the *Canon of Greek authors and works*<sup>3</sup>, ed. L. Berkowitz and K. A. Squier [New York 1990].)

<sup>11</sup> *Carm. mor.* 575.11.

<sup>12</sup> *Ad. vid. jun.* 342.

were conventionally thought of as blooming in the spring.<sup>13</sup> "Ὠρας ἀνθεα, in various grammatical permutations, appears in Greek literature as early as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, where one finds the image of innumerable warriors blanketing a meadow 'as leaves and flowers come forth in the spring' (ὄσσα τε φύλλα καὶ ἀνθεα γίγνεται ὄρη).<sup>14</sup> Similarly the historian Hellanicus mentions that a crown was 'wreathed in most beautiful spring flowers' (ἀνθέων πλεξάμενος τῆ ὄρη περικαλλεστάτων).<sup>15</sup> There are other instances of the use of Ὠρας ἀνθεα in this concise and relatively literal sense throughout Greek literature. The label on the jar under discussion, however, which gives the noun ἀνθος in the singular, does not fit this pattern. Consequently, even though there could have been an ancient perfume made from the essence of spring flowers,<sup>16</sup> it is unlikely that Ὠρας ἀνθος would have been an appropriate term to designate the product.

The label's meaning is rather to be found in the metaphorical use of Ὠρας ἀνθος. Frequently ὄρα (or ὄρα ἔαρος) was used in conjunction with ἀνθος or the verb ἀνθέω as a simile for freshness, youth and beauty. In a fable of Aesop one finds, for instance, τὸ μὲν σὸν κάλλος τὴν ἑαρινὴν ὄραν ἀνθεῖ, 'your beauty blossoms as the springtime'.<sup>17</sup> It is but a short step from such an analogy to the direct use of Ὠρας ἀνθος—always in the singular—as a metaphor for the springtime of life, the bloom of youth, and bodily beauty. Dio Cassius writes of the beautiful Sophonisba, who 'in both proportion of body and bloom of youth was at her prime' (καὶ γὰρ τῆ συμμετρίας τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆ ἀνθεῖ τῆς Ὠρας ἠκμαζεν).<sup>18</sup> Philo of Alexandria castigates those men who become effeminate, 'dispensing their bloom of youth' (τὸ τε τῆς Ὠρας ταμειύοντας ἀνθος),<sup>19</sup> and elsewhere declares that a married woman should not conduct herself 'like a harlot retailing her youthful bloom' (ὡς ἑταίραν τὸ τῆς Ὠρας ἀνθος καπηλεύουσαν).<sup>20</sup> Both the concept and the imagery of Ὠρας ἀνθος appear in passages by

a number of other ancient Greek writers, from Plato<sup>21</sup> to early Christian moralists steeped in Greek literary tradition.<sup>22</sup>

In light of the Greek love of youth and physical form, it is not surprising that Ὠρας ἀνθος was, like the beauty of the body (ὄρα τοῦ σώματος and other terms), generally regarded as desirable. To be sure, some sober-minded thinkers challenged this veneration of youthfulness and bodily perfection. The Stoic philosopher Chrysippus qualified the popular notion by pronouncing beauty to be the efflorescence of a virtuous life (εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄραν ἀνθος ἀρετῆς).<sup>23</sup> Socrates tried to convince the aging (though hardly aged) Alcibiades that 'your youthful bloom is declining, but your true self is beginning to blossom' (τὰ δὲ σὰ λήγει Ὠρας, σὺ δ' ἀρχῆ ἀνθεῖν).<sup>24</sup> Xenophon declared that 'the bloom of youth soon passes its prime' (τὸ μὲν τῆς Ὠρας ἀνθος ταχὺ δῆπου παρακμάζει),<sup>25</sup> and centuries later Chrysostom warned in lofty tones that disease could overtake the body and lay waste to the bloom of youth.<sup>26</sup>

These very warnings show that many people in the Graeco-Roman world were all too eager to worship at the shrine of youth, beauty and vigour. It was doubtless with an eye to such popular interests that a merchant offered his customers this product appealingly labelled 'Bloom of Youth'; for there can be little question but that the label conveyed this meaning. The name has a remarkably modern sound, focusing, as it does, not on the nature of the substance but on the implied results of its use. The popularity of the concept was such that the person who named the product had no dearth of near-synonyms from which to choose, among them νεότητος ἀνθος<sup>27</sup> or νέου ἀνθος ('bloom of youth'),<sup>28</sup> ἡλικίας ἀνθος<sup>29</sup> and ἡβης ἀνθος<sup>30</sup> (both meaning 'bloom of youthful prime'), χροιάς ἀνθος<sup>31</sup> ('bloom of complexion'), κάλλους ἀνθος<sup>32</sup> ('bloom of beauty'), ἀκμῆς

<sup>13</sup> E.g. ἦρος ἀνθη καὶ μετοπώρου ὄπαρα (Longus *Daph. et Chl.* iv 2.6); φθονερὸς γὰρ ὁ χρόνος καὶ τὴν ἀνθους ὄραν ἀφανίζει καὶ τὴν κάλλους ἀκμὴν ἀπάγει (Fl. Philostr. *Epist. et dial.* i 17).

<sup>14</sup> *Il.* ii 468, *Od.* ix 51. The simile was sometimes quoted by later writers (e.g. Plu. *Amat.* 767b).

<sup>15</sup> *Fr.* 55.3.

<sup>16</sup> Fragrances made from the petals of certain flowers were widely used in antiquity. Several monographs, now lost, dealt with this topic, but some information is embedded in extant works, among them Athen. *Deip.* (xv 673e-692f). Floral essences could be obtained by enfleurage, in which flower petals were spread on odour-absorbing fat which could then be worked into pomade balls, by maceration, in which flower petals were dipped into heated fat or oil and the resultant mixture was strained and cooled, or by expression, in which the petals were crushed for their essence. (See C. Singer, E. J. Holmyard and A. R. Hall, *A history of technology* i [Oxford 1954] 290-1.) In larger cities there were shops that specialized in perfume, as Athenaeus mentions (690a).

<sup>17</sup> *Fab.* 258.1. See also Greg. Nys. *Enc. in xl mart.* 46.756: 'illustrious in beauty, magnificent in youthfulness, like a flower of spring' (κάλλει διαπρεπεῖς, ἔρνεσι τὸ μέγεθος παραπλήσιοι ἐν ἀνθεῖ τῆς Ὠρας).

<sup>18</sup> *Hist. rom.* xvii 57.51.

<sup>19</sup> *Spec. leg.* i 325.

<sup>20</sup> *De virt.* 112; cf. *De fug. et inv.* 153.

<sup>21</sup> *Rep.* 475a: '... so as not to discard a single flower that blooms in the spring of youth' (ὥστε μηδένα ἀποβάλλειν τῶν ἀνθοῦντων ἐν ὄρα).

<sup>22</sup> E.g. Greg. Nys. *De virg.* 3.2: 'in youthful prime, the very bloom of youth' (ἡλικία συμβαίνουσα, τῆς Ὠρας αὐτὸ τὸ ἀνθος).

<sup>23</sup> *Fr. mor.* 718. The aphorism was quoted by other ancient writers, among them Diog. Laer. and Plu.

<sup>24</sup> *Pl. Alc.* 131E; cf. Aesop (n. 14).

<sup>25</sup> *Smp.* 8.14.

<sup>26</sup> *Contr. eos qui sub. hab. virg.* 1.51: νοσήματα πολιορκουόντα τὸ σῶμα καὶ μαραίνοντα τὸ ἀνθος τῆς Ὠρας; cf. *De incomp. dei nat.* 3.226). Also see Joh. Dam. *De fid. orth.* 94.1121.

<sup>27</sup> So, for instance, in Theodoretus *Epist.* [Coll. Patmensis] 3.6: τὸ τε γὰρ τῆς νεότητος ἀνθος ὑπορρεῖ καὶ μαραίνεται.

<sup>28</sup> See, *inter alia*, Greg. Nys. *De dei. fil. et sp. sanc.* 46.569).

<sup>29</sup> E.g. καὶ ἡδη παῖς ἦν ἐν ἀνθεῖ τῆς ἡλικίας, ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς Ὠρας (Greg. Nys. [n.25] 46.568); cf. Joh. Chrysostom (n. 23) 2.215 and *Ad stag. a daem. vex.* 47.462.

<sup>30</sup> Note *Schol. in Pind. Nem.* 6.104a: πρὸ Ὠρας γούν τὸ ἀνθος αὐτοῖς τῆς ἡβης.

<sup>31</sup> Aesch. uses the expression in *Prom.* 23: χροιάς ἀμείψεις ἀνθος; see also Eustath. *Comm. ad Hom. Il.* iii 621.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὄραν καὶ τὸ τοῦ κάλλους ἀνθος (*Schol. in Pind. Isth.* 2.8).

ἄνθος<sup>33</sup> and ὀπώρας ἄνθος (both signifying 'bloom of prime of life' or 'bloom of youthful maturity').<sup>34</sup>

What kind of substance would have been sold as 'Bloom of Youth'? The most obvious concoction would have been a beauty-cream, although ὄρας ἄνθος plausibly could have been a nostrum that was alleged to enhance male potency. Ancient texts dealing with minerals, perfumes and medicines do not mention any cosmetic or pharmacological product bearing that name.<sup>35</sup> Nor does the jar itself provide solid information

<sup>33</sup> The expression appears in Philo Alex. *Spec. leg.* iii 39 (καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἄνθος ἐκθηλύνων) and elsewhere.

<sup>34</sup> With regard to the last-mentioned term, one theoretically possible but extremely unlikely alternative to the reading ὄρας ἄνθος must be considered, namely that the few microscopic, patternless flecks of ink to the left of ΩΡΑΝΘΟΣ (see n. 5) are faint remnants of two letters that were originally a part of the dipinto. Of the relatively few Greek words that terminate in -ώρα, the only one that would be plausible in connection with ἄνθος is ὀπώρα. Ὀπώρα can, depending upon the context, mean either 'fruit' or 'late summer', the latter being the season of matured fruit. The linked words ὀπώρας ἄνθος are much less frequent in ancient Greek literature than are ὄρας ἄνθος, since flowering and fruiting were perceived basically as sequential functions (e.g. Clearch *fr.* 25.17: καλὸν γὰρ τὸ τῆς ὀπώρας καὶ τὸ τῆς ὄρας ὄντως πρόσωπον ἔν τε καρποῖσι καὶ ἄνθει θεωρούμενον). If one wanted to refer to autumn flowers—something that was done infrequently—one generally would speak of μετοπώρα (or φθινοπώρα) ἄνθη, as Arist. does in *HA* 554a. Ὀπώρας ἄνθος sometimes appears in connection with grapes and wine as the 'flower' of the grapevine (so particularly in Nonnus *Dion.* xii 95, 180, 241, xlvii 69 etc.). On rare occasions the term is applied metaphorically to maturation in human beings (e.g. Pind. *Nem.* 5.6; Alcaeus (*Lyr.*) *fr.* 397.1). Only this last-mentioned meaning could have any possible relevance for the text on the jar under discussion. It may be noted that if the dipinto did originally read ὀπώρας ἄνθος, the meaning would be only slightly different from that of ὄρας ἄνθος, focusing more on the beauty of maturity than on that of youthfulness; it is doubtful, however, that a merchant would choose to stress maturity over youth if labelling a cosmetic product.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. Theophr. *HP, De lap.* and *De od.*; Diosc. *De mat. medi.*; Leiden papyri W and X (*Papyri graeci musei antiquarii publici ii*, ed. C. Leemans [Lugduni-Batavi 1885]; *Papyrus Holm* (ed. L. Lagercrantz [Uppsala 1913]); and various works of Galen. To this brief list may be added Pliny's *NH*, which, though in Latin gives much information relevant to Greek botany and mineralogy. Blossoms were sometimes used medicinally, but in such cases usually were known by specific names, e.g. camomile flowers (perhaps *Anthemis nobilis*), which were used as a stomachic, absinth blossoms (*Absinthium maritimum*), which were used as vermifuges, and arnica flowers (*Arnica montana*), which were made into a tincture. (See further in F. A. Flückinger and D. Hanbury, *Pharmacographia: a history of the principal drugs* [London 1879].) It may be noted, however, that Hsch. (*Lex.* A 5105) indicates that ἄνθεα (necessarily when accompanied by qualifying terms) could designate φάρμακα ποικίλα 'various drugs'. Among the medicinal preparations that Hsch. had in mind was perhaps οἰνάνθη (Asclep. *Bith. ap. Gal.* xiii 540) or οἰνάνθηριον (Alex. *Tral. De feb.* 7.3). Modern scholarly studies of pharmacological history such as M. Wellmann, 'Die Pflanzennamen des Dioskurides', *Hermes* xvi (1898) 360-42, A. Schmidt, *Drogen und Drogenhandel im Altertum* (Leipzig 1924) and H. Schelenz, *Geschichte der Pharmazie* (Hildesheim 1962) show no product known as ὄρας ἄνθος. Ἄνθος appears a number of times in pre-modern pharmacopoeias, but largely in

other than the fact that its relatively wide mouth, from which the contents could be extracted with a small spatula or even a finger, strongly suggests that the substance was not a liquid but an unguent.<sup>36</sup> Various specialized ointments were marketed in the Hellenistic-Roman world, many of which apparently were sold in their own distinctive containers that indicated to prospective purchasers not only the contents but sometimes also places of origin.<sup>37</sup> The form of the jar under discussion has not, however, been found to be associated with any one product.<sup>38</sup> The fact that the label was app-

terms first used by the Greeks to designate certain oxides, salts or other efflorescences. Ancient mineralogical texts speak of ἄλοσάνθος (or ἄλδος ἄνθος), 'flower of salt', χαλκάνθος (χαλκοῦ ἄνθος), 'flower of copper' and χρυσάνθος (χρυσσοῦ ἄνθος), 'flower of gold', etc. (see, *inter alia*, N. F. Moore, *Ancient mineralogy* [New York 1859]). With regard to perfume, see n. 16.

<sup>36</sup> Some excavation reports (e.g. Rodney S. Young, 'Sepulturae intra urbem', *Hesperia* xx [1951] 88-89) refer to handleless miniature jars with wide mouths by the term *lydion*, particularly when they have footed bases and outward-flaring rims similar to those of vessels found in Lydia. The term is not suitable, however, for the majority of miniature jars found in the eastern Mediterranean region. Such vessels are more appropriately termed unguent-pots in Brian A. Sparkes and Lucy Talcott, *Black and plain pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th centuries BC (The Athenian agora, XII; Princeton 1970) 157.*

<sup>37</sup> The readily observable differences among such containers may, in fact, partially explain why the contents of bottles and miniature jars were generally not labelled. Inter-relationships of form, function and provenance extend to bottles, amphoras and many other kinds of vessels as well.

<sup>38</sup> Hershkovitz (n. 4) oversimplifies the situation when she generalizes that miniature jars contained medicinal ointments (p. 50). She also states—surprisingly in view of her otherwise perceptive analysis of ceramic forms—that the miniature jars in her corpus are similar to lykion pots found at Morgantina; in fact, the λύκιον containers found there and at several other sites are distinctive, being of generally poorer craftsmanship, having small opposing handles, and bearing the stamped label ΛΥΚΙΟΝ. Λύκιον was a popular medicine, the botanical derivation of which is debated, that was used for a wide range of ailments, among which, according to Dioscurides, were psoriasis, hydrophobia and dysentery (see further in E. Sjöqvist, 'Morgantina: hellenistic medicine bottles', *AJA* lxiiv [1960] 78-83).

Of particular relevance for the jar under discussion is a vessel of similar kind excavated at Dor, which bears the label ΑΛΥΠΟΥ, incised after the vessel was fired (Ephraim Stern, 'Hellenistic Dor', *Qadmoniot* xiv [1961] 103-10; photograph on p. 110). Hershkovitz (47, 50) suggests that the word may be the name of the dispensing pharmacist, i.e. Ἄλυπος. Although that word, meaning 'free from pain or sorrow', is rarely attested as a proper name in antiquity (see *RE* [1894] 1711), the genitive case of the word admittedly tends to favour that interpretation. It may be noted, however, that there was a well-known, powerful medicine called ἄλυτον, which surely would have suggested itself to anyone who saw the label, the genitival termination notwithstanding. The drug was obtained from a shrubby perennial herb of the Mediterranean regions (*Globularia alypum* L.), which is mentioned, *inter alia*, by Pliny (*N. H.* xxvii 22) and Diosc. (*De Mat. Med.* iv 178); on the latter, see J. Berendes, *Des Pedanios Dioskurides aus Anazarbos Arzneimittellehre* (Suttgart 1902) 468 and R. T. Gunther, *The Greek herbal of Dioscurides* (New York 1959) 581. The seed of the plant was used as a purge that, if given in overdose, could be dangerous; hence the plant's nickname, 'herb terrible'.

lied after the vessel was manufactured suggests the possibility—indeed, even probability—that the jar was a multi-purpose vessel of the kind that a merchant might keep at hand to dispense small quantities of bulk products.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> This hypothesis is supported by the jar from Dor discussed in the previous note. The likelihood is not very great that the label represents the reuse of a jar that originally had contained some other substance, since a vessel of this sort probably was not valuable enough to have warranted cleaning and reuse; furthermore, it might have been difficult to remove residual substances and odours satisfactorily.

### Homer's linguistic forebears\*

M. L. West<sup>1</sup> has recently presented a magisterial account of the history of Greek epic in which Aeolic phases and other entities are assumed. His account is the more impressive because it combines linguistic features skilfully handled with an account of the thematic development of epic, and also specifies at what stages the various linguistic features entered the tradition. West assumes an Aeolic phase, or phases, of heroic epic composition, and accounts for the presence of Aeolic forms (162): 'It has usually been inferred that they are just a residue left after Ionian poets had adapted an Aeolic poetic language into their own dialect as far as it would go. This is, I have no doubt, the correct interpretation.' I think it is not.<sup>2</sup>

One of two methodological preliminaries are in order. The question of Aeolisms in Homer is a linguistic question, and must be solved or resolved in the first instance in linguistic terms.<sup>3</sup> If, after examining the data, one is minded to identify certain elements as Aeolic (or Lesbian or Doric or Attic), one should not thereby conclude that the forms in question derive from an Aeolic epic or tradition of epic poetry otherwise unattested. Such a conclusion seems premature if not preposterous, and one has many questions that must be answered before according one's assent. Rather one will first seek the most economical explanation for linguistic variety among the many that are available.

Secondly, if one does assume an Aeolic phase of epic composition, one is—it seems to me—obliged to provide an accounting for all linguistic aspects of the supposed Aeolic epic. That is to say, most hypotheses of an Aeolic phase of epic composition are so vague and imprecise that positive evidence abounds, since it is

\* I am grateful for the comments of a reader which have improved my presentation, particularly as regards the table of forms to be reconstructed for earlier phases of Greek epic poetry.

<sup>1</sup> M. L. West, 'The rise of the Greek epic', *JHS* cviii (1988) 151-72.

<sup>2</sup> My arguments against an Aeolic epic, of a purely linguistic nature, can be found in 'Επιστιμονική Έπετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης xiv (1975) 133-47. Cf. also D. Gary Miller, *Homer and the Ionian epic tradition* (Innsbruck 1982); and G. Horrocks, *Minos xx-xxii* (1987) 269-94 for a measured and skilful treatment of the subject.

<sup>3</sup> I note that P. Wathelet, *AC* I (1981) 833 n. 65 states that only by 'la rencontre de données de divers ordres' will the history of epic be clarified. I concur, but would insist that all the data be examined separately and be securely based before one proceeds to global conclusions. I do not feel that this precondition has been met in the matter in question.

sought, and negative evidence is never sought or adduced.<sup>4</sup> Again if one assumes an Aeolic phase of the epic language, one cannot conclude from that language anything about the contents of the epic or the locations in which it was practised unless there is legendary or historical evidence supporting the former and archaeological evidence to confirm the latter. Again insufficient rigor is applied in these matters, and scholars are apt to assume that a (vaguely defined) Aeolic proves a (partially delineated) thematic content performed in several (archaeologically and historically unsupported) locations. In what follows I restrict myself to a consideration of the linguistic evidence alone, while pointing out here and there what I consider weaknesses in other parts of the argument. I cannot disprove the hypothesis of an Aeolic epic, nor will I be able to prove my own contentions, but I hope to indicate that the theory of an Aeolic epic is unlikely on linguistic grounds and that a better explanation for the presence of non-Ionic forms in Homer's poems is available.

A descriptive grammar of the Homeric dialect will display a complexity greater than that of grammars of other forms of Greek. In the section devoted to phonology, for instance, there will have to be included some sort of statement which reveals that a number of words have two prosodic habits: μέγα can appear with a long initial segment or a short (or at least allows short vowels to appear as long in arsis before it), and δτι can appear with one τ or two. The section on morphology will incorporate the facts that: the dative plural of consonant stems shows both -σι and -εσσι; the aorist of καλέω can appear with one σ or two; the thematic present infinitive can end in -ειν or -έμεν. In the Homeric lexicon many words will have to be marked to show that: they can appear either with a long vowel or a short, as in δνομα; they do or do not allow hiatus, as in ἄναξ. A grammar of the Homeric dialect, then, will be phonologically and morphologically more complex than other grammars, to such an extent, indeed, as probably to be unique. When one considers, though, that all utterances composed in the Homeric dialect had to conform metrically to the exigencies of the dactylic hexameter, one sees immediately the justification for the otherwise inexplicable allomorphy.

A descriptive grammar requires no labels save those imposed by the system of analysis chosen and the language analyzed.<sup>5</sup> Scholars long ago noted, however, that the Homeric language is basically Ionic, its grammar, that is, closer to that of Herodotus than to that of Thucydides or Pindar. This fact, in grammatical terms, makes it possible for the grammarian, if he should so wish, to utilize a pre-existing grammar of Ionic as the basis for his Homeric grammar, noting in the latter only those cases in which Homer diverges from Ionic usage. Why anyone should want to do this systematically is unclear, but P. Chantraine displays a propensity in this direction, particularly in the early chapters of his *Grammaire homérique*.<sup>6</sup> It is with the introduction of an Ionic grammar that classifications arise and explanations appear. Thus 'metrically lengthened' forms make their appearance because they can be interpreted as lengthen-

<sup>4</sup> One reason why Aeolisms are easily assumed is that Ionic has developed and diverged from earlier forms of Greek more than most dialects, and hence Aeolisms, if assumed, are very likely to correspond at least metrically with earlier, non-Ionic, stages of the language. Aeolic is more conservative of older forms, and thus earlier stages of epic are inevitably going to appear more Aeolic.

<sup>5</sup> Such a descriptive grammar is as yet lacking, as noted by B. Forssman in J. Latacz (ed.), *Zweihundert Jahre Homer-Forschung* (= Colloquium Rauricum II, Stuttgart and Leipzig 1991) 287 n. 104.

<sup>6</sup> P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* I, (Paris 1959).



(a) London: Parthenon East Frieze vi.40+41. Photo Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.



(b) Ferrara Inv. no. 44894, T 57c V.P.: volute krater, Kleophon Ptr. Photo Courtesy Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Ferrara.

THE PARASOL: AN ORIENTAL STATUS SYMBOL IN LATE ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL ATHENS



(c) Ashland University, Ohio, USA. Unguent jar. Donation of Professor and Mrs Delbert H. Flora.

"BLOOM OF YOUTH": A LABELLED SYRO-PALESTINIAN UNGUENT JAR